

# **“Learning to Live”: Expansive Learning and Mo(ve)ments Beyond ‘Gang Exit’**

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**Abstract:** The paper develops a social practice theoretical framework to analyze expansive learning in relation to Danish gang exit intervention. We follow 22-year-old Bilal’s movements and moments in and out of gang communities, and how Bilal, collectively with his mentor and teacher Jesper and other role models is ‘walking and expanding the margins’ of Danish exit intervention. At age 12, Bilal started a trajectory becoming ‘more of’ and later ‘less of’ a criminal gang member. The paper explores new belongings and (lack of) meanings in and across educations, interventions and gang communities, and how Bilal through recognition in his new communities reinvents himself, us and others, moving beyond marginal positions in and across contexts such as Danish people college, the prison, as well as other intervention contexts organized in a collaboration between his local municipality, Jesper and communities with students, professionals and former gang members.

## **Introduction**

What kind of analytical framework and methodology is relevant to explore and understand learning and life processes when young men change their lives and move beyond gang life? This paper proposes a social practice theoretical framework to explore the young men’s movements along very complex learning and life trajectories, as part of social practice research, which is not bound to certain (single) intervention contexts. This framework and methodology explores moments and movements beyond gang life as expansive learning in and across many different communities and action contexts (including various intervention contexts).

## **The Danish ‘Gang Exit’ Problematic: Enduring Struggles and Contentious Practice**

In Denmark, major changes in gang cultures and intervention practices have been observed recently. After a ‘drive-by’ killing in 2008 in a socially deprived area of Copenhagen, we observed a sharp rise in shootings and gang conflicts involving new subgroups to the biker gangs and new geographically street socialized groups beginning to adopt more gang identities, name themselves, and use guns to protect their territories in conflicts with each other. The conflicts have escalated into what some of the involved groups call “gang war,” involving biker gangs, their subgroups, and different street gangs as well as geographically based street communities. Over the last couple of years, the conflict has become more complex, involving more and more parties, each with several fronts to fight and protect (Mørck et al., 2013). The rise in cultural activities labeled “gang activities” is paralleled by a rise in intervention initiatives. In April 2011 the Danish Ministry of Justice launched a “framework for gang exit programs” (Justitsministeriet, 2011, own translation). Since then, we have seen an increasing awareness in Denmark of the importance of targeted interventions aimed at those looking for assistance in leaving a criminal group, a street gang or a biker gang. Several so-called “gang exit initiatives” have emerged, organized by the state in prison and probation services, by the municipalities, new NGOs and private organizations. The societal goal of these exit units, programs and/or interventions is to support young men like Bilal in moving beyond gang life, leaving criminality and violence behind. There is still no published research in these new exit programs in Denmark, but many of the initiatives, especially the state initiatives by police, prison and probation services, have been criticized by (former) gang members and professionals, at ‘gang seminars’ (3), in the media and in ongoing (not yet published) research. One critique is the dilemma of police engagement in the exit initiatives, which tends to reproduce distrust. But there are also alternatives to these state established exit programs: Some mentors and project leaders, like Jesper and Ali, are working as part of various contexts, including people’s colleges, prisons, NGO’s, and in collaboration with municipalities, trying to expand possibilities and transcend learning barriers for young men who are trying to move beyond gang life. The NGO alternatives to exit intervention are also disputed in the Danish media, especially if they involve mentors, cultural activities and communities which include members with a personal criminal history.

## **Social Practice Theory of Expansive Learning as Movements Beyond Marginalization**

Figure 1 illustrates the cornerstones of this analytical framework of expansive learning as the following: Practice, Participation, Meaning and Social Self-understanding (Mørck 2007; 2010; 2011). Individual and collective subjects (Nissen, 2012) learn through participation in practice, in and across action contexts (Nissen, 2012; Dreier, 2008). Critical psychology conceptualizes subjective meaning; emotions should be understood as

closely connected to cognition and agency, and emotions help us to sense our subjective being and what is meaningful:

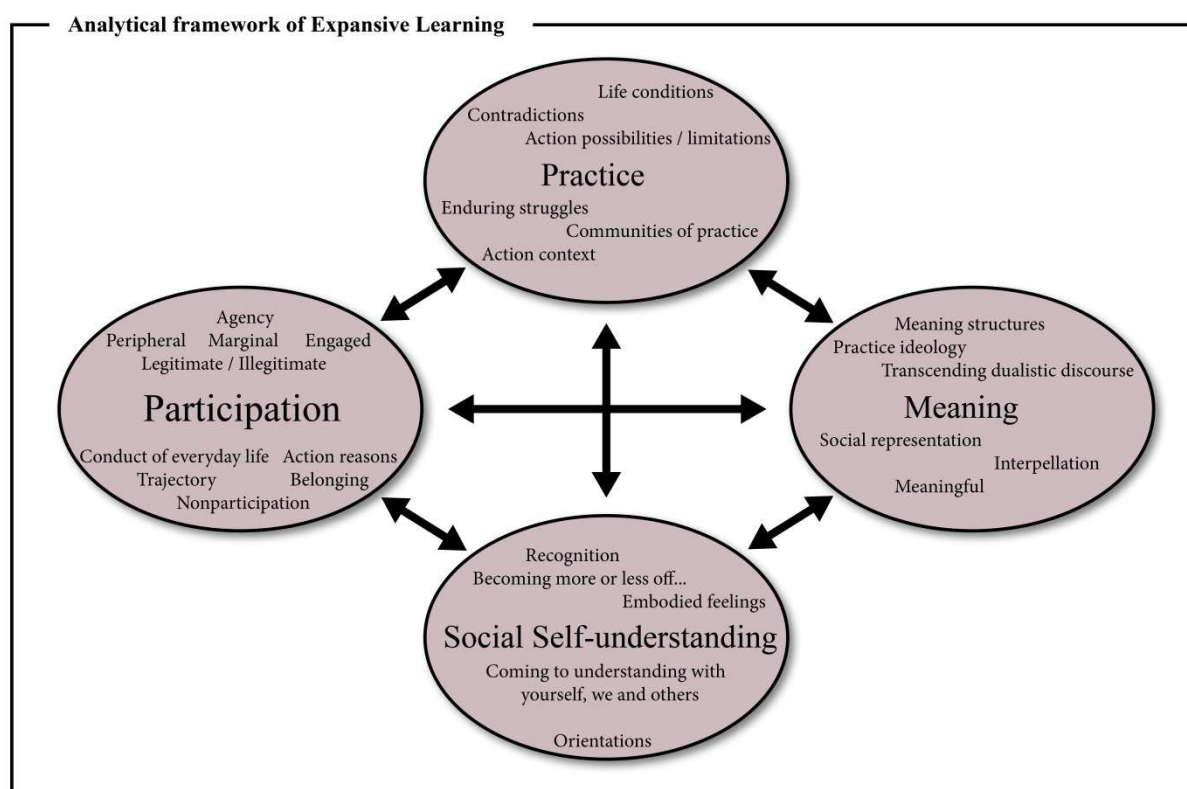


Figure 1. Analytical framework of Expansive learning

“Meaning structures,” or culture, (Holzkamp, 2013b, p. 278) are understood as possibilities to act, dialectically related to both objective societal conditions and the subject’s action reasons (Holzkamp, 2013b, p. 285). Culture or meaning structures are mediated by historical, economic, political, institutionalized arrangements as part of enduring struggles (Holland & Lave, 2009), and as discourses, they are continually (re)produced in local practice ideologies as part of communities of practice (Mørck, 2010) affecting the young men’s social self-understanding (Holzkamp, 2013b; Kristensen & Mørck, 2014), their movements and change in orientations, and belongings in and across communities of practice (Wenger, 1998).

The concept of expansive learning (Kristensen & Mørck, 2014) is inspired by Holzkamp (2013a), who differentiates between “expansive learning,” which is meaningful and in line with one’s life interests, and “defensive learning” where the learner experiences being “cut off from the joint control over the living conditions, thrown back on [one]self, controlled by immediate threats and needs” (ibid, p. 124). Mørck (2010) further develops Holzkamp’s notion of defensive and expansive learning, analyzing additionally how contradictions may be transcended as part of collective agency, with a special focus on mechanisms involved in reproduction of marginalization and/or processes of partly transcending and moving beyond marginal positions.

Being a (former) gang member is a marginal position, which involves enduring struggles, conflicts, tensions and contradictions (Holland & Lave, 2009). Movements beyond demonization and gang labeling involve enduring struggles with dualistic discourses of good and evil. Movements beyond also include a notion of telos of participants’ learning and how the telos, directionality, or orientations change over time (Lave, 1997). Expansive learning includes complex processes of contradictory meaning-making and interpellation: “Interpellation is when the subject recognizes herself as recognized in this unique but universal identity, and with this responsibility given as meaningfulness defined in the ideology” (Nissen, 2012, p. 193).

## Participatory Social Praxis Research and Mo(ve)ment Methodology

This paper draws on history-in-person ethnography (Lave, 2011; Holland & Lave, 2009) and social practice research (Mørck & Nissen, 2005), developing a combination of intervention practice analyses combined with an embodied mo(ve)ment methodology inspired partially by collective biography. Like Davies & Gannon (2006), this mo(ve)ment field work methodology explores embodied moments and movements of importance, but the methodology differs from collective biography work in that it is ethnographic, combining multiple empirical sources (Kristensen & Mørck, 2014), which are reflected in a collective mo(ve)ment interview and later in co-

researcher feedback on the analysis. The mo(ve)ment interview has several parallels to Holland's in-depth "identity trajectory interviews" (Holland & Lave, 2009, p. 7); it is ethnographic, theoretically it explores senses of self and others as meaning-making across a life span, it explores movements, moments, struggles and tensions as dialectics between collective and individual movements, producing continuation and change in the conduct of everyday life (Dreier, 2008, Osterkamp, 2001).

I have followed the gang seminars organized by Jesper, Ali, myself and others since 2009, researching it as a boundary community (Mørck et al, 2013). With this paper I move more in depth, trying to understand the embodied feelings, motivation, agency and complex struggles, problems and expansive possibilities of these moments and movements. I interviewed Bilal and Jesper together in relation to their perspectives on mo(ve)ments of importance in each of their lives. In preparation for the interviews, I watched a documentary that some of the co-students at the People's College had produced about Bilal and Jesper with the theme, "How People's Colleges make a difference." In the documentary, co-students had interviewed Bilal, Jesper, other students and teachers, and the school principal. I also observed two sessions in the course about 'gang criminality' that Bilal and Jesper were teaching together, and I read a book manuscript that Jesper had written about his criminal past and present life. From all these empirical sources, I produced an interview guide, where I shared my preliminary analysis of what I thought might be moments and movements of importance in Bilal's life conduct. After in-depth discussion of these, there was an open time, where they could introduce and reflect on other moments. Later, field notes were taken when my colleagues and I attended more presentations about changes in Bilal's life and dialogues of interventions at a conference and a seminar. Finally, I watched a second video about new changes in Bilal's life and participated in other local cultural activities organized by Bilal, Jesper and other People's College students, where I met and talked to family members. In and across all these contexts, I explored their participation and change in positions, their expanded agency, meaning-making processes, and their representation of themselves, their communities and other parties, to a variety of people and audiences.

## **Ethics, Dilemmas and Contradictions**

This social practice research approach shares ethics and participatory goals with social justice research projects: 1) humanizing marginalized subjects, 2) contributing to social reform and social justice, and 3) creating conditions for a dialogical relationship between researchers and research participants (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). As Michelle Fine describes, the ideal of social justice projects "marks a space of analysis in which the motives, consciousness, politics, and stances of informants and researchers/writers are rendered contradictory, problematic, and filled with transgressive possibilities" (Fine, 1998, p. 141).

We seek to build the practice research on common interests (Mørck & Huniche, 2006, p. 7) as part of joint ventures; we exchange and participate from very different positions in and across different communities. I participate from multiple positions, as a person, activist and researcher (Khawaja & Mørck, 2009), as researcher and presenter, we also co-organize seminars together, as well as contribute to community building and knowledge exchange in our networks. Jesper and Bilal are invited into the work as co-researchers (Nissen, 2000; Mørck, 2000), reading and commenting on papers like this before publication.

Due to this very sensitive field (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2001) and the complexity in participating from multiple positions, this research also presents difficult ethical struggles and contradictions (Fine, 1998). Some of the persons I have interviewed and observed may be under surveillance by police, rival gangs and/or gangs with whom they were previously affiliated. Additionally, as researcher, I will also from time to time find myself in conflictual contradictions and dilemmas, between institutionalized ethics (such as anonymity) and social justice ethics (Fine, 1998). It is a dilemma that Jesper is a public figure in the media debate, because it challenges the ethical standard of anonymity bringing about contradictions in our joint venture when I still attempt to conceal Bilal's identity.

Because of this dilemma, my researcher team and I continually discuss and struggle to produce new standards of ethical social practice, which both expand institutionalized ethics, e.g. consent practices: here the informants give ongoing consent and permission regarding the use of data in articles and papers. I work closely with gatekeepers such as Jesper to be able to practice social justice ethics in a way that partly transcends the ethical dilemmas. Jesper continually helps consider dangers and analyze empirical data for sensitivities in specific times and contexts of presentation. By doing very important social justice work in this field, he also reproduces trust (Jefferson 2004, p. 40) in relation to the other co-researchers, such as Bilal and Ali.

## **Findings and Empirical Analysis**

To reach an in-depth understanding of Bilal and his collective remembered embodied moments and movements, I attempt simultaneously to be informed by the described social practice analytical framework of expansive learning and to analyze with open-ended curiosity. Here, I present three main findings as forces of special importance for Bilal's movement beyond gang life: 1) Motivational aspects very slowly take form over time as embodied feelings of lack of meanings and new experiences of what is meaningful, 2) Longing for belonging

reflects a process of opening up, building trust and new friendships, 3) Recognition is produced through expansive interpellations that slowly and over time give substance to Bilal as a unique, legitimate, and productive member of new communities.

## **Embodied Feelings of (Lack of) Meaning**

This is one of the lessons that meant the most to me here at the people's college. Ali mentions that about coming to People's College and learning to live. [...] For some reason, I also wanted to get up and leave the room, because I felt that even though Ali sat and talked about himself, it went in and hit me so hard personally. Ali puts feelings into words that I myself have not been able to express.

Bilal describes a strong embodied feeling from Ali's presentation that "went in and hit him so hard" that he felt like getting up and leaving the room. But he also describes how he, at that moment, became much wiser about himself by listening to Ali's reflections of how he changed his life through becoming a People's College student and an active part of the community and life there. For a very long time, Bilal had struggled to find words for what he was going through; he "had not been able to see it." But listening to Ali, he realized that he had "started to live life as normal people do," and knew this was a tremendous change in his life. He sat back and thought, "When did I ever live like this before?" and realized that it was when he was a little boy, before he was 12 years old.

Bilal has participated from marginalized positions most of his life, in and across different contexts. Back in primary school, he spent most of his time "being punished, on the black bench." He recalls being placed outside the classroom four out of six hours in school. At 12, his life was already a daily struggle; he was involved in many fights with other children in the school yard, he often had problems doing his homework, and the teachers responded by writing complains to his parents, who's response was to discipline Bilal physically at home.

One day, at the age of 14, he stabbed another kid in the school yard with a knife. He describes how he suddenly sensed a new kind of power: others being afraid of him. He was then forcibly removed from home by the authorities and placed at a special boarding school, where he became a member of a new community of older boys who were much more criminally experienced than Bilal. Two years later, when he got back to his home town at the age of 16, he felt "well educated in criminality." One day, several years later, he was arrested while carrying a weapon and a changed life in prison began. He describes the time in prison as feeling "very lonely," and he felt "let down by the system" and "let down by his brothers." He spent about 8 month in isolation; he tried to get into the prison and probation exit program, but got rejected and didn't know why. He felt very disillusioned over his time in prison:

I think I was the kind of person, who did not care much. Once you have done time in solitary confinement for so long, you have nothing left, neither for the system nor anything. Of course, this one social worker was really kind, but I felt let down by the system, so I had no great enthusiasm at that time.

He did, though, express a little surprise when his social worker from the municipality visited him in prison, because she bothered to travel all the way across the country just to visit him.

Shortly after the visit, he was released and found himself at a release party with his "own brothers." It was a big party; some of the other brothers were also released, and there were many tables with beers, drinks and ladies, with all in all around 250 people gathered. Bilal describes the 12 minutes he lasted at the party:

It was a really, really unpleasant experience, and I had to get in the car, and then I got one of my friends to drive me home. [...] I have never felt so surrounded by people, so pressed, claustrophobic, you are about to throw up and break a sweat and can't help it, you look around and it all stutters in slow motion, as if you were on drugs.[...] I could not acclimate to the many people at the club. I had ended up with a lot of hatred for many of my own brothers. [...] Then it did not fucking matter that they adored you, or that I could get a new status. I went in for something that I believed in - and I later found out, that it was not like that. This I cannot fight for. That was the position I had in the beginning [at the release party].

He also experienced nausea, the few other times he visited the gang environment. The gang life is slowly losing its meaning; he can sense it as embodied affects, but it was only after he heard Ali's presentation that he started to be able to put the meaning-making processes into words. Bilal's meaning-making, including sensations of lack of meanings is described as bodily sensations "hitting [him] hard, personally." It involves

struggles and contradictions, for instance wanting to leave the room even though Ali's presentation is very meaningful to him and his social self-understanding, a feeling nausea even in the presence of drinks, ladies and people that adore him. Concrete action reasons are in some way diffuse, like action reasons for the sensations of nausea or hatred, but we learn that these sensations were important and constellated as either very meaningful or signifying a lack of meaning that pulled him in different directions in life. The action reasons are mainly described in a language of embodied affects: Feelings of being let down, nausea, hatred, or being pressed and claustrophobic, and the sense of lack of meaning, something he no longer can fight for.

### **Longing for Belonging: Processes of Opening Up, Building Up Trust and Friendships**

Starting at the People's College, Bilal hoped for a "fresh start" and he had no plans to tell his own story to the other students. He was aware that most people would find it very difficult to understand his situation. Personal story telling as a (former) gang member entailed a risk that other students would label him as a bad person and building up walls between them. Bilal had a deep fear of being lonely or isolated with no network or friends, which also made him hesitate in the process of opening up and moving beyond a mute positioning. As analyzed below, many moments were important steps for the process of opening up, building trust and friendships, and, in the beginning at the People's College, Bilal was still affiliated with the gang:

I still have one leg in the [gang community]. The thing I fear the most, is to lose my social network. I have one foot in each camp. I am uncertain that this is the way I want to go. I want the people at school to get to know me as a person, and I don't want them to judge me from my history.

The first couple of weeks, Bilal also had difficulties trusting his mentor and teacher Jesper, but this changed:

I just had a feeling [...] and I asked him, and he answered me honestly and it meant that I could let my guard down and think; 'okay, I am not the only one here, there is also another person who understands my situation better than anyone else'

At this time, Jesper had begun planning to tell his story to his colleagues. He had only recently told the principal openly about his criminal and radical left wing past. Jesper was writing a book and showed Bilal the foreword. To tell about his past involved worries; his parents had been worried that he could risk losing his job. Bilal followed Jesper closely in this process of opening up, showing solidarity by asking about the responses of the colleagues and the principal.

The change from "mentor-mentee-ping pong" to more mutuality and more trust accelerated when Bilal and Jesper started kickboxing one hour every morning. Bilal had trouble sleeping at night. And the first months at the People's College, he had a very hard time getting up in the mornings. He was late for 'the daily morning song' and often also late for the first lesson of the day. But after Bilal started to coach Jesper in kick boxing, Bilal and Jesper started a friendship, with more mutual talks during breakfast. They both opened up to more sensitive issues, such as crises in love relations. Bilal expressed that this was a big change; he was not used to talking about family relations and love relations in his other communities:

It was a great feeling, a liberating feeling to let my feelings out, but I know - at that time if there is something that can hit you again, it's your emotions. I started slowly to open up to [Jesper] to see how much he could bear to hear about my life.

After Jesper had opened up to him, Bilal also slowly began to open up to Jesper. His relationships with Jesper and the other students were growing, but around this time, Bilal was called on guard in the gang environment. Bilal is recognized by Jesper, but at the same time twisted and torn by the contradictions of meanings between his very different communities:

I have paranoia. I've got a network at the school; I am beginning to believe in myself. Jesper is finding something in me, that I did not know I had; 'you can do this, it is legal,' I see him as a role model, as a good friend who can share his experiences of how he had felt. And sometimes he is spot on. We meet outside of school and eat together.

Bilal was interpellated into the People's College community and collectives, which include friendship, mutuality and legal and meaningful activities, but the gang community was also interpellating Bilal into the position of an armed guard. However, the practice ideology of the gang community had lost its power, it was no longer as appealing to Bilal; a contradiction has been built up, the sense of lack of meaning is getting stronger:

Someone sticks a [weapon] in my hand, I have to stand guard for one hour. I have not seen them for a very long time. I did not feel that their problems were my problems anymore. They had inspired us to this path, but they had not told us about the ugly side. At People's College I saw what a life a normal person might have and I had the relationship to Jesper. That hour was worse than a year of isolation. You do not know if it is a civil policeman passing. I throw [the weapon] in a child's stroller, then 5 minutes later I go back and pick it up, I walk back and forth, not knowing what to do. When I return to the school I am shaken. I don't know if I can share this [experience] with Jesper. I contact the boys and tell them that I can't do this anymore – it's over.

But closing that door is also a loss:

You have to say no to friends you grew up with, I also have to keep relatives at distance and say good-bye to my whole life. I do not have the same interests as my friends anymore. It begins to be awkward, [but] I could tell my parents that they could be proud of me, not having to defend me.

The People's College community, the new friendship with Jesper and the potential proudness of his parents wins: It is over. Bilal had moved into a boundary position, where there was too much at stake; he had too much to lose.

### **Recognition: Interpellation and Constitution of Bilal as Unique, Legitimate and Productive**

Recognition establishes a curious kind of suspense, since it wields the power to define the other as subject in terms whose meaning is later to appear, and on behalf of a collective that is only emerging. (Nissen, 2012, p. 170-171).

About a month later, Jesper asked Bilal to present his story along with Ali and Jesper, for the students, and he accepted. Presentation as part of a collective helped bring about an atmosphere of openness and understanding. Ali and Jesper, who also represented former criminals, had changed their lives and become unique and recognized persons, making an important difference for others like Bilal. Presenting as part of this new collective opened up for meaning-making processes and the potentiality of recognition. Bilal is not just interpellated into People's College and a friendship with Jesper, he is also slowly becoming part of a new brotherhood, representing another (masculine) practice ideology, of young adult men with criminal pasts that they are reinventing as part of new, meaningful activities, developing their unique talents, and building competence in social representation. Bilal continues to become more a part of this collective, becoming co-organizer of a course about gang criminality along with Jesper, teaching together and meeting new role models such as Robert:

Robert, he is such a man, he truly inspires me. [...] I have some kind of engagement or competition with people. It is a bit like that with you too, [Jesper]. You can teach, and for some reason I would like to compete with you. I should be able to do better. [...] That's how I feel, also with Robert. I think he makes some damn cool stuff: movies about life in prison and gang conflict.

As part of this collective, Bilal gets to understand himself as unique and universal; like Robert, Jesper and Ali, he finds a new meaningful position to fill, a position which is not yet taken: "I'm young, and this field also needs some younger forces. Let me tell about the present, about how it is nowadays."

Already on their first meeting, when Jesper talked about the courses at the school, Bilal responded with, "you teach a course about gang criminality? I know a lot about that, I could help you teach." At that time Jesper hesitated, as it is a big thing to speak in front of so many people. Six months later, Bilal actually became the co-teacher, bringing in a new idea, as he stated, "not just presentations, power points and talking." Bilal changed the course in direction of more bodily experiences of learning: showing 'local eye' videos from gang fights outside court rooms, starting class by shouting loudly, like some gangs in Denmark, "ARE YOU FUCKING READY" – with "us" students shouting the response, "ALWAYS READY." He introduced role playing, with Bilal and Jesper being coaches of the "two gangs" in class. It was a great success, with the highest enrollment numbers of any course at the school.

Together, Bilal and Jesper are walking and expanding the margins, producing new legitimate boundary positions and new societal criteria of success (Mørck 2010), where former gang members can get recognition for

their courage, their special competences and talents through representing their story, and expanding knowledge of how to produce gang exit.

## Conclusion

The goal of this paper is empirically to explore learning and life processes, when young men change their life and move beyond gang cultures, and to develop an analytical framework relevant for this purpose.

The paper applies a social practice theoretical analytical framework of expansive learning and develops it further in relation to analyze individual, collective and societal movements beyond 'gang exit'. The framework is interdisciplinary, combining social practice theory of situated learning and the historical productions of persons (such as Lave & Wenger, 1991, Holland & Lave, 2009,) with critical social psychology regarding subjects' life conduct and life trajectories (Dreier, 2008; Holzkamp, 2013), conceptualizations of collectivities as social work interventions, and the active participation and production of meaning-making processes, interpellation and belonging as part of collective subjectivities (Nissen, 2012, Mørck, 2010; 2011).

The empirical analysis of Bilal's movements challenges established notions of motivation and exit. Along with Jesper and I, he is expanding knowledge about gang exit: Movement beyond gangs is about access to new meanings and belongings. This paper hereby challenges established ideologies of motivation, especially the dualistic question of whether a candidate is "motivated" or not to exit is testable in a "motivational talk." Bilal's expansive learning is a long process which starts long before he experiences a "breaking or turning point," and it involves collectives undergoing change, not just the individual "exit candidate." Expansive learning involves questions of access to meaningful activities, belonging in communities, and things to do that oneself, one's parents, mentors and new brotherhoods can be proud of. Expansive learning is about paving new trajectories where atmospheres of openness and understanding are produced, expanded rooms for complex social representations where it is legitimate to be in process, not to be judged as either motivated or not, either gang member or not, either bad or good. This paper illustrates how criminal pasts, in these kinds of boundary communities, can be developed to become productive and open new doors of recognition into more overlapping communities. Bilal's stay at the People's College and the mentor activity were supported by his municipality, both financially and through dialogue and the belief that they were on the right track. But at the same time, his movement is also part of an enduring and collective struggle for legitimacy, because his process and the constellation of some of his new communities are in conflict with the institutionalized ideologies and normativities of good and bad in established discourse. This expansive learning of movements beyond gang life was in contradiction to 'unwritten' rules, by recognizing that the movement beyond is a process, with periods of being both a gang member and moving beyond gang life. It is a gradually change with a telos of less gang culture, and gradual changes in social self-understanding. This was also a break with the established practice ideologies, by using a mentor and role models with criminal pasts, and building up collectives that, in addition to professionals and People's College students, also include other former criminals. In other words, communities where (former and potential) gang members are invited in as legitimate participants.

Summing up, the analysis of Bilal's moments and movements beyond gang life highlights three dimensions of relevance for social practice theory, research methodology and for the development of (alternatives to) state institutionalized gang exit in Denmark:

1. It is important to understand and conceptualize the young men's (lack of) meanings and/or (lack of) belongings in and across a plurality of communities, including how the gang environment is competing with other communities. This movement beyond can be possible in boundary communities produced through new cultural activities in collaborations between people with criminal pasts, the People's Colleges and NGOs.
2. To understand and support movements beyond gang life, it is important to work more process oriented, promoting open-ended curiosity, including the understanding of embodied affects and sensations in social practice theory, methodology and intervention practice. In other words we need to move 'gang exit' practice and ideology beyond rationalist tendencies of focusing on motivation as verbalized action reasons.
3. The processes of social representation and change in social self-understandings are complex, filled with conflicts, contradictions and at the same time very important to transcending marginalization, moving all involved parties and the interventions beyond the risk of reproduction of gang labeling and demonization.

## Endnotes

- (1) "People's College" is a translation of the Danish "Højskole", an independent, alternative boarding school for adults.
- (2) "Wild" is a term attributed to a particular segment of urban youth in Danish society - both Danish and ethnic minority youth who are involved in different "alternative," and at times illicit, activities, some becoming so called wild social street worker, coming from within the wild community and serve that community (see Mørck, 2010; 2011; 2000).
- (3) The Gang Seminars are annual, dialogical seminars at Grundtvigs Højskole started by Ali and Jesper and held since 2009 (see Mørck et al, 2013).

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