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Master's thesis in Childhood Studies

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Supervisor: Tatek Abebe

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Socal and Educational Sciences
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning

NTNU
Faculty of Social
and Educational Sciences

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to explore the subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo. The objectives are to explore how the subjective well-being of young people is manifested in their everyday lives, examine the structural processes in the neighbourhood that affect their subjective well-being, and identify some ideas for policy and practice change in local stakeholders. Young people between the ages of 15- and 18-year-olds of multicultural backgrounds are the primary participants of this research, in addition to adults, including youth workers, who work closely with young people. The methodology of this research takes a multi-method approach drawn by participatory fieldwork in a youth club East Oslo. The research is inspired by an action-oriented approach to fulfill the third objective of identifying ideas for practice and policy change in local stakeholders. In their everyday lives, young people´s subjective well-being is a reflection of their relationships with different places, such as schools and youth clubs, the different ways of navigating well-being and ill-being, for example through leisure activities and delinquency, and their relationship with peers and adults. Structural processes in the neighbourhood have marginalized young people, for example through neo-liberal housing policies and gentrification. Young people feel that structural processes, including the revitalization of their neighbourhood, have failed to cater to their needs, wishes, and concerns. What young people want from local stakeholders is to be seen, heard, and taken seriously. This study argues that young people´s subjective well-being is a relational construct that reflects their views, feelings, and experiences in relation to other people, places, institutions, and material conditions.

Keywords: young people, subjective well-being, diverse neighbourhoods, East Oslo

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Chapter one: Introduction

There has been a growing public concern over young people´s well-being in Oslo in the wake of the city´s incrementing socio-economic segregation. Even though young people in Oslo have seemingly good well-being, those in multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo report lower levels of life satisfaction, have fewer friends and are less happy with their school and neighbourhood compared to their peers in more prosperous areas of Oslo´s West End (Bakken, 2018). This insinuates that young people´s subjective well-being is situated within the neighbourhood they live in. The geographic dissimilarities challenge the maxim of equal opportunities for all children and young people that dominates Norwegian educational, welfare, and social policies. Many stakeholders are working to promote the subjective well-being of young people in east Oslo, such as schools, child welfare services, and local government. However, there are few studies with a Norwegian sample that explores young people's perspectives, experiences, opinions, and needs on the many issues that affect their well-being. Also, conceptualizations of young people´s subjective well-being have been limited to outdated discussions on happiness and life-satisfaction (e.g. Cappa & Patton, 2017; Park, 2004; Trzcinski & Holst, 2008).

There is a widespread agreement in Norwegian literature that neighbourhood does play an important role in shaping the lives of children and young people and influencing their future outcomes (e.g., Brattbakk & Andersen, 2017; Paulsen et al., 2012; Strand & Kindt, 2019). However, these studies fail to highlight how processes of political economy in structural forces shape the conditions for young people´s subjective well-being. The underlying rationale for the connection between young people´s subjective well-being and neighbourhoods is that adverse outcomes tend to be concentrated in neighbourhoods with adverse conditions and risk factors (Coulton & Korbin, 2007).

This study aims to bridge the gap in the literature by qualitatively exploring the social, economical, and political processes and conditions shaping the subjective well-being of young people in East Oslo. Contrary to previous studies that tend to have a predefined idea of what subjective well-being is, this study will rely on the perspectives of young people to provide a conceptualization of young people´s subjective well-being.

1.1 Personal motivation

During my first and brief visit to East Oslo several years ago, I observed a part of Norway which I was little aware of that exists. East to the city centre of Oslo was overwhelmingly dominated by its immigrant population. Residential areas were characterized by colourless, outdated, and seemingly small brick-made apartment buildings. The presence of cultural diversity, but also socio-economic deprivation revealed itself in many forms, which challenged my perception of Norway as an egalitarian country. Oslo has always carried the reputation as a city divided between the "rich and white west" and the "poor and coloured east". A recent publication by Statistics Norway made headlines when it revealed that the number of children living in persistent low-income households has been gradually rising since 2011 with 1 in 10 children below the age of 18 living in persistent low-income households (Epland & Normann, 2019). As much as 60 percent of children and young people live in low-income families in some neighbourhoods in East Oslo, making Oslo a significant outlier of child poverty in the national statistics (Hansen, 2019). These reports have ignited a moral panic that resulted in a widespread political and media debate on the causes and effects of an increased number of children in living low-income households (e.g. Kinn et al., 2019).

The issue of relative poverty and my experiences in Oslo became the catalysis for my curiosity for how young people´s subjective well-being unfolds itself in some of the

multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo. I was curious to explore how young people talk about their lives and the issues that matter to them. After learning about the significance of structural processes in shaping children's lives (see Qvortrup, 2009), I become eager to understand how young people experience systemic inequalities, what they mean to them, and how they affect their subjective well-being. After learning more about the topic, I became motivated to promote policy and practice changes by aspiring to take an action-oriented approach in this research. The lack of qualitative research that draws on young people's views and perspectives in addressing my curiosities became the driving force behind this thesis.

1.2 Research problem

As previously mentioned, there is a tendency for young people in multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo to be less happy with their local area, less happy with their school, and exhibiting more problematic behaviour (Bakken, 2018). This reveals that young people in diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo tend to have lower subjective well-being compared with their peers in West Oslo. In an ideal Norwegian society, young people in all neighbourhoods have good subjective well-being, and the local government actively targets the issues that impair their well-being. Also, there is a lack of participatory and multi-method studies exploring how the young people´s subjective well-being unfolds within the social, institutional, political, and economic realms of their neighbourhood.

1.3 Rationale for the study

As a welfare state, Norway has both a moral and a legal obligation to promote the well-being of its residents, particularly of children and young people. The significance of understanding and promoting children and young people´s well-being is central to the realization of the rights that they are entitled to by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child (UNCRC), that Norway ratified in 1991. Camfield et al. (2009, p. 1) argue that "understanding well-being is crucial for interpreting 'best interests' (Article 3) and defining what counts as the '…the child's mental, spiritual, moral, and social development'".

Considering Oslo´s growing socio-economic diversity, local media reports have in recent years highlighted the growing number of children and young people living in low-income households (e.g. Hansen, 2019; Kaski, 2017). Cultural diversity is what identifies most of the neighbourhoods with low-income households. In one of these neighbourhoods located in the inner city of Oslo, as much as 39 percent of young people report being unhappy with their local environment, 37 percent are unhappy with their school, and 63 percent do not participate in organized leisure activities (Ungdata, 2018). Additionally, most crimes committed by young people occur in the East End (Stolt-Nielsen, 2019) and the rate of high school dropouts is highest in schools in the East End (Husøy, 2017). All of these issues can be argued as manifestations of ill-being among young people. Oslo municipality has over the past decade spent considerable financial resources (e.g. 1,5 billion Norwegian kroner (NOK) in Groruddalen and 210 million NOK in Tøyen) implementing measures and policies to ultimately improve the lives of people socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods (Johnson, 2016; Tøyenmagasinet, 2019). Despite significant efforts, young people continue to demonstrate signs of low well-being, revealing that the municipality´s efforts have been insufficient in targeting young people. It is, therefore, in the interest of the Oslo municipality to effectively identify and address the issues that impair the well-being of its young people. Critical academic research is necessary to investigate the factors that shape the subjective well-being of young people by exploring the issues that their accounts reveal as important to them. Organizations, institutions, and other local actors that have a stake in the well-being of young people in

east Oslo can benefit from using the accounts of young people to improve policies and practices.

1.4 Research aim, objective, and questions

The aim of this research is to explore the processes that shape the subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo. The research is designed to be participatory and action-oriented with the goal of using the views and experiences of young people to provide ideas for change in policy and practice in the subjective well-being of young people in East Oslo. This research has the following objectives:

a) To explore the ways in which the subjective well-being of young people is manifested in their everyday lives;
b) To identify the structural processes in the neighbourhood that affect the subjective well-being of young people; and
c) To identify policy and practice ideas that stakeholders can implement to improve the subjective well-being of young people.

These objectives are achieved through the systematic analysis of the research findings in order to answer the following specific research questions:

- How do different social settings within the neighbourhood shape the subjective well-being of young people?
- In what ways do young people respond to evoked threat to their subjective well-being and how do they protect themselves from ill-being?
- In what ways do intergenerational relationships influence the subjective well-being of young people?
- How do processes of political economy influence the subjective well-being of young people?
- In what ways can the neighbourhood be a resource and a threat to young people´s subjective well-being?
- What kind of ideas for policy and practice change do young people have for stakeholders for promoting the subjective well-being of young people?

1.5 Justification for research approach

Research on the subjective well-being of children and young people have predominantly been quantitative. Quantitative studies tend to rely on predefined objective indicators of well-being, which Rojas (2004) argues can be deceiving because well-being is about life experiences and perceptions which are inherently subjective. It can also be considered paternalistic, arbitrary, and standard-setting to ask children and young people to report their well-being based on adult-defined and standardized indicators of well-being. There are favourable reasons for the qualitative exploration of young people´s subjective well-being. A qualitative approach will allow the present study to explore the issues that shape the subjective well-being of young people. It will facilitate an interdisciplinary, localized, and holistic understanding of young people´s lived experiences, perceptions, and aspirations, while also emphasizing the context, process, and diversity of young people´s accounts. Such an approach reflects an anthropological perspective that looks at how practices come about and how they relate to ideas of a good life on the field, where everyday life is enacted (Reynolds, et al., 2006). Relying on the views of young people to conceptualize their subjective well-being mirrors the view of young people as social actors who are experts in their own lives. Placing young people´s views to the centre stage can elicit local conceptions of subjective well-being which can be used to inform effective and integrated practices and policies that are relevant to the local communities.

Capturing local perspectives is achieved by allowing the research to be inspired by some of the practices and principles of participatory fieldwork. This includes letting the data collection be guided by the participants, maintaining an equal power relation between the researcher and the participants, and being ethnically mindful (Ennew et al., 2009). Young people will have an overall greater influence on how the research is conducted. This entails adopting a multi-method approach which allows young people to choose the method they want to engage in. Taking a multi-method approach recognizes that participants are a heterogeneous group that has a broad range of capacities and preferences for expressing themselves. It provides a variety of opportunities and modes of expression. A multi-method approach will also enable the triangulation of the research material (Meijer, 2002).

Exploring young people´s subjective well-being according to local standards is in this research imperative in order to be also be inspired by an action-oriented approach. The objective of aspiring to be action-oriented is to bridge the gap between localized conceptualizations of young people´s subjective well-being and the practices and policies that can have implications on their subjective well-being.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The first chapter is an introduction to this thesis. It introduces the research area by describing the motivation behind doing the research, the research problem, rationale for the study, research aim, objective, questions, and a brief justification of the research approach. Chapter two describes the context of the research by providing background information. This includes information on demographics, immigration, multiculturalism, the socio-economic performance of Norway, the difference between Oslo´s East End and West End, the political economy of East Oslo, and a legal framework of children and young people´s subjective well-being. The third chapter provides a theoretical framework for the research topic. It explores the previous studies that make subjective well-being a multi-facet concept. The chapter proceeds by discussing the theoretical frameworks that will be used to make sense of the findings of the present study. Methodology and the entire research process will be described and discussed in the fourth chapter. This includes explaining the sample, the process of entering into the field, the process of building rapport with young people, and the difference between the planned data collection process and the process actually took place. The final part of the chapter discusses the socio-ethical and practical issues of the research, as well as the "trustworthiness" of the research, analysis of the data, and writing and dissemination of the report. Chapters five, six, and seven constitute the analysis chapters. The fifth chapter presents the research findings that are related to the first research objective and the sixth chapter presents findings that answer to the second research objective. In both chapters, the findings are discussed in light of the theoretical frameworks described in chapter three, as well as drawing on previous studies. The seventh chapter discusses ideas for policy and practice change in local stakeholders to promote the improvement of young people´s subjective well-being. A conclusion is provided in the final chapter of this thesis. The concluding chapter summaries the key findings in relation to the research objective. It also provides some theoretical and methodological reflections and offers some suggestions for future research.

Chapter two: Background information

The current research takes place in the context of the cultural, social, and economic diversity that shapes Oslo and its neighbourhoods. To understand how the subjective well-being of young people unfolds itself in diverse neighbourhoods, it is essential to understand some of the structural features that define Oslo as a city. The

purpose is this chapter is to provide background information about Oslo. The chapter starts by providing some demographic information about Oslo´s general population and its immigration population, before describing Norway´s social and economic performance. It will then describe some debates on multiculturalism in Norway and describe some of the key socio-economic issues that distinguish Oslo´s East End from its West End. Several neighbourhoods in East Oslo have in recent years been part of the neighbourhood revitalization program "Områdeløft", "area life" in English, which will be outlined in this chapter. This chapter ends by providing a legal framework of children and young people´s subjective well-being from a child´s rights approach.

2.1 Demographic and socio-economic context

Norway is a Nordic country with a population of approximately 5,3 million (Statistics Norway, 2020a). Oslo is the capital city and most populous city of Norway with a population of around 690 000 (Statistics Norway, 2019a). Oslo is both a county and a municipality in Norway. Oslo is estimated to be one of the fastest-growing capitals in Europe (Gundersen & Strand, 2014). The population of the municipality of Oslo is expected to reach 760 000 by 2030, and 815 000 by 2040 (Statistics Norway, 2019a).

Oslo is considered to be a multicultural city. The term immigrant is here used to refer to those who immigrated to Norway or are Norwegian-born to immigrant parents. About 33 percent of Oslo´s population constitutes of immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2018). The immigrant population in Oslo is concentrated in the East End boroughs. 21 percent of the immigrants are categorized as having a "non-Western" immigrant background (Oslo Municipality, 2015). The immigrant population in Oslo is significantly bigger compared to the entire immigrant population of Norway which is 17.7 percent (Statistics Norway, 2020b). Pakistan, Poland, Somalia, and Sweden are the countries that are strongly represented in the immigrant population in Oslo (Statistics Norway, 2019a). People from East- and Central European countries, particularly Poland, immigrate to Norway for work (Amundsen, 2017). Immigrants from other parts of the world immigrate to Norway to either reunite with family, to seek refuge or pursue higher education (Statistics Norway, 2020b).

Norway is a socially and economically well-performing country. Norway had the highest-ranking human development index (HDI) value of 0.95 in 2018, with a life expectancy of 82.3 years, mean years of schooling of 12.6 years, and a gross national income (GNI) per capita of 68.059 (2011 PPP$) (Human Development Report, 2019). The HDI value for Norway is considered to be very high and above the average of 0.9 for countries in OECD (Human Development Report, 2019). Norway closed 83.5 percent of its overall gender gap in 2018, making it the second most gender-equal country after Iceland (World Economic Forum, 2018). The unemployment rate in Norway is 3.7 percent for the general population, and 7.7 percent in the immigrant population (Statistics Norway, 2020b).

2.2 Debates on multiculturalism in Norway

The increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in Norway has raised debates relating to diversity, migration, and integration. During the last decade, there has been growing anti-immigration rhetoric in Norway. Terror attacks in the Government Quarter in Oslo and in political youth summer camp on the island of Utøya on the 22 of July in 2011 was a right-winged extremist reaction to the increasing multiculturalism and the growth of Islam in Norway. The terror attacks marked a shifting point in the rhetoric of multiculturalism. The event revealed the existence of racism, xenophobia, and extremism in Norway. Following the terror attacks, politicians pledged to tackle these issues by working to become a more open and tolerant society (Huuse et al., 2016). However, professor Tore Bjørgo argues that the refugee crises in 2015 have only fuelled

the right-winged extremism in Norway (Huuse, et al., 2016). The success of two right-winged populist parties, the Progress Party and the Conservative Party, in national elections in 2013 further contributed to the rise of anti-immigration rhetoric (Fangen & Vaage, 2018). Fangen and Vaage (2018) argue that politicians in the right-winged Progress Party view multiculturalism as a threat to the Norwegian national culture.

2.3 Oslo´s West End and East End

The current research is situated in Oslo´s East End. Comparing the West End and East End provides a more contextualized understanding of the East End. The partition of the West End and East End reveals itself in many forms including disparities in income, housing conditions, and education. A brief outline of these disparities that mirror segregation is presented below.

The gross income of Vestre Aker, a borough in the West End, was 791 000 NOK in 2017, which is more than double the gross income of Stovner, an East End borough (Oslo Municipality Statistics Bank, 2019). Nine out of ten neighbourhoods with the highest average income are located in the West End, and ten of the neighbourhoods with the lowest average income are situated in the East End (Oslo Municipality Statistics Bank, 2019). There is roughly a one-million-krone difference between the neighbourhoods with the highest and lowest average income (Oslo Municipality Statistics Bank, 2019). The geographical difference in income draws the Gini-coefficients of Oslo to 0.321 (Tuv, 2019).

The number of children living in persistent low-income households marks the difference in income between the West End and the East End. In 2017, 12 percent of households with children in Oslo had a persistent low income (Oslo Municipality, 2019f). In Holmenkollen, a neighbourhood in the West End, 1.7 percent of children lives in a household with persistent low income (Oslo Municipality, 2019b). On the contrary, the rate in Tøyen was 45 percent in 2017 (Oslo Municipality, 2019a). Children with an immigrant background are strongly overrepresented among children in low-income families. Even though children with immigrant backgrounds constitute 16 percent of all children in the national population, they make up 55.6 percent of all children in the household with persistent low income (Epland & Normann, 2019).

Another significant difference between the West End and the East End is housing. Oslo has one of the most expensive housing markets in Norway. In 2019, the average salary of a nurse could, on average, afford only three out of 100 houses in Oslo, which is considered quite low compared to, for instance, Bergen where a nurse can afford 30 out of 100 houses (Eiendomsverdi, 2019). High housing prices pushes many people to rent either in the private market or through public housing. In Tøyen, a neighbourhood in the East End borough of Gamle Oslo, 45 percent of the houses are rented in the private market and 17 percent are public housing (Oslo Municipality, 2019a). Comparatively, only two percent of the houses in Vestre Aker is part of public housing, whereas 19 percent of the houses are rental housing (Oslo Municipality, 2019b). The most expensive houses and apartments are located in the West End. In Ullevål Hageby, a neighbourhood in the borough of Nordre Aker, the average square per meter for an apartment was 93 868 NOK per square meter in 2018, up against the city average of 70 993 NOK per square meter (Oslo Municipality, 2019c). On the other side of the city, Vestli in the borough Stovner has one of the lowest housing prices for apartments in Oslo with 38 974 NOK per square meter (Oslo Municipality, 2019d). A major housing problem is that many in the East End live in small overcrowded apartments, an issue which is especially prevailing among families with many children, low-income households, and immigrants (Statistics Norway, 2017). In Rommen, a neighbourhood in Stovner, 26 percent of all

households is overcrowded, which is considerably higher than the city average of 13 percent (Oslo Municipality, 2019e).

The difference in education level also marks the distinction between the West End and East End. Close to 50 percent of those over 16 years old in Oslo have education at a college or university level, which is well above the national average of 30 percent (Sandvik & Kvien, 2015). In the West End district of Vestre Aker, over 60 percent have completed education at a college or university level, whereas in the East End district of Stover 23 percent have completed education at college or university level (Sandvik & Kvien, 2015). However, in some East End districts, high education does not equivalent to high income. For example, even though the rate for complete higher education in Gamle Oslo is close to the city average, the average income is still significantly lower in Gamle Oslo (Sandvik & Kvien, 2015)

The difference the in high school dropout rate is significant between the West End and East End. In Norway, it is considered as "drop-out" when a person, five years after starting, has gone less than three years and is no longer in high school (Markussen, 2011). In 2018, Nordre Aker in the West End had the lowest dropout rate with over 80 percent completing high school within the normed time of three or four years (Oslo Municipality, 2019c). Stovner in East End had, on the other hand, had one of the highest dropout rates in 2018 with only 62 percent completing high school within the normed time (Oslo Municipality, 2019e). Since 2017, the Oslo city council has set aside 15 million Norwegian kroner every year for four years to be spent on eight of the lowest-performing schools to prevent dropout (Borgersud, 2017). Seven of the eight schools are located in the East End.

2.4 "Områdeløft" - The "area lift" in East Oslo

Områdeløft", which directly translates to "area lift", is a method developed by Husbanken that is meant to bring holistic, lasting, and local transformations to deprived neighbourhoods through physical and social measures (Husbanken, 2019). The measure aims to stimulate positive development in a restricted residential area with challenging living conditions that composes of both physical and social living, housing, and neighbourhood components (Husbanken, 2019). It is known that several areas in East Oslo have been targets for Områdeløft, including Groruddalen in the north-east, Søndre Nordstrand in the south-east, and Gamle Oslo in the inner-east. Tøyen, a neighbourhood in Gamle Oslo, became a targeted neighbourhood for Områdeløft between 2014 and 2018 (Brattbakk et al., 2015). Tøyen is an area that has since the 1800s been characterized by poor housing and socio-economic deprivation (Brattbakk et al., 2015).

Tøyenmagasinet, (2019) provides information about how a total of 210 million NOK was spent on Områdeløft in Tøyen. Nearly 63 million NOK as spent on creating new meeting spaces for people, which includes parks and an activity house that hosts countless activities for Tøyen´s residents. Additionally, close to 40 million was used to create equal and free or cheap after-school activities for children and young people. Another 44 million was spent in developing safe housing and upbringing environments, and following-up at-risk children and young people, including children and young people with high absenteeism at school, young people who drop out of high school, and families with many children.

2.5 Legal framework from children´s rights approach

Children and young people´s subjective well-being can be understood as the realization of UNCRC (Bradshaw et al., 2007). In Norway, the UNCRC is incorporated in Norwegian law by the Human Rights Act (Lovdata, 2018). Through the UNCRC, State parties have a legal, and not just a moral obligation to ensure the well-being of children and young people (Lee, 2009). The current section aims to identify some of the articles

in the UNCRC that contribute to the promotion of subjective well-being, how these articles are incorporated into Norwegian law, how these laws are implemented, and whether there are any limitations and gaps in the implementation of the law.

Article 27 of the UNCRC (see United Nations, 1989, hereby cited in the text as UNCRC, 1989) grants every child the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and social needs and to support their development. The article is considered to be central to children´s well-being, and its relevancy has been discussed in light of child poverty and material well-being (e.g. Camfield et al., 2009; Lee, 2009; Redmond, 2009; Unicef, 2007). Article 27 states that governments must help families who cannot afford to provide an adequate standard of living to their children (UNCRC, 1989). The Norwegian government grants children below the age of 18 a monthly sum of 1054 NOK (Child Benefit Act, 2003, § 10,) to help cover the expenses for the care of children (Child Benefit Act, 2003, § 1). This benefit is considered to have become an insignificant part of the household income (Omholt, 2018). Other forms of social benefits play a greater role in contributing to children´s adequate standard of living in low-income households (Omholt, 2018). The insignificant role of the child benefit in promoting children´s adequate standard of living has also been noted by the Committee on the Right of the Child which "recommends that the State party increase the resources allocated to combating child poverty, including by increasing child benefit rates and by adjusting them in accordance with wage inflation" (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2018, p. 9). The benefit is usually paid to the mother (Child Benefit Act, 2003, § 12), and the law does not specify how the benefit should be spent. Thus, the child has no direct control over the benefit that they are entitled to.

Article 31 of the UNCRC (1989) entitles children to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to their age. Children´s engagement in leisure activities is thought to have a positive effect on subjective well-being by increasing feelings of competence and bring increased satisfaction with social relationships (Rees, 2018). Several laws in Norway realize leisure for children and young people. The Culture Act promotes the participation of people of all ages in cultural activities (Culture Act, 2007, § 1) Culture can as an experience and activity bring positive content to children and young people´s leisure. Moreover, the Education Act places the responsibility on the municipality to offer musical and cultural activities to children and young people, as well as before- and after-school leisure programs in elementary schools (Education Act, 1998, § 13-6 & § 13-7). Even though the law places the responsibility on the municipality to offer leisure activities for children and young people, the activities usually come with fees and expenses. This burden can be too big for deprived families, leaving many children and young people excluded from participating in leisure activities. In 2016, Norway signed the "Fritidserklæringen" (Leisure declaration) which is based in article 31 of the UNCRC (Norwegian Government, 2016). The declaration enables children, regardless of their family´s financial resources, to participate in leisure activities (Prime Minister´s Office, 2016). The ideal that children should engage in leisure activities regardless of their family´s financial resources has particularly been embraced in East-Oslo. For example, a sports club in Tøyen offers sports and cultural activities available to everyone for the small annual fee of 100 NOK, which was developed in response to unaffordable activates for children (Fremstad, 2016). Nevertheless, young people in Oslo with low socio-economic status participate less in sports and organized activities, and instead, to an increasing degree, spend time in youth clubs (Bakken, 2018). Overall, even though children´s right to play and recreation is well integrated into Norwegian law, the implementation of the laws can depend on the engagement and efforts of the local government.

Unicef (2007, p. 19) argues that "a measure of overall child well-being must include a consideration of how well children are served by the education systems in which so large a proportion of their childhood is spent and on which so much of their future well-being is likely to depend". Children not only have the right to education (UNCRC, 1989, art. 28), but the education has to be directed to the development of the child´s personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential (UNCRC, 1989, art. 29). Schools are by paragraph 9a of the Education Act (1998) obligated to provide children and young people with the right conditions to learn and develop. Paragraph 9 a-2 (Education Act, 1998) states that all students have the right to a safe and good school environment that promotes health, well-being, and learning. Paragraph 9 a-3 and 9 a-4 places the obligation on the school to provide students with a good and safe psychosocial environment, and to have zero tolerance for any sorts of bullying (Education Act, 1998). This shows that schools are obligated to promote the subjective well-being of its students to realize their right to education. Over half of young people in Oslo with an immigrant background from low socio-economic status are either unhappy or nor happy or happy with their school (Bakken, 2018). One way schools tack this issue is through providing health services. Schools in Norway are obligated to provide health services where children and young people can receive aid with mental health challenges (Regulations on health clinics and school health services, 2018, § 6). However, the school health services have been criticized for failing to be available enough to children and young people (Ombudsman for Children, 2014). Even though the right to education is well incorporated into Norwegian law, further measures are required to promote the well-being of young people in middle schools and high schools.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has provided some background information about Oslo and Norway, including information about its population, immigration, socio-economic performance, Oslo´s partied between East and West, "Områdeløft" and a legal framework of children and young people´s subjective well-being from a rights-based approach. It can be thought that Norway has some of the best preconditions for children and young people to have ideal well-being. However, how the subjective well-being of young people plays out, in reality, will be explored in chapters five, six, and seven.

Chapter three: Theory chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for understanding young people´s subjective well-being. This chapter starts by exploring the multifaceted concept of subjective well-being, including its psychological, economical, geographical, and generational face. The chapter will then describe how scholars in childhood studies theorize children and childhood as a social, structural, generational, and temporal construct, before explaining the relevancy of childhood studies for the current research. The chapter continues by unfolding Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, the political economy of young people´s well-being, and the view of young people as "troubled" and "troubling". The chapter will end by describing the UNCRC and its relevancy to the current research. These theoretical frameworks will be used to make sense of the research findings.

3.1 The multiple faces of subjective well-being

In order to have an understanding of the complexities of subjective well-being, the multiple faces of this phenomenon will be reviewed. Camfield et al. (2009) argue that it is important to acknowledge the multiple faces of well-being by approaching it as an "essentially contested" phenomenon, which implies that the meaning and content of well-being depends on who is using it and why. Well-being does not have a particular

definition that scholars agree upon. Yet, well-being has become a widely dualist phenomenon, distinguishing between objective well-being, which is defined by factors such as income, the conditions of residence, opportunities for education, and quality of the social and natural environment, whereas subjective well-being is perceptual, experiential, and based on the articulation of personal meaning (Alatartseva & Barysheva, 2015). To understand the meaning and implications of subjective well-being, the phenomenon can be understood from the intersects of a psychological, economical, geographical face, and geographical face.

3.1.1 The psychological face of subjective well-being

The nature of subjective well-being is inherently psychological because it manifests itself as an internal experience. Academic debates over the psychology of well-being have resulted in a hedonic perspective and eudaimonic perspective (see Ryan & Deci, 2001). According to Casas (2011), subjective well-being is in line with the hedonic perspective which views an individual's well-being in terms of happiness and life satisfaction. The eudaimonic perspective, which originates from humanistic psychology, suggests that the meaning of life, life goals, and self-actualization are core features of well-being (Casas, 2011). From a psychological perspective, subjective well-being involves both an affective component, which involves an on-going evaluation of one´s life, and a cognitive component, which refers to life satisfaction (Diener et al., 2009). Diener et al., (2009) suggest that affect and cognition should be treated as partially separable constructs to invite the possibility that one can be satisfied in one´s life without experiencing much positive affect, and vice versa. The cognitive and affective components of well-being can be understood in the relationship between subjective well-being and socio-economic position. When it comes to the cognitive aspect, Rojas (2004) argues that it is one´s perception of socioeconomic position, as opposed to the actual socio-economic position that shapes subjective well-being. This would imply that two people with identical socio-economic positions can have very different life satisfaction. When it comes to the affective, the secondary emotion of shame is often seen as a common denominator for the psycho-social dimensions of poverty which in many ways takes a toll on subjective well-being (Walker et al., 2013).

3.1.2 The economic face of subjective well-being

Subjective well-being also has an economic face, which is most evident in studies on subjective well-being and household income, employment, consumption flow, and material welfare (Rees et al., 2011). Money is often considered as a resource that enables people to satisfy their needs, purpose, goals, and to have the freedom to choose the lives they want (OECD, 2013). Well-being research has become a growing interest in the economic field where the relationship between subjective well-being and income is a contested debate. Economist Richard Easterlin claimed in 1974 that at any given time, happiness is directly linked to income, but that over time, there is no link between a society´s economic development and its average level of happiness, which is known as the Easterlin paradox (Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008). The literature debate on the legitimacy of the Eastern paradox and the nature of the relation between income and subjective well-being remains ongoing (e.g. Becker et al., 2008; Easterlin, 1995; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008). Wang and Wang (2016) suggest that social comparison can be an explanation of the Easterlin paradox because people tend to be more satisfied with their lives if they are better off than others.

The question of whether subjective well-being has an economic face is also raised in the discrepancies in quantitative and qualitative research on subjective well-being and poverty. Knies (2011) found no clear association when quantitatively exploring the relationship between young people´s life satisfaction scores and household income in the

United Kingdom. Knies (2011) argues that young people's life satisfaction is likely more complex than what can be measured by material deprivation indicators alone. The weak quantitative relationship between subjective well-being and economic indicators of well-being lies in the fact that humans are more than mere economic agents, and that it is the effects of money, and not money itself, that affects subjective well-being (Rojas, 2004). A review of qualitative studies on low-income children and families reveals that poverty does indeed negatively affect children´s overall sense of well-being (Ridge, 2009).

3.1.3 The geographical face of subjective well-being

The geographical and spatial characteristics of subjective well-being are gaining increasing attention in the literature, especially in the context of urban cities and neighbourhoods (eg. Mashhadi et al., 2016; Wang & Wang, 2016; Winters & Li, 2017, etc). The idea behind a geographical face of subjective well-being resonates with the concept of "neighbourhood effects" which captures the idea that traits and characteristics of a place in which children and young people develop within can have an effect on their outcomes (Brattbakk and Andersen, 2017). Studies that examine the geographical dimension of well-being have had different findings. For example, Ballas and Tranmer (2012) did not find significant variation in happiness and well-being between district and region areas once they had controlled for individual, household, and area characteristics. They found measures of well-being and happiness attributable to the individual level (Ballas & Tranmer, 2012). Contrastingly, geographical variations of young people's subjective well-being have been evident in Oslo. Even though the majority of young people in Oslo are satisfied with the quality of their life, there is a tendency for young people in socio-economically prosperous boroughs in the West End to be happier with their lives than young people in the East End (Bakken, 2018). Similarly, a study with a sample from Italy found that residential context has a significant impact on young people´s and young adult´s subjective well-being, with those living in deprived areas having negative outcomes (Cicognani et al., 2008).

3.1.4 Generational face of subjective well-being

The sociological concept of generation is useful for a relational perspective of young people´s subjective well-being. From a generational perspective, the subjective well-being of children and young people can be understood in relation to adults. The generational understanding of children and young people´s subjective well-being is particularly evident in studies examining well-being at a family level. Diener and Diener McGavran (2008) argue that the family context is a central determinant of subjective well-being throughout the lifespan, including the childhood and adolescent years. For example, parental conflict and divorce are found to impair the subjective well-being of children (Morrison et al., 1994) and adolescents (Joronen & Åstedt-Kurki, 2005). The subjective well-being of children and young people is also associated with parent-child relationships across cultures (Suldo & Fefer, 2013). One study found that the parent-child relationship was a stronger predictor of young adolescents' life satisfaction than peer-relationships (Ma & Huebner, 2008), which demonstrates the significance of inter- rather than intra-generational relationships for young people subjective well-being. The association between peer relationships and young people´s subjective well-being is found to vary by culture, whereas parent-child relationships are relatively independent of the respective cultural values (Schwarz et al., 2012). Quantitative studies have yielded significant positive associations between children´s and parent´s level of life satisfaction (e.g. Casas et al., 2008; Hoy et al., 2013). Improving the well-being of parents can therefore also be seen as an effort to improve the well-being of the parents´ children.

3.2 Children and childhood through the lens of childhood studies

Childhood Studies is a multi-disciplinary research field that emerged as the new paradigm for the sociology of childhood (James & Prout, 1997). Even though the current research is about young people below the age of 18, they are still defined as "children" by article one of the UNCRC (1989). Also, childhood studies provide essential conceptual lens to make sense of the complex social realities of young people. The concept of children and childhood within childhood studies can be divided into a social construction approach, a structural approach, a generational approach, and a temporal approach.

Childhood studies aims to reconstruct contemporary conceptualization of children and childhood constructed by the contributions socialization theory and developmental psychology by regarding children as "active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live" (James & Prout, 1997, p. 8). Socialization theory and developmental psychology are considered to have an "adult-centric" conceptualization of children and childhood as they are more concerned with the integration of children into the order of adult society (Honig, 2009).

Contrastingly, childhood studies is "child-centric" and views children and childhood as a social construct. Children are not only seen as social beings, but also social actors capable of shaping, defining, and negotiating relationships with the external world (Honig, 2009). In this way, children as seen as capable of defining their own social realities. James and Prout (1997, p. 8) elaborate that "children´s social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspective and concerns of adults". Instead of making sense of childhood through adults, children are considered to be experts in their own lives with thoughts and perspectives worthy of acknowledging (James, 2009). This prerequisite the view of children as competent and autonomous. The view that children are experts in their own lives is also acknowledged in the UNCRC (1989), particularly in articles 12 and 13 which gives children the right to participate in decisions that concern them by having the opportunity to express their view and have them taken seriously. The child-centric approach has raised a mantra of giving voice to children which fully embraced in childhood studies (James, 2007).

While the socialization theory and developmental psychology depict a universal image of children and childhood, childhood studies has a greater recognition for how contextual forces shape childhood. This is because childhood is seen as a structural form, meaning that childhood is at any given time a permanent segment of a society that is defined by economic, political, social, cultural, technological, and ideological parameters (Qvortrup, 2009). In other words, childhood is the outcome of the strength in the relationship between prevailing parameters, which Qvortrup (2009) argues must be accounted for as structural forces. This would entail that, for example, childhood Europe in the 1930s and the 2000s was different due to changing structural parameters. However, childhood remains as a permanent segment for any society at any given time. As Qvortrup (2009, p. 26) puts it "childhood is, in other words, *both* constantly changing *and* a permanent structural form within which children spend their personal childhood period".

Children and childhood are also approached as a generational construct in childhood studies. Qvortrup (2009) views childhood as a structural segment in a generational order, which implies that childhood, as well as adulthood, are generational units that are permanent structures in society. All generational units are exposed to the same structural parameters in society, but experience them in different ways because children and adults as positioned differently in the social order (Qvortrup, 2009). Alanen (2009) has a different approach to childhood as a generational construct by theorizing "generationing" as both a structural condition and a relational practice that emphasizes

intergenerational relationships. Alanen (2009, p. 161) elaborates on the ideas of "generational order" as "a system of social ordering that specifically pertains to children as a social category, can circumscribe for them particular social locations from which they act and thereby participate in ongoing social life". From this perspective, childhood and adulthood are fundamentally relational in nature, in which childhood and adulthood are social categories that constitute in relation to each other.

Notions of children and childhood as "being" and "becoming" have been a topic of discussion within childhood studies (e.g. Hanson, 2017; Qvortrup, 2009; Uprichard, 2008). These notions intrinsically add a temporal dimension to childhood. Childhood studies acknowledge the value of children and childhood in the present and worthy of study in its own right by approaching children as "human beings" (Nilsen, 2017). Uprichard (2008, p. 303) explains that the "becoming" child is seen as "adult in the making", focusing on what children will become in the future. Uprichard (2008) urges to move beyond this dichotomy by recognizing children as both "being and becomings". Hanson (2017) expands on this debate by arguing for the importance of recognizing the "been" child. Hanson (2017) argues that time and temporality as a non-linear dynamic process provides a productive conceptual lens for understanding children and childhood. This reflects that the "being" child has both a past and a future. The issue of temporality makes it relevant for the current study to not only discuss young people´s subjective well-being, but also their subjective "well-been" and "well-becoming". Also, Hanson´s (2017) call to recognized a historical understanding of children makes it relevant to take into account young people´s individual and collective histories to disentangle the complex social realities they live in.

As will be explored in chapters five and six, young people are not seen as children, nor as adults. They both work and go to school. They are seen as both delinquents and responsible. They are both mature and immature. They are both included and at the same time excluded. They are both Norwegians and foreigners. Childhood studies provides the theoretical concepts and perspectives needed to confront these complexities and ambiguities that shape the subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socioeconomically diverse neighbourhoods. Within childhood studies, the mobility, fluidity, relationality, and complexity of childhood can be used to make sense of young people´s subjective well-being that can be scrutinized within the realms of "structure" which can be reflected in the "neighbourhood" as a whole. These connections will be further explored in the subsequent sections which expands the theoretical understanding of young people´s subjective well-begin by reviewing by it through the lens of Bourdieu´s theory of practice.

3.4 Bourdieu´s theory of practice

Through using central concepts of Bourdieu´s theoretical framework of the theory of practice, I will scrutinize how young people´s subjective well-being is shaped within the dynamic processes of multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods. Bourdieu´s theory of practice suggests that "practice is the result of the relationship between the individual´s habitus, different forms of capital, and the field of action" (Power, 1999, p. 48). In the following section, I will elaborate on Bourdieu´s concepts of field, capital, and habitus which make up the theory of practice. It will be explained why these concepts provide a useful theoretical framework for understanding how the subjective well-being of young people is constructed within the realms of their neighbourhood.

Habitus is a central concept in Bourdieu´s theoretical framework. Power (1999) understands habitus as Bourdieu´s way of explaining the regularities of behaviours that are associated with social structures, such as class or gender, and without making social

structures deterministic of behaviour, of losing sight of the individual´s own agency. Power (1999, p. 48) explains that:

> Habitus is a way of describing the embodiment of social structures and history in individuals_it is a set of dispositions, internal to the individual, that both reflects external social structures and shapes how the individual perceives the world and acts in it.

A way of understanding habitus is that the individual has embodied social structures and is therefore predisposed to act in accordance with the social structure. This explains why certain behaviours are associated with certain social structures. Bourdieu (1990) stress that habitus is an open system of dispositions that have generative capacities, acquired through experience that is socially constituted. Bourdieu (1993, p. 87) also defines habitus as "a kind of transforming machine that leads us to 'reproduce' the social conditions of our own production, but in a relatively unpredictable way". It implies that individuals are reproducers of social structures by continuing to act in accordance with the social conditions that produce their behaviour (Power, 1999). The idea of habitus can be used to make sense of how young people´s subjective well-being is shaped by the social structure of their multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods. It could be argued that a young person´s subjective well-being is a reflection of their system of dispositions that are associated with the neighbourhood's social structures and shapes how they act in it.

Habitus alone does not explain behaviour. Swartz (1997) explains that practice is grown out of the interrelationship between habitus and the field. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 16), "a field consists of a set of objective, historical relation between position anchored in certain forms of power (or capital) ...". Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 17) further specify that "field is a patterned system of objective forces (much in the manner of a magnetic field), a relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity which it imposes on all the objects and agents which enter in it". Lyså (2018) suggests the field as "magnetic" implies that particular behaviours make sense and feel right within particular fields. Also, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) use "battlefield" as an analogy to explain how a field is a "space of conflict and competition", to which Lyså (2018, p. 61) elaborates that "agents are always competing for resources, experiences, and the possibilities that particular field values". Field can be a useful concept for understanding the social dynamics of different spaces in the neighbourhood, such as the school, the streets, and youth clubs where certain forms for capital and behaviour are valued.

Power (1999) points out that fields cannot exist without capital, and that there are many different types of fields as there are forms of capital. Bourdieu identifies four different types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992). Economic capital is associated with money and wealth. Bourdieu distinguished between three forms of cultural capital; embodied cultural capital which is the cultural attitudes, preferences, and behaviour internalized through socialization, objectified cultural capital which is transmitted from cultural goods and institutionalized cultural capital which is the educational accomplishments and qualifications (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; McCall, 1992). Social capital is accumulated through networks of social relationships, especially institutionalized relationships, such as the family (Power, 1999). Symbolic capital is arbitrary social conditions that fail to be recognized as capital, but recognized as legitimate (inherited) competence (McCall, 1992). The concepts of habitus and cultural capital have been applied in conjunction with each other. Embodied cultural

capital and habitus are understood as relationally complementary concepts as they both entail skills and dispositions (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). The difference between the two concepts is that in cultural capital dispositions are valuable in particular fields of social actions (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014).

Bourdieu (1985) explains the relation between capital and field as such:

> the kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers that define the chances of profit in a given field (p. 724)...the structure of the social world is defined at every moment by the structure of the distribution of the capital and profits characteristic of the different particular fields (p. 734).

The concept of capital is valuable for understanding the social position of young people within the fields of the neighbourhood in relation to their socio-economic status, cultural background, social relations, and so on. By underlining that capital defines the chances of profit in a given field, it could be comprehended how young people are more drawn toward certain types of fields, and the effects that has on young people´s social position in the wider structure of the social world in Oslo.

3.5 The political economy of young people´s well-being

Ongoing debates in childhood studies call for the "decentring" of childhood (Spyrou, 2017). Abebe (2019) urges for the greater recognition of the socio-cultural and political-economic contexts within which unfolds in children and young people´s lived and everyday experiences. As a contribution to these debates, chapter six relies in political economy as a theoretical framework to analyse how broader structural processes in Oslo municipality shape the subjective well-being of young people. Abebe and Kjørholt (2012, p. 4) approach political economy as the macro-levelled processes "that shape the material conditions of young people´s lives in ways that reflect the workings of social, economic, and political power." Within childhood studies, the experience of childhood is seen as the result of the strength of relations between prevailing structural parameters (Qvortrup, 2009). This justifies the relevancy of political economy as a theoretical framework in the research tradition of childhood studies. Neoliberalism has frequently been at the forefront of the discourse on the political economy of disenfranchised young people (Côté, 2014). Peck and Tickell´s (2002, p. 384) contribution introduces the notion of "roll-out neoliberalism" which entails the "purposeful *construction and consolidation* of neoliberalised state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations", involving new market regulations, socially interventionist policies, and public-private initiatives (Hörschelmann & van Blerk, 2012). Scrutinizing young people´s subjective well-being within political-economic contexts is particularly relevant in relation to Oslo considering that multiple urban neighbourhoods in the east end have been subject to the development program "Områdeløft" (see section 2.4 "Områdeløft" - The "area lift" in East Oslo). Examining young people´s social and political positions in the municipality also enables for policy-oriented implications.

3.6 Young people as "troubled" or "troubling"

Abebe and Kjørholt (2012) describe a dualist perspective on young people as "troubling" or "troubled". The former caters to society´s view of young people as problematic, whereas the latter signifies that young people themselves face various problems (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2012). Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012, pp. 27-28) explain that young people with disadvantaged backgrounds seem as risks to the city:

> Their behaviour in public space is forever monitored and regarded as potentially or actually disruptive. Even the sheer presence of groups of young people on central

squares, in parks, shopping centers and on the street is often perceived as threatening…Adult fear *of* rather than *for* children and young people provides the justification for their exclusion from all manner of public spaces.

What Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012) suggest here is that young people´s presence in the urban public spaces ignites stereotypes based on fear for disrupting public order that is perpetuated when young people are in groups. Adult efforts to exclude young people from public spaces can also be an expression of exhibiting social control. From a welfare point of view, young people are seen as "at risk" for problematic outcomes (Case, 2006). Young people are seen as "at risk" for "low socio-economic status, poor parental supervision, disaffection from school, association with delinquent peers and impulsivity" (Case, 2006, p. 175), which are seen as risk factors that facilitate delinquency in young people. This suggests that the view of young people as "troubled" can perpetuate the view of young people as "troubling". Case (2006) suggests that the view of young people as "at risk" for being "troubling" often makes them targets of early intervention, which can be as a way adults attempt to control young. The fact that young people are not seen as children nor adults makes them appear as "out of place" in a normless social position which can perpetuate the fear of young people as, troubled, troubling, or both. The perspective of young people as "troubled" or "troubling" can be utilized in the current research to scrutinize how being portrayed in this way by society shapes their subjective well-being.

3.7 UNCRC and its relevancy to the current research

The UNCRC is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in the world in which the international community has acknowledged that all children and young people are entitled to the same rights, regardless of gender, race, religion, country of origin, or status of residency. The UNCRC was adopted in 1989 and is a legally binding document consisting of 54 articles that make up the right children and young people are entitled to and how governments should work together to make these rights available to all children. Norway has incorporated the convention in domestic law, which is described in section 2.5 Legal framework from children´s rights approach. There are four overarching general principles of the convention for interpreting and implementing all the rights of the child. The first is 'non-discrimination' which is expressed in article 2 of the UNCRC (Unicef, 2019). The article states that all children shall be respected and ensured their rights "irrespective of the child's parents or legal guardian, race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, poverty, disability, birth or other status" (UNCRC, 1989, art. 2). Article 3 of the UNCRC (1989) states that "the best interest of the child shall be a primary consideration" is recognized as the second general principle (UNCRC, 2019, art. 3). This principle entails taking the best interest of the child as a primary consideration in decisions and actions that will affect children (Committee on the Rights of the Children, 2013). The third principle is the right to life, survival, and development which relate to article 6 (Unicef, 2019). Article 6 states that "State parties shall ensure to the maximum extend possible the survival and development of the child" (UNCRC, 1989, art. 6). The fourth and final general principle is expressed in article 12 which is the right to be heard (Committee on the Rights of the Children, 2009). The article assures "every child capable of forming his or her own views, the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with age and maturity" (Committee on the Rights of the Children, 2009, p. 3).

The UNCRC provides a rights-based understanding of children and young people´s well-being. Camfield et al. (2009, p. 1) argue that "monitoring, protecting and promoting

well-being is central to the realization of children´s rights" and crucial for understanding what is in the best interest of a child (article 3). Also, several of the articles in the UNCRC are about promoting children´s well-being, such article 24 on the right to health, articles 28 and 29 on right to education, and article 31 on the right to play and recreation (Camfield et al., 2009). Bradshaw et al. (2007, p. 135) argue that "well-being can be defined as the realization of children's rights and the fulfillment of the opportunity for every child to be all she or he can be". It can be elaborated that the UNCRC urges the importance of children and young people´s well-being in the present and also acknowledging the multi-dimensional and ecological lives of children and young people which the current study aims to grasp. Similar to the current study, the UNCRC covers a wide range of issues that can affect the lives of children and young people. As it will be explored in chapters five, six, and seven, many issues that negatively affect the subjective well-being of young people are directly related to breaches of their rights. The advantage of using the UNCRC as a framework for analysing young people´s subjective in action-oriented research is that the legally binding trait of the UNCRC can put pressure on Oslo municipality to act upon the breaches of young people´s rights that the current research identifies.

3.8 Concluding remarks

This chapter has reviewed the multiple faces of subjective well-being and different theoretical frameworks, including childhood studies, Bourdieu´s theory of practice, political economy, the view of young people as "troubled" or "troubling", and the UNCRC. These frameworks will be utilized to make sense of the research findings. The rationale for having multiple frameworks is to enable the analysis of young people's subjective well-being as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that its manifestations range from a micro levelled inter-personal relations to a macro levelled structural processes. The complexities of young people´s subjective well-being necessitate the use of multiple theoretical frameworks.

Chapter four: Methodology and research process

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology and the entire research process, starting from choosing the site for the fieldwork and ending with the dissemination of the report. The chapter will draw on previous studies to scrutinize the research process, and the socio-ethical and practical issues that arose during the fieldwork, including issues relating to access to the field, building rapport, and consent. This chapter aims to be transparent and reflexive about the research process. The chapter starts by describing the sample and discussing the rationale behind the sample, before describing how the process of gaining access lead me to conduct the fieldwork in a youth club in East Oslo. The chapter will then describe the fieldwork process, starting by building rapport with young people, before I describe my visits to different youth clubs in East Oslo. I will then reflect on how I had initially planned to collect data and how the data collection turned out. I will then continue by reflecting on my position as a researcher, before discussing the practical and socio-ethical issues that arose during the fieldwork. The chapter will end by discussing the research´s trustworthiness, and the data analysis, interpretation, and dissemination of the report.

4.1 Characteristics and rationale of the sample

Young people between the ages of 15- and 18-years-old in Oslo´s East End are the main target sample of the research. The young people live in neighbourhoods that are characterized by cultural and socio-economic diversity. The young people in this study have an immigrant background with most of them being born in Norway and having lived their entire lives in the East End of Oslo. The sample of young people

consisted of Arab-Norwegians [1], Somali-Norwegians, and Pakistani-Norwegians[2]. The young people are already quite familiar with each other since they either attended the same school or visit the same youth club. In addition to young people, some adults, including a football coach, youth workers, and employers, also constituted the sample of data collection. The adults in this study included both ethnic Norwegians and ethnic minorities.

There are multiple reasons for selecting young people between the ages of 15 and 18 from East Oslo are the main target of the research. First, young people in the eastern neighbourhoods portray a stronger need to be heard. They are often depicted in a negative light by the media. The wrong-doings of a few people in a particular event often becomes enough to place prejudicial labels on all young people from the same neighbourhood. The majority of the media content about young people from the east are about crime, violence, policing, and delinquency (e.g. Eie & Ali, 2019; Stolt-Neilsen, 2019; Vestreng, 2019). Many of the young people I met were passionate, engaged, well reflected, and have opinions that they want to share. Therefore, the current research aims at giving young people an opportunity and platform to rebuttal many of the negative associations against them.

Second, young people between the ages of 15- and 18-year old are at an age when place becomes important in the development of their identity and sense of self (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 2001). They foster peer relations, hybrid identities, and independence through frequent mobility to different spaces within and between neighbourhood (Skelton, 2013). Therefore, young people between 15 and 18 is a relevant age group for contextualizing young people´s subjective well-being within the context of their neighbourhood.

Third, children and young people in some neighbourhoods in the East End have become subject to several breaches of rights that they are entitled to through the UNCRC. As described in chapter two, families with multiple children live in small and compact apartments where siblings have to share a room. Restricted space can interfere with their right to privacy (article 16), the right to rest in their own home (article 31), as well as an adequate standard of living (article 27). Additionally, a recent report from KoRus (2019) shows that there is a widespread youth culture of young people from the East being involved in the distribution and consumption of drugs. This goes against article 33 of the UNCRC that grants children the right to be protected from being involved in associated with illicit substances. The in UNCRC, children are defined as all humans below the age of 18 (UNCRC, 1989). Young people occupy an ambiguous position, a liminal social space of being "not child" but also not yet adults. This complicates the ambiguous space they inhibit, which has implications for social policy, including how policies such as UNCRC places and related to them.

The fourth reason for why young people between the ages of 15 and 18 are the main target of this research has to do with an interconnection between ethics of practice in methodology and a transitional period for young people. It can be argued that young people are less supervised by adults, have more freedom of mobility and are more independent. They may have fewer restrictions and obstacles for participating, compared to research with younger children. This implies that their participation in the research is less influenced by authoritative adults.

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[1] Young people defined as "Arab-Norwegians" have an immigrant background from an Arab-speaking countries, primarily Iraq.
[2] Young people often identify themselves as being from Oslo when asked where they come from. Therefore, the socio-cultural background of young people is defined as e.g. "Arab-Norwegian".

Finally, researching with an older age group comes as a response to McNamee and Seymore (2013) who question the growing prevalence of 10-12-year-olds in research on childhood. Research often neglect an important category and voices of young people found in the upper limit of childhood.

Including adults as part of the study was not initially part of the planned research. This is because previous research on child well-being has predominantly been adult-centric (Fattore et al., 2012), and this research aims to take a critical step away from this approach. However, adults were included because they were well familiar with the young people in the neighbourhood and some adults proved to be important in shaping young people´s subjective well-being. The purpose of interviewing adults was to explore the inter-generational dynamics of young people´s subjective well-being. Nevertheless, it is the voices and perspectives of young people that are at the forefront of this research.

4.2 The process of choosing and entering the field

I had initially planned to conduct the research in a middle school in Trondheim. My motivations and intentions behind the research were at the planning phase purely academic. I saw several advantages of doing the fieldwork in Trondheim. Trondheim is my hometown and a city I know very well. By staying in Trondheim, I would have saved myself from the time and effort of familiarizing myself with a new city. Additionally, I would have avoided the major economic burden of doing the fieldwork is a different place. I, therefore, did not consider doing the fieldwork in anywhere else but Trondheim.

As soon as I received ethical clearance from NSD (see Appendix A: Ethical clearance), I sent emails with the informed consent letter (see Appendix A:) to various middle schools located in some of the most diverse areas in Trondheim with hopes of gaining assess to conduct my research. The email included brief information about who I was, what the project was about, how I planned to execute the project, and what the schools and the students would get out of participating. The emails were sent before the summer holidays in June of 2019. After waiting several days without receiving any response from the schools, I decided to follow up by calling. The responses that I received was that I had to first report my project to the municipality´s Directorate for Education and Upbringing. However, after contacting the directorate, I learned that it was not necessary for me to report the project to them. Some of the schools responded that they would read my email and contact me back if they were interested in the research. Since it was approaching summer holidays, I did not hear anything from the schools and I decided to reach out again after summer. During the summer I started reading reports and research about children and young people in Trondheim, including a study by Paulsen et al. (2012) about children and their families' experiences of their house and neighbourhood. The study was conducted with parents and children between the ages of 9 and 15 in Saupstad and Kolstad, which are neighbourhoods in Trondheim with poor living conditions and a poor reputation. Paulsen et al. (2012) found in their study that children and families actually live good life and nothing in their study raised concerns of ill-being among children. While exploring the literature on child poverty in Norway, Oslo kept appearing as an outlier (e.g. Hansen 2019; Kristofersen 2019). I became more curious about exploring Oslo as a potential site for doing fieldwork. Quantitative data showed that young people in Trondheim are happier with their neighbourhood, school and mental health, and more participate in after-school activities compared to young people in Gamle Oslo (Ungdata 2017; Ungdata 2018). After further exploring the literature about young people in Oslo, I made the last minute decision to do my fieldwork in Oslo.

4.2.1 Attempt to gain access to a school in East Oslo

I first approached five different middle schools in East Oslo by email. I called the schools after not hearing from them after a few days. Some of the schools were either hard to reach by phone or mentioned that they already had other students or apprentices in their class, and wanted to restrict the number of adults in the classroom. The principal of one middle school did however give me access to conduct my research, confirming that the research seems beneficial to the school and the students since the school had challenges with absenteeism. The principal then referred me to one of the youth workers at the school. I arranged a meeting with the team of youth workers. They provided me with information about the school and their roles as youth workers, and I gave them information about myself, the research project, as well as how I planned to conduct the research in the school. Initially, they thought I only wanted to conduct some interviews with a specific number of young people. However, I explained that I was aiming for a multi-method and participatory fieldwork in which young people themselves could choose which research activities they want to partake in. I also explained that I wanted to spend a couple of weeks in the school to build rapport with the young people before going about in collecting data through various research activities. Even though it seemed that it was hard for them to grasp the idea of participatory fieldwork, they appeared open to having me in their school. During the meeting, we agreed that it would be most relevant to do my research in a 9th grade and 10th grade class since the 8th grade students were new to middle school, and most did not know each other. Before leaving the meeting, they said that they would talk with the head teachers from 9th and 10th grade to see if they would give me access to their class. After not hearing back from the youth works for a couple of days, I reached out to the youth workers myself. They mentioned that the teachers were uncertain and had not decided yet. After calling back multiple times in the consecutive days, I finally got the response that there were apprentices in the classes and the teachers did not want more adults in the class, which is the same response I received from the other schools I reached out to. After three weeks of failed negotiations for access with the school, I came to realize the error I had made of underestimating the challenge of gaining access.

The attempt of gaining access to this school in Oslo reflects what Wanat (2008) argues as the difference between access and cooperation in the process of gaining permission to conduct research in schools. Wanat (2008) argues that even if the principal provides official approval of conducting the research, the researcher still must gain the cooperation of informal gatekeepers and ultimately the young people. The youth workers held a unique position as both informal and intermediate gatekeepers. Even though they did not hold formal authority positions, the only way I could access teachers and young people was through the youth workers. I had to build a positive relationship with them in order for them to convince the teachers to give me access. As Wanat (2008) argues, intermediate gatekeepers are expected to support their supervisors. The youth workers had a sense of obligation to cooperate with the principle as their supervisor. To avoid cooperation, the gatekeepers used several of the resistance tactics that Wanat (2008) discusses. First, Wanat (2008, p. 203) argues that "uncooperative gatekeepers and participants passed on responsibility and blame to avoid openly refusing to cooperate." The principle passed the responsibility to one of the youth workers. The youth worker then passed it on to another youth worker the responsibility to reach out to teachers. The teachers then blamed the inconvenience of having too many adults in the classroom for their refusal to grant access. The second resistance tactic is controlling communication. I was not given the option of directly communicating with teachers nor with young people. It was instead the youth worker that communicated with them on behalf of me. The third resistance tactic was forgetting. The youth workers kept "forgetting" on multiple

occasions to contact me back on the time we had agreed upon, which was why I had to continuously follow-up. They blamed their busy schedules for forgetting. In addition to the resistance tactics suggested by Wanat (2008), I also experienced a fourth tactic which is delaying. The youth workers kept rescheduling phone calls and "delaying" giving me any feedback on whether the teachers had given me access or not.

4.2.2 Gaining access to a youth club in East Oslo

I considered alternative sites for fieldwork since gaining access through the multiple gatekeepers of a school proved to be very time-consuming. I started looking for local organizations that knew the neighbourhood well and that could provide me with a network of people and places that could be interested in my research. I came across a local organization that operates as a neighbourhood incubator that provides network, guidance, and supports to people with innovative ideas on solving social challenges in the neighbourhood through social entrepreneurship. I arranged a meeting with the organization where I got information about the kind of work that the organization does, and I also gave information about my research project. I was asked about my motivations and intentions for the research project and how would young people would benefit from it. My response was that the scope of the research was quite broad and that I wanted my motivations and intentions to be guided by the issues and topics that most concern young people in the neighbourhood. The manager initially suggested that they could connect me with a local high school that has a poor reputation for being a low performing school and that he would also connect me with other potential stakeholders. After experiencing the difficulty and time-consuming process of gain access to a school, I was keener on doing my research outside of a school. The manager then suggested that I could do my research in a youth club, which was coincidentally located in the same building as the office of the organization. I was told that the youth club was managed by young people themselves without the supervision of an adult. Also, I was told that many of those who attend the school that the manager initially wanted to refer me to, regularly comes to this youth club after school. The idea of doing fieldwork in a youth club seemed appealing since it would be an unstructured environment where the behaviours of young people would not be regulated or restricted by an authoritative adult like in a school. We agreed that the manager of the organization would get in touch with the manager of the youth club to inform them about my research project. The following week I was informed that the manager of the youth club had given me access to do my research and that I would start my fieldwork right away. The next day became the first day of my fieldwork in the youth club.

4.3 Building rapport with young people

The second challenge that I encountered during my fieldwork was building rapport with young people in the youth club. At the initial stage of my fieldwork, I had very little information about the youth club itself and about the young people that use it. I also had minimal information about the surrounding neighbourhood. Going into the field, my plan for the first week was to just be present in the youth club and familiarise myself with the neighbourhood and the young people. I wanted to appear approachable and agreeable and decided to not take notes in my book in front of the young people. During my first encounter with the young people, I was surprised to see that at the youth club were ethnic minorities. It appeared to be a very male-dominated space since many of the boys were loud and many a carried very similar persona. Girls would occasionally visit the youth club, but would not stay as long as the boys. My own gender and the gender of the young people did play a mediating role in the data collection process (Broom et al., 2009). The process of building rapport differed considerably between the boys and the

girls because of the gender differences in how the youth club is being used. This process will be described separately below.

Building rapport with the boys was one of the most challenging and time-consuming issues that I faced during the fieldwork. After a week of being in the youth club, I formally introduced myself to the young people as a researcher. There were not a lot of people at that time, but some of the boys who frequently use the youth club were present. They seemed disinterested in my presence and I sensed an immediate rejection from them. In their study with disadvantaged children, (Abebe, 2009) spent the first few weeks trying to build rapport and foster friendships with his research participants by having informal dialogues with them, participating in different activities, and simply "hung out" with them. I took a similar approach with the boys in the youth club. They would not show much interest when I tried to make conversations with them. Also, how the young people use the youth club posed a challenge in building rapport. This was an open and very unstructured youth club where people continuously came and left. Many new people would frequently come into the youth club. Therefore, not everyone was aware of my researcher role. Many of them came to the youth club occasionally, whereas some of the boys came almost all of the days it was open. I, therefore, attempted to engage most with those who frequently came to the youth club and who knew my role as a researcher. I found it most effective to engage with the boys by participating in various activities with them, such as playing cards or making waffles. However, such opportunities rarely occurred. Moser (2008) experienced in their research that aspects of their personality, such as social skills, and how they navigated the personalities of others were the main criteria by which they were judged. This in turn affected the degree in which people opened up to them and ultimately affecting the material they gathered. Moser´s (2008) experience relates to the challenge I faced when my personality as introverted and reserved made it even more difficult for me to fit in and initiate a conversation with a crowd of loud young boys. The boys would always be engaged in conversations of their own and I felt that it would be intrusive of me to involve myself in their conversations. This subjective feeling is an example of how why reserved personality became an obstacle for building rapport with the boys. This feeling was strengthening when some of them did not know who I was and were suspicious of my presence at the youth club.

Starting the fieldwork with vague prior knowledge about the background of the young people, many of the boys appeared merely resentful. However, I always had a sense of unease that there might be more profound underlining reasons for their lack of openness towards me. It was not until later when I spoke to some of the youth workers when I comprehended the underlying reasons for the boys' rejection. Their reasons for rejecting me are directly linked to my findings in research on the subjective well-being of young people. The first reason is that some of the boys in the youth club are or have been involved with the police or the child welfare services. During the fieldwork, I encountered multiple situations were boys themselves openly accused me of being an uncover agent from the police or the child welfare services. The first time a boy made such an accusation, I did try to convince him that I genuinely was a researcher without any ties to the police nor the child welfare services. I learned from the youth workers that some of the boys have a major distrust to what they refer to as "the system" and are, therefore, very sceptical to an outsider who appears to have come to observe them. My ethical and moral judgment was to step back when the boys made accusations about my role and interpret these accusations as justifiable rejections for participation in the research. Therefore, I made no attempts of conversing with these boys during the fieldwork for the purpose of the research.

I also learned from the youth workers that young people have previously had multiple opportunities to talk to policy-makers, politicians, and other researchers about their experiences, needs, and concerns with the hope that it will bring structural changes that address their needs and concerns. However, they were left with nothing but disillusion when the policy-makers and politicians failed to address young people´s needs and concerns. Similarly, in a study with young people in East Oslo conducted by Tolstad et al. (2017), the young people expressed the same disillusion for the lack of actual change despite engaging in participation and development processes. One of the boys thought that my efforts in doing research with them were pointless since it would not bring any actual change in their lives.

Some of the youth workers mentioned that they themselves had spent several months gaining the trust and acceptance of the boys they work with. The challenge of gaining trust and acceptance is rooted in years of multilevelled negligence that young people have experienced. I recognized and accepted the fact that many of the boys had justifiable reasons for not trusting me enough to participate in the research. When I expressed my challenges to the youth workers, they suggested me to seek out other youth clubs where young people would be more open to talk to me. I did follow their advice and visited multiple other youth clubs after feeling a sense of hopelessness. Despite visiting other youth clubs, I always had a sense of attachment and commitment to the young people and the neighbourhood of the primary youth club. I realized that if I give up on doing the research with the young people at the youth club, I would become just as bad as many of those who have given up on them. It became important for me to just be present and to be actively involved in the youth club through participatory observations and take advantage of every opportunity to learn about the lives of young people.

Over time I realized that what appeared as a homogeneous group of boys is, in fact, very heterogeneous. Some of the youth workers spoke quite well of a few of the boys and suggested that they might be open to sharing their experiences and thoughts with me. I followed their advice and tried to engage more with those boys. I was pleasantly surprised that they were more open when I approached them to initiate or join in conversations. They showed more interest in my background and my research. Some even started to regularly ask me about my writing process and how many pages I had written by that day. They were surprised I came from another city and spend my own personal money just to do research with them. Even though I only managed to build rapport with a few boys, I did develop a sense of affinity and understanding towards the boys in the youth club without necessarily expecting them to reciprocate. Since I understood why most young boys were hesitant in trusting me, I place a stronger value in the rapport that I did build with those few boys.

It was easy for me to approach the few girls that came to the youth club. They would always welcome me to join their conversations and they would show curiosity about my presence in the youth club. However, the girls would stay in the youth club for a short amount of time before leaving together as a group. It was rather inconvenient to build rapport with them within the youth club. I, therefore, had to consider alternative ways of reaching out to the girls. Since the girls seemed more open and approachable, I did not see the need to spend a lot of time to build rapport with the girls for them to participate in the research. One day at the youth club I met the trainer of the girls' soccer team. After explaining my research, they invited me to a social evening with the entire girls' football team where I could interview some of the girls. My brief encounters with some of the girls at the youth club were enough to have sense of rapport with them. Being a young multicultural girl myself made it easier for me to connect with the girls.

4.4 Exploring other youth clubs in the East End

As mentioned earlier, I followed the advice of the youth workers on exploring other youth clubs where young people might be more open to talk with me. I was also contemplating on whether the research would only focus on the particular neighbourhood where the youth club is local within, or whether it should be about the entire East End. I decided to explore other youth clubs in East Oslo before deciding on this issue. I visited three other youth clubs in the inner-east of Oslo. The visits were spontaneous and I had not made any appointments in advance. This is because I was uncertain if I wanted to recruit more participants from the other youth clubs since I would not have time to build rapport. Instead, I wanted to grasp a sense of what other youth clubs look like, who were using them, and how the clubs were being used.

The second youth club I visited was more structured and rigorous. The youth workers said that I had to first get approval from the manager if I wanted to speak to some of the young people for my research. I did, however, get the opportunity to interview one of the youth workers who gave in an insight into how their youth club operates.

The third youth club that I visited was much more open and less regulated. They gave me a tour of the entire building and explained how young people use the youth club. The youth workers did not require me to get approval from the manager to speak to some of the young people. They also kept inviting me back for various events and activities. There were not many young people below the age of 18 that use the youth club as a space to hang out. The youth club had a music studio that was mostly used by young people. I only got some opportunities to have short spontaneous conversations with the young people while they were waiting for their turn to use the studio. I did find myself revisiting that particular youth club just to hang out and take a break from the fieldwork by doing other activities, such as baking or watching a movie. By using that youth club as a young person myself and not necessarily for the purpose of the research, gave me an impression of what a good youth club should be like. While attending an event in this youth club, I met a group of young people that came from a far east borough in Oslo. After engaging with some of them at the event, they agreed to participate in a focus group discussion.

The fourth youth club that I visited was also more structured and restrictive in who enters. It functioned as a "youth culture house" where young people come to engage in various cultural activities. The youth workers here also insisted that I should get approval from the manager if I wanted to speak with young people. However, they did give me information about the activities in the culture house. During my visit, I met a young girl who works at the youth club who was open to having an interview with me. Even though I had just met her, she was very open to sharing her opinions and experiences.

Visiting other social spaces that young people occupy expanded my understanding of young people´s position in East Oslo as a whole. It proved to be useful in gaining a more nuanced understanding of the young people in the neighbourhood where I spent most of my time. After meeting young people from different parts of East Oslo, I realized that even though live in neighbourhoods with similar characteristics, young people have different worldviews. This research aspires to challenge some of the negative dominating assumptions about young people in East Oslo. A way of accomplishing this is to highlight their heterogeneous and complex voices. My visits to other youth club, therefore, play an important role in achieving this. By doing so, this research also avoids a universalized thinking of young people that childhood studies aims to steer away from (Bluebond-Langner & Korbin, 2007).

4.5 How data collection was planned and how it was conducted

The relevant literature that I reviewed and the knowledge that I gained through methodology and ethics courses as part of my master´s in Childhood Studies shaped my preparations and plans for carrying out the fieldwork. However, the fieldwork that I carried out ended up being very different than what I had planned. In the original plan, the young people could choose to participate in one or more of the following methods; focus group discussions, photovoice, essays, drawing, semi-structured interviews, ranking, and participatory observations. These methods were chosen based on what other scholars have argued are the best methods for data collection in research with young people (e.g Bagnoli & Clark, 2010; Cele, 2006; Ennew et al., 2009; Gant, 2015; Strack et al., 2004).

Several studies have particularly been in favour of implementing visual methods like photovoice for capturing young people´s perspectives on their neighbourhoods (e.g Morrow, 2001; Paulsen et al., 2012; Sime, 2008). For example, Sime (2008) used visual methods in research with young people in deprived areas. Sime (2008) argued that photography can help young people express their emotions and thoughts in ways that may be more difficult to express verbally. Also, Strack et al. (2004, p. 49) have argued that photovoice can be empowering to young people as it provides them "the opportunity to develop their personal and social identities and can be instrumental in building social competency". I aimed at taking advantage of the "empowering" feature of photovoice by asking young people to take pictures of places and situations in their neighbourhood that provoked a thought, opinion, or emotion to make them reflect more deeply about their neighbourhood through the photos that they take.

Moreover, I had prepared detailed guidelines and standard observation sheets. When I encountered challenges with gatekeeping and building rapport, I realized that I had to abandon the detailed plans that I had made. This issue reflects what Bergold and Thomas (2012, p. 211) argue that "exact planning is not possible because the negotiation of the various decisions during the research process prevents the estimation of the duration of the project and the expected findings." The field and the people could not adjust to fit my plans. Instead, I had to change the research in a way that best harmonised with the characteristics of the people, place, and situation. This reflects what Kelly et al. (2001, p. 348) refer to as an "ecological approach" that "emphasizes adapting the research enterprise to the culture and context of the participants". The participants and methods that became part of the research was the result of how the ecological context of the field. Altogether, the following data collection tools became part of my fieldwork; focus group discussion, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, participatory observation, one oral story, one rap lyrics, and two written thoughts. The following sections explain how data collected through these tools was conducted.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

I first conducted semi-structured interviews with five girls. The interviews were conducted during a social evening with the girls' football team. When I attended the event, their coach, who had invited me to the event, presented me to be girls. I explained to them who I was and what the research is about. I asked them on the spot if anyone wanted to participate in an interview and I gave them the option to either be interviewed individually or together with a friend. Immediately two girls choose to participate. After that interview, I interviewed three other girls. Some of the girls that I interviewed I had already met at the youth club. At the time of the interviews, the girls were hanging out and waiting for dinner to be prepared. The interviews were conducted

in a quiet area away from the other girls. However, the interviews were occasionally disturbed by other girls who would walk by to ask what was happening. Some girls arrived later and did not know who I was. Before the interview, I gave the girls some more information about the research and what kind of questions I would ask them. They received an informed consent letter and form which we reviewed together before they signed the form. I had prepared an interview guideline and standard observation sheet that I used during the interviews (see Appendix C and Appendix E). The guideline included a total of 25 questions that ask informants about their thoughts, opinions, and experiences of being a young person within the neighbourhood that they live in. The questions draw a picture of young people´s subjective well-being by exploring the various domains suggested by Rees et al. (2010), including money, school, local area, and the future. In the final question, I opened for a more participatory approach where I asked the girls if there were other questions that they thought I should ask them regarding their subjective well-being.

There were both benefits and challenges of interviewing more than one informant at a time. The girls already know each other and, therefore, had no issues in responding to my questions in front of each other. I think that being interviewed along with their friend helped with the fact that the girls did not know me very well before the interview. Additionally, the girls positively and negatively influence each other's responses. Sometimes the response of one girl helped to facilitate the response in the other girl. They would also comment and add to each other's responses. The interview became the outcome of social interaction between the three people, me as the interviewer and the two girls as the interviewees. The first challenge with the interviews was that I did not audio-record them, simply because I forgot at that moment. I instead handwrote all of their responses. The issue was that the responses of the girls' others emerged together through their social interaction. There were no clear distinctions between their responses in some of the questions. This also means that the girls influenced each other's responses, which brings to the second challenge. Sometime, one of the girls would give an in-depth response to a question. The other girl would not have much more to add and would just agree with whatever the first girl said. Another challenge with the interview was a lack of articulation. The responses that I received were often short and brief, and lack the depth that interviews often aim to be.

I also conducted several semi interviews with adults, including several youth workers, football trainers, an employer, and a member of a youth organization. Some of the interviews were conducted through email. I met the adults either at the youth clubs or in different events. Some of the people I met gave me the contact information of other people and organizations who also work with young people. The interviews were conducted in different spaces, such as youth clubs, coffee shops, and community spaces.

4.5.2 Focus group discussions

Two focus group discussions were conducted. The purpose of conducting the focus group discussion was to "provide participants with a space in which they can define their own categories and labels, and unmask ideas and opinions through dialogue and debate with others" (Bagnoli & Clark, 2010, p. 104). The first one was with the young people at the youth club where most of the fieldwork was conducted. Initiating a focus group discussion in the youth club was quite challenging and I had to rely on the help of the youth workers. There was never a good timing to initiate the discussion because of the unstructured and fluctuating nature of the youth club. Some of the youth workers advised me to handpick a few young people to participate in my research, and that is what I did. One of the youth workers who knew the young people well gave me suggestions on who I should pick. It was personally important to me that I portray a

positive image of the young people in my thesis, and I wanted to choose participants who would help me accomplish this. I had individual conversations with the young people that I wanted to recruit where I told them what I wanted to achieve in my research. The six young people, three boys and three girls, that I spoke to agreed to participate. I wanted to have the meeting in a quiet space located next door to the youth club but learned that young people were not allowed there. We ended up having a meeting in the youth club. The youth club was usually loud with music and people. However, they arguably felt most comfortable with staying within the youth club where they can truly be themselves. A youth worker joined us in the meeting to help facilitate it. The purpose of the meeting was to find out which data collection tool they would like to participate in. I presented them with several suggestions, including, neighbourhood walk, photovoice, and story writing. They immediately rejected these options by either saying it reminded them of school work or that it was too cold to go outside for a neighbourhood walk. Instead, they just wanted to talk in the youth club. They suggested making a list of topics to freely discuss. The topics included school, neighbourhood, family, safety, money, leisure, work, and change. In this way, the young people had more control over the discussion. The young people were engaged in the discussion and provided in-depth accounts of each topic. The boys were particularly active and expressed strong opinions about some of the topics.

The way the participants were chosen is similar to purposive sampling, which is widely used in qualitative research (Palinkas et al., 2015). The participants were those who often came to the youth club and those who I and the youth workers judged to be most open and willing to participate. Even though this was the most time effective way of sampling and it brings challenges upon ethics of participation because not everyone at the youth club was given equal opportunity to participate. However, since the youth club was such an unstructured space, the discussion was also unstructured were anyone in the youth club could "opt-in" and "opt-out" of the discussion at any time, similar to Leyson´s (2002) research. For instance, some young people would involve themselves in the discussion for a couple of minutes before leaving again. In this way, the discussion was "in tune" with the unstructured dynamics of the youth club. The only practical challenge was that the music in the background made it inconvenient to audio-record the discussion.

A discussible limitation is that the implementation of the discussion was unconventional to how focus group discussions are usually conducted. Ennew et al. (2009, p. 5.26) describe focus group discussion a "formal and facilitated discussion on a specific topic" that requires eight to 15 participants with the same characteristics, a comfortable space with no interruptions or spectators, everyone sits in a circle with tables or desks, it should not be less than an hour, with a skilled facilitator and a note-taker. I had made no preparations for the discussion, nor did I use the guideline that I had developed. Although the focus discussion that was conducted violates almost every single one of the requirements proposed by Ennew et al. (2009), it produced rich and in-depth data because the discussion was conducted based on young people´s terms.

A second focus group discussion was conducted with young people from a different neighbourhood in East Oslo. The young people are from a sports club that I met during an event in one of the youth clubs where we scheduled a time and place for conducting a focus group discussion. Unlike the first focus group discussion, this one was conducted in a conventional way. I had a clearer facilitating role with a guideline and a predefined set of questions (see Appendix F: Guideline for second focus group discussion, English version). Since the young people in this focus group discussion related to each other through sports, I took the opportunity to discuss the issue of sport and the

importance of leisure activity with them. The issues of school, prejudice, mental health, and housing also emerged as central topics of the discussion. The discussion was conducted in a relatively quiet space, which made it possible to audio-record. The young people in the sports club were informed that I was coming, so three girls and three boys had already agreed to participate prior to my arrival. The discussion lasted for 40 minutes and everyone participated equally. The discussion was less participatory in nature compared to the first one since the young people were more cooperative and allowed me to have more control in the questions that I asked.

4.5.3 Participatory observations

I also conducted participant observation in the first youth club, which ended up producing insightful data because I became involved in many of the events that took place during the fieldwork. The purpose of the participant observations was to explore the dynamics of the youth club and the surrounding neighbourhood as socially constructed spaces and how they shape the subjective well-being of young people. Previous studies have conducted participant observations to investigate young people´s relation to their social spaces (e.g. Langevang, 2007; Vanderbeck & Johnson, 2000). Opportunities for active participation in the youth club dependented on the activities and happenings at the youth club. In their research with young people in Ghana, Langevang (2007) spent the majority of their time "going along" with the young people and "hanging out" in their meeting places. Similarly, I usually did whatever the young people did, whether that included watching a movie, listening to music, or playing cards. Often times, there would not be much for me to participate in at the youth club since the young people did not do much other than hanging out. The young people were aware that participatory observation was part of my reason for being at the youth club. I rarely took notes in my notebook while I was at the youth club because it was an obstacle for building rapport and fully participating in the field. I instead took detailed field notes after leaving the youth club. I also conducted participatory observation in the neighbourhood by actively participating in the activities and events that took place, including weekly lunch, free meditation, and social gatherings. This gave me a sense of the social structural dynamics of the neighbourhood. Additionally, I often ate at nearby restaurants and studied at the neighbourhood's library. I developed a sense of attachment and belonging to the neighbourhood as I became both emotionally and socially involved.

4.5.4 Informal conversations

Informal conversations with young people and adults became a natural part of the fieldwork. Accordingly, Patton (2002) argues that the unstructured interviews are a natural extension of participant observation as they occurred as part of ongoing fieldwork. Spontaneous conversations generated some of the most interesting and enriching accounts. The value of conversations is reflected in a quote by James Nathan Miller (1965)[3] cited by Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p. 1), "there is no such thing as a worthless conversation, provided you know what to listen for. And questions are the breath of life for a conversation". New topics could emerge from spontaneous informal conversations, some of which I would further explore with other people in semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Informal conversations were also most in line with my constructivist point of view of the social reality, and the approach to make sense of the young people´s world through their own persepctives in their own terms (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Whenever I told people who I was and what the

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[3] Miller, J. N. (1965). The art of intelligent listening. *Reader's Digest*, 85.

research is about, they would often initiate conversations about their thoughts and experiences on the topic.

4.5.5 Rap music, oral story, and texts

Throughout my fieldwork, I was able to collect various forms of data material that young people had produced for purposes other than this research. This includes a rap lyric, an oral story, and excerpts from scripture of a theatre play. I wanted to take advantage of the opportunities for collecting valuable data that presented itself during the fieldwork. These works, apart from the oral story, are the outcome of young people´s hard work and dedication and reflect on their own young people´s assets and strengths. In most of these works, young people express their thoughts, opinions, and experiences on issues that are important to them, and are ultimately reflections on their well-being. Some of these works were created to appeal to a greater audience and to aspire change in the way adults think about young people in general, particularly the rap lyric. They are, therefore, meant to represent the voices of a larger group of young people, and not only of the individual who wrote it. The rap lyric was written by two boys and is about their experiences of being young in Oslo. Grant (2015, p. 14) suggest that rap music can be used as a culturally relevant method to help some young people express their views and "can lead to a greater understanding of a shared sense of identity with others who come from similar background". This is precisely what the rap lyric by the boys represent.

4.6 Researching from an "outside-in" perspective

Whether researchers in qualitative studies are "insiders", "outsider" or "somewhere in between" and the implications this has been previously discussed by scholars (e.g. Breen, 2007; Kerstetter, 2012). Kerstetter (2012) suggests that these categorisations are mainly based on four themes. The first is geographical location. I live outside of Oslo and had very little relationship with the city prior to the fieldwork, which was a significant contributor to making me an outsider.

The second theme is socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics. The former made be an outsider as I come from a more socioeconomic affluent background. The only things that made me an insider in terms of demographic characteristics were my young age and my ethnicity. I was young enough to relate with the young people, and my Afghan heritage meant that I had similar physical features as the young people. My gender as a female made be an evident outsider among the male-majority youth club, and it made me an insider among the girls.

The third theme is life experiences. For example, young people had experiences with police and child welfare in their lives, which I could not personally relate to, thereby making me an outsider. However, both I and the young people identify as multicultural with an immigrant background, which makes me an insider in the fourth theme of multidimensional identities. By being a young Muslim with a cultural heritage that shares many similarities with those of the young people, I was able to have insightful discussions about religion, prejudice, integration, and multiculturalism with the people that I met. I was also able to get emotionally invested in situations that also related my personal background, including racism and prejudice that took place against the Muslim population in Oslo. My identity as a Muslim and an immigrant gave me a key insider perspective. Despite this, there are more elements that define me as an outsider. Therefore, I argue that I had an "outside-in" perspective in this research. While an outsider perspective elicited detailed and comprehensive accounts from respondents and ensured rigorous and critical analysis of the data produced (Tinker & Armstrong, 2008), the insider perspective from sharing similar cultural values made it easier for me to understand and sympathize with the worldviews of young people.

4.7 Power relations

Participatory research with children and young people places a particular emphasis on equalizing power relations between the researcher and the researched (Holland et al., 2010). The theorization of power as a form of action that is exercised rather than possessed (Gallagher, 2008) accurately describes the relationship between me as a researcher and the young people as the researched. Power relations were not defined by age since there are only a couple of years of age difference between me and the young people. At the time of the fieldwork, I was young enough to use the youth club as a young person myself. The power relations are rather defined by my social status as both a young female researcher and an outsider, and the young people´s social status within the youth club and neighbourhood. Unlike a school where young people´s behaviour is normally regulated by adults, the youth club was dominated by young people were they decided what they want to do. Hence power becomes a form of action. As Gallagher (2008) argues, power is exercised within the spaces where research is carried out, which is, in this case, the youth club. It was the power of young people in the youth club that not only defined how I conducted the research, but also what ended up being part of the research. In this way, young people´s power in the youth club made the fieldwork "participatory". For example, I did not have the power to conduct the research the way I had planned it because that would lead to resistance to participate. If I kept insisting on conducting the data collection the way I had planned, I suspect that the data would not have been as in-depth or authentic. The only way I could conduct theresearch was to yield to the power of young people in the youth club and let the field guide me through my fieldwork.

4.8 Socio-ethical and practical issue

Participatory research with marginalized children and young people are rarely free from ethical complexities (e.g. Abebe 2009; Sime, 2008; Smith, 2008). The ethical complexities of the current research arose from what Skelton (2008) describes as the tension between procedural ethics, the view of children as competent social actors, and children´s right to participate. This tension was strengthened by a fourth issue, which is Ennew´s (2009, pg. 2.15) fourth ethical rule that states that researchers must "respect cultural traditions, knowledge, and customs" and "adhere to local codes of dress and behaviour". The tension brought upon complications in procedural ethics, which deal with formal ethical requirements, ethics of participation and inclusion, and ethics of practice which refers to unpredictable ethical dilemmas that occur in the field (Ellis, 2007). The following sections discuss how ethical complexities unfolded during the fieldwork, specifically in issues relating to consent, practical challenges, and reciprocity.

4.8.1 The issue of "informed" consent

Formal ethical guidelines require the informed, voluntary, and documentable consent of research participants, as well as parental consent for participants below the age of 16 (Morrow & Alderson, 2011). A challenge with the aspect of "informed" consent was explaining to young people what the research is about because there is not a direct and accurate translation of the word "subjective well-being" in Norwegian. Carlquist (2015) suggests the meaning of the Norwegian word "trivsel" most closely resembles the meaning of "subjective well-being". However, the word "trivsel" is often used specifically within a school context and what children and young people usually associate the meaning of "trivsel" with. Well-being is a multi-layered and complex term in which the word "trivsel" does not fully grasp. When I initially told young people that the research is about the subjective "trivsel" of young people within the context of their neighbourhood, the response that I received was nothing more than pure confusion. It became evident that this confusion became an obstacle for participation.

The term "trivsel" is used in the Norwegian version of the informed consent letter (see Appendix H: Informed consent letter, Norwegian version). The informed consent letter consists of an information leaflet and a consent form to both young people and their parents. The consent letter was created based on the research I had originally planned. The leaflet includes information about the aim and purpose of the research project, who is responsible for the project, why young people are being asked to participate, the various research activities they can participate in, if there are any disadvantages of participating, as well as information about voluntary participation, how I plan to use and store the information participants give, who will get access to the research and who they can talk to about the research. In the consent form, young people and parents tick off the research activities they give consent to and sign the form. The letter included information about the research activities that I initially had planned to conduct.

The notion of informed consent is particularly problematic within the context of the youth club because it is based on partial knowledge of the research topic and what participation might entail (Health et al., 2007). The unstructured nature of the youth club makes the content of the research and the data collection unpredictable, which problematizes informed consent. Therefore, the informed consent letter specifies that the exact topic or the research activities explained in the letter are tentative and can change during the course of the fieldwork. The exact nature of the research changed during the fieldwork as one of the aims of this study is to provide a conceptualization of young people´s subjective well-being based on young people´s accounts. I verbally informed young people that the research is about the issues that they care about and that affect their lives in their neighbourhood in order to have an explorative approach. As a way of initiating conversation, I started asking young people what it was like for them living in their neighbourhood, to which they gave relevant and meaningful responses. Even though most were not able to comprehend the element of "subjective well-being", they were well aware the research is about young people and the neighbourhood they live in. As a way of making the fieldwork as participatory, I aimed at letting young people´s thoughts, opinions, and experience guide research. In short, young people had a general understanding of what the research is about since the specifics of the research were unclear during the time of the fieldwork.

4.8.2 The issue of "documentable" consent

Signing an informed consent letter is arguably the most standard way of gaining "documentable" consent. The informed consent letter was signed by participants of the semi-structured interviews and the second focus group discussion. These were planned/scheduled data collection where I was prepared to hand out consent letters. However, researching in an unstructured place as the youth club meant that the data collection also occurred spontaneously and unplanned. I was often without material resources, such as a notebook, consent letters, and standards observation sheets. Since I could not predict the conversations and data collection, I was unable to gain "documentable" consent before the conversation. However, I would always ask subsequently for permission to use the conversation for my research. Most of the young people were aware that I was the youth club to gather data for the research and those I spoke with presumed that I conversed with them for the purpose of data collection. Such unstructured and unplanned ways of collecting data create conflict between the procedural ethical requirement of documentable consent and situational ethics. Overall, I was unable to gain "documentable" consent in the unplanned and spontaneous opportunities for data collection.

4.8.3 The issue of parental consent

As mentioned in section 4.5 How data collection was planned and how it was conducted, I had originally planned to conduct the research with middle school students between the ages of 13 and 15. Since the participation of young people below the age of 16 requires parental consent, the consent letter also included a form for parental consent (see Appendix B: Informed consent, English version). Most of the participants were 16-years old or older and were old enough to give their consent. However, many 15-years-olds occupy the same places as 16-year-old, and some 15-year-olds agreed to participate in the research. The exact age of the participants in the semi-structured interview and the second focus group discussion were out of my control. I was, therefore, unable to gain parental consent before data collection for the 15-year-old participants. Also, it would have gone against the ethics of inclusion to exclude participants for simply being 15 years old instead of 16 years old. The notion of "Gillick competence"[4] was applied to deal with the ethical dilemma for parental consent for the 15-year-old participants. Gillick competence is based on an individually-based assessment of the competency of potential research participants below the age of 16 (Hunter & Pierscionek, 2007). Although the ruling of Gillick competency is specifically related to medical research and intervention, it is also applicable in social research (Goredema-Braid, 2010). In addition to giving their consent, the 15-year-olds were given a letter to pass into their parents (see Appendix I: Letter to parents, English version). The letter stated that their daughter or son had given consent to participate in research about the subjective well-being of young people. It also informs parents that they can withdraw the consent by simply contacting me. The letter included my contact information. Whether or not the young person passes the letter onto their parents was outside my control. Some of the 15-year-olds expressed that the letter was unnecessary and might have interpreted the letter as undermining to their autonomy to participate in the research. The young people that I encountered thrived to be autonomous and independent from their parents, which arguably contradicts the notion of parental consent.

4.8.4 Informed assent and dissent

The solution for the challenges of achieved "informed" and "documentable" consent became "informed assent". The youth club is an inclusive space where young people can partake in any social situation at any given time. The notion of assent and dissent, and opting in and out of research is, therefore, particularly applicable to the fluid social dynamics of the youth club. Seeking assent was also the most comprehensive approach to gaining young people´s agreement. Assent can be described as an ongoing process where participants continuously reassess their affirmative agreement to continue to participate based on the context and access to sufficient information (Dockett & Perry, 2011). Dissent refers to the non-agreement to participate in either all or parts of the research (Dockett et al., 2012). Both assent and dissent can occur at any time. In practice, this means that young people could freely and independently opt in and opt out of the research at any given time. The following excerpt from my field note on the focus group discussion in the youth club exemplifies how the process of "opting-in" and "opting out" played out in practice.

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[4] The concept of Gillick competence originates from the 1985 decision by the House of Lords in England in *Gillick v West Norfolk and Wisbech Area Health Authority* on the legal capacity of girls below the age of 16 to give consent to contraceptive advice and treatment by a doctor with obtaining parental consent.

Several young people came over and asked us what we were discussing. I explained to them that we were discussing what it is like being a young person in their neighbourhood and that I would use the discussion for my thesis. After explaining the research to one of the boys, he sat down with the group and shared his thoughts and opinions about the neighbourhood for a few minutes before getting up and leaving (Field note October 1st, 2019).

Since the discussion took place within the youth club, it had to be open and inclusive for anyone wanting to opt in and opt out of the discussion. Not only does it comply with the ethics of inclusion, but it is also consistent with the unstructured social setting of the youth club. I learned from a youth worker that young people´s fluid lives make it difficult for them to commit to participating in certain activities, including my research. For example, one of the boys who initially agreed to participate in the research did not show up at the youth club for the focus group discussion. Also, one of the girls had to leave the youth club early and did not participate in the entire discussion. It can be argued that by signing a binding document such as the informed consent, young people might feel an obligation to participate if they sign, and might, therefore, refuse participation. However, informed assent and dissent allowed for more inclusive research without young people needing to commit to their participation.

4.8.5 Issue of timing and unpredictable situations

The unstructured dynamic of both the youth club and the lives of young people brought upon a challenge in finding the correct timing to initiate the research activities I had planned. There would always occur unpredictable situations in the youth club that would make bad timing to initiate the activities because of the social and emotional atmosphere in the youth club. Such unpredictable situations may range from birthday celebrations to visits from various organizations. On a few occasions, conflicts among young people have occurred in the youth club or in the nearby area which have led to temporary shut down of the youth club as a form of sanction. Events and incidences that happened in the neighbourhood also affected the atmosphere in the youth club.
Since such situations were always unpredictable, it became particularly difficult to plan when to conduct research activities. However, since these unpredictable situations define the nature of the youth club, my strategies for data collection was to accommodate and see these unpredictable situations as opportunities rather than obstacles. It was these unpredictable situations that often became themes for fruitful conversations with people in the youth club, as well as interesting observations.

4.8.6 Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a key socio-ethical issue in participatory research that manifests itself in different ways (Maiter, 2008). Reciprocity can be defined as a context-based, non-hierarchical reciprocal relationship in which both the researcher and the researcher can gain from being part of the research project (Powell & Takayoshi, 2003). Powell and Takayoshi (2003) underline that the research project should benefit participants in ways that they desire. The following excerpt from my field journal from 23rd of September 2019 represents an ethical dilemma with the issue of reciprocity and problematizes Powell and Takayoshi´s (2003) statement:

Some of the boys performed verses of rap songs on stage. I quickly learned that several of the boys were talented rappers. I approached some of the boys to ask them if they were interested in writing a short song about their lives. Their immediate response was "what do I get out of it?". They made it very clear that they were not interested in anything else but money in turn.

I later learned that the boys had this mentality where they don't give their time or effort without receiving money in return, which made them resist participation. This is arguably directly related to the fact that young people come from a low socio-economic neighbourhood. Money was the way some of the young people desired to benefit from participating in the research. However, giving money to research participants is arguably unethical, particularly in this context where money is considered a highly sensitive matter and can cause unwanted tension. Abebe (2009) distinguishes between short term reciprocity, which implies a service, material or monetary compensation for the participants´ time, and long-term reciprocity, which entails the dissemination of findings for the policymakers to implement. As a form of short-term reciprocity, I did occasionally help out at the different youth clubs, including cooking and baking. I did consider buying snacks and food to everyone at the youth club, but the potential downsides to this made me reconsider. Buying snacks or food for 30 to 40 people could send a message that I was economically well off, which could contribute to an unwanted power dynamic.

Young people clearly expressed a need and desire for structural changes that could directly benefit young people. This research opts for dissemination and advocacy of research findings as a form of long-term reciprocity that responds to young people´s desire for structural changes. An ethical challenge with advocacy as a form of long-term reciprocity in this particular research is that structural processes in Oslo are highly bureaucratic. Any attempt to make the research influential among policymakers is considered to be ambitious. Some of the young people also expressed doubt that the research could influence policies. Nevertheless, I feel a sense of ethical duty to at least try to influence through dissemination and advocacy of young people´s subjective well-being.

4.8.7 Anonymity and defining the site of research

I had earlier contemplated on whether to the specific neighbourhood where to specify the research to the neighbourhood where most the fieldwork was conducted in and use the name of the neighbourhood. I decided to refrain from using the name of the neighbourhood in the research, and decided to define the site of the research as "East Oslo". The rationale for this decision is related to the issue of anonymity. There is only one youth club in the neighbourhood for the age group this research is focusing on. Revealing the name of the neighbourhood would make it easy to find out which youth club the fieldwork was conducted. Additionally, the young people in this particular neighbourhood tend to have a poor reputation and I did not want to run the risk of perpetuating the marginalization of the young people in this research. My visits to other youth clubs and my encounters with young people and adults from other parts of East Oslo, including the second focus group discussion with young people from a different neighbourhood, do constitute a central part of this research. It is, therefore, appropriate to define the site of research as "East Oslo". Any information that could reveal the specific location of the research site is removed in this report to maintain anonymity.

4.9 Trustworthiness of the research

Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 266) argue that "establishing the trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability". Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggest different activities for trustworthy research, including, prolonged engagement, persistent observations, triangulation, peer debriefing, and negative case analysis.

I had a prolonged engagement with young people and the neighbourhood. By going to the same youth club over several weeks, as well as engaging with different

activities in the neighbourhood, I was able to learn the "cultures", codes of conduct and communication, build trust, and grasp the nuances of the context.

Persistent observations provided depth to the research. Lincoln and Guba (1986) argue that the researcher has to recognize when the "intrinsically uninteresting" may be significant. For instance, there would occasionally be few people at the youth club, and most of the time they would sit and do nothing. Even though this is an "intrinsically uninteresting" observation, it is still an important observation because it is part of how young people use the youth club.

Triangulation is a key method of strengthening the trustworthiness of the data that was collected. Triangulation here refers to "the systematic comparison of data from different research tools and groups of participants in order to increase the validity of research analysis" (Ennew et al., 2009, p. 10.22). Conducting multi-method research enabled a comparison of data across methods. For example, I was able to compare and also verify my observations in the youth club directly with the young people during the focus group discussion. The notion of triangulation can be expanded to include "multiple copies of one type of source (such as interview respondents) or different sources of the same information" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 305). The former is complied with by having multiple participants. Some of the young people participated in more than one method, which response to reliability. Also, I used different sources to confirm the same information. For example, several people mentioned that many immigrant families have to frequently move and that many big families live in small accommodations. This information coincided with the statistics on housing instability and overcrowded housing for the neighbourhood (see Oslo Municipality, 2018).

Peer debriefing refers to the process where peers who are not involved in the research aid in probing my thoughts around the research process (Given, 2008). Through a preparatory course, university colleagues and the course leader shared their thoughts and reflections about how I had planned to conduct the research. After the fieldwork, I attend multiple sessions with the same colleagues. During the sessions, we had peer debriefings where we exchanged reflections about the research process. Through an external check of the inquiry process, I was able to explore aspects that were otherwise implicit to me. I had also planned on debriefing the analysis of the research findings with the young people at the youth club to ascertain whether my analysis of the data is in congruence with how they had presented themselves to me during fieldwork. However, due to the restrictions amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the youth club temporarily closed and I had to cancel my plan of traveling to the youth club.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to negative case analysis as redefining the working hypothesis as more information continuously become available. The research questions were tentative and based on a review of the literature. I continuously redefined the research questions so that the findings answer to at least one of the research questions. This approach also allowed me to openly explore the field without being selective on finding specific information to answer fixed questions.

Overall, it can be argued that this research is trustworthy based on Lincoln and Guba´s (1985) criteria for a trustworthy research.

4.10 Data analysis, interpretation, and dissemination

The research material, including transcriptions and field notes, is analysed using thematic analysis. The analysis followed Braun and Clarke´s (2006) six phases of thematic analysis. In the first phase of analysis, I familiarized myself with the research material by reading it multiple times and making notes of any initial analytic observations. In the second phase, which is the coding phase, I systematically identified and labelled relevant features for the data that could be connected to the research

questions. In the third phase, I clustered together patterns of codes. The patterns were identified as a list of overarching themes. The themes did not emerge on their own, but were rather the outcome of an analytic process. In the fourth phase, I reviewed each of the themes to see if I had enough data to support the theme, if the theme can address one of the research questions, and how the themes can relate to each other. In phase five, I wrote short descriptions of the themes and gave name the themes in a way that captures the essence of the theme. In the final step, I wrote the report, which make up this thesis. In the analysis chapters, the research findings are interpreted and made sense of in light of the theoretical frameworks described in chapter three.

Dissemination of the research findings to stakeholders is a critical part of action-oriented research (Small & Uttal, 2005). The report will be disseminated to the local actors who have a stake in the subjective well-being of young people in East Oslo, including the stakeholders referred to in chapert seven on ideas on policy and practice change. Some of the stakeholders I came in touch with during the fieldwork, including different youth clubs and community organizations, have already shown interest in reading the final report. In the dissemination of the report, stakeholders will be suggested to particularly pay attention to the ideas on policy and practice change suggested to them in chapter seven.

4.11 Concluding remarks

The methodology chapter has provided descriptions and reflections on how the fieldwork and research process unfolded with the transparency of the methods and procedures used. A noteworthy aspect of this research is that the subjective well-being of young people has influenced the research itself in direct and indirect ways. For example, young people´s poor relationship with the police and child protection services directly hindered me from building rapport with several young people. Such factors were out of my control. The current research also contradicts conventional ways of doing research. Standard ethical and methodological guidelines and procedures have in this research failed in taking into account the complex issues that arise in doing research with young people with challenging backgrounds. My priority as a research in the field has been to have respect and understanding for young people´s choices, rationality, and dignity by resolving ethical complexities without compromising the integrating of the researcher and the young people.

Chapter five: Young people´s subjective well-being in their everyday lives

The current analysis chapter aims to scrutinize the research objective of how young people´s lives and subjective well-being unfold itself within the social, spatial, and relational realms of their neighbourhood. The chapter will first explore how different social settings within the neighbourhood shape the subjective well-being of young people, before investigating the ways young people respond to evoked threat to their subjective well-being and how do they protect themselves from ill-being. It will then explore the ways intergenerational relationships influence the subjective well-being of young people. This chapter will particularly rely in the Bourdieu´s theory of practice, which is described in section 3.4 Bourdieu´s theory of practice, to interpret the research findings. It will also use the framework of the UNCRC to identify breaches in young people´s rights.

5.1 The subjective well-being of young people in social places

Accounts of young people in this research revealed that there are several social settings within the neighbourhood can either enhance or impair their subjective well-being. These include the neighbourhood itself, which they show through their sense of

attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood, youth clubs, and school. These social settings will be described separately in the following sections.

5.1.2 Attachment and belonging to neighbourhood

Young people have a strong sense of attachment and belongingness to their neighbourhood. They have lived most of their lives in the same neighbourhood and have witnessed it change over the years. When asked "what is good about being a young person in your neighbourhood?", they pointed out that in their neighbourhood everyone is like a big family where everyone knows each other. For example, a boy pointed out during the first focus group discussion that all the boys call each other "bror" (brother), and that they mean it when they say it. Young people in the second focus group discussion from a different neighbourhood in the East End expressed the same thing. A 17-year-old boy with Pakistani background expressed that *"I feel like we have a stronger connection than other places. We are kind of like a family."* A youth worker, who has been working closely with the young people in the inner-east neighbourhoods for many years, argued that young people have a strong attachment and are very passionate about being from their neighbourhood. The young people also appreciated that their neighbourhood was multicultural and very diverse because their friends have different cultural backgrounds. I also asked girls during semi-structured interviews if they would move to the West End if they had the opportunity, to which everyone replied *"no"*, arguing that attachment to their neighbourhood would make it hard to move. Young people´s sense of attachment and belongingness to their neighbourhood was often expressed in terms of pride. They would say "*We are proud to be from [our neighbourhood]*". One way their pride reveals itself is when young people get upset and defensive when the media portrays a negative image of their neighbourhood. This issue is further described in section 6.8 Portrayal of young people in media. Young people´s sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood manifests itself in their localised lives. They go to the school closest to their where they live, the amenities and services they use are within the local area, and they hang out with their friends within their neighbourhood. I asked young people whether they would consider going to other youth clubs in Oslo, to which they replied that they did not need to because they already have a youth club in their own neighbourhood.

Jack (2010) argues that during adolescence young people gain a more conscious attachment to the places they grow up in, and the places become central to shaping young people´s identities. Dallago et al. (2009, p. 148) elaborate that young people "become increasingly independent and autonomous, and spend more time in neighbourhood settings away from home." Several studies have found a "sense of community" to affect young people´s well-being (e.g. Cicognani et al., 2008; Pretty et al., 1996). Positive relationships are a way sense of community is manifested, for example by the way boys call each other "bror". Similarly, young people in the study by Cicognani et al. (2008) define their sense of community in terms of acceptance and bonding with specific relationships, such as friends and families. It can be suggested that a sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood is a manifestation of habitus. Bourdieu and Wacquant´s (1992, p. 128) description of habitus as "a pattern of practices so tuned to the rules of the game that, to be in the field and take part in the ongoing game, is to feel comfortable and ´at home´" reflects feelings of "comfort in place". It can also be thought that young people´s embodiment of practices and attitudes that are inherent to their neighbourhood make them feel attached to their neighbourhood. Jack (2010, p. 758) argues that "feelings of belonging tend to be strongest amongst young people who perceive that they have been fully included and accepted within their local community". However, as I will examine later on, that despite

young people´s attachment to their neighbourhood, they are not always included and accepted with their local community and this has a negative effect on their well-being.

5.1.2 The use of youth clubs

This section describes how young people use youth clubs, and how social interactions in youth clubs can both positively and negatively shape the subjective well-being of young people. Attending local youth clubs is a daily routine for many young people in East Oslo, particularly for boys. The youth clubs are often located in the local area where young people live. The youth clubs are important social spaces where young people hang out with their friends after school. Many young people live in small compact social housing where they lack the space to have privacy or to have friends over. Therefore, young people spend more time outside, including in youth clubs. The youth clubs were mostly used by young people with an immigrant background. How young people use youth clubs depend on the activities and services that they offer. In most of the youth clubs, young people play cards, play video games, watch movies, and just hang out and talk to other people. Young people also expressed that they come to youth clubs to warm themselves in cold or rainy days. Youth clubs also function as a place where young people engage in meaningful debates and discussions about social and political matters, as well as a place where people from outside agencies and organizations come to talk with young people about issues that concern them. Unstructured conversations with young people and adults reveal that young people frequently come to youth clubs simply because they have nothing else to do. In this way, youth clubs are not only safe spaces for the inclusion of young people into social life but also sites that enable content and routine to young people´s everyday lives.

However, despite the widespread significance and use of youth clubs, they have often been subject to criticism by young people themselves as well as others. In one conversation at the youth club with an 18-year-old boy, he argued that the youth club was not a good one because it looks nothing like what a youth club should look like and there is simply nothing to do. He explains that young people need a youth club where they can do and experience different things, and use their time to do something useful, like "learning how to code" (referring to computing programming). The youth club where the fieldwork was conducted is a big open space filled with tables and benches, in addition to having some sofas. There is a spacious stage with a projector screen, which the young people use to listen to music and watch movies. This is the main form of entertainment at the youth club. The youth club is surrounded by glass walls which allow pedestrians to look into the youth club. The nearby playgrounds and apartments are visible from inside. The combination of a kitchen and café is the focal point of the youth club where young people can buy coffee, hot chocolate, as well as waffles, and toasts on some occasions. Other youth clubs that I visited can be described as cosier by being more concealed from the outside, having more board games, having a proper kitchen, and being more aesthetically nicer. During the time of the fieldwork, the venue of the youth club primarily functioned as a community meeting place and venue of public events. The venue turned to a youth club only in the evenings when no events were taking place.

In the focus group discussion at the youth club, one boy with an Iraqi background thought that the youth club opens too late and closes too early. He elaborated that young people need a place where they can be themselves and be with their friends, a place which they don't have in their home. He argued that if they hang out all day in the streets, they get labelled as "street kids", get chased by the police, or get involved with illegal activities. Young people themselves acknowledge that the youth clubs keep them away from the bad temptations of the streets. The boy says that it is

very common for young people, particularly boys, to be outside with their friends till past midnight and that they should stay inside in a youth club rather than being in the streets. When asking young people in the second in a focus group discussion whether they had youth clubs in their neighbourhood, the discussion unfolded itself in the following way:

Researcher: *Do you have youth clubs in [your neighbourhood]?*
Boy 1: *Yes, but not that many. There are some who are closed down and some are used by those who do foolish things.*
Boy 2: *We have youth clubs where you can go to and just chill and play PlayStation for example. Just have fun and be social. But many of those places are not being used because they don't run the place properly. Nobody is there, there is no life in that place. It is just a place people go to to warm themselves during winter. They don't use it properly. They don't tell people about it.*
Researcher: *But if there was a properly run youth club, would young people use it?*
Boy 2: *They would use it, but maybe not in a good way because people deal [drugs] in different places. I have seen people deal [drugs] in youth clubs.*
Boy 1: *Yes, they can just sit there and deal [drugs] quickly without anyone noticing it.*
Boy 3: *The concept [of youth clubs] itself is good, but those who run the place do not do their job well.*

A mother I spoke with had similar concerns. She mentioned that mothers do not trust youth clubs where both 15-year-olds and 25-year-olds hang out in the same place because those who are older can tempt those who are younger into the drug scene. Based on my visits to different youth clubs and conversations with the youth workers working there, well-managed youth clubs have existed for a much longer time. Also, the youth workers in well-managed youth clubs tend to have an education related to children and young people. Those youth clubs were also sufficiently staffed. They also had more control over who enters and leaves the youth club. In some youth clubs, young people have to show their ID before entering. Additionally, in well-functioning youth clubs, young people have more activities to engage with, such as playing board games, playing PlayStation, making and eating food, and working with music. It can be thought that "foolish things" happens less in well-managed youth clubs.

In the youth club where the fieldwork was conducted, two youth workers would work in each shift. On some occasions, other community workers would come to the youth club as extra staff. One of the youth workers mentioned that the youth club was underfunded, pointing out that they barely get money to buy a deck of cards to play with. This youth club has existed for a much shorter time compared to the other well-managed youth clubs. It would be inaccurate to argue that the youth club there the fieldwork was conducted is a bad youth club. After all, 25-30 people regularly use the youth club and the significance it has to young people´s subjective well-being is undeniable. It keeps them away from the bad environments in the streets and enables young people social capital. It is a place of social inclusion where young people are liberated from negatively and conflict. However, this does not overlook the fact that the youth club could improve itself to cater more to the needs and wishes of young people. This is further explored section 7.1 Youth clubs should cater more to the needs and wishes of young people as part of the policy and practice chapter.

According to a quantitative study, the use of youth clubs is much more widespread among young people with an immigrant background in the East End of Oslo (Bakken, 2018), a finding which is consistent with the observations of the current research. In the current research, cultural diversity was seen as an asset to the youth

clubs. A previous Norwegian study has highlighted the preventative function of youth clubs against youth crime and substance abuse (Vestel & Smette, 2007). Vestel and Smette (2007) argue that in the literature about youth clubs, there is an underlying tension between understanding youth clubs as a preventative measure for "problematic" young people on the one hand and a cultural measure for all young people on the other hand. From the perspective of the current research, the recent increase of youth crime in Oslo (Salto, 2018) has placed an emphasis on the preventative function of youth clubs. Even youth clubs that provide cultural activities, such as music, dance, and sports, have a preventative goal. It could be thought that this approach can risk stigmatizing all young people that use youth clubs as "problematic". This is misrepresentative because the youth club in Oslo is actively used both by those with and without problematic behaviour. Vestel and Smette (2007) argue that it is important that youth clubs have a balance of young people with and without problematic behaviour in order for them to function as an arena for prevention and intervention. This reflects how youth clubs promote well-being by functioning as primary fields for enabling social capital through positive social interactions. Vestel and Smette (2007) suggest that youth clubs can be an arena where young people with problem behaviour can build relationships with those without problematic behaviour, who can serve as positive role models. However, this can also have opposite effects. An 18-year-old boy in the youth club explained that boys get easily influenced by each other, particularly by the older boys. He explained that when someone enters the youth club with branded clothing, chain around their neck, and money on their pocket, then others would want the same thing because that is what gives status. This could ultimately ignite poor self-esteem and ill-being among others.

The idea of youth clubs as a measure to keep young people out of trouble related to the view of how young people in urban settings are often constructed as "troubled" or "troubling". On one hand, the preventative idea of youth clubs views young people are seen as "troubled" that needs to be protected from the drug scene and youth crime in the streets. On the other hand, those who display problematic behaviour are seen as "troubling" that needs to be kept away from the streets. Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012, p. 27) argue that young people´s behaviour in public space is continuously monitored and regarded as potentially or actually disruptive. Based on this view, youth clubs can be considered as efforts to reduce the presence of young people in outdoor urban spaces.

Despite the different views, positive aspects of youth clubs outweigh the negative aspects. It is evident that youth clubs shape the subjective well-being of young people, but there is no straightforward answer to how this process takes place.

5.1.3 Relationship to school

Young people´s relationship school was a topic that frequently emerged in conversations. In the focus group discussion at the youth club, young people expressed that they did not associate school with a place for learning. They instead go to school to be with their friends. In an interview, a 16-year-old girl of Pakistani background expressed a similar relationship to school:

When I wake up I don´t want to go to school. I can´t stand it because it´s so early in the morning. But then I think that my friends will be there, and they might call me and ask where I am. That is why I just go. That is the only reason we all go to school.

This shows that peer relationships are important to young people that they even influence their general relationship to school. This reflects young people´s views of school primarily as a social arena rather than an educational arena. Peer social capital in

school appears to promote school attendance and is a valued aspect of school as a field. Accordingly, Directorate of Health (2015) finds that the psychosocial environment of the school, which includes social relations, is considered to be important for promoting young people´s well-being. However, previous studies have shown that the academic performance and aspirations of peer networks can influence young people´s own performance in school. For example, Ryabov (2009) also found that the positive association between the academic performance of the peer network and young people´s own performance is stronger among immigrants. This suggests that having positive peer social interaction, including having friends with high educational aspirations, promotes subjective well-being within the context of school. Comparatively, Ream and Rumberger (2008) conducted a study about student engagement, peer social capital and school drop out among Mexican American and non-Latino white students. The study found that the number of friends dropping out of school predicted school dropouts for both Mexican American and non-Latino white students (Ream & Rumberger, 2008). Contrastingly, having friends that value education reduces the likelihood of dropout with both groups (Ream & Rumberger, 2008). These studies show the intricate relationship between social relationtions and young people´s performance in school.

The extract from the 16-year old girl extends the understanding of this relationship by describing how the social environment affected by the poor behaviours of her classmates is affecting her future aspirations of becoming a lawyer. Future aspirations is another issue related to school which is explored. Hanson (2017) argues for the importance of "becoming" child, in addition to the "being" and "been" child. That is why young people´s future aspirations are explored, which is here recognized as a reflection and contributor to their "well-becoming". In the following interview excerpt with the 16-year-old girl reveals how the social environment in her high school is setting her back in achieving her future ambition:

Researcher: *What do you want to study after you finish high school?*
Girl: *I am thinking of becoming a lawyer, but the environment in [the neighbourhood] right now is ruining it for me.*
Researcher: *In what way?*
Girl: *The young people, they are like, I don't know, it is just that in the classroom we are not that serious you know. You know how foreigners are.*
…

Girl: *Those who are born and raised in [the neighbourhood] have been raised in a particular way so that they are always outside, they have fun, they are boisterous and such. They do all of that in the classes as well, and if they do that in the class then things happen you know. That is why [the school] has such a bad reputation.*

Here she underlines how the dominating number of young people with an immigrant background shapes her school experience and how the characteristics of these young people affect her opportunities for achieving her aspiration, and ultimately her well-becoming. This reflects the idea that well-becoming is not just about how young people´s lives in the here-and-now is linked to future aspirations and functioning, but also the intricate interdependence of what other people do in a social context at a given point in time. The accounts of the girl can be understood as the power of the field where there are conflicting values. On one hand, she aspires to become a lawyer in the future. On the other hand, she admits that she gravitates towards the pattern of disruptive behaviour in her classroom.

Others also shared interesting accounts about their future aspirations. When asking young people in the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion what they want to do after high school, most wanted to take higher education, including engineering, psychology, and law. One girl with a Somali background said she wanted to become a police officer and another girl with an Iraqi background wants to work in child welfare, and they both had similar reasons. They said that many young people in their neighbourhood are involved with the police and child welfare, mentioning that these agencies do not always do a good job and that people in their neighbourhood can benefit from having an "insider" in these agencies. By "insider" they mean having a similar socio-cultural background as people in the neighbourhood so that they as future police officer or child welfare workers can do a better job of helping people. The fact that these girls want to dedicate their future to help people in their community is arguably a reflection of their sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood, a topic discussed in section 5.1.2 Attachment and belonging to neighbourhood. These girls are part of their neighbourhood as a field in which their desire to help their local community feels right to them.

Additionally, conversations with youth workers revealed that not all young people share this level of ambition and that many struggle to get through school. A youth worker said that many young people do not have many ambitions about the future when it comes to their education. They have a lot of absenteeism from school, and the absence limit becomes a major issue for many of them, ultimately leading to increased drop-outs. Young people themselves reveal how school burnout out and how the broken school system make it difficult for young people to get though school, specifically high school. One girl expressed school burnout the following way:

> *I want to go into hibernation and get back the sleep I lost through school. I want less school, there is too much stress and pressure…I want to spend more time with my family and spend the most time with them and friends.*

In the second focus group discussion, it was revealed that young people have it difficult in school and feel obligated to attend school because of the 10 percent absence limit that Norway has imposed on high school students. When asked whether they like going to school, the conversation went as follows:

Boy 1: *I like going to school, but I don't like the system, like the absence limit.*
Researcher*: What do the rest of you think about the absence limit and school in general?*
Girl 1: *It is like they force you, so you don't want to go to school.*
Boy 1: *Like what I have seen and heard from other people, there are a lot of people who don't have it good at school. They go to school because they have to … I actually just want to work and get something out of it because I feel that when I am at school, I am just there because I have to be there.*
Girl 2: *I feel that I go to school not to learn, but to just get the grades I need to get into a university and get a job.*
Boy 2: *Everything kind of goes in a circle, you get stressed by school and then you need a break from school, but then there is the absence limit that stops you from taking a break occasionally.*
….
Boy 1: *There are some students that are struggling mentally so they need a break once in a while. They cannot be at school every single day.*

Boy 2: *The system itself is very ruined when it comes to trying to help people. I have spoken to many people who are completely sick in their head. They just cannot take it anymore. They try to seek help from the school, men nobody does anything. So those who are struggling are not receiving any help.*

What young people highlight in this excerpt is a broken "system". If young people feel that they do not receive any help from the adults in the schools, such as teachers, counsellors or the school nurse, then this reveals negative student-adult relationships in school. Adults in the school are part of the school´s "system". Inter-generational relationships in school in further explored in section 5.3.3 Relationship with teachers. Additionally, article 28.1 (e) of the UNCRC (1989) states that measures should be taken to encourage regular attendance at schools. Even though the absence limit has reduced absenteeism in high schools (Bjørnset et al., 2018), young people reveal that it is a considerable source of stress to them and negatively affects their relationship to school.

The young people proceed to explain how school contributes to ill-being in young people:

Girl 2: *School is such a big part of life. If you want to do well at school and get good grades, you lose your friends because you cannot be with them. You cannot see them because you are inside and doing homework all the time.*
Girl 1: *I also feel that they demand a lot from us now, and demand higher grads to move forward, more then they did before. We have one to two assignments every single day, a submission every single week. You don't have time to relax and take a break.*

This shows that the workload of school makes it difficult for young people to balance social relationships, which have a negative effect on their subjective well-being. However, the accounts of the girls in this focus group discussion contradicts the accounts of the 16-year-old girl at the beginning of this section. While she goes to school to primarily be with her friends, the girls in this focus group discussion reveal that they lose their friends because of the pressure of school work.

In short, young people experience significant stress from attending school because of a sense of obligation to attend and the workload, which contributes to ill-being. Raiziene et al. (2014) found that school burn, which is a concern in young people´s accounts, predicted low subjective well-being in high-school students. Additionally, Bakken (2018) found that around half of young people are frequently stressed about school work. Also, young people in Oslo report that they are unhappy in school, feel like they do not fit in, experience school days as boring, and 22 percent are frequently anxious to go to school (Bakken, 2018), which are compatible with the findings of the current study.

Overall, this section has revealed that young people have diverse experiences with school. However, young people´s concern for peer social relationship is an important part of their relationship and experiences with school. Negative relationships to school in terms of school burnout and school as a broken system contributes to ill-being in young people, whereas social relationship in school contributes to well-being. This reflects the relational aspect of young people´s subjective well-being.

5.2 How young people navigate ill-being

The following part of the chapter aims to discuss the following research question; in what ways do young people respond to evoked threats to their subjective well-being and how do they protect themselves from ill-being? It will reflect on the activities that young people engage with that is either a manifestation of their ill-being or an effort to

protect themselves from it. It will first explore how participation in leisure activities, such as sports and music, and their desire to work are ways young people attempt to protect themselves from ill-being. The chapter will then scrutinize how delinquency and violence reflect young people´s ill-being.

5.2.1 Participation in leisure activities

Engaging in sports, especially football, is a popular leisure activity among young people in Oslo. Many of the young people at the youth club train football one hour once a week in the same football club. The football club has a history of engaging young people with an immigrant background into physical activity. In the interviews, the girls in the football club were asked why it was important for them to train football. The girls replied that they play football simply because they enjoy it and because their friends were doing it as well. The fact that young people participate in leisure activities because it is something their friends do, reveals that subjective well-being here is a relational process. They also replied that it is an activity everyone does and that they want to prove that girls can be equally as athletic as boys in playing football. One girl mentioned that the football club they all play in is very inclusive of immigrant youth and that everyone has a similar background, which was why she enjoyed play football for that particular club. This shows that the inclusive nature of the football club has been an important contributor for engaging young people of immigrant background in playing football. One of the trainers in this football club mentioned that they have one of the biggest number of girls of immigrant background playing football, which is considered to be an important asset of the inclusivity in the club. The football club is also an important social arena for young people. Apart from playing football, they engage in various social activities, such as arranging social gatherings, going to the movies, and going on trips, including trips aboard which the young people finance by selling various items they get from the football club, such as socks. One trainer mentioned that many who play in the club do not have the financial means of doing such social activities outside of the football club. By being part of the football club, young people get to do more than just play football and be part of an inclusive social community.

One issue that kept reoccurring in informal conversation was that young people have too much free time and too little to do, which is seen as a threat to their subjective well-being. This can result in finding themselves in bad social environments in the streets, including the drug scene. Young people appear to fully comprehend that having little to do and the lack of meaningful activities to fill their days can make them gravitate towards hanging out in the streets where they can encounter bad people and bad situations. A female trainer of the girls' team, who used to play football in the football club herself, was asked in an interview via email what football meant for her when she used to play as a young person, to which she replied the following:

> Football has meant a lot to me as a young person. It was football that saved me from ending up in a bad environment. Before I started playing football for [the football club], I spent a lot of time on the streets with friends and friends who were mostly older than me.

What she highlights here is similar to the experiences of young people. In the second focus group discussion with young people from a different neighborhood, who together train boxing in the same boxing club, articulated similar experiences. When discussing the use to narcotics in their neighborhood, one of the boys said the following:

> *The trainer has said the reason why we train here is not just to get young people to engage themselves in other things, like football, but to keep us away for such stuff [narcotics] and that we actually become serious about our health.*

Another girl who engages in dance articulated the same thing: *"If I hadn't been dancing I could have been in the in the streets right now"*. Music is another leisure activity that is flourishing among multicultural young people in East Oslo. Conversations with boys at the youth club reveal that being in the studio to work with their music has kept them away from the hazards of the streets. Young people use music as a platform to express and share their experiences and make themselves heard. Some young people also make music about the hazards they have experienced in their neighbourhood. This shows how some young people respond to neighbourhood-related threats to their subjective well-being. A hand full of young people also excel in other creative activities. For example, I met a young boy at the youth club who excels as a talented photographer. I also one day observed a boy playing the piano exceptionally well at the youth club. Young people do not participate in leisure activities with the explicit intention of staying away from the hazards of the street but do acknowledge it as a positive unintended by-product. Young people´s engagement in leisure activities enables the promotion of subjective well-being and acts against the structural constraints of their neighbourhood.

For the young people training football at the football club, one 18-year-old boy, who did not train football himself, expressed that one hour per week is too little time and is not enough to solve the issue of young people´s excessive free time. He further argued that one hour a week is not enough to become a good football player and to develop a passion for the sport. After talking with the trainer, it became clear that the lack of financial support had been an impediment for the football club to support young people´s ambitions for football. Young people only pay a small fee to enable those from a low-income background to play in their club. The trainers in the football club work voluntarily, which reveals that they acknowledge the value of the work that they do in keeping young people away from the streets, despite financial constraints for managing the club.

On one occasion, another neighbourhood-based sports club, which holds activities for people of all ages, had a presentation at the youth club where they had claimed that the sports club had contributed to the reduction of crime among young people. A few days later, a discussion broke loose in the youth club in which the young people rejected the claims of the neighbourhood-based sports club that they had contributed to reducing crime among young people in the neighbourhood. There is arguably a truth in their rejection because youth crime reflects a larger socio-economic inequality which sports alone does not resolve.

Leisure activities, whether it is structured like football or unstructured like photography and music, is central for the acquirement of cultural capital where they both learn a skill (i.e. institutional cultural capital) and acquire the values and attitudes that they need to master the skill (i.e. embodied cultural capital). An example of the latter is that young people engaging in sports value their health more. Additionally, leisure activities enable young people to foster positive social relations (i.e. social capital) with peers who share their interests. Also, participation in leisure activities promotes young people´s sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood, an issue discussed in section 5.1.2 Attachment and belonging to neighbourhood. A male trainer of the boys' football team articulated that young people develop devotion to their neighbourhood by representing it through the local football team.

The significance of leisure activities for young people's well-being is recognized by several previous studies. For example, Beaulac et al. (2011) explored whether a community-based hip-hop dance program promoted the well-being of young people living in a multicultural and socio-economically disadvantaged urban neighbourhood in Canada. The study found that the program did promote the well-being of young people by improving their overall physical health, boosting self-confidence, and improving intra-and intergenerational relationships. The study is an example of how improved well-being is the by-product of the cultural capital acquired through dancing.

The meaning and content that leisure activities provide to the every-day-lives of young people has a positive effect on their subjective well-being, and motivates young people to stay on a good path in their lives. Young people´s engagement in leisure activities is not only about positive peer social relationships, but also about bringing more structure and routine into their otherwise unstructured lives.

5.2.2 Young people´s desire to work

Young people´s desire to work frequently emerged as a topic in discussions and conversations with both young people and adults. In the focus group discussion at the youth club, young people revealed that they and many others are motivated to find a job to make their own money, gain experience, have something to do, and to stay out of trouble. One of the boys explained that they get involved in the drug scene because they cannot get a job. Youth workers and young people themselves articulate that parents do not have the economic resources to satisfy the wants and needs of their teens, which contributes to their ill-being. This issue was also brought up during a conversation with a mother of Somali background. She expressed a general worry that when parents are unable to buy the things that their children want or need when they might turn to drug scene to get money. She, therefore, thought it was important that young people find themselves a decent job.

Young people say that they want a job to earn money the right way. However, one 18-year old boy mentioned in a conversation that it is very difficult to find a job. He also revealed that many young people think that employers do not give them work because of their foreign names or the colour of their skin. However, a youth worker who provides support and aid to young people in finding employment, suggested that prejudice is not an obstacle because if young people prove that they are worthy of a job, then they can get it. Conversations with employers who actively engage in employing young people particularly emphasize the crime preventing effects of youth employment. One employer mentioned that youth crime increases during summer holidays when young people don't have school and have nothing else to do. This relates to the issue that young people need to have meaningful activities to fill their everyday lives. The employer also highlighted that employment prevents social exclusion and makes young people contributing members of society. Youth employment as crime prevention is also found in other studies. For example, in a study by France et al. (2013, p. 19) young people with a criminal record reported aspiration for getting a job to "stay out of trouble". Similar to the findings of the present study, the lack of cultural capital within limited opportunity structures made it difficult for them to enter the job market and to use work as a way of refraining from crime (France et al., 2013).

In short, the combination of economic deprivation, having too much free time, and the presence of temptations of the drug scene pose a threat to young people´s well-being and that employment is seen as a solution to these issues. Work enables economic capital which allows young people to navigate themselves away from economic deprivation. Work can also enable social capital by extending young people´s social networks, as well as embodied cultural capital acquired through the work experience.

However, for those who lack a supportive and bridging social capital and the cultural capital to present in their résumé, employment might be seen as a strenuous pathway in a highly competitive labour market. Moreover, if employment prevents young people from entering the drug scene, then this implies that young people want to work for money. A member of a youth organization mentioned in a conversation that some young people might want to work to financially support their family, which is considered to be an unhidden and unacknowledged reality. In the context of Norway as a welfare country, it is difficult to openly discuss issues that can reveal that the welfare system does not sufficiently help everyone the way it is intended to do so. In this sense, young people´s subjective well-being can be understood as an ambiguous process. They have to go through the ill-being of being involved in the drug scene in order to earn the money they need to have good well-being. Article 27 of the UNCRC (1989), which is on the right to an adequate standard of living, is breached when young people have to work to fulfil their needs and desires or to support their families. The article states that the government has to assist parents to implement this right. Even though low-income families get financial aid from NAV, the fact that some young people feel the need to work to support their family hints that the financial aid low-income families receive is insufficient.

Overall, young people have a shared desire to work and earn money in the lawful way. The support and guidance from people in the local community is key for young people to overcome the challenges of finding work.

5.2.3 Delinquency

The issue of crime and the drug scene has occurred multiple times earlier in this chapter, which makes it an intricate issue that is related to several aspects of young people´s subjective well-being. This section further elaborates on the topic by exploring why and how young people enter into a pathway of delinquency. Before doing so, it is worth emphasizing that 97 percent of children and young people between the ages of 10-17-year old were not registered with a crime in Oslo in 2018 (Salto, 2018). It is the drug scene that most frequently appears as a topic among young people and adults. The drug scene specifically involves the selling and distribution as well as the consumption of narcotics like hash and cannabis.

In the focus group discussion at the youth club, a 17-year-old boy of Iraqi background stated that money is important to young people in the neighbourhood. He elaborated that when young people fail to find a job, they get involved in the drug scene because that is the only way they can get their hands on money. As discussed in section 5.2.2 Young people´s desire to work, finding a job as a young person in Oslo is a strenuous process. While girls in the semi-structured interviews expressed that they did not value material things and would rather save their money, a conversation with a boy with Somali background revealed that boys are more concerned with have branded clothes and other material goods. Adults I spoke with in the local community reveal the same issue.

Young people, as well as others in the neighbourhood, associate the streets with the presence of crime and delinquency. It is where young adults approach young people and tempt them to do small favours in exchange for quickly earned money. One employer explained that these temptations usually start with small and seemingly harmless favours, such as delivery a packing to someone in exchange for money or material goods, like a new pair of sneakers. Small favours can escalate to more serious matters. The boy with Somali background I conversed with further explained that once boys experience the short-term satisfaction of money, they just want more and more. He continues to explain that boys look up to the older boys in the neighbourhood, which

might make it harder for them to reject their request for favours. I asked him how come young people like himself managed to stay on a good path by going to school, have a job, and having no criminal record, whereas others end up taking the 'wrong path'. His response was that it all depends on one´s social circle and the people one hangs out with. He elaborated that if someone in one´s social circle is involved in the drug scene, then it will quickly get noticed by the other members of that social circle. When that person who is involved in the drug scene shows off his or her new material goods, then others in the social circle will get tempted to get into the drug scene as well. Delinquency can, therefore, be seen as part of their social life since it takes place in social groups. One youth worker said something in the lines of "they are sweetest boys when they are alone, but act like a gangster when they are with a group of friends".

Conversations with youth workers reveal that those from low-income families with broken relationships, traumas, and struggling in school are most vulnerable for making the wrong decision of entering the drug scene. One community worker explained that the pathway for youth people to make wrong choices are carved for them by society. This indicates young people´s involvement in the drug scene comes as a side effect of living in a low-income neighbourhood.

Young people´s engagement in the drug scene can be understood as a reflection of habitus. Similar to the accounts of the community worker, for the young people in the study by France et al. (2013), involvement in illegal activities was a "normal" part of growing up in high crime neighbourhoods. France et al. (2013, p. 18) elaborate that it becomes "a critical (and normalized) feature of the dispositions they accrued as part of their emerging habitus". Through the framework of habitus, it could be argued that young people´s engagement with illegal activities is the embodiment of the socio-economic deprivation of their neighbourhood. Comparatively, Bakken (2018) reports that young people from low socioeconomic status are overrepresented among those who engage in delinquency such as acts of crime.

Young people´s involvement in the dealing and consumption of narcotics shows that Oslo Municipality is yet to successfully fulfil article 33 of the UNCRC to prevent the illegal distribution, as well as the consumption of drugs among children and young people. In Gamle Oslo in the East End of Oslo, 18 percent of young people have tried the illegal substances hash or marihuana in 2018 (Bakken, 2018). Even though it can appear evident that illegal activities promote to ill-being, the findings do not explicitly reveal that act at of dealing or consuming narcotics itself leads to ill-being. Instead, the source of young people´s ill-being lies in the reasons why young people get drawn into the drug scene in the first place, which is the combination of lack of economic capital and negative social relationships. Nevertheless, previous studies did find associations between substance abuse and low subjective well-being. Zullig et al. (2001) found that substance abuse among young people was significantly associated with reduced life satisfaction, regardless of gender and ethnicity. Moreover, Mohamad et al. (2018) found that delinquency mediated the relationship between life satisfaction and substance abuse. Bakken (2018) explains that those who engage in delinquency often have other issues such as unstable home environment, low mental health, challenges in school and substance problems, all of which reflects low subjective well-being (Fomby & Cherlin, 2007; Nordlander & Stensöta, 2014; Zullig et al., 2001). This portrays the nuanced and multi-dimensional image of young people´s engagement in illegal activities.

Overall, young people´s involvement in the drug scene is a multi-dimensional process in which socio-economic deprivation can shape how negative social relationships can result in involvement in delinquency.

5.2.4 Violence among young people

Violence is another manifestation of young people´s ill-being. During the time of the fieldwork, violence among young people in Oslo was at its highest when 25 incidences of violence committed by young people and young adults where reported in one night (Sundby et al., 2019). Acts of violence among young people took place on multiple occasions during the fieldwork, both in the youth club and in the neighbourhood. The young people did not directly talk to me about violence, but events and incidences that took place in the neighbourhood made it a topic of discussion amongst themselves and the youth workers in the youth clubs. Boys at the youth club would occasionally 'play fight' and the youth workers would warn them to not do so in the fear that it could escalate to actual fighting. In the occasion of actual fighting, the young people involved would get expelled from the youth club. On a few occasions, acts of violence took place in the neighbourhood involving some of the young people in the youth club. One of the youth workers explained that many of the boys constantly carry so many negative emotions that they do not talk about and that these emotions get converted to aggression and violent behaviour. Negative emotions can be seen as a sign of ill-being, and violence as an expression of it. Negative emotions can come from problems within the family, in school, or in other aspects of their lives. In the focus group discussion in the youth club, the young people revealed that there have been multiple instances of stabbing in the neighbourhood, particularly in one of the nearby apartment buildings. A youth worker from the different youth club mentioned the same issue, explaining the problem of violence have escalated to the extent that young people carry knives because they feel unsafe and want to protect themselves. This contradicts with young people´s accounts of safety, which is explored in section 6.4 Young people's sense of safety. Specific incidences of that I either observed or was told will not be presented here to not jeopardize the integrity and anonymity of those involved.

Young people who engage in acts of crime and violence become labelled as "criminals" or "violent" and can become marginalized from the wider society. Marginalization has been associated with low subjective well-being in immigrant youth (Koydemir, 2013). In a study about ethnicity and violence on the streets of Oslo, Sandberg´s (2008, p. 165) interpretation was that young people had to deal with the issues of discrimination and marginalization so "enacting the stereotype of the 'dangerous foreigner' thus become an alternative to being powerless". Sandberg (2008) argues that this is a form of "street habitus" because the only way to navigate marginalization is through power and respect, which reflects symbolic capital, acquired through the embodiment of the public representation of the young people. As described in the theory chapter, the field is a space where people compete for resources, which in this case include money and power. MacDonald et al. (2005) explored the relationship between young people´s perception of life satisfaction, behaviour risky act, self-reported acts of violence. The study found that higher levels of life satisfaction were associated with lower violence, and that participation in risk-taking behaviours was associated with increased violence. Similarly, Zullig et al. (2001) found that physical fighting was associated with life dissatisfaction. Zullig et al. (2001) suggest that this association could be a result of a socially toxic environment in the home, neighbourhood, or community.

This section reveals that violence among young people is the outcome of the intricate interactions between young people´s build-up of negative emotions and the marginalization of the experience for being labelled as "violent".

5.3 Intergenerational relationships

The following part of the chapter will explore the generational aspect of young people´s s subjective well-being, an aspect which is central to the conceptualization of children and childhood in childhood studies (Alanen, 2009). Observations and accounts

will be analysed to investigate how inter-generational relationships contribute to young people´s subjective well-being and ill-being. Young people´s relationship with youth workers, male figures in the neighbourhood and mothers will be discussed, before examining relationships with police officers and teachers. These relationships will be explored with the assumption that positive inter-generational relationship is beneficial to the subjective well-being of young people.

5.3.1 Relationship with youth workers

Young people regularly interact with youth workers in youth clubs. Other youth workers also work in schools and do preventative work in the streets. The youth workers who work at the youth club were the fieldwork was conducted are young adults in their 20s, and were only a few years older than the 15- to 18-year-olds who frequently use the youth club. The difference in chronological age does not strictly define youth workers' relationship with young people as "inter-generational". However, the roles of youth workers and their legal status as adults make it relevant and accurate to talk about their relationship to young people as inter-generational.

Youth workers in youth clubs can be a practical resource to young people by helping them with their homework, helping them to apply for jobs, and even help realize artistic projects. A 17-year-old boy from with Iraqi background explained in the first focus group discussion that young people look up to those who are older, specifically young adults. Youth workers, therefore, also severe the important role of being role models to the young people by encouraging them to make good choices and to do well in their lives. Youth workers argued that trust is the key to building positive relationships with young people. This is because many young people have frequently faced rejection and exclusion from the society that they have developed a distrust of it. Regaining this trust is considered to be important and something that youth workers succeed in. They make young people feel seen and heard and care about their struggles and concerns. Most of the youth workers have similar backgrounds as young people and they can more easily relate to each other. One youth worker explained that there is a lack of following-up of young people who are at the brink of failing in school or headed towards a route of delinquency and the relationship-building work that youth workers do compensate for that short-coming. Additionally, youth workers make sure that the youth club is a safe and socially inclusive place for all. In these ways, the overarching goal of the youth worker is to promote the subjective well-being of young people.

As highlighted, trust is what defines the relationship between youth workers and young people. Vestel and Smette (2007) argue that youth workers can build a relatively unique trust relationship that is not defined by the more establish and involuntary authority relationships that young people have with teachers, parents, police, child welfare service, and so on. The relationship based on trust is an important factor for what makes youth clubs an arena that counteracts negative peer social interactions. Because many young people carry distrust and have broken social relationships, having a relationship based on trust arguably is an important promoter of their subjective well-being. A trust-based relationship illustrates the relational dimension of social capital in which "trustworthiness" is a key aspect (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The youth club is the field in which the intergenerational relationship with youth workers is enabled and seen as a valued aspect of the youth club. The youth workers have faith in the abilities and ambitions of young people, they are always available at the youth club, and they build relationships based on trust, respect, and reciprocity. This reflects what Paulsen (2014) defines three key pillars of working with at-risk young people, which are having faith in young people, being available to the young people, as well as having trust.

In general, youth workers' ability to be friendly, equal, and trustworthy has a positive influence on young people´s subjective well-being. Youth workers treat all young people equally, regardless of whether young people have a criminal record or excel in school.

5.3.2 The absence of fathers and the presence of mothers

Conversations with a social worker reveal that the father is absent in many of the low-income families in the neighbourhood, an issue which particularly has a negative effect on boys. However, during the fieldwork, I met several men who act as important male figures for the boys in the neighbourhood. I met three male employers who are known in the local community for hiring young people. Not only do they promote young people´s subjective well-being by simply employing them, but they also act as mentors by helping young people to succeed in the workplace. One of the male employers expressed in a seminar about young people in the workforce that employers have a great responsibility to guide young people and care for them. The employer revealed that he grew up without a father and thereby acknowledges the role that he plays in the lives of the young people he employs. The employers not only acknowledge the societal value of hiring young people, but also appreciated the relationship they had build with young people that went beyond the work setting. Additionally, male football trainers regularly engage with young people. I once observed the boys' train football and was able to observe their interaction with their trainer. The boys appeared to respectful and conformed to the instructions and commands to their trainer. The trainers also dedicate their free time to engage in social activities with young people and to build relationship with young people, both inside and outside the football field.

Young people need adults that genuinely care for them and can make them feel seen and heard, and this is exactly what these male figures represent to the boys. Wilson and Prior (2011) argued that father involvement is a significant contributor to the well-being of children and adolescents. Having a male figure is an important protective factor as the absence of father or stepfather is associated with negative outcomes in young people (Farrell & White, 1998). These male figures no only provide adult supervision, but also act as agents of positive intergenerational social relationships. From observations of interactions, it is evident that boys have great appreciation and respect for the male figures, and that their relationships have a positive influence on the subjective well-being of the boys.

Young people were asked in the second focus group discussion and semi-structured interviews who their role model was. Almost everyone replied "my mother", with the exception of two participants who replied that their father was their role model. When asked to elaborate, a 16-year-old girl said "*I am going to be honest now. I used to be there, what [my neighbourhood] is seen as. I was in that group. If it wasn't for my mother, I would have still been there today".* By "that group" she was referring to being part of a bad social environment that gravitated towards delinquency. Others described their mother as a strong and understanding person, and that they aspire to be more like their mothers. One boy mentioned that he looked up to this mother because, with no father in the home, she had fought for their family. Mason et al. (1994) found that a strong mother-adolescent relationship served to protect adolescents in father-absent homes and against problem behaviour. This is consistent with the girl´s account of how her mother has protected her to stay away from a bad environment.

This section has shown that supportive relationships with adults, both outside and inside the family is important to the subjective well-being of young people and can them protect against negative outcomes.

5.3.3 Relationship with teachers

Young people´s relationship with teachers was brought up in both of the focus group discussions. In the focus group discussion at the youth club, the young people expressed that they felt stigmatized and belittled by their teachers. The young people spoke about their experiences from elementary school about how teachers would too quickly judge thin or unfitted clothing or little food in lunch boxes as signs of neglect which got uncritically reported to the child welfare services. They argued that because of teachers' poor judgments, many students in the school had cases in child welfare services. Based on conversations with other young people, it appeared that immigrant families with multiple children have cases in child welfare services and that cases can start with notifications of concern from teachers. Young people also felt that they get "bullied" by teachers. "Bullying" is the term young people themselves used. One boy told a story about a time he brought a big lunch to school and a teacher commented that his lunch could feed this entire family, which made him quite upset. Young people in the second focus group discussion also experienced getting "bullied" by teachers. They also used the term "bully". A 17-year-old girl explained that teachers would throw comments like *you should have been able to do this by now"* or *"you are on thin ice"*. They felt that teachers do not take them seriously and reject students´ aspirations. One boy of Pakistani background articulated that if a student aspires to pursue higher education, a teacher might tell that student that he or she is not good enough for higher education and should instead consider a vocational education program. Undermining young people´s educational ambition goes against article 29.1 (a) of the UNCRC (1989) which entitles young people to be directed to develop their fullest potential. Another issue that the youth workers brought up was that teachers fail to sufficiently follow-up students at-risk for dropping out of high school or have high absenteeism. A youth worker explained that teachers either lack the competence or are unable to deal with students with challenges, which include problems in the home environment which could affect their performance in school. The youth worker explained that when students with challenges do not receive the follow-up they need, it goes in the wrong direction, leading to increased absence and dropouts. The youth worker´s accounts on the lack of sufficient follow-up of at-risk students simultaneously highlight that the young people in the neighbourhood are particularly in need of a good teacher-student relationship. This reveals a paradox that the young people who are particularly in need of a supportive and positive relationship with teachers, instead have negative relationships. In this case, Krane et al. (2016, p. 15) rightfully argue that "negative TSR (teacher-student relationship) may be unsupportive or unhelpful in preventing dropout, or it may act as an additional force that propels students to drop out". Article 28.1 (e) of the UNCRC (1989) states that measures should be taken to "encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates". Additionally, as described in section 2.5 Legal framework from children´s rights approachon a legal framework on young people´s subjective well-being, paragraph 9-a of the Education Act entitles students to have a good psychosocial environment in school. What young people articulated reveal that some teachers can inhibit young people from having a good psychosocial environment in school. This goes against the paragraph 9-A of the Education Act.

In general, what the youth worker points out is that teacher-student relationships can influence high school dropouts. Previous studies have also found a clear link between teacher-student relationships and student dropout. For example, Barile et al. (2012) found in a national sample of US students that students' perceptions of the teacher-student relationship climate to be negatively associated with dropout in high school students. Similarly, in the qualitative research conducted by Lessard et al. (2014), high school students that were at risk of dropping out revealed that the lack of supportive and

motivating teachers put students at this risk. The focus on drop out here is not to indicate the young people in the current study are drop out themselves, but to discuss the possible connection poor teacher-student relationships and the reoccurring issue of high-school dropouts in East Oslo.

Young people´s accounts provide concrete examples of how the actions of some teachers have impaired the subjective well-being of young people in relation to school and education. Young people themselves highlighted that not all teachers are bad, but that previously bad experiences had lead to negative perceptions of teachers. It can be thought that the poor actions of some teachers have impaired young people´s overall relationship with teachers and school. To understand this link, it is useful to draw on the temporal conceptualization of children as "been", "being" and "becoming". The young people retrieved negative memories about their teachers from elementary school, showing that their ill- "been" has implications for them in the present. Young people´s account of being "bullied" by teachers has an impact on their present ill- "being". Additionally, teachers´ lack of support and motivation for young people´s future aspirations are reflective of their future ill- "becoming". Dropping out of school will ultimately disable young people from acquiring the economic capital they need to disrupt the social reproduction of relative poverty.

Approaching teacher-student relationships as a construct of social capital can be useful in understanding its contribution to the subjective well-being of young people. Positive teacher-student relationship can be interpreted as social capital that can enable academic success, which reflects institutional cultural capital that is a profitable characteristic within the field of school. The relationship might not only entail word of support and motivation but also entails instrumental support in that the teacher might invest more time and effort in helping the student thrive academically because they have expectations for students´ academic success. Muller (2001) found that the learning of at-risk students may depend on whether they perceive that teachers care. Young people´s accounts demonstrate that they perceive their teachers to not care about them. Overall, social capital is important for the well-being of young people (Morrow, 2008), and the positive relationship with teachers is the kind of social capital that young people particularly need but don't have, leading to dropouts for some students.

5.3.4 Experiences with the police

The presence of police is strong in the neighbourhood, which is why young people, as well as adults, are opinionated about them. During the first focus group discussion, the young people, particularly the boys, expressed that they experience being profiled by the police. A 17-year-old boy explained that by simple "play fighting" they can get stopped and frisked by the police. The police who stop them would tell them that they thought the boys looked like someone they were looking for in the area so they had to stop and frisk them. The boys feel that because they are wearing hoodies, they are together with a group of friends, and have a dark skin colour that they get stopped by the police without doing anything wrong. The 17-year-old boy expressed that he gets upset and embarrassed when he gets stopped and handcuffed by the police because a friend, neighbour or family member might see him in that situation. This reveals on its own a reflection of the boy´s ill-being in relation to the police. The young people understood that the police have work to do, but feel that they get approached by the police in an unsympathetic and hostile manner. A youth worker explained that distrust towards the police is widespread among the boys because they tell their negative encounters with the police to each other. A young person who has never been involved with the police still develop distrust towards them because of stories they hear from their peers. Additionally, on few occasions, relatively small scale violence among boys had led

to excessive force of police showing up at the scene. This made incidences appear much more aggravated then it actually was. Also, during interviews, girls acknowledged that the boys in the neighbourhood are more affected by the issue of policing then they were.

A member of a youth organization, who have made efforts to break the tension between the police and young people, argued that most police officers have good intentions, but fail in the way they approach young people. This accurately reflects how two police officers on one occasion approached the young people at the youth club to talk to them about the uncertain future of the youth club. The officers, which apparently the young people knew from before, started off by revealing that the district committee is considering shutting down the youth club. This is because the neighbours have been continuously complaining to the police that the young people are too loud when they linger outside the youth club after it closes at night. Some of the boys were acting resentful towards the police by interrupting them, refusing to partake in the conversation or leaving the youth club, despite the youth workers' efforts to maintain order. The clearly frustrated officers continued by saying that the police, the neighbours and the district committee were all tired and frustrated by the poor behaviours of the young people. The police warned that the youth club will close by the end of the month if the young people did not correct their behaviour. The last thing the police wanted was for the youth club to get closed because it would result in increased delinquency in the streets, which would become the police´s problem and adding more work to their plate. The police gave young people the chance to express their voices and make themselves heard but received nothing more than rejection and resentment in return.

After talking with some of the boys, the youth workers, as well as the police, it became evident that young people are in a mental state where they just do not care anymore. One of the youth workers disapproved of the way that the police delivered the message. Even though it is in the best interest of both the young people and the police to keep the youth club open, the police appeared to be more concerned with maintaining their own interest in not having to do more work. After a brief conversation with the police, it appeared that they thought of the young people as hopeless and a lost cause. Ultimately, what started as a good intention from the police ended with increased tension and frustration from both the police and the young people.

This can be understood as a disruptive relationship between young people and the police that contributes to a collective ill-being in young people. It appears that young people perceive that they are being discriminated against by the police because of their identity as an ethnic minority. One of the few times young people brought up the issue of ethnicity in the research was in relation to the police. The disruptive relationship is reflected in how the police and the neighbourhood view of the young people as a "problem" or as "troubling" perpetuated the officers´ uncritical assumption that everyone will engage in criminal activities if the youth club gets shut down. Being defined by society as a "problem" or a "criminal" can arguably diminish their sense of self-worth and impair their subjective well-being. In a study about ethnicity and violence on the streets of Oslo, Sandberg´s (2008, p. 165) interpretation was that young people had to deal with the issues of racial discrimination and marginalization so that "enacting the stereotype of the "dangerous foreigner" thus become an alternative to being powerless". This explains why young people live up to society´s views of them, which reflects why some of the boys showed no respect to the police at the youth club and acted resentfully. Further, feelings of being targeted because of race or ethnicity can evoke symptoms tied to the stresses of perceived or anticipated racism, especially when the police officer is an ethnic Norwegian (Sawyer et al., 2012), which can contribute to ill-being.

Ultimately, the young people lived up to the police´s description of them as a "problem" as a way of gaining power and protecting themselves from ill-being. Young people´s resentful reactions towards the police are reflective of their habitus. It could be argued that the reactions of young people are an embodiment of the stereotypes that the police and the society, in general, have posed upon them. This interpretation can also explain why police stops may unintentionally increase young people´s engagement in criminal behaviour (Del Toro et al., 2019). Young people´s resentful response in the youth club can also be an expression of power as symbolic capital. As an authoritative figure, police inherently possess more power than young people. Since the power of the police impairs the subjective well-being of young people by defining them as a "problem" and "criminal", the young people respond by disrupting the power of authority by refusing to care about what the police say. Young people´s reactions can also be interpreted as embodied cultural capital because it is reflective of their attitudes towards the police which were acquired through their previous encounters with the police.

The intergenerational relationship between young people and the police is also reflected in the structure-agency dichotomy in childhood studies (James, 2009). The police represent the structure by being the public authority that maintains law and order. By living in a neighbourhood with high crime rates, regular encounters with the police become the norm for young people. Perceptions of profiling and discrimination are ultimately embedded in the restrictive socio-cultural parameters of their neighbourhood that contribute to high levels of crime among ethnic minorities. Young people rightfully feel unjust treatment from the police and it contributes to their subjective ill-being, but their frequent negative encounter with the police comes as a by-product with living in a neighbourhood with high crime rates. Brunson and Weitzer (2009) provided a similar understanding of police relations with minority youth in urban neighbourhoods. They highlighted that neighbourhoods characterized by economic deprivation, social disorganization, and street crime have higher police involvement, more police misconduct and that residents have little capacity to hold officers accountable (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009).

Young people acknowledge that not all police officers are bad, but unfortunate interactions with the police have perpetuated a lack of trust and confidence in the police. The emotional distress of experiencing encounters with the police in terms of profiling and discrimination has had a negative effect on the subjective well-being of young people.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has explored how young people´s subjective well-being is manifested in their everyday lives through the spaces, people, and activities that they engage with. The accounts of young people and youth workers overall reveal that young people are a heterogeneous group of people with different views and experiences when it comes to the issues that affect their subjective well-being. However, the quality of social relationships with both peers and adults appear to be essential to the subjective well-being of young people. Positive social relationships can mitigate the negative effects of socio-economic deprivation on the subjective well-being of young people. There are also relational processes in the activities that young people do, whether it is playing football or finding themselves in the drug scene.

Chapter six: Effects of structural procces on subjective well-being

The purpose of this second analysis chapter is to investigate the second research objective, which is to identify the structural processes in the neighbourhood that affect the subjective well-being of young people. "Structural processes" refers to the wide-scale

processes that young people usually do not have direct control over, but do indeed affect their lives. The chapter will explore how processes of political economy affect the subjective well-being of young people and how the neighbourhood can be both a resource and a threat to their subjective well-being. This chapter will rely on the theoretical framework of political economy, as well as the view of young people in urban areas as either "troubled" or "troubling" (Abebe & Kjørholt, 2012). These frameworks are described in sections 3.5 The political economy of young people´s well-being and 3.6 Young people as "troubled" or "troubling". The chapter will start by scrutinizing young people´s thought and experiences with the change in demographics of their neighbourhood due to gentrification, before discussing how neoliberal housing policy have affected the lives of young people and what young people think of the recent changes in physical their neighbourhood. It will then discuss whether young people feel safe in their neighbourhood, what they think of the neighbourhood services and programs, and how child welfare services have affected the subjective well-being of young people. The chapter will continue by reflecting on young people´s thoughts and experiences with stigmatization, prejudice and racism, and how media has served as perpetuator of stigmatization of young people. Finally, young people´s civic engagement and their desire to be heard will be examined. The final topic is part of the current chapter as oppose to chapter five because it is related to the issues of politicians and policy makers, which are an integral part of the structural process that shapes the local government. The chapter will end by providing some concluding remarks.

6.1 Gentrification and ethnic Norwegians in the neighbourhood

This section discusses young people´s thoughts and opinions about the change in the demographics of their neighbourhood due to gentrification. In the focus group discussion at the youth club, the 17-year old boy of Iraqi background expressed that there were too many ethnic Norwegians in the neighbourhood, many more than what it used to be. He clearly disliked the influx of ethnic Norwegians in the neighbourhood. When I asked him why he felt that way, he replied that ethnic Norwegians had made the living situation more difficult for the minority communities who have lived their entire lives in the neighbourhood. Others in the group elaborated that their neighbourhood used to be a very multicultural place where ethnic Norwegians would not want to go to. Their neighbourhood used to be considered as 'the hood' and a 'no-go zone' for ethnic Norwegians. These accounts are of interest because they complement my observations of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood square was filled with lavish restaurants, bars, and coffee shops that were seemingly only used by middle-class ethnic Norwegians. They made the neighbourhood appear like a trendy destination in Oslo. These issues were brought up during the focus group discussion. The young people were upset that none of the restaurants, bars, and coffee shops, except for one small kebab shop hiding in the corner of the square, appealed to the ethnic minorities who have lived in the neighbourhood the longest. In conversations with youth workers and a local community worker, it appeared that the change in the demographics for the neighbourhood due to gentrification has directly impacted the young people. In recent years, new expensive apartments were built in the neighbourhood, including units right in front of the youth club. Some of the ethnic Norwegians who live in these units have frequently called on police to complain about the young people who hang out in the area after the youth club closes at night.

The influx of middle-class ethnic Norwegians to the neighbourhood that the young people describe, is part of a gentrification process taking place in the neighbourhood, which can have profound implications on housing prices (Guerrieri et al., 2013). In recent years, more houses are being sold in the private market, apartments have been

upgraded, and the neighbourhood environment has improved in East Oslo (Fantoft, 2019). The process of gentrification laid out the premises for the neighbourhood to become attractive to the middle and higher class residences in Oslo. This change in the demographics has attracted real estate developers to create properties that are up to the middle-class´ preferences (Fantoft, 2019), ultimately pushing up housing prices and causing the original low-income residents to migrate out (Guerrieri et al., 2013). The issue of housing is further described in section 6.2 Housing.

Young people´s attitudes towards the change in the demographics seem to contradict the policy of inclusivity and diversity that is flourishing in the neighbourhood. Most young people value the multicultural feature of their neighbourhood because it gives them a sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood (see section 5.1.2 Attachment and belonging to neighbourhood. Young people´s accounts reveal that this change in the demographics of the neighbourhood threatens the multicultural aspect of their neighbourhood. It appears that the neighbourhood is changing to fit the new residents of the neighbourhood, and this makes the young people feel that they and the residents who have lived in the neighbourhood the longest are being socially and physically pushed away. Based on further informal conversations with young people, it is not necessarily the mere increment of ethnic Norwegians that the young people are upset about. It is rather the outcome that the demographic change has had that young people are bothered by. The fact that it is most frequently ethnic Norwegian neighbours that complain about the young people to the police is an example of the tension between the ethnic Norwegians and young people as ethnic minorities. Another expression of this tension is revealed in apartment buildings. The more newly established buildings and the older social housing buildings are a visible distinction between the prosperous and the deprived residents. Overall, it can be argued that young people´s accounts do not reflect an issue of ethnicity, but rather an issue of increasing social and income inequality with a neighbourhood.

In relation to the topic of housing, the reduction of social housing can be seen as a strategy of wealth distribution in Oslo as an effort to reduce the city´s socio-economic and ethnic segregation. These strategies are arguably enabled by neoliberal urban policies which perpetuate the demographic change that the neighbourhood is experiencing. Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012, p. 52) draws on the notion of neoliberalism to argue that

> Zero-tolerance policies, curfews, anti-drug law…as well as the reduction in social housing available in desirable residential and inner-city districts have all been part of this effort to "sanities" and in turn increase the attractiveness of cities to investors and elite workers, whole those at the receiving end on these policies.

This applies to the inner-city of Oslo and points to key issues that affect the subjective well-being of young people. The young people are at the receiving end of the "sanitization" policies described by Hörschelmann and van Blerk (2012) since they are the once who stay out till late at night, find themselves in the drug scene and live in social housing. These policies arguably portray young people a "troubling" and as a problem that needs to be fixed. It can be interpreted that some of the young people´s behaviours, such as staying out late at night or finding themselves in negative environments, are in the present the embodiment of the neighbourhood's pre-gentrified past as an ethnically diverse yet socio-economic deprive place. This embodiment makes young people to be viewed as troubling that needs to be fixed for the neighbourhood to break from its past and for it to develop into the future as a neighbourhood attractive to

the middle-class. Excessive policing (see section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police) and efforts to keep young people out of the streets reflect efforts of "sanitizing" the city from the "troubling" young people. This interpretation shows why young people feel marginalized in an increasingly income-diverse neighbourhood.

Even though young people´s accounts reveal that they disapprove of the demographic change, the literature is divided on its implications on young people´s well-being. The increasing in-migration of wealthier ethnic Norwegian might, in the long run, contribute to mixed-income schools. Kahlenberg (2003) argues that the integration of low-income and middle-income students in the same school promotes the academic achievement of low-income students. On the contrary, Lipman (2008) argues that mixed-income schools are unlikely to reduce inequality in education for low-income people of colour because they do not address the root causes of poverty and unequal opportunities to learn. However, most ethnic Norwegians moving into the neighbourhood are young adults, and it is unlikely that the schools in the neighbourhood become mixed-income to have an impact on children and young people´s educational performance in the near future. Moreover, Baum et al. (2010) found that in a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood, young people below the age of 25 who have poorer social networks, live in public housing, and born in a foreign country reported lower levels of neighbourhood satisfaction. Consider that these features, with exception to the latter, are similar to the young people in the current study, it can be thought that over time the increasing in-migration of more affluent Norwegians can compromise young people´s sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood.

6.2 Housing

This section further elaborates on the topic of housing. The young people brought up the issue of housing during the focus group discussion at the youth club where they expressed that many families with an immigrant background live in their neighbourhoods live in social housing or rent in the private market. They revealed that the apartments they live in are in poor condition. A 16-year-old girl of Somali background mentioned that they would have cold water in the shower on Sundays. Others also articulated that inside the apartment buildings were old and dirty. They also expressed annoyance for loud and noisy neighbours, as well as frequent vandalism. The discussion on housing continues with one of the boys revealing that he and his family had lived in several of the nearby apartment buildings and that he was annoyed about having to sleep in the living room. The young people particularly spoke of one apartment building that had a disturbing reputation. One of the boys described living there as "really bad", elaborating that families with many children were neighbours with people who either were drug addicts or mentally ill. He also revealed that multiple instances of stabbing took place in that apartment building and that the building has previously been a central site for dealing drugs. This raises issues of safety, a theme that is explored in section 6.4 Young people's sense of safety. I later learned from one of the youth workers that the apartment building was the biggest social housing building in the neighbourhood owned by the municipality, consisting of a total of 72 units which together houses between 400 and 500 people. In a report, police accounts confirm that apartment buildings where the majority of the units are social housing are most liable to disturbance and vandalism (Brattbakk et al., 2015).

The second focus group discussion revealed similar issues with regards to housing:

> Boy 1: *There is this apartment complex in [our neighbourhood]. There are only Norwegian that are drug addicts there.*
> *NAV has placed all the "druggis" in one place.*

> Boy 2: *The thing is that half on the apartment building are normal people, not normal but stable people, and the other half are drug addicts. It is the worst thing I have ever seen.*
> Boy 1: *That apartment building is known for having drug addicts and mentally ill people. We live on the other side of that building, and it is pretty sick like that.*

A youth worker explained that many of those living in social housing have short term contracts and that, in recent years, increasingly more social housing units are being sold into the private market. She further elaborated that because of this privatization, young people were forced to leave the house they have lived in most of their lives. Brattbakk et al. (2015) explain that this is part of Oslo´s policy of a better geographical spreading of social housing by selling units in concentrated areas, particularly the inner-east, and buying in areas with less social housing.

Several issues are of interest in young people´s accounts, including poor housing conditions, unfit neighbours, overcrowded housing, and residential instability. Additionally, young people´s accounts reveal that they experience housing as an issue that not only affects them individually but as detrimental to the residences of their neighbourhood. They also view housing as a structural issue by referring to NAV and articulating that people were "placed" to live next doors to drug addicts and mentally ill people. It can further be argued that housing issues can negatively affect the subjective well-being of young people because it disables them from having an adequate standard of living, which refers to article 27 of the UNCRC (1989), and right to privacy, which refers to article 16. The latter refers to the issue of overcrowded housing where young people might have minimal room from privacy. This can explain why many spend a great portion of their day being outside as a response to a threat to their subjective well-being evoked by overcrowded housing.

The issue of housing reflects a neoliberal approach to housing policies. This is primarily visible in the efforts to reduce social housing by selling them in the private market, ultimately perpetuating residential instability. In a housing conference in 2016 in East Oslo, only a few of the participants said that they were able to buy a house in the local area within a couple of years (Prosser et al., 2017). This suggests that most of those who end up buying the previous social houses are economically resourceful people from other parts of Oslo, leading to the demographic change in the neighbourhood. This is another issue that young people talk about in section 6.1 . Reducing social housing by selling them in the private market which only economically resourceful people can buy shows how neoliberal housing policies fuel gentrification in the neighbourhood, leading to the marginalization of low-income and ethnic minority residence from the housing market. This marginalization is what affects the subjective well-being of young people. In recent years, neighbourhoods in East Oslo have called for finding sustainable, inclusive and untraditional alternatives to housing with an emphasis on finding solutions through social entrepreneurship (Prosser et al., 2017). Social entrepreneurs are those who initiate calls of housing reforms through increased collaboration with private, public and volunteer sectors. (Prosser et al., 2017). While the municipality´s efforts to reduce social housing units in the neighbourhood is a form of what Peck and Tickell (2002) define as "roll-back neoliberalism", the efforts of the social entrepreneurs to adopt alternative forms of housing through social interventionist policies and public-private initiatives reflects a form of "roll-out neoliberalism" (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Several studies consider "home" or "housing" as important to child well-being (e.g. Bradshaw et al., 2007; Newman & Holupka, 2015; Vandivere et al., 2006). However, the effect of housing on the well-being of young people is a relatively under-

explored area. It is also worth noting that housing was not an issue they were asked to talk about, but they brought it up themselves. Housing is arguably an important topic because it appears that young people living in poor housing conditions face more disadvantaged outcomes compared to young people in Oslo overall (Prosser et al., 2017). Comparatively, Nebbitt and Lombe (2008, p. 417) found that African American adolescent males living in urban public housing reported "severe depressive symptoms and high exposure to delinquent peers", as well as higher engagement with delinquent behaviour themselves. Coley et al., (2013) found that poor housing quality was associated with lower than average reading and math skills among young people, more so than young children. Similarly, Scanlon and Devine (2001) concluded in their literature review that residential mobility negatively affects the school performance of children and adolescents in at-risk families.

This section has shown that poor housing policies have a direct impact on the lives of young people by marginalizing the low-income immigrant families in their own neighbourhood.

6.3 Urban renewal and local amenities

When I first visited the youth club, the neighbourhood surrounding it was visually appealing. Children with different ethnicities were playing in a playground while their parents sitting in nearby benches conversing with each other. The playground was surrounded by trees and extraordinary colourful murals covering the sidewall of apartment buildings. The nearby neighbourhood square also appeared welcoming with beaches, urban gardening, and lighting for when it got dark. The physical features made the neighbourhood appear inclusive and child-friendly. I later learned that the neighbourhood has not always looked like this and had in recent years undergone physical changes and become aesthetic for the purpose of creating a better living environment for residents.

During the fieldwork, young people expressed what they thought about these physical changes. It is worth noting that the young people were not asked to talk about these changes but is a topic that they themselves brought up. They argued that none of the changes made in the neighbourhood were catered to young people. They thought that the murals were fine, but that they did not serve any kind of purpose to them. In the interviews, the girls thought that the physical changes in the neighbourhood had contributed to making the neighbourhood safer and nicer than before. The young people were conscious of the money that had been spent on changing the physical appearance of the neighbourhood. During the focus group discussion in the youth club, young people started talking about the changes in the neighbourhood. They articulated that the physical changes in the neighbourhood were the outcome of the neighbourhood revitalization program "Områdeløft" (see section 2.4 "Områdeløft" - The "area lift" in East Oslo). One of the boys articulated that the money spent on the renewal of the neighbourhood should have instead gone to the families that are financially struggling. That was when I showed them a chart over the money spent during the last five years to make various kinds of changes in the neighbourhood, including physical changes. Apparently, the sum of money spend was much higher then they had anticipated, which was why they all become very surprised. They were also upset because they thought that the sum was much higher than to the changes that were made and that young people themselves had benefited very little of this money. Further in the discussion, the topic turned back to the topic of physical changes in the neighbourhood. They appreciated the value of the playgrounds for younger children and acknowledge that the physical changes had created a more vibrant environment.

Urban gardening created by other young people from outside of the youth club has also been part of the renewal of the neighbourhood. The company that developed urban gardening with other young people commented that the gardening were visible signs of young people´s civic engagement in the neighbourhood since all residents can benefit from it. However, the young people in the youth club commented articulating that they did not care about urban gardening as it serves no purpose to them in particular. Young people themselves claimed that the physical changes were made to change the reputation of the neighbourhood and convince people that the neighbourhood is an attractive and unproblematic place. They specified that on the "inside" nothing much had really changed. One youth worker who shared young people´s scepticism to the urban renewal commented that the renewals had pushed up rent prices, putting economic pressure on low-income tenants.

When asked what kind of amenities they wanted in the local area, the young people immediately replied that they wanted outdoor sitting areas with roof, charging station and Wi-Fi. They specified that space does not need to have a door, because then it would need to be supervised. Young people´s desire for a sitting area with a roof is reflective of the fact that young people frequently spend time outdoors with their friends, and they want a place to hang out when the youth club is not open. This also shows that young people particularly desire amenities that enable social relations. The purpose of the roof is presumably to have shelter from bad weather. Their desire for such a space shows that they are more concerned about the practical conveniences of amenities in their local area. This can also explain why they seem to not care about the amenities and physical changes that do not serve a purpose to them. Studies have also found that the physical environment of the neighbourhood, as well as access to good quality amenities, were associated with good well-being in young people (Krefis et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2015).

What is of interest is that young people do not seem to bother much about the physical changes made in the neighbourhood. Instead, they rather feel upset that none of the changes benefit them in particular despite a great amount of money spent on the changes. This can reflect the structural exclusion of young people. The physical changes were meant to promote a positive living environment for all residents, and the observations show that they have for families with younger children. However, young people feel that their needs and wishes were excluded from these changes and that the changes have a broader agenda of changing the neighbourhood's previous poor reputation. This explains why they feel sceptical about the changes and how the money has been spent. Young people´s accounts about the money behind the changes make the political economy a relevant point of departure. As the young people pointed out, the urban renewals did make the neighbourhood appear as a more "trendy" place, attracting socio-economically resourceful people from other parts of Oslo and triggering the gentrification and change in the demographics described in section 6.1 Gentrification and ethnic Norwegians in the neighbourhood. Additionally, the decision of the local government to spend money on the revitalization of the neighbourhood rather than on low-income families is reflective of neoliberal urbanism. The urban renewal of the neighbourhood has been parallel to the establishment of new enterprises that cater to the new marked of socio-economically resourceful people. Even though the urban renewal of the neighbourhood has made the neighbourhood safer and vibrant, young people´s accounts reveal that they mask the underlying socio-economic deprivation which has not changed.

The current study contributes to the literature by providing a more nuanced perspective on how urban renewal is connected to a broader discussion of political

economy and gentrification. Based on the interpretations, it can be argued that urban renewals themselves do not seem to affect young people´s subjective well-being. It is rather gentrification, demographic change as well as increased housing rent, explored in chapter six, as the by-products of the urban renewal that influence young people´s subjective well-being.

6.4 Young people's sense of safety

The young people expressed that their neighbourhood had changed in recent years with safety being one of those things that have changed. During the interviews, girls were asked whether they perceived their neighbourhood as safe. They all perceive their neighbourhood to be safer than it used to be before. The girls elaborated that people used to sell drugs openly by the parks in the neighbourhood. They clarified that the drug scene still exists, but is more hidden compared to before. One 16-year-old girl of Pakistani background who previously used to live in the same neighbourhood as the youth club responded the following:

> Researcher: *Do you think [the neighbourhood] is a safe place to live?*
> Girl: *Hmmm, right now yes, but when I used to live there, no. It wasn't like I didn't dare to go out. I could go out and come home late from training and everything like that. It was ok, but you had to watch out sometimes, you see because you never know. But it was ok before, but now it has become much better I think. And also there are now police cars driving around [the neighbourhood] like all the time.*

During the focus group discussion at the youth club, a 17-year-old boy pointed out that their neighbourhood used to be known as "the ghetto" with signs hanging on trees warning people of the open drug scene. He elaborated that children used to be scared of walking to and from their school which was across the street. The young people continued to talk about instances of stabbing, and even one murder case that took place in the neighbourhood. Despite young people´s perceptions of their neighbourhood as safer now compared to before, one youth worker pointed out that not all boys feel safe and that some have the habit of carrying a knife to protect themselves. This reveals a more serious concern for safety. In the second focus group discussion, one 17-year-old boy brought up the issue of safety when talking about the presence of elder ethnic Norwegian drug addicts in the neighbourhood.

> *When I was younger there used to be a tavern at the area where we live. So I always used to see drug addicts and people that…you could see syringes everywhere. They were just laying there. The police were never there, so they were free to do whatever they wanted to. It was scary to go out at night. You had to be at least two-three people out together just in case something was to happen. Then we would have each other*.

The accounts of young people reveal that even though they perceive their neighbourhood as safer than before, the hazards of their neighbourhood's past are still alive in their memories. This is related to the issue of temporality that is central in Childhood Studies (Hanson, 2017). The history of the neighbourhood as a hazardous arguably affected their subjective well-being as a child. This is reflected in the fact that they talk more about their neighbourhood's past rather than how it is in the present. The fact that some boys still feel unsafe that they carry a knife reveals that they continue to embody the neighbourhood's history as unsafe. The issue of safety is related to the topic

of police and policing, and there seems to be a gender difference. Girls feel safe with having more police in the neighbourhood, whereas boy´s accounts on about the police described in section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police can indicate that police do not necessarily promote their feeling of safety. It can be thought that boys´ perception of police hostility can make them feel less safe. The increased presence of police has been enforced as a safety measure. Efforts to make the neighbourhood safer took place parallel to the revitalization of the neighbourhood. Regenerating the urban area has on its own been seen as an effort to increase safety since worn down urban areas can be experienced as unsafe (Austin & Furr, 2002). Also, young people´s accounts reveal that it was specifically the presence of violence and the open drug scene that created an unsafe environment. Safety efforts have focused on pushing away the open drug scene and preventing incidences of violence which seems to have promoted feelings of safety in the neighbourhood.

Efforts of making the neighbourhood safer and "crime-free" is a reflection of neoliberal urban governance. As Tretter (2013, p. 2226) points out, "making the city secure, safe and clean would encourage regular people to shop, work, play, live and even buy real estate, such as condominiums", contributing to the overall economic development of the neighbourhood. From a neo-liberal thinking, neighbourhood safety can have contradicting effects on the subjective well-being of young people. On one hand, safety is an indicator of children´s well-being in economically advanced countries like Norway (Adamson et al., 2007). On the other hand, the perception of a safer neighbourhood created by the revitalization of the neighbourhood has invited for gentrification which has pushed up housing prices and forced low-income residence, including the young people, into residential instability. As discussed throughout this chapter, the latter is what negatively affects the subjective well-being of young people. It can be argued that young people do feel safe in their neighbourhood, but the structural effects of a safer neighbourhood have made its effects on young people´s subjective well-being a complex issue. Also, the youth worker´s accounts and the young people´s reminiscence of the neighbourhood's past reveal that safety might still be an alive issue for some.

The current study has explored whether young people feel safe in their neighbourhoods. However, as examined in chapter five, some of those who engage in violence and in the drug scene are young people themselves. One of the youth workers mentioned that some people are anxious about walking past the youth club when whenever it is open. This leads to the following analytic question; "do residents of the neighbourhood feel unsafe by the young people?". Although it is beyond the scope of the current research to investigate this question, the media´s portrayal of the neighbourhood, explored in section 6.8 Portrayal of young people in media provides a contribution to the question.

6.5 Neighbourhood services and programs

Being a neighbourhood where half of its residents live with low socioeconomic status, the neighbourhood offers a wide range of free or cheap services and programs for people of all ages. These services and programs include free guidance counselling to young people and young adults, free after school program for children, sport and cultural activities for all people, weekly activities for women, mentorship programs, leadership programs, mental health services, homework tutoring, guidance for the employment process, and so on. Out of the services listed, only guidance counselling and mental health services are operated under Oslo municipality. Most of the services were developed out of social entrepreneurship and initiatives from the local community to address the challenges that existed in the neighbourhood. These services are supported

by the neighbourhood development program Områdeløft (see section 2.4 "Områdeløft" - The "area lift" in East Oslo). When asking a girl what she thought was good about her neighbourhood, she replied that she liked that there are many services that help children and young people. During the second focus group discussion, the young people were asked what they thought of the prejudice directed towards their neighbourhood, to which one girl replied: "I think it has helped us because we have gotten much more services." However, young people appear to have conflicting thoughts and attitudes about the services that cater to the residents of the neighbourhood. One day at the youth club, a local sports club held a presentation during which they claimed that the club had contributed to the reduction of crime and making the neighbourhood safer. A few days later, some of the boys expressed that they disagreed with the sports club and the leadership program´s claims that they have contributed to the crime in the neighbourhood. The boys argued that only ethnic Norwegians use the sports club. One of the female youth workers disagreed with the boys and argued that the sports club and leadership program have had a positive impact on the local community. Another youth worker agreed that those who are in the middle-class benefit most of the money spent in the neighbourhood, including money spent on local services. The youth worker argued that more money needs to be spent on the most vulnerable young people. After attending some of the weekly activities for women, it became immediately evident that mostly ethnic Norwegian women attend these actives. This confirms the boys´ argument that the local services are primarily used by ethnic Norwegians. Moreover, during an informal conversation with one of the workers of a service that provides young people and young adults with guidance on the job-seeking process, it was brought up that none of the young people who usually attend the youth club use their service. She mentioned that only those who are motivated to find a job seek their service. Based on observations, it appears that young people prefer to receive help with homework or with applying for jobs from youth workers at the youth club rather than approaching services. One of the youth clubs I visited offers young people guidance for applying for jobs or schools as a service integrated into the youth club.

The services described above are all social services since their overarching purpose is to build a stronger community. Some of the services and programs that specifically cater to young people have an underlying purpose of preventing young people from a disruptive path. This signifies that young people are approached as "troubled" or "troubling" that need to be addressed for the greater good. For example, homework tutoring aims to prevent young people from dropping out of school. In this sense, young people are seen as "troubled". Services that provide young people with guidance in the job-seeking process operate by the philosophy that employment keeps young people away from the drug scene. In this sense, the service aims to prevent young people from becoming "troubling". Perpetuating the notion of young people as "troubled" or "troubling" can be connected to the notion of "out of placeness", which has been used to refer to unaccompanied children and young people visible on the urban landscape (Hörschelmann & van Blerk, 2012, pg. 87). Essentially, the presence of unaccompanied children and young people in the street is synonymous with delinquency. The overarching aim of social services is to prevent young people from falling out of place.

The services are a form of entrepreneurial social economy (Graefe, 2005) in which profit is measured in terms of improvement in the quality of life of the community. This evidently includes the quality of life and subjective well-being of young people. The local government or neighbourhood programs like Områdeløft support the financial costs of running the services. Initiative for social entrepreneurs to solve a local social problem

with support from the public sector is a form of roll-out neoliberalism. From the perspective of Bourdieu´s theory of practice, these services enable young people to different forms of capital. For example, leadership programs teach young people leadership skills which are a form of cultural capital, and guidance in job-seeking facilitates finding employment were they acquire economic capital. Services and programs can also be arenas for meeting other people with similar ambitions and establishing social capital.

Even though these services are being used by young people in general, accounts from young people at the youth club reveal that they are not the ones who primarily use them. The perceived benefits of the services or program, the perception that they are mostly used by ethnic Norwegians, and their preference to receive help from youth workers reflect their overall perception of local services and programs.

Wager et al. (2007) conducted a study exploring the effect of poverty on children and young people´s access to, perception of and use of services. The study found that children and young people want services with the staff they feel they can trust and who treat them with respect (Wager et al., 2007). Also, informal spaces tend to be important for children and young people from a lower-income household, and they want to be able to "opt-in and opt-out" of the services (Wager et al., 2007). This explains why young people at the youth prefer to receive help from youth workers at the youth club. The young people look up to and trust the youth workers, the youth club is an informal space, and they can ask for help whenever they want without making any commitments to a program or a service.

Overall, local services aim to buffer the negative effects of low socioeconomic status on young people´s subjective well-being. The young people´s preference to seek help from youth workers should not overlook the important impact that local services have on other young people and local residents in general. Due to the young people´s conflicting views, it can be argued that the impact of services on young people´s well-being depends on their perceptions of the service.

6.6 Child welfare services

During the fieldwork, the issue of child welfare services was brought up on multiple occasions. During the focus group discussion at the youth club, the topic of child welfare services emerged when discussing about school. This section can, therefore, be considered an extension of the discussion on young people´s relationship with teacher described in section 5.3.3 Relationship with teachers. To recall from section 5.3.3 Relationship with teachers, young people explained that wearing thin or unfit clothes or having little food in their lunch box in elementary school was enough for the teachers to report concerns for neglect to the child welfare services. The young people recalled feelings of being stigmatized and looked down upon by teachers for continuously suspecting them of being neglected. One of the boys mentioned that his little sister was now experiencing the same issue in school. The accounts also reveal that young people´s impaired relationship with child welfare services stems from their childhood. This shows the temporal dimension of young people´s relationship to the child welfare services in which young people´s experiences as a child shape their present perceptions of the child welfare service.

The youth worker who joined in the discussion pointed out that many families with an immigrant background in the neighbourhood have pending cases in child welfare services. The girls in the interviews revealed the same issue. As described in section 5.1.3 Relationship to school one girl articulated that she wanted to become a social worker in child welfare services. She elaborated that those who work at the child welfare services had no understanding of children and young people in their neighbourhood. She

argued that child protection services conform to the stereotypes placed on young people in the neighbourhood. What she ultimately wanted was to be an ally to the children and young people within the child welfare services. Another girl of Pakistani background expressed that the child welfare service was too invasive in the lives of children and young people by saying that:

> *They are so involved in absolutely everything that we do because…when they get to know what we do, it gets us to become very like (pause). They are thinking "what the hell are they doing" and that makes us mad, you understand? You get so annoyed. When you get annoyed you do things. Afterwards you take things yourself, but you don't want to.*

What she expresses is that young people deal with the frustration raised by intrusive child welfare services by taking narcotics. Even though this remark was made briefly without any elaboration, it is still an issue worthy of concern. Aarons et al. (2008) investigated substance abuse among young people in child welfare. The study found that multiple out-of-home placement changes and entry into child welfare at an older age were associated with a higher risk for involvement in more serious substances for young people in child welfare. Fettes et al. (2013) had similar findings were substance use among young people in child welfare was higher than young people not in child welfare. When though these studies cannot be generalized to a Norwegian population, they do reveal that the girl´s account holds some truth to it.

Young people´s experiences and perceptions of child welfare services as intrusive are of particular interest. One way of understanding this is that an over-involved child welfare services is a response to the view of young people as troubled.
Križ and Skivenes (2010) found that child welfare workers perceived immigrant parents to carry out disciplining methods that are not accepted in Norwegian society. Immigrant children and young people are therefore perceived by the child welfare services as "troubled" they the way they are being raised. Berg et al. (2017) highlight that child welfare services primarily provide aid measures more than implementing care order. The aid measures primarily focus on changing parents' rearing, caring, and disciplining strategies through giving advice and guidance through home visits and conversations at a child welfare office (Berg et al., 2017). Romagnoli and Wall (2012) argue that state-driven interventions to promote intensive mothering practices reflect a neo-liberal social policy trend that places individual responsibility on parents, particularly mothers, for the outcomes of their child.

One youth worker pointed to the broken system of child welfare services. He highlighted that even though there are many competent caseworkers, some are worthy of criticism for dehumanizing children and young people by treating them as case numbers. He elaborated that some caseworkers can be manipulative and push through their own agendas. In a conversation with a member of a youth organization, it was brought up that the issue of child welfare services is widespread in deprived neighbourhoods in East Oslo. She argued that child welfare services should be held accountable for the errors they have made. The criticism of child welfare workers as "dehumanizing" and "manipulative" perpetuates the view of child welfare services as a fragmented system. The denouncement of the Norwegian child welfare is in line with the widespread criticism it has faced in the media (e.g. Hansen, 2019; Thune, 2018).

All together, these accounts reveal that young people have a negative relationship with the child welfare services and that it is recognized as a deeply fractured system embedded in the wider society, which also includes the school and the society´s

stereotypes of young people. Based on the interpretation of the accounts, it is apparent that the child welfare service has had an impairing toll on the subjective well-being of young people, and that young people´s perception of over-involved child welfare has done more harm than good.

6.7 Stigmatization, prejudice, and racism

Having an immigrant background, young people have expressed experiences and feelings of being stigmatized and discriminated by the wider society. In section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police, young people described how they felt profiled by the police based on their physical appearance. Young people are conscious about society´s view of them as delinquents and have experienced how such stigmatization is manifested. When talking about stigmatization, a 17-year-old boy spoke of a day when the youth club was closed, he and his friends went to hang out in the library instead. They were apparently not welcomed at the library and got "kicked out", as he himself puts it. He further articulated that because of the stigma of young people as 'violent' and 'delinquents', the police tend to exaggerate small instances to make them look bad. Moreover, the trainer of the boys' football team told me about a time when the young people had to sell socks to collect money for a trip abroad. The people they were trying to sell socks to had suspected the young people for stealing the socks. The young people had to call their trainer to confirm to the people they were selling socks to that the socks were not stolen. Young people from a different neighbourhood revealed in the second focus group discussion that they too experience double prejudice for being a young person from East Oslo and for having an immigrant background.

> Boy 1: *[Our neighbourhood] is a little prejudicial also. For example, politicians and police say that all young people are criminals, which is not true.*
> Girl 1: *Agree.*
> Boy 2: *Also, for example, old people say that "yes this generation is messed up already", even though that is not true because there are many that do well at school too. There are those kinds of prejudice.*
> *….*
> Boy 1: *The thing is that people from other areas see us as very ghetto, that we are this and that.*
> Girl 3: *When a group of people does something bad, then all attention is drawn towards them. That is what people see.*

The discussion on prejudice continued when they were asked:

> Researcher: *What kind of feelings appear when you hear prejudicial things about your neighbourhood?*
> Boy 1: *It is just sad really. It is sad that people can think like that. Just because you are from a particular place then you are probably this and that. All people are different.*

Moreover, one boy shared a story of a time he and his friends encountered what he describes as a bizarre incident of racism.

> .... *so we went to this restaurant in [a neighbourhood], which is right over there somewhere. So we went there and we sat down. It was just the four of us. We just sat at the table and started eating. And so this guy just comes in and he was smoking a blunt, like a really big blunt. And I think there was some kind of weed*

in it because it smelled really weird. He was like chalk white, just a regular white guy who just walks in and looks at us and one of my friends was black. He goes to him, takes his chicken and starts eating it. And then the worst part is he just started saying "thank you brother, I appreciated my" and then he said the n-word. I was like "no", this man just said the n-word. You cannot say that. And after that my friend he just sat there and he looks at the guy and looks at me, and he said "wait, did this guy just say the n-word and he started eating my food". And he was just sitting there like this the whole time (shaking hands). And he [the Norwegian man] just started saying random stuff. I don't even know what he said. And he just randomly starts taking out his passport, and he said "if any of you guys take this I am doing to shank you". I was like hold up. Did this man just said he is going to shank us if we take his passport? I was like, all of us are Norwegian we have your passport. And then he just snaps and is like "oh ok, if you are Norwegian then it is ok". And then after that he just starts point a fake gun at us, and he just points at me. He is like "Iran Iraq boom". And then the other guy, he is just like "Syria boom". And then he says to the other guy, he said "Sudan boom". And then to the last guy he was like "Afghanistan boom". I just thought it was like what is going on. I was like it is no way this is happening right now. This is not possible. And then after that we were just like no way, we have to go. This is not ok.

It was evident that the boy felt impacted by the incident at the restaurant by the eager way he told the story. He appeared to be at awe himself that he had experienced this incident. The story perpetuates the prejudice to an explicit encounter of racism. Although this story is unique and is not a situation that young people encounter frequently, it demonstrates that racism is still an alive issue, even if it reveals itself in the form of the actions of an intoxicated person. Unlike the rest of the world where race is both acknowledged and seen as a dimension of inequality, in Norway there is a societal claim that race does not matter. This view is unhelpful when it comes to having an open and frank discussions about race and racism, especially when racism is often manifested in subtle and ambiguous ways. The boy told his story in a social setting where multiple heard the story. Because of this idea that race does not matter, no one openly commented on the evident racism in this boy´s story.

What is of interest in the accounts of the young people, is that they seem to be attentive and reflective about being depicted as troubling to the society, either as "criminals" or as "violent". This upsets them because they perceive the prejudice and stigma as not true and unfair. The accounts of young people reveal that prejudice is either tied to the reputation of their neighbourhood or their immigrant background. The stereotypes and prejudice are a reflection of the social construction of young people based on their neighbourhood's history as a dangerous place and their immigrant background that characterize their neighbourhood. It appears that the stereotypes and prejudice are echoes of the neighbourhood's notorious past.

The prejudice directed towards young people that labels them as "the risk" that threatens the social harmony of the society is entangled in a neoliberal way of thinking. Brown et al. (2013) argue that in a neoliberal paradigm, poor and less educated young people face the challenge of achieving a desirable or acceptable position in society. Brown et al. (2013, p. 335) further argue that the neoliberal approach "shift risk onto individuals and define risks as individual problems to solve", and that "this shift, and its neglect of social context, impacts upon young people and their health and well-being". It can further be elaborated that placing the responsibility of issues like delinquency and

violence on individual young people, rather than recognizing it as a structural issue perpetuates prejudice and stigmatization.

Moreover, it is worth revisiting Sandberg´s article on ethnicity and violence on the streets of Oslo (2008) where stereotyping is discussed. Accounts in the current study show that stereotypes and prejudice towards young people disenfranchise them. However, Sandberg (2008) finds that young men enact the stereotype of the "dangerous foreigner" as a form of embodied street capital because it gives them protection and status in the street rather than letting the stereotypes make them powerless. Even though the young people did not give accounts of them enacting the stereotypes, observations discussed on the theme of police (see section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police) reveal that some do as a way of dealing with the society´s stereotypes.

Howarth (2002) examined the marginalization and stigmatization of being young in Brixton in the south of London. Similar to the current research, young people were depicted as "criminal, aggressive and essentially ´other´" for simply being from Brixton (Howarth, 2002, p. 240). The young people in Howarth´s study (2002) also reveal that is it difficult for them to not conform to prejudiced. One of the participants in Howarth´s (2002) study described how aggressive behaviours is sometimes expected, and how such expectations upset and anger young people, resulting to certain social encounters are, as well as appear to be, aggressive. It cannot be ruled out that the same can apply to the young people in deprived areas in East Oslo. Both Sandberg (2008) and Howarth (2002) explain why young people act out the stereotypes and prejudices about them.

Based on the interpretation of the accounts, it can be argued that young people´s feelings on unfair and inaccurate stigmatization, prejudice, and racism towards them have a negative impact on their subjective well-being. They feel that they do not deserve being stigmatized, and argue that media is a significant source for the prejudice and stigmatization, which is discussed in the next section.

6.8 Portrayal of young people in media

Media´s portrayal of young people is another topic that affects their subjective well-being. Conversations with the young people at the youth club revealed that they are poorly depicted by the media which they themselves are conscious about and feel negatively affected by. When discussing the issue of prejudice in the second focus group discussion, the young people were asked why they thought people held prejudice against them, to which one of the boys replied "*they watch the news and movies*". The rest of the young people elaborated by talking about the difference in how media accounts for the wrongdoings of ethnic Norwegians and ethnic minorities.

> Boy 1: *For example, the news tends to stretch out things a little more. Like 'immigrants have probed a store' and things like that.*
> Boy 2: *And the worst is when a foreigner does something criminal, for example if he shoots someone. Ok, fine, he has to go to jail right away. And like I have noticed, if it was a white person then they say that he is mentally ill. It does not make any sense. How could you say that just because he is white then he has problems or is sick, and if he is a foreigner then he is just a bad person.*

These accounts are interesting because they reflect a tendency in the western world to individualize societal problems and to look away from the link between society and the individual.

During an interview with a 16-year-old girl, the girl talks about how the media constantly highlights the bad things that happen in one particular neighbourhood. The

girl says "*they always talk crap about [the neighbourhood].… The thing is that always when something happens, it is always in [the neighbourhood]*".

Young people´s concerns about how they are depicted in the media make it relevant to examine the media publications that perpetuate young people´s "undeserving" reputation. This can be examined by investigating how young people´s actions are reasoned in media. The majority of media publications are news articles reporting crime and violence conducted by young people. The police highlighted in one news article that "common to many of the cases was that perpetrators were young men of foreign origin" which is written in bold font in the article (Tanstad, 2019). In another news article, the police describe a night of multiple incidences of violence where the perpetrators have been young people as "business as usual" and that the wave of violence was not a surprise to the police (Gimse, 2019). Also, the young people who have committed multiple acts of violence are labelled as "gjengangere" (e.g. Bøhler, 2019; Stolt-Nielsen, 2019) which means that they are repeating offenders. The media tends to highlight that violence among young people of immigrant background is increasing, which tends to be described as "worrying" with an urgent call for stepping up measures to deal with the issue (e.g. Haugsbrø, 2020; Lyngstad, 2020; Zondag & Reigstad, 2019). In addition to the news, there is also a growing body of documentaries, tv-series, movies and music about immigrant young people in east Oslo with a particular emphasis on issues relating to poverty, drug scene, and violence.[5]

It appears that the media has had a negative unilateral portrayal of young people with a focus on youth people as perpetrators of violence and crime. The young people experience such a portrayal as unfair because they do not identify themselves with the way they were depicted by the media. The excessive reporting of young people as perpetrators of crime and violence endure the view of young people are "troubling" and problematic to society. Hansen (2008, pg. 10) suggests that from a "problem-oriented" perspective, young people are defined as "troublesome and therefore prone to problematic behaviour that needs controlling and curtailing". This is reflected in how politicians and the police frequently call for increased measures to tackle young people´s problematic behaviour in the media. Additionally, the vast majority law-abiding young people of immigrant background might arguably feel most unsettled when the media accentuate that perpetrators have also had an immigrant background. The police´s description of a night with a wave of violence as "business as usual" cater to the view that acts of violence are expected from young people and that it is not considered to be out of the ordinary. This arguably contributes to normalizing the view of young people as troublers of the society. This view is also intertwined with the labelling of the repeating offenders as "gjengangere" which places an expectation on young people to re-offend. Media´s construction of young people with an immigrant background as essentially bad raises the analytic question of the media´s role in perpetuating young people´s acts of crime and violence. Taking into account that young people themselves argue that prejudice originates from the media, as well as previous discussions on how young people embody the prejudice against them, it can be cautiously argued that the media is part of the equation of young people´s delinquent behaviours.

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[5] For example, the NRK tv-series 17 and 18 and the documentary Norske tilstander (Norwegian conditions), which is part of the NRK documentary series Brennpunkt focus of lives if immigrant young people in east Oslo.

Based on the current discussion, it can be argued that it is the prejudice and stigma that young people experience as a result of media´s portrayal of young people as criminals and violent is what negatively affects their subjective well-being.

6.9 Civic engagement and a desire to be heard

During the fieldwork, I observed young people´s civic engagement and their collective desire to be heard. Others in the community also spoke of young people´s previous acts of civic engagement. Social entrepreneurship and civic engagement are flourishing among young people in the neighbourhood. There are several social organizations created by young people or young adults that aim to address issues of public concern such as recycling, creating meeting spaces, and providing work experience for other young people. Through the financial fund provided Områdeløft, the neighborhood has a structural basis to provide support and guidance to young people to realize their socially innovative ideas. Local residences that engage in social entrepreneurship are often described as "enthusiasts", or "ildsjeler" in Norwegian. Young people also excel in civic engagement in other ways. For example, young people can be role models to those who are younger. A 17-year-old boy revealed this during the focus group discussion at the youth club. He pointed out that young people are motivated to make good choices in life for the sake of the children who look up to them. Children finding themselves in crime situations is a public concern, and young people have a sense of responsibility for supervising them when they hang out together. Young people are also actively engaged in organizations that have gained recognition for bringing positive social change within the community. For example, the football club many of the young people play in has gain recognition for embracing diversity and integration. Also, young people in the second focus group discussion together constitute part of another sports club that won a price for creating social inclusion among young people in their local multicultural community. The young people in the sports clubs feel a sense of ownership and pride for being part of a sports club that has a greater purpose that is more than just physical training. Young people also demonstrate subtler forms of civic engagement in forms of mere participation. For example, in another youth club that I occasionally visited, the youth people would actively participate in running the youth club, including cooking and baking, participating in the planning and execution of activities, and taking collective responsibility that everyone feels included in the youth club.

A hand full of young people have also demonstrated civic engagement by making themselves heard in the media or in local meetings where they have advocated for the public issues that concern young people collectively. Young people´s relationship with the police and their desire to have more and better quality leisure activities have been some of the imperative issues that concern all young people. They have a desire to not only be heard but to also have their meanings and concerns taken seriously. Both young people and youth workers have commented that high profiled politicians have on multiple occasions visited the youth club. On these occasions, young people have had the opportunity to express their concerns with hopes and expectations that their concerns will be addressed. Young people have themselves taken the initiative to invite politicians to the youth club to make themselves heard. However, on each occasion, they were left disappointed when their concerns were left unaddressed. Young people experience politicians´ efforts to listen to young people as a waste of time and as mere tokenism that ultimately benefited the image of the politician. Inviting high profiled politicians have enabled nothing more than publicity. Even though one boy and a girl articulated by the end of the focus group discussion at the youth club that the discussion was interesting, another boy argued that it was no point in having such this discussion because it would

not lead to any change. He explicitly said, *"we don't have a voice"*. It was evident that they all have thoughts, opinions, and experiences that they want stakeholders to listen to and use as a basis for igniting real change. However, it was also apparent they had given up on making themselves heard. This was particularly evident when the police on one occasion came to talk to the young people at the youth club, and the police received nothing more than resentment and rejection (see section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police). Young people experience a sense of structural marginalization when they are not being listened to or taken seriously by politicians and policy-makers. This reveals itself in an excerpt of a rap song written by a boy:

> This city has a lot to say, I am just one voice
> ….
> I have seen a lot, you should have known
> If the politicians listen, I hope they get pissed.
> The borough is known because someone placed us last.

Young people´s expression of civic engagement and the desire to make themselves heard was particularly strong during a counterdemonstration against a demonstrating group intending to spread racist and xenophobic message in their neighbourhood. The young people gave their ideas and suggestions to community workers on how to successfully execute the counterdemonstration and ways they could diminish the voices of the demonstrating group. They were determined to not let the demonstrating group succeed in spreading their message in their neighbourhood. The young people spend approximately a week before the counterdemonstration discussing the event amongst themselves.

Through civic engagement, young people become assets of their neighbourhood and contest the view of them as either "troubled" or "troubling". It contradicts the media´s depiction of them as delinquents, as described in section 6.8 Portrayal of young people in media. Young people´s civic engagement and their desire to be heard not only prove that they are social actors, but that they are citizens of their neighbourhood by being active participants of their neighbourhood community. This is arguably related to their sense of belonging and attachment to their neighbourhood as discussed in section 5.1.2 Attachment and belonging to neighbourhood. Their desire to address issues that concern residents demonstrate that they feel part of the neighbourhood and feel a sense of devotion to contribute to addressing the issues. As Edwards (2009, p. 29) puts it, "having an economic (or physical or psychological) investment in a 'place' has been considered to give individuals a reason to connect with, and contribute to, communities". Also, young people´s participation in different clubs and organization that aspire to create social inclusion make them part of something greater that benefit the community as a whole. It can be though that their active participation ignites a sense of ownership to the club or organization they are apart of. Additionally, it can be argued that civic engagement and desire to be heard are intrinsically related because young people ultimately want to voice issues that have value to all young people with a hope that it will make a difference in the community.

Young people´s experience of not being taken seriously when they try to voice their concerns can be understood in different ways. It might be that those in a position to make a change are not accustomed to the idea that young people have thoughts and opinions that are valuable and worthy of being taken seriously. Another way of understanding this is that politicians and policymakers might have a genuine intention of taking young people´s thoughts and opinions seriously, but bureaucracy might make it

challenging to make changes that address them. This limits young people´s access to the policy-making process. It can be thought that this can have implications on their voting behaviour when they reach the voting age. Edwards (2009) argues that disenfranchised young people abstain from voting because they have the conviction that the government does not do anything for them. Comparatively, young people see no point in articulating their opinions because of their belief that politicians will not do anything for them. This reflects that young people are dissatisfied with the current political system. Some young people take the matter of change into their own hands through social entrepreneurship as well as other forms of civic engagement. Through social entrepreneurship, young people acquire knowledge, skills, and experience in the form of cultural capital that is particularly valuable when they later apply for jobs. They also acquire a wider social network that constitutes part of their social capital as their quest to realize their idea puts them in contact with different people. Some also succeed in acquiring economic capital through their business. Young people´s efforts of taking matters into their own hands demonstrate the decentralization of the government and the ethos of individualism that defines neoliberal governmentality (Goessling, 2017). Their social enterprices is part of local initiatives that overall aim to improve the well-being of the community. According to Goessling (2017), neoliberalism can both constrain and affords youth participation. Decentralization of the government disables politicians to take actions to address the concerns of young people, meaning that their efforts to speak directly to politicians is not an effective way of civic engagement in a neoliberal setting. However, locally-based organizations receive government funding to enable and support young people´s civic engagement, whether it is in the form of social entrepreneurship or being active participants of youth clubs. In a broader sense, the neighbourhood receives funding to take responsibility for their residents' well-being by enabling local initiatives by residents themselves.

Overall, young people´s civic engagement and desire to be heard is not only a matter of individual subjective well-being, but it is also about their efforts to promote a collective well-being in their neighbourhood.

6.10 Summary

The current chapter has identified and analysed the structural processes that affect the subjective well-being of young people in intricate ways. While chapter five shows that young people are socially included through their social relationships, this chapter shows how young people are structurally excluded. Structural processes in their neighbourhood, particularly the more recent changes in the neighbourhood, have marginalized young people. It can be though that young people´s sense of attachment and belonging to their neighbourhood can make being structurally excluded particularly detrimental to their subjective well-being. Young people ultimately want to be valued members of the community that constitutes part of their neighbourhood where their needs, wishes, and concerns are taken seriously.

Chapter seven: Ideas on policy and practice change

One of the key purposes of this research is to suggest ideas for practices and policies change in various actors in Oslo municipality that have an influence on the subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socio-economically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo. Throughout the fieldwork, the young people were asked what they thought various actors in Oslo Municipality should do to improve the subjective well-being of young people. The policy and practice ideas provided in this chapter use young people´s responses to this question as a point of departure. The current chapter is an intersection of a third analysis chapter and a policy and practice chapter because it

primarily relies on the accounts of young people to provide ideas on practice and policy implications. The mantra that children are experts in their own lives that dominate contemporary child research (e.g. Clark & Statham, 2005; Mason & Danby, 2011) is in this research stretched further to include that young people in an action-oriented research can suggest solutions to the issues that they face. Young people have given recommendations to the following actors; the youth clubs, schools and teachers, the police, child welfare services, the local government, politicians, and the media. The ideas provided here should be understood in consideration of the additional accounts of young people about the various actors as described in chapters five and six.

7.1 Youth clubs should cater more to the needs and wishes of young people

Youth clubs should organize more activities which can make the time young people spend in the youth more rewarding. Young people should participate in deciding, planning, and implementing more activities. This can give young people more ownership of the youth club. Another youth club in East Oslo that frequently arranges activities with its users have done activities such as cooking courses, dance courses, going to the movies, and doing laser tag. Organizing activities will cost more money. The financing of youth clubs should, therefore, include activities. Putting more money into youth clubs is ultimately an investment in the well-being of its users. Youth clubs can also benefit from being more structured and putting more effort into making the youth club a safe and welcoming space. Some youth clubs manage this by having a strict age limit and having more supervision over who enters the youth clubs, for example by asking young people to show their ID card before entering. The youth workers are also actively engaged in making sure that everyone in the youth club feels welcomed. Youth clubs should also have clear rules that everyone is expected to follow. Rules should, among other things, make it explicit that narcotics are not allowed and that everyone has to treat each other with respect. Young people have also expressed that they want longer opening hours and more days open during the week. This reflects the fact that young people have little to do and want to have a place to be in, away from the hazards of the street. One youth club in East Oslo does have long opening hours, particularly during the daytime, with the intention of providing a safe place to young people with high absents from school and to those who have dropped out. Organizing more activities, making youth clubs more structured, and extending opening hours should be part of a greater effort of improving the overall quality of youth clubs and improving its effects on young people´s well-being.

7.2 School and teachers should *"take care of the children"*

The young person saying this quote uses the word "children" to refer to young people in schools. Taking *"care of the children"* can be interpreted as a call to teachers and schools to be more attentive and responsive to the ill-being of students. Teachers should, first and foremost, become more conscious about how the comments and guidance they give to young people can affect their self-esteem and learning. The Education Directorate (2016) defines a supportive teacher as someone who shows both emotional and academic support, in which the latter includes that teacher showing interest in the student's ability to achieve, as well as maintaining motivation for learning. Teachers should be reminded of this definition of a supportive teacher. Secondly, schools should *"take care"* of students who have high absenteeism or are at-risk for dropping out. This includes taking the necessary measures earlier to follow up these students. As several youth workers have pointed out, measures should be set in place well before entering high school. Young people´s right to be express their opinions and to be taken seriously, referring to article 12 of the UNCRC (1989), should be an integral part of developing measures for individual students. Thirdly, in order for schools and teachers to *"take care"* of their students, they should take the time time to get to know the individual

students and build a relationship with them. One girl of Pakistani background clearly described how a poor relationship with teachers contributes to behavioural problems in the classroom: *"When they make things difficult for us, then we don't want to learn. Do you get it? And when we don't want to learn, what do we do then? We become noisy".* Previous research also supports that teacher´s positive personal relationships with students benefit young people in many ways, from better academic performance to fewer behavioural problems in the classroom (e.g. Decker et al., 2007; Hughes, 2011). Building relationship with students, particularly with those have high absence from school or at-risk of dropping out, should entail schools and teacher being more sensitive to the home environment and life circumstances of young people they teach. This can require increasing competence about the difficulties students can have, and increase dialogue between teachers, school nurse, parents, as well as the student. Young people ultimately want to be taken seriously, be seen and heard in school, and want teachers to genuinely care for their well-being.

7.3 Police should "be nicer to young people"

There are several ways police can "*be nicer to young people*". First, young people´s call to the police to simply "be nicer" might entail that they want to be treated fairly. Section 5.3.4 Experiences with the police shows that young people in the current study experience encounters with the police as neither fair nor legitimate when they feel that they are being stopped when doing nothing wrong because of their physical appearance. It is particularly important that the police use procedurally just practices when approaching young people. This can entail that police are transparent to the young people about why they are being stopped and searched. Second, the police can "be nicer" by changing the way they approach young people. For example, the police can approach young people by asking them how they are rather than directly interrogating them as if the young people have done something wrong. A member of a youth organization argued that much of the problem in the relationship between the police and young people lies in the way the police approach young people in the street. She suggested that all police officers in East Oslo should receive the same training on how to approach young people in the streets. Third, young people´s perception of the police as not nice can be perpetuated by their lack of trust towards the police. The police should aim at building a relationship with young people that is based on gaining trust.

Some young people have also articulated that the police should not be present in the neighbourhood as much as they are. One 16-year-old girl had the following to say about the police

> *Don't be so much around [the neighbourhood] just because it gets people to think 'oh shit, there is the police, we have to go'… It is safe with the police and without the police. I am not saying that they should not be there, but that they should not be there too much.*

This suggests that some might feel distressed by the excessive presence of police in their neighbourhood. However, as long as crime levels remain high in the neighbourhood, it is unlikely that the presence of police will be reduced. Nevertheless, alternatives should be evaluated on how police can address crime in the neighbourhood without unnecessarily impairing the subjective well-being of law-abiding young people and other residents. A possible solution is to concentrate the presence of visible police in hot spot locations for crime, which is seen as a proactive policing strategy (Braga et al., 2019). For the rest of the neighbourhood, more investment should be placed on local initiatives and programs for crime reduction, such as community patrolling by residents themselves in close

collaboration with the police. To my knowledge, there exist several local initiatives throughout East Oslo that promote the safety of the neighbourhood.

Overall, young people have the right to be treated with care, respect, and dignity regardless of whether they have committed a crime or not (UNCRC, Article 40, 1989). Young people´s suggestion to the police to simply "be nicer" is a small act that has the potential to create positive outcomes in the relationship between young people and the police.

7.4 Child welfare should "not be involved in absolutely everything that we do"

In section 6.6 Child welfare services young people´s accounts reveal that they have a broken relationship with the child welfare services which they experience as intrusive. The child welfare services cannot refrain from their duties and obligations posed upon then by the Child Welfare Act. However, the child welfare service must address the biases and malpractices that particularly affect young people of ethnic minorities in low-income neighbourhoods. It can be thought that bias to this group of young people, sustained by a lack of competence about minority families, have prompted the child welfare services´ tendency to take readily measures in the lives of minority families. Young people´s accounts of overly involved child welfare are consistent with the fact that children and young people of ethnic minority backgrounds are overrepresented in child welfare statistics in Norway (Berg et al., 2017; Paulsen et al., 2014). One way of reducing the over-involvement of child welfare is to develop measures that fall outside the norms of "traditional" measures that can better fit the sociocultural diversity of the local residents. For example, Berg et al. (2017) recommend the implementation of network-based measures in which parents with an immigrant background can share their experiences with each other. A network approach to child welfare can be expanded to community-based initiatives for interventions and prevention. For example, local organizations, with the support of child welfare services, should take initiative to provide aid and support to parents and young people in the local community. Young people appear to have more trust and confidence in their local community than what they refer to as "the system", which the child welfare service is part of. In a multicultural neighbourhood where the majority of immigrant residents practice collectivistic culture, it can be suggested that community-based child welfare, with the indirect involvement of child welfare services, can be a more beneficial approach. Increased reliance on community-based initiatives for providing aid and support to struggling families can also relieve some burden of overwork that affect child welfare workers (see Baugerud, 2019). Moreover, it can be thought that young people´s feeling of intrusive child welfare is a reflection of a lack of knowledge about the duties and obligations of child welfare services. It can be suggested to increase information and dialogue with the entire immigrant community about the work that child welfare services do. Creating a dialogue between the child welfare and the immigrant community, including the young people, can relieve some of the distrust young people have towards child welfare services. In general, the child welfare services should be more critically reflective about the necessity of the extent of involvement in the lives of immigrant children and young people, and whether the decisions they make contain any bias. Young people´s accounts reveal that the over-involvement of child welfare services can do more harm and good for their well-being. The best interest of the child should always be the guiding principle for child welfare workers, and consideration should be made on whether the best interest of children with an immigrant background should be attended to differently.

7.5 The local government should *"create more jobs for young people"* and financially support recreational activities

As discussed in section 5.2.2 Young people´s desire to work, many young people share the desire to work. Both young people and stakeholders acknowledge that youth employment can contribute to reducing involvement in the drug scene. An organization that helps young people in the employment process argues that the local government should get better in creating more jobs specifically for young people and not leave this responsibility solely to the private market. The organization further argued that young people need and want stable long-term part-time jobs and not only temporary seasonal jobs. Both the private and public sectors have social reasonability for creating jobs for young people. Having faith and investment in young people can, in the long run, have payoffs in society, particularly in the form of reduced youth crime. During a seminar about youth employment, HR. manger for McDonald's revealed that they *"hire for attitude"* and *"train for skill"*. Potential employers in both the public and private sector should adopt a similar mindset when it comes to employing young people. Young people, particularly those in low-income families, should also be followed up during employment to make sure that they excel in their position. However, employment should not let young people undermine the value of achieving formal education. Young people articulate that they want to work for the experience. However, the local government should not overlook the reality that young people might also be driven to earn money to economically help their families and to cover own personal expenses, such as clothing and leisure activities. Young people´s desire to work must be approached as a reflection of a more comprehensive issue of socio-economic deprivation. Additionally, young people need to acquire the soft skills needed to succeed in the workforce. It can be suggested to create a course for young people to learn about what is expected of them in the workspace and to practice useful skills like teamwork and communication. This suggestion is made based on observations and interactions with young people which raised speculations that some might have social and behavioural challenges that might hinder their quest for employment.

Additionally, section 5.1.2 The use of youth clubs reveals that there is a lack of financial support from the local government for recreational activities of young people. According to 31 of the UNCRC (1989) entitles young people to engage in recreational activities, which the local government should support. As discussed in section 5.2.1 Participation in leisure activities, young people´s engagement in recreational activities is important for their subjective well-being as it provides meaning, content, and structure to their everyday lives, and keeps young people away from the hazards of the streets. The financial support of young people´s recreational activities should be considered as a positive investment in young people´s subjective well-being.

7.6 Politicians should "listen to the children, as in what we want and what we need"

Even though the girl saying this excerpt uses the word "child", what she is referring to includes young people by using the pronoun "we". The girl continues to say

> *Do we need more [youth] clubs, do we need more alternatives to leisure activities? … They should look after our needs. I am going to be honest. There are not that many rich people in [the neighbourhood]. I want politicians to see that. I would not say that they are poor, but the parents don't have the opportunity to give children what they want. So I want the politicians to help them*.

The girl's call to the politicians to listen to the needs and desires of young people is in line with young people´s desire to be heard and taken seriously described in section 6.9 Civic engagement and a desire to be heard . The girl also wants politicians to particularly

help those who are economically disadvantaged. In light of the shift towards local governance in line with neoliberal principles (Geddes, 2005), it can be thought that local politicians that represent the borough that young people live in can best attend to young people´s needs and wishes. One possible measure is to invite young people to meetings when discussing issues that affect them. Another suggestion is that local politicians can take the initiative to visit young people in spaces that they dominate, like youth clubs, where they can engage in various forms of participatory democracy. Bulling et al. (2013) point out the importance of including relevant stakeholders in deliberative processes between young people and politicians. Participatory democracy underlines the relevance of politicians and other societal and institutional decision- and policy-makers listening to young people. The neighbourhood has previously implemented participatory budgeting, which is one form of participatory democracy (Cabannes, 2004), with local residents, including a group of young people. According to one of the youth workers, one way of participatory budgeting has taken place was that young people participated in deciding how funds would be distributed to various local projects. A handful of young people have been involved in participatory processes in the neighbourhood where they have had an active voice in decision-making processes. However, this contradicts with the accounts of young people of not being heard (see section 6.9 Civic engagement and a desire to be heard). The young people in this study appear to be more concerned about the issues that have a direct and pragmatic effect on their lives. There is ultimately a group of young people that feel that their voices are not being heard and attended to. The girl saying the above excerpt point out that politicians should particularly attend to those living in socio-economic deprivation. This suggests that it is especially important to the listing to young people in low socio-economic households. It can be thought that they feel most excluded for participatory processes. Moreover, each borough has a youth council that represents the interests of young people to politicians and policy-makers, and have an advisory role for the municipality and the county council (see Bufdir, 2019). It can be suggested that the youth council should engage more directly with other young people in the neighbourhood and be an active representative of the voices of the young people. Efforts should be made to give the youth council the power to have real influence in political decision-making.

Initiatives to listen to young people´s needs and wishes will not work if young people have lost the hope that politicians and policy-makers will take them seriously and attend to their needs and wishes (see section 6.9 Civic engagement and a desire to be heard). This shows that young people have lost their trust and confidence in anyone claiming that they intend to ignite change. Article 12 of the UNCRC (1989) entitles young people not only the right to be heard, but also have their views taken seriously in the issues that affect them. Therefore, politicians and policy-makers have to commit to young people´s views and work towards regaining their trust. Politicians and policy-makers must not fall into the trap of interpreting young people´s lack of engagement as apathetic or disinterest. It is evident that they feel disillusioned by unfilled promises, but their desire to be heard is very much alive.

7.7 Media should not "talk so much shit about [our neighbourhood]"

It is apparent that the majority of young people do not identify themselves with how they are being depicted by the media. They also do not identify how their neighbourhood is being portrayed. Young people simply do not want the media to emphasize the negative aspects of their neighbourhood and the young people that reside in it. The media news outlets´ purpose of delivering news to the general public cannot be denied. However, journalists should be more conscious about how the way they report news about young people in relation to a specific neighbourhood can have a

psychological impact on their young audience from that neighbourhood. When it comes to issues such as youth crime, journalists tend to rely on police accounts to report facts about incidences. Young people´s voices are missing in media coverage, and journalists should more often opt to seek young people's perspectives. Journalists should also be cautious with the use of statements that risk generalizing attributes to specific neighbourhoods. Young people in the second focus group discussion highlight that there are many positive aspects to their neighbourhood that rarely received the same level of media coverage. Media outlets should also increase their reporting of the positive accomplishments of young people and other residents in neighbourhoods that have otherwise a poor reputation. Reporting positive aspects of young people and their neighbourhood can empower young people, and can promote their well-being in accordance with article 17 of the UNCRC (1989) which enables children and young people the right to be protected from material that could harm them.

Reporting on crime tends to sell more papers and is considered more newsworthy (Cox, 2011). This provides an explanation as to why the media tend to be overemphasized with negative issues such as youth crime. This raises the question of whether it is morally acceptable that the media´s ambition of producing "newsworthy" and sellable stories can go at the expense of potentially harming the well-being of young people. Moreover, it can be suggested that the media should refrain from the use of labelling terms like "gjengangere", which is the term used to refer to re-offending young people. The term can have a stigmatizing effect and can sensationalize media stories of youth crime.

7.8 Increasing cooperation between stakeholders

After meeting various organizations and stakeholders during the fieldwork, one of the key issues that I found out is that they all appear to share the same interest in increasing their cooperation with each other. There are many agencies that have an overarching goal of improving the subjective well-being of children and young people in Oslo. Such agencies include schools, the cultural sector, volunteer organizations, social entrepreneurial organizations, the local government, neighbourhood programs like Områdeløft, etc. There is a need for smart networks and transformational partnerships in which organizations with similar mindsets work together to achieve the same goals. Partnerships between multiple stakeholders constitute part of goal 17.17 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (n.d.) which states "encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships". Researchers and academia should be an integral part of inter-organization relations to develop practice and policy that are based on research. One way of facilitating cooperation and partnership is to support existing initiatives that build bridges between people and stakeholders, as well as among various stakeholders. More organizations should also take the initiative of creating a dialogue between stakeholders. Partnerships should move from being transactional to transformational based on long-term ambitions and mutual collaboration.

7.9 Summary

This chapter has provided some ideas and suggestions on how various actors can promote the subjective well-being of young people. Most stakeholders do not need to make big structural reforms in order to promote the subjective well-being of young people. Often subtle changes in practice are enough to have a significant impact. A common suggestion to all stakeholders is to listen to young people´s perspectives and opinions and taking them seriously. In this way, each stakeholder can improve themselves based on young people´s own accounts. Young people ultimately want to become inclusive members of the society which treats them fairly and respectfully.

Chapter eight: Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to investigate the multidimensional processes that shape the subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socioeconomically diverse neighbourhoods in East Oslo. This chapter aims to provide a conclusion to the research. It will first summarize key findings of the research in relation to its three research objectives. The chapter will then provide some theoretical reflections on young people´s subjective well-being and reflections of the participatory fieldwork. The chapter will end with providing suggestions for future research.

8.1 Key findings

As described in the introduction (see section 1.4 Research aim, objective, and questions) this research builds on three research objectives. The first objective is to examine how young people´s subjective well-being is manifested in their every-day lives. This includes their relationship to various social spaces in their neighbourhood, how they manage ill-being, and their inter-generational relationships. Young people have a strong sense of attachment to their neighbourhood and youth clubs are an essential part of it. Youth clubs are where they hang out with their friends and can interact with youth workers. They are important spaces for keeping young people away from the streets which are filled with temptations for crime, violence, and delinquency. School is another place that affects the subjective well-being of young people. Young people articulate that they go to school to be with their friends. However, stress-related to absence limit, school work, and the view of the school as a broken system cause both ill-being and ill-"becoming", which manifest itself through absenteeism and dropouts. Leisure activities, such as playing sports and producing music, play a crucial role in promoting the subjective well-being of young people since they provide meaningful content to their every-day lives and keep them away from the hazards of the street. As a result of socio-economic deprivation, young people want to become more financially independent by working. However, the difficulties of finding employment as a minor tempt a handful of young people to earn learn quick money through the drug scene. Additionally, negative emotions in young boys that arise from experiences of stigmatization and marginalization can reveal itself in the form of violent behaviour. Finally, inter-generational relations play an important role in shaping the subjective well-being of young people. Young people have positive relationships with youth workers defined by trust, whereas distrust and unfairness characterize their relationship with police and teachers.

The second objective is to understand how structural processes in their neighbourhood shape young people´s subjective well-being. In recent years, several socio-economically deprived and culturally diverse neighbourhoods have underdone the neighbourhood revitalization program Områdeløft. The program has led to residential instability and gentrification, resulting in the marginalization of low-income young people and their families. Moreover, the revitalization has promoted young people´s sense of safety. However, with gentrification as the by-product of a safer neighbourhood, safety has not necessarily had a defining impact on young people´s subjective well-being. Young people feel that the changes in their neighbourhood, including increased services, programs, and amenities, cater more towards children and ethnic Norwegians and other groups of residences. Young people want changes that they can directly benefit from and that have pragmatic value to them. Additionally, racism, prejudice, stigmatization, and unfair treatment from the wider society, including child welfare services, the media, and politicians, can have a profound impact on young people's subjective well-being.

The third objective is to examine what stakeholders can do to promote the subjective well-being of young people by relying on the changes that young people want

to see in different stakeholders. There are many actors in the civil society in East Oslo that have a stake in the subjective well-being of young people. Young people want to receive fair, just, and respectful treatment by their school and teachers, the police, the media, and the child welfare services. They want to be seen, heard, and taken seriously by politicians and society, including having their ambitions to work and make money the right way catered to by the local government. They also want the child welfare services to be less intrusive, entailing that they need to address issues of distrust and bias. Youth clubs are important spaces for promoting the subjective well-being of young people and should, therefore, increase in quality by providing young people with more activities and extended opening hours. Finally, increasing transformational cooperation between stakeholders is suggested to reach their mutual goal of improving well-being in young people.

8.2 Some theoretical reflections

As mentioned in the introduction, a part of this research was to rely on the perspectives of young people, as well as adults, to provide a conceptualization of young people´s subjective well-being. This section aims to achieve this by discussing some theoretical reflections on the conceptualizations of young people´s subjective well-being. Based on the research findings, I argue that young people´s subjective well-being is primarily a relational construct. The recognition of a relational approach as key to the conceptualization of children and young people in childhood studies is increasing among scholars (e.g. Abebe, 2019; Raithelhuber, 2016). Accordingly, this study has shown that both intra- and inter-generational relationships play an important role in the subjective well-being of young people. For example, young people´s social circle and the presence of a role model can play a considerable role in whether they engage in criminal activities. This study extends the relational approach to more than just inter-personal, recognizing young people´s subjective well-being is also influenced by their relationship to various spaces, institutions, and structural processes. During the fieldwork, young people rarely referred to themselves alone. They always spoke about their views, feelings, and experiences in relation to other people, places, institutions, or material conditions. This explains that their well-being emerges through relationships. Also, the views, feelings, and experiences that young people articulate are inherently subjective because they reflect young people´s perceptions rather than representing objective facts about reality. Subjectivity and relationality are, therefore, overlapping and co-constituting dimensions of well-being, a linkage which is key to understanding subjective well-being in this research. The theoretical construct of "relational well-being" (see White, 2015) grasps the conceptualization of subjective well-being in this study better than the construct of "subjective well-being" that currently dominates the literature. Similar to the approach in the current study, relation well-being approaches people as subjects and captures their worldviews in their terms (White, 2015).

The intersections between relational and subjective dimensions of well-being are also relevant in understanding why this study argues that neighbourhood plays an important role in the subjective well-being of young people. This is because young people´s accounts about views, feelings, and experiences were about their relationships with people, places, institutions, and material conditions that were specifically situated within the context of the local area that they live in. They rarely spoke about, for example, people or places outside of their local area. This suggests that their relationships tend to be locally situated. This does not imply that young people´s mobility is limited to their local area. It instead signifies that the relationships young people have within the context of their local area play an important role in shaping their subjective well-being. The construct of the neighbourhood as a field for young people´s subjective

well-being is considered to be more important than specific spaces within the neighbourhood, such as schools or youth clubs because the borders between these spaces appear to be blurred. For example, young people´s relationship with the police does not change whether their encounters with the police are in the streets, in youth clubs, or schools.

The local context of young people´s relationships does not entail that young people in the same neighbourhood have similar well-being. In this research, young people within the same neighbourhood can have very different relationships because they live in culturally, socially, and economically diverse neighbourhoods. A diverse neighbourhood enables young people to form different relationships which result in various qualities of subjective well-being. Moreover, young people´s subjective well-being should in this research not be understood as a continuum between well-being and ill-being. Subjective well-being is instead a dynamic process where forces from multiple dimensions can influence at the same time.

A final reflection worth pointing out relates to a temporal dimension of young people´s subjective well-being. Young people´s relationships with people, places, institutions, and material conditions, as well as their neighbourhood as a whole, has a history behind it, and will also have a future. The fact that young people´s undesirable relationship to teachers already started from elementary school (see section 5.3.3 Relationship with teachers), is a good example of how their past relationships to teachers affect their relationship with their current teachers. A temporal dimension is a key to understanding that young people´s subjective well-being is a dynamic process of relationships across time in which the past, the present, and the future intersect.

It can be concluded that the findings of this research support a relational approach to young people´s subjective well-being in which relationality and subjectivity of well-being imbricate.

8.3 Some reflections on participatory fieldwork

Drawing on experiences from the fieldwork, I found that the overlapping linkages between relationality and subjectivity in young people´s well-being had implications on the way the fieldwork was conduct. As described in section 4.5 How data collection was planned and how it was conducted there was a considerable difference between how I had planned to conduct the fieldwork, and how it turned out. In hindsight, I realized that the fieldwork I had initially planned was driven by the hegemonic conceptualizations of subjective well-being, which was not in line with young people´s actual subjective well-being as a relational construct. Instead, the fieldwork turned out to be in accordance with the overlapping dimensions of relationality and subjectivity in young people´s well-being by having an inter-relational and localized approach. Reflections on the fieldwork process in this section are connected to the theoretical reflections on the previous section.

When it comes to the inter-relational aspect of relationality, I had to build relationship with young people in order to access their subjective well-being. I was able to build relationships through informal dialogues and hanging out with young people, primarily youth clubs. In this way, I was able to connect with young people and capture their worldviews. Young people are a very heterogeneous group of people, and this was reflected in the relationship-building process. Building relationships was a time consuming process, specifically with the boys who often came to the youth club because they exhibited a lack of trust in the wider society. Relying on the support of youth workers, whom the young people trusted, become important in breaking the trust barrier. On the contrary, I was able to immediately connect with the girls and young people from the second focus group discussion after briefly meeting them. Also, maintaining equal power relations with young people, which a key practice in doing

participatory fieldwork (Ennew et al., 2009), better enabled me to build a relationship with young people. It required me to be ethnically mindful about my position as a research and be ethically mindful and sensitive to local standards and values. For example, I choose to refrain from asking young people in the youth club to sign consent forms because I knew it would create an immediate power imbalance and create suspicions in those who had issues of trust.

As discussed in chapter five, the relationships that influence young people´s subjective well-being is situated in the local area. Capturing local perspectives is a core principle in doing participatory research (Van der Reit, 2008). By exploring the local area by visiting different youth clubs, the library, parks, and other places where young people hang out, I was able to better contextualize their worldviews and grasp a localized understanding of young people´s accounts. By spending time in the local area and talking to different people in the local community, I was able to capture the complexities and nuances of young people´s lives. A local understanding of young people´s subjective well-being has also enabled me to better grasp their needs and concerns because they are often related to people, places, institutions, and conditions within their local area. It enabled me to make sense of how young people´s ideas for policy and practice change can address their needs and concerns at a local level. Additionally, exploring the local area lead to spontaneous opportunities for data collection and made data collection more "in the moment". For example, when visiting a youth club, I met a girl who agreed to have an interview with me briefly after meeting her. Despite it being very spontaneous and me being unprepared for the interview, the richest and most fruitful data came out of that spontaneous interview.

Overall, I argue that doing participatory fieldwork with young people is a continuous relational process that is attune and sensitive to the local values, principles, and practices.

8.4 Implications for future research

The research conducted as a part of this thesis provides a qualitative contribution to the body well-being research which is predominantly quantitative. Future research should opt for qualitative approaches to subjective well-being to capture its constructivist components, as well as its fluidity, ambiguity, and relationality. The findings of this study have shown that subjective well-being has a lot to do with people´s experiences, feelings, thoughts, and experiences, which can be fully scrutinized with qualitative research methods. Moreover, opting for a participatory and mixed-method approach has the potential to facilitate research with groups of people who would otherwise be challenging to conduct research within the standard way.

Moreover, future research can build upon the findings of the current research. Section 5.3.3 Relationship with teachers stress the lack of following-up of students in schools and its connection to increased school absenteeism and dropouts. Further research needs to be conducted, specifically in East Oslo, about effective methods for following up on at-risk students and how strategies that are already in place in schools succeed or fail in keeping students in school. There is an overall need for more studies on school absenteeism and high school dropout is it appears to be a reoccurring issue that many schools in East Oslo are dealing with.

Future research should also build on the findings on delinquency, violence, and policing. The research should capture the in-depth experiences, thoughts, and opinions of young people who have been actively engaging with delinquency and violence. It should also investigate parents´ perceptions of these issues and what they do to manage the wrong-doing of their child. Whereas this research explains why some young people

engage in criminal activities and violence, future research should dive more in-depth into these issues by scrutinizing it from the poverty and socio-economic perspective.

Additional qualitative research should explore the socio-economic situation of families, how this affects the home environment, and whether young people feel obligated to financially contribute to their family. In general, more research should explore how the welfare system in Norway does not always work for marginalized young people the way it is intended to do so.

Future research can also explore the subjective well-being of young people in urban areas of other big cities outside of Norway to identify patterns of how economic, political, social, and cultural forces shape the well-being of young people. As discussed in the thesis, particularly in chapter seven, many societal actors have a stake in the subjective well-being of young people. This justifies the need for policy-oriented research which situates young people´s views and perspectives at the heart of policy recommendations. Participatory and action-oriented research has the potential to initiate conversations and reconsolidate local organizations and institutions to come together to achieve positive changes in young people´s lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical clearance

NSD NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

NSD sin vurdering

Prosjekttittel

The subjective well-being of young people in multicultural and socio-economic diverse neighborhoods in East Oslo

Referansenummer

395266

Registrert

29.04.2019 av Zara Meheri - zaram@stud.ntnu.no

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet NTNU / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Tatek Abebe , tatek.abebe@ntnu.no, tlf: 41554327

Type prosjekt

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student

Zara Meheri, zaram@stud.ntnu.no , tlf: 93818653

Prosjektperiode

19.08.2019 - 15.05.2020

Status

11.05.2020 - Vurdert

Vurdering (3)

11.05.2020 - Vurdert

NSD has assessed the change registered on 11.05.2020.

We find that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments,

Appendix B: Informed consent, English version

Young people´s perspectives and experiences of subjective well-being in East Oslo
A research project for master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning
NTNU
Information for young people and their parents/guardians

This informed consent letter contains information about a research project for a master's thesis in Childhood Studies and invites you to be part of this research project. This letter is written to the young people this project is about, but parents/guardians can also read it. At the end of this letter, you will find two different consent forms. The first form is to be completed by you as a young person, and the second form must be completed by you as the parent/guardian.

If you have any questions or want more information about the research project, you can contact me, Zara Meheri, by phone 93818653 or by email: zara.meheri@gmail.com.

What is the purpose of the research project?
I am a master´s student in Childhood Studies at NTNU. For my master thesis, I want to explore young people´s perspectives and experiences with subjective well-being in East Oslo. This research project aims to create suggestions for policy and practice change to local actors to improve the subjective well-being of young people in East Oslo. The exact topic or the research activities explained in this letter are tentative and can change during the course of the fieldwork.

Who is responsible for there research project?
It is the Department of Education and Lifelong Learning that is responsible for the project. Professor Tatek Abebe is the supervisor of the project.

Why are you asked to participate?
You are asked to participate because you live in a borough that is considered to be multicultural and socio-economically diverse, which is an essential part of the project.

What will happen if you participate?
If you want to participate in the project, you can choose between the following six activities:
1. You can participate in a group discussion where we will have a conversation about what subjective well-being means. The group discussion should last for approximately 45 minutes.
2. We can do an activity called photovoice where you will take pictures of various things, places, situations, and activities that are important to you and make you happy, and pictures of places, situations, items, and or activities you do not like. You cannot take pictures of other people. You can take as many pictures as you want, but you have to pick out six pictures. You will write a short text about each of these six pictures describing what the pictures show and why you have taken that picture.

3. You can draw a picture of people who are important to you, and you will write briefly what kind of relationship you have to the person you have drawn and why you have chosen to draw them.
4. You can write a story about your life. The story can be real or fictional, and you can write as much as you want. Only I will read the story you have written.
5. We can have an individual interview/conversation where we will talk more about the pictures you have taken in the photovoice activity, the people you have drawn, or the story that you have written.
6. You can work in a small group where you will discuss ideas for what different local actors, including schools, child welfare services, and the local government, should do to improve the subjective well-being of young people.

Also, I will be present in your classroom and participate in some of your daily activities in the weeks leading up to the autumn break. Nothing you do will be graded or evaluated. You can choose to participate in all or some of the activities mentioned above. The activities will be done before the autumn break in October.

Is it voluntary to participate?
It is voluntary to participate. If you wish to participate in the project, your parents/guardians must also agree that you participate. If you do not want to participate in the project, then you do not need to participate, even if your parents/guardians agree that you can participate. You can talk to your parents/guardians, friends, or others about this project before you decide to participate. If you change your mind later on whether you want to participate or not, this is also fine. In case you change your mind, then you can contact me directly.

Could there be any problems for you to participate?
You may have to spend time outside school to do the photovoice activity, draw, or write the story. If you experience other problems, please let me know, and we will try to find a solution.

Will participating in the research help you?
The suggestions for policy and practice can help improve the subjective well-being of young people, and it may help you as well.

How will I store and use the information you give?
Only I will read the story you are going to write, and only I will know about the things we are going to talk about at the interview. You choose whether you want to talk about the photos you have taken in the photovoice activity to your fellow students or just to me.

All participants will be anonymous. This means that your real name or other information that makes me identifiable will not be used. I might discuss some of what you say to me with my supervisor, but he will not know who you are.

The only time I can break the anonymity agreement is when I think you or someone else is at risk of being hurt. Then I will talk to you first, and we will find out together what the best solution is.

Any information you provide, including consent, will be stored in a secure place that only I have access to. Your name or other information will make you recognizable will not be used in the thesis.

Will you know about the research results?
The project will be written in English, and I will make a summary in Norwegian. I will send both the thesis and the summary to the school after the project is completed in May 2020. The school can share this with you and your fellow students. This project will also be shared with my collaegues, researchers, and others interested in this project.

Who can you take to about the project or if you have any questions?
You can talk to anyone about this project. You can talk to me, with your friends, your parents/guardians, your teachers or with others. You can find my contact information on the front page of this letter.

<center>**Consent form (for the young people)**</center>

I have read the information about the research project and understand that the project is about young people´s perspectives and experiences with subjective well-being in East Oslo. I understand what it means for me to participate in this project and know that I can choose to participate or not participate in the project at any time.

I (write your name here) _____ want to participate in these research activities:

- ○ Group discussion
- ○ Photovoice
- ○ Drawing
- ○ Story writing
- ○ Individual interview
- ○ Work in a small group

Or

I, (write your name here) _____ do not want to participate in the research project and will not sign on consent below.

If you have chosen to participate in at least one of the research activities,

sign here: _____

Date: _____

Consent form (for parents/guardians)

I have read the information about the research project and understand that the project is about young people´s perspectives and experiences with subjective well-being in East Oslo. I understand what is required for my son/daughter to participate in this project and I know that he/she can at any time choose to participate or not participate in the project.

The consent of only one parent/guardian is required.

I give consent that my son/daughter (writing his/her name here) _____ may participate in the following research activities:

- ○ Group discussion
- ○ Photovoice
- ○ Drawing
- ○ Story writing
- ○ Individual interview
- ○ Work in a small group

Or

I want my son/daughter (writing his/her name here) _____
to not participate in the research project, and I will not sign the below.

If you have given consent for your youth to participate in at least one of the research activities,

sign here: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: Semi-structure interview guideline, English version
The interview guide is accompanied by a standard observation sheet
- o   Informed and voluntary consent sought and gained

Information to the interviewees:
This interview is part of a research project for a master's thesis on young people´s subjective well-being in East Oslo. The purpose of this interview is to talk about what it's like to be a young person in the neighborhood you live in, what it's like to train at [the football club] and get to know you as a person better. I'm not going to ask sensitive questions, but if there is a question you don't want to answer, then that is fine. The conversation will last about 30 minutes. Do you have any questions before we start?

Structuring of the interview: *Let's start by talking about what it is like to be a young person where you live*

About the neighbourhood
1. How long have you been living in [your neighbourhood]?
2. What is good about being a young person in [your neighbourhood]?
3. What do you think is important for young people in [your neighbourhood] to be happy and have a good life?
4. What are young people in [your neighbourhood] concerned about?
    Probing question: why are they concerned about these things?
5. What is the bad thing about being a young person in [your neighbourhood]?
6. What kind of problems, challenges, concerns do young people in [your neighbourhood] face?
    Probing question: why do you think they face such challenges?
7. Do you feel that [your neighbourhood] has improved now than it was before?
    Probing question: What has become better / worse / the same?
8. If you had the opportunity to move to the West End, would you have done it?
    Probing question: Why / why not?

Structuring of the interview: *Now we're going to talk about training football in [the sport´s club]*

About the [sport´s club]
9. How often do you train football?
10. What made you start training at football?
11. What do you like about training football at [this sport´s club]?
12. What do you do in your time besides training football?

Structuring of the interview: *Now I would like to know more about you.*

About the participant
13. What was it like to grow up in [your neighbourhood]?
14. Do you think [your neighbourhood] has been a safe place?
        Probe: what makes it safe/not safe?
15. What are some of the things you care about and make you happy?
        Probe: Why does that make you happy?
16. What are some of the thing that make you upset?
        Probe: Why does that make you upset?

Money
17. If someone gives you a 1000 kroners, how would you spend and why?

School
18. Do you enjoy school?
    Probe: what is good/bad about it?
19. How is the social environment in your school?
20. What do you want to work with/study after you finish school?

Protection shield
21. What is something that you are good at or enjoy doing?
22. Who do you look up to in your life, and why?
23. Is there something you are looking forward to?

Policy suggestions
24. Is there something that local actors, such as school or the child welfare services, can do to improve the subjective well-being of young people in [your neighbourhood]?

Ending question:
25. Are there other questions you think I should have asked you that could add more to what it is like being a young person in [your neighbourhood]?

Thank the participant for the interview

Questions for the football trainer, specifically related to sports (via email):
1. Why do you think it is important for girls with minority backgrounds to play football or engage in physical leisure activities?
2. Do you see any change in the girls from when you start training them to how they are now? If so, how, and in what way?
3. What has football/sports meant to you growing up as a young person in [your neighbourhood]?

Appendix D: Interview guideline, Norwegian version
Observasjons skjema følger med denne intervjuguiden
- ○ Fritt og informert samtykke mottatt

Informasjon til informanten:
Dette intervjuet er en del av forskningsprosjekt for masteroppgave om ungdoms perspektiv (tanker og meninger) og erfaring med trivsel i Oslo, spesielt i en nabolags sammenheng. Det jeg ønsker å få ut av denne samtale er å snakke om hvordan det er å være ungdom i det nabolaget du bor i, hvordan det er å trene i [denne fotball klubben], og bli bedre kjent med deg som person. Jeg skal ikke spørre sensitive spørsmål, men hvis det en spørsmål du ikke vil svare på, går det helt fint. Samtalen vil vare omtrent 30 minutter. Har du noe spørsmål til meg før vi begynner?

Strukturering av intervjuet: *Vi skal begynne å snakke om hvordan det er å være ungdom der dere bor*

Om nabolaget
1. Hvor lenge har du bodd i [nabolaget]?
2. Hva er det som er bra med å være en ungdom i [det nabolaget]?
3. Hva mener du er viktig for at ungdom [i nabolaget] skal ha det bra?
4. Hva er ungdom i [nabolaget] opptatt av?
   Oppfølging spørsmål: hvorfor er det opptatt av dette?
5. Hva slags problemer/utfordringer/bekymringer kan ungdommer i [nabolaget] møte på?
   Oppfølging spørsmål: hvorfor tror du at ungdommene møter på disse utfordringene?
6. Opplever du at [nabolaget] er blitt bedre nå enn det var før?
   Oppfølging spørsmål: Hva er blitt bedre/dårligere/samme?
7. Hvis du hadde muligheten til å flytte til Vestkanten, ville du ha gjort det?

Strukturering av intervjuet: *Nå skal vi går over til å snakke å trene fotball på [fotball klubben]*

Om [fotball klubben]
8. Hvor ofte trener du her?
9. Hva var det som gjorde at du begynte å trene fotball på [denne fotball klubben]?
10. Hva er liker du med å trene fotball på [denne fotball klubben]?
11. Hvorfor er det er viktig for deg å komme/trene her/fotball?
12. Hva gjør du i fritiden utenom å trene fotball?

Strukturering av intervjuet: *På denne siste delen ønsker jeg å vite mer om deg.*

Om informanten
13. Hvordan var det å vokse opp i [ditt nabolag]?
14. Synes du det er trygt å bo der?
    Oppfølging spørsmål: hva er det som er trygt/utrygt?
15. Hva er du opptatt av som gjør deg glad/lykkelig?
    Oppfølging spørsmål: Hvorfor gjør dette deg lykkelig?
16. Hva gjør deg opprørt/trist?
    Oppfølging spørsmål: Hvorfor gjør dette deg trist?

Penger
17. Hvis noen ga deg 1000 kroner, hvordan ville du ha bruke pengene og hvorfor?

Skole
18. Liker du å gå på skole?
    Oppfølging spørsmål: hva er det som er bra/dårlig med skole?
19. Hvordan er miljøet i din skole?
20. Hva vil du studere når du er ferdig/hva vil du jobbe med når du er ferdig med skolen?

Protection shield
21. Hva liker du å holde på med eller er flink til?
22. Er det noen personer i livet ditt som du ser opp til?
23. Er det noe du gleder deg til/ser frem til?

Forslag til politikk
24. Er det noe lokale aktører, for eksempel skole eller barnevern, kan gjøre for at ungdom i [ditt nabolag] skal ha det bedre?

Avsluttende spørsmål:
25. Er det andre spørsmål du mener jeg burde ha stilt deg som kan legge mer til hvordan det er å være et ungdom i [ditt nabolag]?

Takke deltagerne for intervjuet

Spørsmål til fotball trener:
1. Hvorfor tenker du at det er viktig at jenter med minoritetsbakgrunn spiller fotball/driver med fysisk aktivitet?
2. Ser du noe forandring i jentene fra da du begynner å trene dem til hvordan de er nå? Hvis ja, hvordan og på hvilken måte?
3. Hva har fotball/sport betydd for deg da du var ungdom?

Appendix E: Standard observation sheet

Date:
Time: From: .... To: ....
Place:
Who are involved:
Activity:

Detailed description of the situation and the surroundings:

Factors that might have influenced the situation/activity:

- Researcher

- Participants

- The place/surroundings

- Interruptions/distractions

- Other

General thoughts and comments:

Appendix F: Guideline for second focus group discussion, English version
Focus group discussion guideline is accompanied by a standard observation sheet
  o   Informed and voluntary consent sought and gained

Information to the participants:
This focus group discussion is part of a research project for a master's thesis on young people´s subjective well-being in East Oslo. The purpose of this discussion is to talk about what it's like to be a young person in the neighbourhood you live in. I'm not going to ask sensitive questions, but if there is a question you don't want to answer, then that is fine. The conversation will last about 40-45 minutes. Do you have any questions for we before start?

Questions to discuss from:
The neighbourhood:
1.   Do all of you live in the same neighbourhood?
2.   Can you tell me about what it is like being a young person in [your neighbourhood]?
3.   What is good about being a young person in your [neighbourhood]?

Boxing:
4.   What does your boxing club stand for?
5.   What made you start boxing?

School:
6.   Do you enjoy going to school?
7.   Do you have any suggestions for what schools and teachers should be better at?

Comparison between neighbourhoods:
8.   Some of the neighbourhoods I have visited have problems with drugs and poverty, does your neighbourhood have similar challenges?

Youth clubs:
9.   Are there youth clubs in your neighbourhood, how are they being used?

Role models:
10. Who are your role models?

Suggestion for policy:
11. Is there something that local actors, such as school or the child welfare services, can do to improve the subjective well-being of young people in [your neighbourhood]?

Thank the participants for the discussion

Appendix G: Guideline for second focus group discussion, Norwegian version
Observasjons skjema følger med denne fokusgruppediskusjon guiden.
  ○ Fritt og informert samtykke mottatt

Informasjon til deltakerne:
Denne diskusjonen er en del av forskningsprosjekt for masteroppgave om ungdoms perspektiv (tanker og meninger) og erfaring med trivsel i øst Oslo, spesielt i en nabolags sammenheng. Det jeg ønsker å få ut av denne diskusjonen er å snakke om hvordan det er å være ungdom i det nabolaget du bor i. Jeg skal ikke spørre sensitive spørsmål, men hvis det en spørsmål du ikke vil svare på, går det helt fint. Samtalen vil vare omtrent 40-45 minutter. Har du noe spørsmål til meg før vi begynner?

Generelle spørsmål å diskutere fra:
Nabolaget:
1. Bor dere alle i samme nabolag?
2. Kan du fortelle meg om hvordan det er å være ung i [ditt nabolag]?
3. Hva er bra med å være ung i [nabolaget]?
Boksing:
4. Hva står bokseklubben deres for?
5. Hva fikk deg til å begynne med boksing?
Skole:
6. Liker du å gå på skolen?
7. Har du noen forslag til hva skoler og lærere skal være bedre på?
Sammenligning mellom nabolag:
8. Noen av nabolagene jeg har besøkt har problemer med narkotika og fattigdom, har nabolaget ditt lignende utfordringer?
Ungdomsklubb:
9. Er det ungdomsklubber i ditt nærområde, hvordan brukes de?
Rollemodeller:
10. Hvem er dine forbilder?
Forslag til politikk
11. Er det noe lokale aktører, som skole eller barnevern, kan gjøre for å forbedre den subjektive trivselen til unge i [ditt nabolag]?

Takk deltakerne for diskusjonen

Appendix H: Informed consent letter, Norwegian version

Ungdoms perspektiver og erfaring med trivsel i øst Oslo
En forskningsprosjekt for masteroppgave i Barndomsstudier
Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring
NTNU
Informasjon til ungdom og deres foreldre/foresatte

Dette skrivet inneholder informasjon om et forskningsprosjekt for master oppgave i Barndomsstudier. Dette skrivet er rettet til ungdom dette prosjektet skal handle om, men kan også leses av voksne og ungdommenes foreldre/foresatte. Skrivet er bygget opp i form av spørsmål og svar. Jeg ønsker å gi deg informasjon og invitere deg til å være en del av dette forskningsprosjektet om ungdoms trivsel. På slutten av dette skrivet finner du to ulike informert samtykke skjemaer. Det første skjemaet skal fylles ut av deg som ungdom, og det andre skjemaet skal fylles ut av deg som forelder/foresatt.

Ta gjerne kontakt med meg, Zara Meheri, dersom du har spørsmål eller ønsker mer informasjon om prosjektet på telefon: 93818653 eller epost: zara.meheri@gmail.com.

Hva er formålet med prosjektet?
Navnet mitt er Zara Meheri og jeg er masterstudent i Barndomsstudier ved NTNU. I forbindelse med min masteroppgave ønsker jeg å utforske ungdoms perspektiv og erfaringer med trivsel i Oslo øst. Målet med oppgaven er å komme med forslag til politikk og praksis som lokale aktører kan iverksette for å bidra til å forbedre trivselen til ungdom i nærmiljøet. Det nøyaktige tema og forsningsaktivitetene forklar i dette brevet er tentative og kan endres i løpet av feltarbeided.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Det er institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring ved NTNU som er ansvarlig for prosjektet. Professor Tatek Abebe er veileder for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
Du får spørsmål om å delta fordi du bor en multikulturell bydel i Oslo hvor det kan være relevant og interessant å forske på ungdoms trivsel.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Dersom du ønsker å delta i prosjektet, kan du velge frivillige å delta i noen eller alle av disse aktivitetene:
1. Du kan delta i en gruppe diskusjon/samtale hvor vi skal snakke om hva det betyr å ha god og dårlig trivsel. Gruppe diskusjon/samtale skal vare i ca. 45 minutter.
2. Du kan delta i et aktivitet som kalles "fotostemme" hvor du tar bilder av ulike ting, steder, situasjoner, og/eller aktiviteter som er viktig for deg og gjør deg lykkelig. Du kan også ta bilder av steder, situasjoner, ting, og/eller aktiviteter som du ikke liker. Av etiske årsaker kan du ikke ta bilder av mennesker hvis de er gjenkjennelig på bilde. Du kan ta så mange bilder du vil, men du må plukke ut seks bilder. Du skal skrive noen få setninger om hvert av disse seks bildene hvor du beskriver hva bilde viser og hvorfor du har tatt det bilde.
3. Du kan tegne personer som er viktig for deg og skrive få setninger om hva slags forhold du har til personene (som familie, venner, eller lærere) og hvorfor du har valgt å tegne dem.

4. Du kan skrive en historie om ditt liv. Historien kan være ekte eller være oppdiktet Du bestemmer selv hvor langt historien skal være. Det er bare jeg som skal lese historien.
5. Vi kan ha en individuell intervju/samtale om hvor vi snakker mer om bildene du har tatt i "fotostemme" aktivitet, personene du har tegnet og/eller historien du har skrevet.
6. Du kan jobbe i liten gruppe der du vil diskutere ideer for hva forskjellige lokale aktører, inkludert skoler, barnevern og lokale myndigheter, bør gjøre for å forbedre ungdommenes trivsel.

I tillegg skal jeg være tilstede med dere i klasserommet og i friminuttene. Disse aktivitetene skal gjøres før høstferien.

Er det frivillig å delta?
Du velger selv om du ønsker å delta eller ikke. Dersom du ønsker å delta i prosjektet må dine foreldre/foresatte også være enig i at du deltar. Dersom du ønsker ikke å delta i prosjektet, så trenger du ikke å delta, selv om dine foreldre/foresatte er enig at du deltar. Du kan snakke med dine foreldre/foresatte, venner, lærere, eller andre om dette prosjektet før du bestemmer deg om du vil delta. Dersom du ombestemmer deg senere om du ønsker å delta eller ikke, er dette også helt greit. Da kan du bare ta direkte kontakt med meg.

Er det noen ulemper å være med i prosjektet?
Du må bruke tid utenfor skolen til å jobbe med historien, med tegning, og/eller med fotografering. Dersom du opplever noen ulemper, kan du gi meg beskjed om dette og vi skal sammen forsøke å finne en løsning på det.

Ditt personvern – hvordan jeg oppbevarer og bruker informasjon du gir meg
Bare jeg skal lese historien du skriver og bare jeg skal vite om tingene vi snakker om på intervju/samtalen. Det kan hende at jeg spør deg om det er greit at jeg bruker noen bilder fra "fotostemme" aktiviteten, utdrag fra historien du skriver, eller ting du sier i gruppe og individuell samtale, i oppgaven min.

Du, og alle som deltar i prosjektet skal være anonyme i oppgaven. Dette betyr at ditt ekte navn eller annen informasjon som gjør deg gjenkjennelig skal ikke brukes. Jeg kan diskutere noe av det du sier med min veileder, men han skal ikke kunne vite hvem du er. Den eneste gangen jeg kan bryte avtalen om anonymitet er hvis jeg tror du eller noen andre er i risiko for å bli skadet. Da kommer jeg til å snakke med deg først og vi kan finne ut sammen hva den beste løsningen er.

All informasjon du gir, inkludert samtykke, vil bli lageret i et sikker sted som bare jeg har tilgang til.

Vil du få tilgang til den ferdige oppgaven?
Oppgaven blir skrevet på engelsk og jeg skal lage et kort sammendrag på norsk. Jeg skal sende både oppgaven og sammendraget til skolen etter at oppgaven er levert i mai 2020. Skolen kan dele dette med deg og dine medelever. Oppgaven vil også bli delt med mine lærere, medstudenter, forskere og andre som er interessert i dette prosjektet.

Hvem kan du snakke med om dette prosjektet eller dersom du har spørsmål?

Du kan snakke med hvem som helst om dette prosjektet. Dersom du har spørsmål kan du ta kontakt med meg. Min kontakt informasjon kan du finne på forsiden av dette skrivet.

Samtykke skjema (for ungdom)

Jeg har lest informasjonen om forskningsprosjektet og forstår at prosjektet handler om ungdoms perspektiv og erfaringer med trivsel. Jeg forstår hva det innebærer av meg å delta i dette prosjektet og vet at jeg kan når som helst velge å delta eller ikke delta i prosjektet.

Jeg (skriv ditt navn her) _____ ønsker å delta i disse forsknings aktivitetene:

- ○ Gruppe samtale
- ○ Fotostemme
- ○ Tegning
- ○ Historie skriving
- ○ Individuell samtale/intervju
- ○ Jobbe i gruppe

ELLER

Jeg (skriv ditt navn her) _____ ønsker ikke å delta i forskningsprosjektet og skal <u>ikke</u> signere på samtykke under.

Dersom du har valgt å delta i minst et av forsknings aktivitetene,

Signer her: _____

Dato: _____

Samtykke skjema (for foreldre/foresatte)

Jeg har lest informasjonen om forskningsprosjektet og forstår at prosjektet handler om ungdoms perspektiv og erfaringer med trivsel. Jeg forstår hva det innebærer av min ungdom å delta i dette prosjektet og vet at hun/han kan når som helst velge å delta eller ikke delta i prosjektet. Det kreves samtykke fra kun en forelder/foresatt.

Jeg gir samtykke til at min ungdom (skriv hennes/hans navn her) _____ kan delta i følgende forsknings aktiviteter:

- ○ Gruppe samtale
- ○ Fotostemme
- ○ Tegning
- ○ Historie skriving
- ○ Individuell samtale/intervju
- ○ Jobbe i gruppe

ELLER

Jeg ønsker at min ungdom (skriv hennes/hans navn her) _____ skal ikke delta i forsknings prosjektet, og skal <u>ikke</u> signere under.

Dersom du gir samtykke til at din ungdom kan delta i minst et av forsknings aktivitetene,

Signer her: _____

Dato: _____

Appendix I: Letter to parents, English version

Young people´s perspectives and experiences with subjective well-being in East Oslo
A research project for a master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning
NTNU
Information for young people´s parents/guardians

Your adolescent has given free and informed consent to participate in a research project for a master's thesis in Childhood Studies. The project is about young people's perspectives and experiences with subjective well-being in East Oslo. The adolescent has given consent to participate in an interview, group conversation, and/or other research activities such as photography, drawing, and writing history. The adolescent is asked questions such as how to be a young person in Oslo and what is important for their subjective well-being. Everyone who participates in this project will be anonymous, and it is confirmed that participation in this project brings no disadvantage to the young person. If you would like more information, or if your adolescent does not want to participate in the project, please contact me by mail: zara.meheri@gmail.com or phone: 93818653.

With best regards,

Zara Meheri

Appendix J: Letter to parents, Norwegian version

Ungdoms perspektiver og erfaring med trivsel i Øst-Oslo
Et forskningsprosjekt for masteroppgave i Barndomsstudier
Institutt for pedagogikk og livslang læring
NTNU
Informasjon til ungdoms foreldre/foresatte

Din ungdom har gitt fritt og informert samtykke til å delta i en forskningsprosjekt for masteroppgave i Barndomsstudier. Prosjektet handler om ungdoms perspektiver og erfaring med trivsel i Oslo. Ungdommen har gitt samtykke til å delta på intervju, gruppe samtale, og/eller andre forskningsaktiviteter som fotografering, tegning og skriving av historie. Ungdommen får spørsmål om blant annet hvordan er å være ungdom i Oslo og hva som er viktig for ungdoms trivsel. Alle som deltar i dette prosjektet skal være anonym, og det bekreftes at deltagelse i dette prosjektet medbringer ingen ulempe for ungdommen. Dersom du ønsker mer informasjon, eller ønsker at din ungdom ikke skal delta i prosjektet, kan du ta kontakt med meg på mail: zara.meheri@gmail.com eller telefon: 93818653.

Med vennlig hilsen,
Zara Meheri