Youth work, youth work policy and youth research. The Finnish perspective

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Introduction

The history of Finnish youth work has its roots in Christianity. Before the reformation, Finland was rather thoroughly a part of catholic culture. In the end of the 16th century, the reformation of the Church of Sweden was finally accomplished. The church started the first rudiments of comprehensive education. In 1809 Finland was occupied by Russia for a decade. However the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland remained active and shared the state church status with the <u>Finnish Orthodox Church</u> in 1869, when a new Church Act was passed giving the church its own legislative body, the central synod. A year before, the Lutheran parishes were differentiated from the secular municipalities, both being given their own finances and administrative bodies. The general responsibility for comprehensive education and for the care of the poor was transferred from the church to secular municipalities. Since 1923 it has been possible to leave the state church in Finland without having to join another religious congregation. However the majority of the Finnish people remained members of the church.

The Finnish independence in 1917 was immediately followed by the <u>Finnish Civil War</u>. The war divided the nation into reds and whites. The Lutheran Church assumed the White position without question, while the Red side engaged in <u>anticlericalism</u>, even murdering priests. After the Civil War there was a great concern about the violence, alcohol drinking and morals of lower class young people. Following the new <u>constitution</u> in <u>1919</u>, the new republic was deemed to be non-confessional for example in the freedom of religion. Many political youth organizations i.e. civil guard youth clubs were established in 1920s and 1930s following the dividing lines between Reds and Whites.

The YMCA

I take here as a case example one early youth work activity YMCA (in Finnish Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys NMKY) - which was founded in Turku already in 1886, but it

could not get a permission to work for Russian rules. In 1889 after the YMCA's World Meeting in Stockholm the authorities gave permissions to three local YMCAs: in Helsinki, Tampere and Joensuu. The Finnish YMCA had mixed groups for boys and girls and had a close co-operation with the Finnish Lutheran Church. The YMCA started the Christian boy's and youth work in Finland including camps and scouting. The YMCAs own scouts-league "the Blues" started before World War II, but does not existing any more. Music in many forms played an important role in the YMCA with many different choirs, a symphony-orchestra and brass-bands. The Finnish YMCA founded a special alliance for sports in 1923 "The Sport Alliance of Finnish YMCAs", which still exists. The YMCA started basketball in 1938 and volleyball in 1939. The co-operation with all Nordic countries has been wide since beginning of the Finnish YMCA. The YMCA started its international social work by helping refugees after the Second World War.²⁵ In 1979 development co-operation started with The African Alliance of YMCA in Gambia. In 1990 bilateral co-operation started with Estonian YMCA as a part of European fieldwork.²⁶

So, the YMCA grew out to one of important youth movements in Finland.

Youth clubs and associations

The first Finnish youth association Nuorisoseuraliike was founded in 1897. The aim was to educate rural young people. The idea came from the Danish Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (September 8, 1783 – September 2, 1872), the ideological father of the <u>folk high school</u>. Grundtvigian philosophy gave rise to a new form of nationalism in Denmark in the last half of the 19th century. Most important philosopher of Finnish nationalism was <u>Johan Vilhelm Snellman</u>. He considered Lutheranism as an important factor of the Finnish identity – for example in agrarian youth clubs and organisations from 1890s and 4H (1920s), and the Scouts (1930s).

The development and roots of the Finnish youth organizations are already in 1880s and the 1st secretary for Nuorisoseuranliike was paid by the state already in 1906. However early youth work was voluntary based work for youth leisure time activities. In Finland early youth work

²⁵ After World War II, YMCA encompassed work for international understanding, peace, solidarity, and care for the environment. YMCA also encouraged members to participate in physical exercise, sports and open air activities.

²⁶ YMCA's mission is to help young people, especially those who are in danger to get socially excluded or are already excluded or those who are subject to social problems, and to assist them to solve their problems.

was often separate work with boys and girls. Youth camps separately for boys and girls were organized from the beginning of 1900s.

During the <u>Second World War</u>, the Church became an important factor in Finnish nationalism. The Church participated actively in social work, getting closer to the labour movement. The diaconal, family and youth work emerged as new forms of church activity. The ideology exemplified in the "*For the home, the faith and the Fatherland*" slogan had a strong influence on youth movements. The Second World War turned the Orthodox Church of Finland into a church of evacuees. After the Winter War, Finland was obliged to cede Karelia to the Soviet Union. The Church lost 90 per cent of its property and 70 per cent of its members had to be evacuated from their homes. The Orthodox population became dispersed throughout Finland. As a result of this the Orthodox Youth Association of Finland (In Finnish Ortodoksisten Nuorten Liitto - ONL) was founded during the second world war, in the year 1943. The main activity of the early days of ONL was to arrange study circles and clubs for Orthodox young people. Both in the children's' clubs and in the youth clubs religious teaching played a very significant role. ONL has had close connections and co-operation with many Orthodox youth groups, for example with the fellowship of Orthodox youth in Poland and in Estonia. Nowadays ONL also organizes pilgrimages for youth (mostly to Russia and Greece).

Finland lost the war but maintained her independence and started a new Russian policy initiated by J.K. Paasikivi (President, 1946-56) after the war. Finland seemed powerless to confront the military superiority of the Soviet Union. This influenced negative references of 'finlandization'. The new foreign policy with the Soviet Union was the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance signed in 1948. It also formally integrated Finland into the Soviet Union's security framework. Despite the Treaty, Finland could in fact be considered a neutral country from a legal standpoint. Efforts to achieve neutrality during the cold war era actually approached the Swiss model. Finland refrained from membership in international organizations, including the U.N., right up to 1955, because such commitments could have resulted in the eventuality of having to take sides in conflicts between the superpowers.

Finnish foreign policy assumed a more active role during the period of President U.K. Kekkonen (1956-1981). He persuaded the Nordic countries to declare their neutrality and his

initiatives included the Nordic nuclear-weapon-free zone and the organization of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Student youth movements

In 1963 the Students United Nations Committee (Ylioppilaiden YK-yhdistys) was founded in Finland. The committee played an integral part in debating international affairs and promoting foreign policy debates. The union radicalized during 1968 and played a key role in student politics. In the year 1963 the Committee of 100 (Sadankomitea) against war and nuclear armament was established, inspired by its British predecessor. Its supporters came from leftist youth and student groups, and advocated civil disobedience to achieve their aims and to promote the idea of a peaceful development.

The first student union elections were organised in 1963. Although student unions had previously been dominated by traditional student organisations, several communist representatives were elected for the first time. In 1965 around 130 demonstrators participated in the first Finnish demonstration against the American war in Vietnam outside the U.S. embassy in Helsinki. Although people previously were hesitant, Finland's foreign political position started now to be discussed openly. 1st of May 1968 thousands of students participated in a march against war, capitalism and "bourgeois" values in different university cities all over the country. Student caps and traditional academic symbols were set on fire on the central market places. On 21st of August 1968 the student unions organized demonstrations against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in front of the Soviet embassy. The radical Finnish student movement divided between those who condemned the Soviet occupation and those who tolerated it.

An important step for the radical Finnish Student organization was 25th of November1968 when students occupied their Old Student House in Helsinki, the venue for the Student Union's 100th anniversary. The occupation became a kind of political expression in Finland, although the radical opposition was still without a political home and internal ideological divisions were strong. The continuing cycle of new social movements began around the end of the 1970s.

Political youth organisations

The political youth organisations have their own history which is connected to the history of the Finnish politics and political parties. Nowadays young people are involved in the parties' work and in creating youth policy. The youth organisations are particularly active during party congresses, where the main policies of the parties are formed. Generally, the chairpersons of the youth organisations have the right to take part in the main decision-making bodies of their mother parties. Anyway in Finland there have been few youth boards and the participation in political youth organisations has been weak during last parliamentary and local elections. The political voice of young people is not articulated as it was for example in the 1970s.

The Finnish youth policy and youth work

Youth organisations have had a significant role in Finnish youth work and policy over a hundred years. Their activities are based on young people's own involvement. Freedom of assembly and, subsequently, organisational activities are basic rights enshrined in the Constitution of Finland. Central government has subsidised youth organisations systematically ever since the 1940's. The Act on Government Transfers for National Youth Work (1035/1973), effective as from 1974, established the support system that had already been the practice based on appropriations allocated from the State Budget every year.

In the 1970s and 1980s the objective in Finnish youth policy was to guarantee equal conditions for growth and opportunities for self-enhancement for every one, regardless of his or her background. In 1992 a new youth strategy project called NUOSTRA was launched. The aim was to provide new stimuli and content for youth work and thus ensure conditions for the existence and development of youth work even under the economic depression in Finland in the 1990s. NUOSTRA's principal idea was: 'Young people have the right and the duty to construct their own future.' The priorities defined in NUOSTRA were growth and civic activity, young people's living conditions, the prevention of exclusion and international cooperation and exchanges.

In Finland from the year 1972 the legislation governing youth work has been enacted. The legislation has been reformed every ten years (1986, 1995 and 2006). The recent Youth Act (72/2006) includes support for young people's growth and independence, promotion of active citizenship, social empowerment of young people and improvement of their growth and living

conditions. The Act also lays down provisions on expert bodies assisting the Ministry of Education, the Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (NUORA) and the Youth Organisation Subsidy Committee. The Advisory Council mainly focuses on youth policy issues and it also submits to the Government annual evaluations of implementation of the Youth Policy Development Programme. The Youth Act involves the financing of youth by support systems for youth work and policy for example government grants for youth organisations and investment grants for national youth centres, grants towards construction of facilities for young people, support for youth research and support for international youth co-operation. In addition, local authorities and youth organisations receive discretionary grants earmarked for workshop activities for unemployed young people, afternoon activities for schoolchildren, youth information and counselling services, as well as web-based media preventive substance abuse welfare work, young people's cultural activities and the International Award Programme in Finland (Avarti), national and regional youth work development projects and provincial youth services.

Annual government expenditure on youth work amounts to about €39 million, accounting for about

0.1% of the State Budget. Municipal youth work appropriations total about I50 million, equating to 0.6% of municipal budgets. The amounts targeted at children and young people account for about 15% and 35–45% of the State Budget and municipal budgets respectively. This means that youth policy, including the national Youth Policy Development Programme and municipal child and youth policy programmes, has far-reaching economic impact. Within the Ministry of Education budget, youth work is mainly funded from proceeds from the national lottery and pools. In line with the Lotteries Act (1047/2001) and the related Act on the Use of Proceeds from Money Lotteries, Pools and Betting (1054/2001), the share of youth work accounts for 9% of these funds. Other beneficiaries are the arts, sports and science.

At the beginning of 2006, there were 432 municipalities in Finland, of which 44 were bilingual (Finnish and Swedish). Swedish is the first language in 19 municipalities and three municipalities have Saami languages as first language.²⁷

The Ministry of Education has been given responsibility for general development of youth work and youth policy. The State Provincial Offices are the authorities dealing with youth work and policy issues at regional level, whereas local authorities have local responsibility of

²⁷ In 2005, Finland had 5,255,580 inhabitants, with about 2% of these being immigrants and 62% living in urban municipalities. The capital city, Helsinki, had a population of 560,905,.

these issues. A new youth policy element provided in the Youth Act is a national Youth Policy Development Programme to be issued by the Government every four years. The programme includes national youth policy objectives and guidelines for preparation of provincial and municipal youth policy programmes. The programme is prepared in cooperation between key ministries involved in youth affairs, working under the leadership of the Ministry of Education.

Internationalisation

Finland has played an active role in multilateral youth sector co-operation within the frameworks of the United Nations (UN) and the Council of Europe (CoE) and Northern European regional structures. The most important of these have been the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Nordic Committee for Children and Young People (NORDBUK), the Baltic Sea Working Group for Youth Affairs (WGYA) and the Working Group on Youth Policy of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (WGYP), which was chaired by Finland between 2005 and 2007.

When Finland joined the European Union in 1995, it changed both Finnish youth policy and everyday life of our young people because after EU membership young Finns could participate in various EU programmes, and it also allowed them to move more freely inside the EU countries. Finland initiated also the reviews of European national youth policies and was the first country to be reviewed in 1996.

The Finnish new Youth Work Act 2006 represents European youth policy White Paper, as far as its values for example in promoting active citizenship of young people in decision-making and working actively in youth organisations and offers an Internet-based system of listening to young people.

The Finnish "tripod" in the triangular of youth research, youth work and policy

In Finland youth work is nowadays network-based characterised by a "tripod" structure with the cooperation with the Ministry of Education's Youth Division, Allianssi, and the Youth Research Network, which is a part of the activities of the Finnish Youth Research Society. "Tripod" structure means working together using the skills, knowledge and expertise of different partners (e.g. with the implementation of the EU White Paper on youth policy and the EU Youth Programme).

The Finnish Youth Co-operation organisation Allianssi was founded in 1992 to carry on the work of the previous youth service organisation Kansalaiskasvatuksen Keskus (KAKE, °1960). Allianssi has around 140 member organisations so that we can say that almost all youth-related organisations are belonging to Allianssi. Allianssi is also involved in youth information with many web-services and maintains the Youth Studies Library and Youth Info House, a web-service for youth work specialists. The services also include training and seminars. Allianssi cooperates with the Finnish Youth Research Society and the Finnish Youth Research Network. They have published together a youth research magazine (NUORISOTUTKIMUS) and launched research projects on young people's living conditions and attitudes in Youth Barometers from 1995. In addition Allianssi publishes the national Youth Work Magazine Nuorisotyö (8 issues per year). Allianssi is also responsible for the youth election that is held in connection with the general election.

Allianssi is active in the European Youth Forum (YFJ), the European Youth Card Association (EYCA), the European Youth Information and Counselling Agency (ERYICA), the Baltic Youth Forum (BYF) and the Nordic Youth Committee (NUK). In addition, Allianssi cooperates bilaterally and multilaterally with the United Nations by sending a youth delegate to the General Assembly every year, as part of the official Finnish delegation and in 2004, Allianssi received ECOSOC status from the UN. Allianssi also offers to youth workers opportunities in various international exchanges, study trips and seminars.

Allianssi cooperates with the Finnish Ministry of Education. It is participating in working groups and committees, giving statements and comments, and influencing decision-makers on matters related to young people's lives and youth work. In Finland the tripod system draws on representatives from three sectors: public administration (ministries, regions, and municipalities), youth research, and youth organisations (Allianssi). This has been the case, for example, with the implementation of both the EU White Paper on youth policy and the EU Youth Programme. For the latter project an advisory group was set up, to which Allianssi belongs.²⁸

²⁸ The annual budget of Allianssi is more than 2 million euros, about two thirds of which come as financial aid from the national lottery funds, allocated by the Ministry of Education.

The Finnish Youth Research society and network

The Finnish Youth Research Society was founded in 1988 in cooperation with the Youth Division of the Ministry of Education. The journal Youth Research (Nuorisotutkimus) was published already earlier in 1983 by the Ministry of Education. The economic recession at the beginning of the 1990s spawned the Youth research Programme 2000 in 1994, which continued as the Youth Research Network (see more <u>www.nuorisotutkimusseura.fi</u>), which was set up in 1999 under the auspices of the Youth Research Society. During the same period, the funding for youth research – from the Ministry of Education – expanded enormously. At present there are about 20 researchers working with the Youth Research Network, whose projects are financed either directly from the Ministry of Education as performance-based grants, or from outside projects.





Finnish youth research is multidisciplinary but dominated by the social sciences and youth sociology in particular. Evaluation research is a rising trend. In the academic field, qualitative cultural research has a strong impact. The Youth Research Network and the Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (NUORA) have published annual Youth Barometers describing young people's values and attitudes and yearbooks describing young people's living conditions.

Table 1: The history of Finnish youth research and its ethos

In the 1940s and 1950s: Research on hobbies and leisure time activities of young people (Helanko 1953;

Weissenberg and Jyrkilä 1958; Allardt 1958) – Ethos of socialisation: nationalistic values of work, religion and moral & temperance education

In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s: Research on youth cultures, leisure time and the development of youth work and youth policy (Rantalaiho, Taponen, 1986; Hirvonen 1978) – Ethos of participation, equality and welfare – citizenship education

In the 1990s and 2000: Research on youth values, marginalisation, multiculturalism and citizenship (Helve 1987, 1993 and 2002; Suurpää 1995; Paju & Vehviläinen 2001; Lähteenmaa 2000) – Ethos of individuality, life management and social empowerment – hermeneutic approach – interdisciplinary

Youth work training

In recent years in Finland the subfield of education entitled Leisure Activities and Youth Work has been restructured, which means that people working in the same positions may have many different qualification titles. Programmes leading to youth work positions are available both at upper secondary vocational level and within higher education.

Church parishes train their own youth workers at their own vocational institutions. The qualification available at upper secondary vocational level is the Vocational Qualification in Youth and Leisure Instruction. The qualification confers the title Youth and Leisure Instructor and can be completed at several educational institutions offering programmes in Leisure Activities and Youth Work. Those who have completed the three-year upper secondary vocational qualification have general eligibility for further studies, which means that they can apply to the universities of applied sciences and academic universities. The qualification can also be completed as a competence-based qualification.

First university education leading to a higher university - Bologna Master's degree - has been provided in 2005 in co-operation between the University of Kuopio (Department of Social Work and Social Pedagogy) and Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences (Department of Culture, Youth and Social Work and the Mikkeli University Consortium) on a two-year Master's Programme in Youth Education. In the University of Tampere has been university level youth work studies already from beginning of 1980's and there started a Master's Programme in Youth Work and Youth Research education in January 2009 with 15 students.²⁹

²⁹ In 2006, the Humanistic University of Applied Sciences started a master's programme of youth work.

Table 2. What about professionalism of youth work?

In 1922: The Youth Institute for training of youth workers - Moved to Mikkeli Paukkula in 1925

After WWII: Need for a scientific youth research and need for a competence and profession for a youth worker (Guy von Wessenberg)

In 1945: Youth education studies started with 32 students in Helsinki Inst. for Social Sciences – Moved to Tampere in the 1960s (Weissenberg and Varjo) – The church started its own education and training for youth workers in 1949

From 1970: Degree of Youth Work (Univ. of Tampere). Main subject is education - Telemäki

From 1980: Tampere University, Master's level orientation for youth work (from 1990 some years youth education - M-L Rauste von Wright)

1982 Lower university degree (B.A. level; Tampere University)

1993-1994: New leisure activities and Youth work education – programmes to youth work positions at upper secondary vocational level (three-year upper secondary vocational qualification, 80 credits – in 2001 120 credits

From 2005: Bologna Master's Programmes

Master's education for youth workers in Mikkeli

Training in youth work has a long tradition in Nikkei which involves training and expertise in youth work. The goals of a pilot Master's degree programme in youth education in Mikkeli were to provide diversified practical and theoretical skills for use in the field of teaching and training, youth work and leisure activity leadership, planning, research work and evaluation.

The master's pilot project was financed partly by European Social Fund. It involved developing co-operative models for municipal youth education, focusing in particular on the needs of municipalities and other actors in the field in Eastern Finland. The experimentation and research work associated with this project has attempted to determine how young people's positive regional identities can be strengthened and how young people's exclusion from education and employment can be prevented. Possibilities of strengthening the position of actors from Eastern Finland in international cooperation were also studied in the project, e.g. in Estonian youth work methodological training (The International Award Programme) and in immediate area co-operation with the Russian Republic of Karelia (EU youth work and culture projects intended to strengthen civil society). On the basis of the EU youth programme, this project helped to develop the European dimension in regional youth work and international exchange.

The project's educational objectives were well accomplished. Co-operation with those in the field of youth education on the municipal level was realized, and in the process models were developed for national and international co-operation. The local co-operation was realized primarily in terms of students' Master's thesis projects. They provided a scientific investigation of young people's living conditions and identities within municipalities, on the basis of which new forms of research and development work have begun. Applying this sort of research work in practice can be seen as a means of improving the whole youth work area. The education provided by the programme has increased the professional qualifications of local youth workers.

This has already affected students employed in the field by advancing their careers, improving their salaries and enabling them to take on more challenging tasks in the field of youth work. Through the professional development of students and the 17 M.A. degrees granted, this project has brought new jobs. Furthermore, the project has produced new research, development and training initiatives which have created new working opportunities in youth work.

Some critical viewpoints about Finnish youth policy and youth work

In the following I try to describe some changes in the Finnish youth policy during the past years. There has been a shift in the ways of speaking of and reacting to children, young people and families with children. This change has been described as a transition from a welfare policy regime towards risk politics (Harrikari 2008). This change is in connection with the economic recession in the 1990s (scarcity of the public resources for youth policy-making). Finnish studies have pointed out that both direct implications of the economic depression and practiced social policy during the depression era were exceptionally harsh and had severe impact on youth (e.g. Helve 2002; Harrikari 2008). The first indicators of the new regime were the changes on the topics of public debate (cf. NUOSTRA 1992). Since the mid-1990s the parliamentary initiatives concerning children, the young and families with children increased rapidly. In 2001 nearly a tenth of all the parliamentary initiatives were targeted on children, young people and families with children. The debates about children and young people are permeated however by concern, fear and panic (as a result of the Jokela (2007) and Kauhajoki (2008) school shootings and the Myyrmanni bombing in Vantaa). Crime as a societal problem is obviously highlighted in the issues of children and young people during

the past 7-8 years, more than during the past decades. Politicians focus on the criminal activity of under fifteens (the age of criminal liability in Finland since 1894).

The development and maintenance of the comprehensive and high-level social service system, which prevents all types of social problems and specially violence among young people was challenged. This meant that the principle of **prevention** as the leading strategy was now rejected, at least in the meaning in which it was understood and implemented in the welfare policy era. New concepts were adopted and the old ones were adapted. Alongside the social prevention of the welfare policy, 'early intervention' appeared as a dominant orientation since the end of the 1990s. Prevention and early intervention in the Finnish context were targeted to the whole population in order to avoid the emergence of social problems. Implicitly this policy accepts the emergence of social problems by having the intention to correct them and to fill the 'holes' of insufficient prevention. It observes and allocates control activities to the problems which have already emerged. Harrikari calls this 'risk-oriented hot-spot' thinking in which control sensitivity to societal reactions is significantly lower if compared to the old idea of social prevention.

Perspectives for Finnish youth work?

Different studies have shown that young people in danger of exclusion are very sceptical of youth politics and youth work services. Services and young people have separate existences, without a great deal of contact in practice (Kauranen 2006). Young people seem to seek help only when absolutely necessary. The world of welfare services often seems distant and alien to young people, who find it virtually impossible to influence them. Youth work and youth policy need to develop a closer relationship with young people to be in touch with their life situations (Harrikari 2008). The paradox for young people living under the threat of exclusion is that their existence often goes undetected because they are not recorded statistically. Their exclusion should not be interpreted one-dimensionally; it has to be examined from several different perspectives. At its worst, it is a combination of economic, social, health and educational disadvantage coupled with exclusion from the centres of power, participation, and labour and housing markets. In view of this, there are good reasons for creating holistic forms of assistance for these young people from local social and public health services, local youth work, labour authorities and the various other services.

This requirement is recorded in the new Finnish Youth Work Act 2006. A society with separate sectorial services cannot see young people's living conditions as a whole or view each individual's situation as unique. The stated aim is to help young people to control their lives by improving their life situation and creating conditions for civic initiatives. The purpose of the new Youth Act from 2006 is to support the upbringing and independence of young people, promote the active citizenship of young people, strengthen youth socializing and improve the conditions of young people for living and growing. Active citizenship means the civil activity of young people in participation in the running of society. Strengthening the socializing of young people focuses on improving the life situation and life management of young people in danger of social exclusion. The Youth Act obliges municipalities to involve young people to take part in dealing with youth work and policy matters locally and regionally. Young people have also to be listened to on matters that concern them. The question is how this Act reaches those young people who can not been find even in statistics in the polarised society? (Nuorisobarometri 2007.)

What kind of youth policy or youth work should practice today? The exploration of the development of the theory and practice of youth work in Finland doesn't give any clear answer to this question. Even the meaning of the term 'youth work' is difficult to explain. Reading the introduction texts of various youth organizations, Ministry of education, youth research etc. we see that the concept of youth work can mean very different things.³⁰ The new freedom in local municipality youth work arrangements may diversify and enrich the methods of youth work, but problems arise if local authorities primarily use it in order to make cutbacks by purchasing youth work services as cheaply as possible at the cost of quality.

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³⁰ Today, the functions of Finnish youth work encompass socialisation of good citizens (or hidden control of young people?), support for (national/EU) identity formation, compensation for excluded young people (special youth work; youth welfare) and resources and allocations (Youth Act).

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