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Assessment of a Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Program for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors in Street Situations

This paper presents a juvenile delinquency prevention program for unaccompanied foreign minors in street situations in Ceuta, Spain. The main objective is to assess the implementation and results of this program. Due to its proximity to Morocco and its two enclaves in Africa, Spain faces specific challenges regarding immigration. Ceuta's geographic and fiscal specificities offer a porous border and some of the people crossing it every day are minors. Currently there are around 300 unaccompanied foreign minors in the reception centre under administrative supervision, and approximately 50 unaccompanied Moroccan minors living in the streets of Ceuta, where their presence generates a sense of insecurity for citizens. In this context, child protective services, who are responsible for the wellbeing of every unprotected minor, face a substantial challenge. An agreement between the University of Malaga and the City of Ceuta launched a program to prevent juvenile delinquency among unaccompanied foreign minors who escape the established child protection system and loiter around the port of Ceuta in the hope of crossing into the Spanish peninsula illegally. This paper aims to present the internal assessment of implementation and results of this pioneering program. The results suggest that the PREMECE program sheds more light on the changing reality of these unaccompanied foreign minors and their considerable cross-border mobility, helps to detect invisible minors for the child protection system, improves the protection of especially vulnerable minors, eases street tensions and lowers the risk of juvenile delinquency and victimization.

Keywords: juvenile delinquency; prevention; protection; unaccompanied minors

Evaluation eines Programms zur Prävention von Jugenddelinquenz für unbegleitete ausländische Minderjährige in Straßensituationen

Dieser Text stellt ein Programm zur Prävention von Jugenddelinquenz für unbegleitete ausländische Minderjährige in Straßensituationen in Ceuta, Spanien, vor. Das Hauptziel ist es, die Implementation und Ergebnisse des Programms zu evaluieren. Aufgrund seiner geografischen Nähe zu Marokko und seiner zwei Enklaven in Afrika, ist Spanien mit spezifischen Herausforderungen hinsichtlich der Einwanderung konfrontiert. Ceutas geografische und fiskalische Besonderheiten bieten eine durchlässige Grenze und einige der Menschen, die sie täglich überqueren, sind Minderjährige. Aktuell befinden sich etwa 300 unbegleitete ausländische Minderjährige im Aufnahmezentrum unter staatlicher Aufsicht und ungefähr 50 leben in den Straßen von Ceuta, wo ihre Anwesenheit ein Unsicherheitsgefühl bei den Einwohner*innen hervorruft. In diesem Kontext stehen die Kinderschutzbehörden, die für das Wohlergehen jedes unbegleiteten Minderjährigen verantwortlich sind, vor Herausforderungen. In Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Málaga hat die Stadt Ceuta ein Programm zur Prävention von Jugenddelinquenz unbegleiteter ausländischer Minderjähriger gestartet. Dabei geht es um diejenigen Minderjährigen, die dem Kinderschutzsystem entfliehen und im Hafen von Ceuta „herumlungern“, immer in der Hoffnung, auf illegalem Wege auf die spanische Halbinsel zu kommen. Der vorliegende Text stellt die interne Evaluation der Implementierung und der Ergebnisse des Pionierprogramms vor. Das Programm PREMECE zeigt die wechselnden Realitäten der unbegleiteten ausländischen Minderjährigen und deren große Mobilität bei der Grenzüberquerung; es hilft dabei, bislang für den Kinderschutz unsichtbare Minderjährige aufzuspüren; es mildert Spannungen auf der Straße und senkt das Risiko von Jugenddelinquenz und Viktimisierung.

Schlagwörter: Jugenddelinquenz; Prävention; Schutz; unbegleitete Minderjährige

1. Introduction

In European specialized literature, intervention programs with children and adolescents in street situations¹ are an infrequent subject. They are more common in developing countries (Pandian & Lakshmana, 2017; Balachova, Bonner & Levy, 2009; Ali & de Muynck, 2005; De Moura, 2005, Sen, 2009, etc.), although very few academic papers present the assessment of implementation and results of the programs (Watters & O'Callaghan, 2016). Among children and adolescents in street situations, foreign minors present a specific and especially vulnerable group. Some authors have shown the need for specific interventions in Europe to prevent penalization of this vulnerable group at risk to delinquency and victimization (Terrio, 2004). To address this problem, the city of Ceuta launched a program to prevent delinquency and victimization of unaccompanied foreign minors in street situations (PREMECE) in 2017.

To understand the design of the PREMECE program as well as its successes and challenges, it is necessary to explain the context of the intervention beforehand. Ceuta, a Spanish enclave in Africa, faces specific challenges in terms of immigration. Due to its proximity to Morocco, the residents of Tetouan (a Moroccan province adjoining) are exempt from visa requirements and are permitted to enter the Spanish city on a daily basis and must leave the city by nightfall. However, Moroccans from the rest of the national territory are not permitted to enter Ceuta. Besides these legal exceptions, the borders are also permeable for irregular entry, via border fences or border posts. Moroccans from other regions not adjacent to Ceuta and Melilla and sub-Saharan Africans can only legally cross the border with a visa. Due to the difficulties in obtaining one, immigrants usually enter Ceuta and Melilla illegally. They do so by jumping the border fence, by swimming through the adjoining beaches between Morocco and the Spanish enclaves, by hiding in vehicles passing through authorized border posts, or by blending into large groups of people crossing border posts.

Adolescents and children reproduce similar dynamics. Some of them are Sub-Saharan and Moroccan minors from non-bordering regions that enter irregularly. They undertake this trip alone, often with the same responsibility, as immigrants (Suárez-Navaz & Jiménez, 2011), of helping their family and sometimes staying by the border between Morocco and Spain for days or even months trying to sneak across the border illegally. On the other hand, minors who come from adjoining provinces enter legally with their passports and are accompanied by their parents or a relative. At dusk, the adults cross the border back to Morocco and the minors stay alone in Spanish territory, hoping to get a better life and help their family financially.

Once on Spanish soil, the International Convention on the Rights of the Child obliges the Spanish State to protect the unaccompanied minor, via child protective services. Spain must ensure, as a legal commitment, the wellbeing of every unaccompanied minor, protecting them regardless of their status as foreigners. Although there are about 300 minors under the supervision of the child protective services in the reception center in Ceuta, there are around 50 minors in street situations. This number fluctuates quite a lot due to the minors' high mobility. Many of

¹ The Committee on the Rights of the Child has adopted the term "children in street situations". The term "street child", used by the Commission on Human Rights in 1994, refers either to children who worked on the street; children who lived on the street without family support but maintained family links; or abandoned children who lived on their own. In addition to being imprecise, it defines the children by their situation. Human Rights Council resolution 16/12 refers to "children working and/or living on the street". Here we will use "unaccompanied foreign minors in street situations" because our target group has great mobility and most minors choose to live on the streets temporarily, seeking to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. Some of them have family links or support, and living on the streets is a circumstantial situation, a means to achieve their immigration project.

these minors manage to cross the Strait of Gibraltar illegally, others do not achieve it and end up abandoning their migratory project, returning to Morocco, and new ones enter through the land border from Morocco into Ceuta.

The reasons for a group of minors to remain on the streets are multiple. The main ones though are the overpopulated reception center and Ceuta's status as a city of passage to reach Europe in search of a better life. Frequently, police work becomes cyclical. After police officers transfer unaccompanied minors to the reception center, they often escape from established protective capacities of the system and return to the port zone of the city. On the streets they are unprotected and exposed to criminal risk. Their presence on the streets generates a sense of public insecurity and social alarm, which in turn leads to stigmatization.

These minors also are at serious risk of becoming victims of crimes. According to the 2016 US Department of State report on the state of global human trafficking, although Spain has met the minimum in terms of trafficking, there are still outstanding issues related to unaccompanied minors. This situation places them at a high risk of becoming victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual and criminal exploitation.

These findings lay bare the vulnerable situation unaccompanied foreign minors find themselves in and the need to provide adequate and individualized protection in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989. Providing more attention to minors should not only protect them from victimization, but also foster a prosocial personal growth, minimizing criminal risk.

In this context, Ceuta's Department of Health, Social Affairs, Minors and Equality, has signed an agreement with the University of Málaga, implemented by the research group, observatory of the crime control system towards Immigration (OCSPI), to develop a two-year pilot program of research and informed social intervention to prevent juvenile delinquency and protect these minors (2018-2019). As the program is still underway, data are still being collected and analyzed. Here we will focus on the assessment of implementation and results of the first year of the program (2018). The assessment of the program is essential for its improvement as well as useful for disseminating knowledge that may be of interest to guide other public policies.

2. PREMECE program: initial plan

PREMECE program is composed of a management team (head and coordinator), a research team (OCSPI team) and a street intervention team (Drari team²). The initial aim of this program is to reduce juvenile delinquency and victimological risks of unaccompanied foreign minors in the streets of Ceuta. To achieve that, specific objectives were agreed upon:

- (1) To diagnose the street dynamics and individual situation of unaccompanied foreign minors who do not adhere to the established child protection system.
- (2) To create a street intervention team (Drari team) to intervene with minors in an effort to generate a climate of confidence and trust (to this end, some basic needs will be met, namely hygiene assistance, first aid care, and legal protection).
- (3) To develop intervention strategies which foster a prosocial lifestyle, reduce victimological and delinquency risk, and encourage minors to move off the streets.

² "Drari" means "guys", a meaningful word in dariya, the native language of the Moroccan boys in street situation. They usually call each other "drari".

- (4) To coordinate the key agents of the city, such as the police, NGOs, *Fiscal de menores*³, etc. for the protection of these minors and increase social peace.

(1) Diagnosis

To diagnose the situation of the street dynamics and minors in street situations, a qualitative methodology has been designed based on participant observation. The Drari team carries out the observation. The first objective is to generate a climate of trust between the Drari team and minors in street situations and, as a consequence, to obtain information on street dynamics and specific cases. To systematize street and individual diagnosis information, two research tools were designed:

- a) Field diaries. The Drari team takes 6-hour daily shifts on the streets to observe the field, locate minors and intervene with them. Another two hours a day are reserved for recording observations in field journals. Each team member should record daily activities, as well as their observations, feelings and impressions of the field, with the aim of sharing this information with the other members of the team and the management team of the program. The Drari team and the coordinator, seeking reflection to improve the intervention and data collection, will discuss this information weekly. The analysis of this information serves to obtain a diagnosis of the street situation during the months of intervention.
- b) Individual diagnostic reports. This tool is used from the first contact with the minor and remains open to be completed during the minor's subsequent contacts with the team. By considering the target population, the field of work, and the program's purpose of intervention via trust building, this tool has been designed to obtain deeper and more reliable data than structured conventional interviews or surveys when the interviewer and interviewee do not know each other. To the extent that the Drari team knows the child more deeply, their individual file is enriched with information. These reports have a certain structure, which guides the team to look for information on minors in aspects such as personal characteristics, family situation, street situation, plans, health and victimization, transgressive behaviors, relationship with the police and experience or perception about the reception center.

These data and their subsequent analysis will serve to constantly think and rethink the intervention, assess the implementation and results of the program, as well as to inform Ceuta's child protective services about the street dynamics and specific cases requiring their intervention.

(2) Adult mentors

The need to create a group of adult mentors in the street is based on positive parenting programs. Positive parenting programs assume that the quality in the relationship between mothers/fathers and children facilitates the learning of control over problematic or aggressive behavior. These programs, rather than working on the child, work directly on families and focuses on teaching parents educational and disciplinary strategies in an effective way. The specialists in these types of programs have documented that an erroneous discipline (excessive, too lenient or inconsistent) is a risk factor of delinquency (Patterson, 1982), while five parental practices related to an adequate maturation process have been identified. These are an adequate discipline, supervision, positive support, problem solving and family involvement.

³ "*Fiscal de menores*" is the judicial authority for the protection of minors. He is in charge of defending the minors and supervising the performance of the child protective services.

Due to their street situation, unaccompanied foreign minors theoretically share some risk factors of juvenile delinquency: lack of parental affectivity and control, low intellectual or academic performance, exposure to consumption of narcotics and to criminal opportunities, poor social skills and a group of disruptive equals or poor self-control and are in risk of victimization. These risk factors must be compensated by protection factors derived from an adequate and close positive parenting. Therefore, the street intervention team has a twofold approach to promote the benefits of positive parenting. First, they maintain contact between the minors and their family in home country, as long as it is beneficial for the child. Regardless of whether the child can be reunited with his family or not, the contact between them is a basic need that must be facilitated. Second, they use positive parenting to build a trustful and healthy relation between the Drari team and the minors, balancing affection and control. In order to carry out both tasks, Drari team must have training in social education or psychology, experience in working with minors, good communication skills with children, and knowledge of their cultural codes.

Drari team members must approach the minors with a positive, mediating and conciliatory attitude (Empez Vidal, 2014). A key element that will allow them to connect with the minor is the offer of basic assistance in priority aspects:

- a) Food, personal hygiene and clothing in a climate of tranquility and affection. By providing basic needs, we manage to attract the children to a better environment compared to that on the streets. Through such assistance, it is possible to create a listening space, and to detect other basic needs related to health, family, emotions...
- b) First aid care (heal physical wounds), as well as accompaniment to the hospital if necessary. First aid care can be the means of detecting violence, sexual abuse, contagious diseases, malnutrition, drug dependence, post-traumatic syndromes, etc.
- c) Accompaniment in legal matters to defend their rights and inform them of their obligations. Providing counseling on different procedures and resources, without diminishing their autonomy, is fundamental and one of the positive parenting strategies, so they can feel supported and well cared for.
- d) Occupation of free time through games, dynamics, sports, access to social networks, etc. An educational component is always present by promoting language skills, cultural exchange, ecological education, a healthy lifestyle, drug use prevention, and management of emotions, among others.

(3) Intervention strategies

The intervention strategies to promote a prosocial lifestyle are inspired by prosocial thinking programs, like the one by Ross, Garrido and Fabiano (1991), for the improvement of social skills. They are structured programs that aspire to teach minors adequate ways of social perception, identification of emotions, causal attribution, perspective taking, empathy, alternative thinking, anticipation and evaluation of consequences, anger control and interpersonal problem solving among others (Losel & Beelmann, 2007). The Prosocial Thinking Program (PTP) (López, Garrido and Ross, 2011), conceptually based on a cognitive model of crime prevention and rehabilitation of the delinquent by Ross and Fabio (1985), is an educational, cognitive behavioral and multi-modal program that focuses on subjects with antisocial behaviors and helps them to face the problems that impede a normalized social life. The aim is to equip antisocial youth with skills and attitudes that make them capable of choosing a prosocial lifestyle that had previously not been acceptable or possible for them (Garrido and López, 2005).

Most cognitive-behavioral programs require too many hours of intervention, which is a stumbling block if the children who are not institutionalized and especially if they have great mobility across borders. There is a reduced version of the PTP that has not only shown progress in the child's training, but that has also deepened relationships with the child to determine if more specific intervention is required. Therefore, the program is designed so that the child or adolescent will discover their abilities, rather than from a traditional didactic process. In this context, rather than harsh confrontation, children are challenged to think about their behavior and learn prosocial alternatives. The goal is to motivate them to continue to practice prosocial alternatives in their daily lives and guide them to observe the benefits (Garrido and López, 2005).

Some of the future activities to be developed by the Drari team during the second year of the program will be adapted from the Prosocial Thinking Program (PTP) in its abbreviated version. During the trust building, the child's motivation and social skills will be worked through structured strategies, inspired by the PTP, when the situation permits. The PTP begins with an initial interview. In the case of the PREMECE program, it will be conducted throughout the contacts with the minor on the street. In these meetings, the motivation of the adolescent is sought to accept first the basic assistance activities and participate in the PTP activities later. The success of adapted programs like the PTP depends largely on the intervention personnel. Drari team members must be good empathetic listeners, and most importantly, must provide reinforcements to the prosocial behavior that the child shows. Also, they must avoid the subtle morality and the guilt of young people for their antisocial behavior, and stress communicating that the lack of skills is the basis of their behavior.

To carry out some basic assistance and intervention activities, an adequate working space tailored to the program's needs will be provided by the reception center of Ceuta, with a projector, a blackboard, chairs, tables, and the necessary material. The use of this space will be subject to schedules, rules and supervision of Drari team. Those rules are part of motivational and educational strategies aimed at introducing minors into a prosocial lifestyle and enabling the future transition to the established child protection system.

After social intervention has taken place, minors are expected to have improved skills and abilities. At this point, it will be time to refer minors to the established child protective services. Among the possible responses that will be offered to the minor by the protective services are:

- a) Reuniting the minor with his family in home country.
- b) Reuniting the minor with a family member in another European city.
- c) Admitting or re-admitting the minor in the reception center of the city.
- d) Admitting the minor into specialized centers of social-health intervention in cases of mental illness, drug dependence, victims of trafficking, ...

In extreme cases, where the child's integrity is endangered and his or her volitional powers are inhibited due to addiction to toxic substances, mental illness detected by the health service or mental trauma resulting from repeated abuse, *Fiscal de menores* decides on whether or not to refer the minor to specialized services.

(4) Coordination of key agents

The PREMECE program was also designed with a community intervention approach, inspired in Multi-component interventions such as the Communities That Care (CTC) Program (Brown, Hawkins & Arthur, 2007, Hawkins et al., 2008). This kind of program focuses on young people

who have dropped out of school, use drugs or commit criminal acts, and aims to reduce problems related to street youth gangs. CTC is a model that helps the community to identify priority juvenile delinquency problems and to develop an adequate and effective intervention plan. In order to produce positive results, such a program requires collaboration between key agents, clear and well-defined objectives, the utilization of scientifically validated interventions, and an assessment of intervention based on measures that make sense for the community (Hawkins et al., 2008). It requires the hiring a person to coordinate with the different agents and institutions of the community. The results of this type of community coalition intervention point to a reduction in the incidence and prevalence of delinquency and drug use in young people four years after its implantation (Brown, Hawkins & Arthur, 2007, Hawkins et al., 2008). One of the greatest difficulties in developing this program in the community is to achieve an adequate degree of inter-institutional collaboration between the relevant administrations (health, youth, police, social services, *Fiscal de menores*, etc.) and between them and civil society.

As a community intervention, the PREMECE program entails the need for the coordination of key agents of the city, like the police, the *Fiscal de menores*, NGOs, etc. to better protect minors in street situations. The management team of the program connects these key actors by suggesting collaborations, exchanging experiences and providing training. The success of the Drari team depends largely on these coordination efforts.

Finally, to achieve these four objectives, the program has received a budget of 80,000 euros per year for the purchase of consumables for educational and hygiene assistance activities, the payment of management and coordination trips from Malaga to Ceuta, and the payment of the payroll of the contracted personnel. In addition, it was expected that the Administration of Ceuta would provide an independent area or space in the same reception center with its own entrance, in order to attract minors in street situations to a quiet and safe space, where the Drari team could intervene in an appropriate manner. It is important to clarify that the initial program budget was adjusted to the available grant (80,000) and not to the real needs of the program. For this reason, the presence of the Drari team was planned for only 7 months and not for the whole year.

3. Aims of the assessment

The aim of this paper is to present the internal assessment of implementation and results of the start-up of the first year of the PREMECE program (during 2018) and highlight the main challenges and positive aspects of this pioneering initiative.

To achieve this general objective, the following specific aims are pursued:

1. Assessment of the implementation process: To analyze to what extent the program has been executed in relation to the initial plan, the coverage achieved, the sufficiency of resources, the communication between the actors involved, and the limitations.
2. Assessment of the results obtained during the development of the program: to present the results according to objectives and collateral effects (effectiveness criterion).

This assessment is inspired by the evaluation models developed by the Andalusian Institute of Public Administration and by the Spanish Agency for Evaluation and Quality (IAAP, 2017; AEVAL, 2015).

4. Methodology of the assessment

The implementation criterion evaluates the practical application of the program according to its initial design. To evaluate an intervention it is necessary to identify the processes by which it is put into operation. The results may be affected not only by some failure in the program's approach, but also by a deficient supply of resources, lack of communication or trust between the actors involved, lack of commitment to the program by a particular actor, as well as regulatory changes or other circumstances with respect to the initial forecasts. In the same sense, in programs that involve several collective actors, the internal organization of some of them can be an obstacle to the success of a program (Lázaro & Obregón, 2009).

Especially when it comes to the assessment of a social and pioneering program, as is the case of the PREMECE program, the implementation difficulties can be diverse and unpredictable at first, since the reality of the social and human context in which the program is inserted is complex and difficult to forecast. Thus, the evaluation of implementation is an opportunity to assess the consistency and coherence of the execution of the program in relation to the initial plan, as well as the possible changes of programming during the course of its implementation. To carry out the implementation assessment it is necessary to consider each objective in the initial design of the program. For this, a fundamental tool is the implementation matrix, which includes the dimensions to be evaluated, the research questions derived from those dimensions, the indicators that can measure such issues and the sources of verification or fieldwork to provide content to such indicators. The assessment matrices in general and those of assessment of implementation in particular, are not static, but often have to be modified in accordance with the changes of the intervention or its context. They are a methodological plan to guide the evaluation and must be flexible to cover all aspects relevant to the evaluation. We present the implementation assessment matrix of the PREMECE program hereunder (table 1). The effectiveness criterion measures the degree to which the objectives established in the PREMECE program have been achieved. On this occasion, we focus only on the short-term results and not on the impact of the program, which requires an analysis of long-term effects. In order to assess effectiveness, a matrix has been designed (table 2) that includes the dimensions, questions, indicators, sources and methods of assessment research.

When working with a group of minors in street situations, exposed to victimological and crime risks, the intervention actions of the Drari team were thought of as secondary prevention strategies. In practice, most of the team's interventions are focused on the protection of these minors, with no direct relation to episodes of risk of victimization or delinquency. They are rather related to the use of positive parenting strategies and educational activities, so that minors can continue with their maturation process and decide to leave the street. These actions are considered here primary prevention.

Secondary prevention addresses types of activities that seek to reduce the situations of victimological and delinquency risk to minors in street situations. These activities are of two types, on one hand, those that are inspired by prosocial thinking programs and, on the other, those that have to do with the daily presence of the Drari team on the street and their mediation interventions, reducing tensions between minors and neighborhood residents.

Tertiary prevention refers to actions aimed at preventing crime or victimization from recurring. These activities were not initially planned, but rather were incorporated after months of street experience as a result of collaboration with the juvenile justice system for cases in which minors in street situations are accused of committing some crime or have to comply with a

judicial measure. Tertiary prevention activities are also those that refer to collaboration with the police and the *Fiscal de menores*, when minors are victims of crimes.

Table 1. Implementation Assessment Matrix

DIMENSION	QUESTION	INDICATORS	METHOD / SOURCE
1. Personnel	Does the personnel profile assigned to the program coincide with the ones planned? Is the personnel qualified and trained?	Personnel profile: basic training, level of experience, level of knowledge of the language; Initial specific training and continuous training; Staff turnover rate.	Analysis of the profile of the hired personnel, analysis of the content of the initial and continuing training, analysis of coordination meetings (continuous training).
2. Coverage	Is the target population of the program being identified and attended?	Identification strategies, estimation of the number of minors in the street versus number of individual diagnostic reports.	Direct observation. Analysis of the field journals and monthly reports. Analysis of individual diagnostic reports.
3. Material resources	Are the facilities and services provided adequate and as foreseen in the initial plan?	Availability of work premises, availability of consumables for educational and hygiene assistance, number of coordination and direction trips, duration of contracts.	Direct observation and analysis of budget reports.
4. Diagnosis	Is the information collected sufficient to carry out a diagnosis of the street and minors in street situations?	Quantity and quality of information registered in field journals and individual diagnosis reports, number of reports to the administration.	Analysis of the field journals. Analysis of individual diagnostic reports. Analysis of reports to the administration.
5. Adult mentors	Did the Drari team members become adult mentors on the streets?	Number of times minors accompanied to hospital, of appointments for legal issues and hygiene assistance. Development of a climate of trust with the minors.	Analysis of the field journals and monthly reports. Analysis of individual diagnostic reports. Corporate phone data analysis.
6. Intervention activities	Are the activities of the initial plan developed? Is the content of the activities adequate? Do minors participate in the activities?	Number and types of activities of primary and secondary prevention carried out and participation rate.	Analysis of the registration report of activities.
7. Coordination of key agents	Has the coordination been carried out effectively?	Number of key agents contacted, Number of collaborating key agents, Content of meetings and training activities.	Analysis of the minutes of the meetings and programs of training events.

Source: authors' elaboration

Table 2. Effectiveness Assessment Matrix

DIMENSION	QUESTION	INDICATORS	METHOD / SOURCE
Diagnosis	How does street dynamics work and what profile do the minors have?	Minors localization, schedules, groups, age, sex, origin and familiar structure	Analysis of the field journals. Analysis of individual diagnostic reports.
Primary prevention	Does the program contribute to greater protection of the minors?	Number of minors who enter or re-enter the reception center. Number of minors who return with their families. Number of minors referred to specialized centers. Number of minors reunited with a family member in another European city. Protection actions based on reports and meetings with the head of the child protective services.	Analysis of the field journals. Analysis of individual diagnostic reports. Analysis of the meeting minutes.
Secondary prevention	Has the program contributed to reducing victimological and delinquency risk for minors in street situations?	Collaboration with the Local Police, National Police and Guardia Civil. Collaboration with the reception center (coordination so that minors do not return to the streets). Reduction of conflicts in the street Skills acquired after the PTP.	Analysis of the meetings minutes with key agents. Analysis of the field journals. Direct observation.
Tertiary prevention	Does the program contribute to reduce minor's criminal opportunities and victimization once they have occurred?	Accompaniments to juvenile court when minors are accused of committing a crime. Accompaniments for fulfillment of juvenile probation. Knowledge of victimization cases and identification of victimizers. Collaboration with the <i>Fiscal de menores</i> (accompaniment to file a complaint in case of victimization). Collaboration with civil society organizations (information about victimization).	Analysis of the field journals. Analysis of the meeting minutes.

Source: authors' elaboration

A methodological limitation lies in the fact that we are facing an internal assessment of a public policy program. While internal assessment has certain disadvantages related to the team's interest in reaching positive conclusions about its job, organization and results, it has certain advantages with respect to external assessment; evaluators are very familiar with the work and its aims, and the other members of the program usually have a better disposition to reveal negative aspects to them. In addition, it is a good self-correction system that facilitates the acceptance of criticisms with lower costs than an external assessment. To overcome the possible

lack of objectivity, the final evaluation of the two year program will be presented to the key agents of the city to be able to compare the interpretations and complete the critical analysis. For the assessment of the first year of the program presented here, this limitation must be taken into account.

5. Implementation assessment of PREMECE program (May-November 2018)

The main goal here is to indicate the level of implementation of the objectives agreed upon in the initial plan. On this basis, the challenges and positive aspects of this initiative will be pointed out.

In Table 3, we present a summary of the implementation assessment results.

Table 3. Degree of implementation ($\sqrt{\sqrt{}}$ = Full implementation; $\sqrt{}$ = Partial implementation; x = Non-implementation)

Dimension	Degree of implementation
1. Personnel	$\sqrt{\sqrt{}}$
2. Coverage	$\sqrt{\sqrt{}}$
3. Material resources	$\sqrt{}$
4. Diagnosis	$\sqrt{\sqrt{}}$
5. Adult mentors	$\sqrt{\sqrt{}}$
6. Intervention activities	$\sqrt{}$
7. Coordination of key agents	$\sqrt{}$

Source: authors' elaboration

Dimension 1: Personnel

As foreseen in the initial plan, three professionals were hired to compose the Drari team, a psychologist and two social educators. All of them speak Dariya fluently and have work experience with Moroccan children for at least one year. A doctor in Sociology was also hired, with experience in social research and project coordination, to coordinate the program.

Just before the beginning of the field work, an initial training course was provided for the Drari team and key agents of the city (*Fiscal de menores*, Local Police, NGOs and members of the child protective services), with a duration of 15 hours to present the work plan and initiate collaboration among key agents and civil society of the city for the implementation of the program. In addition, experiences of intervention with minors in street situations were shared and a practical intervention with minors in the port area was conducted. This practical intervention was coordinated by a Moroccan social educator with more than 10 years of experience in intervention with Moroccan children in street situations. At the end of the course a brief questionnaire regarding their level of satisfaction was filled out by the personnel hired. The results point to a high level of satisfaction.

Every two weeks, the management team of PREMECE program has conducted training meetings with the Drari team in various subjects such as data collection (field diary and diagnostic reports), positive parenting techniques, activities promoting prosocial thinking, and prevention of crime through sport. Continuous training has also been carried out through the weekly coordination meetings, where field diaries and individual cases were systematically reviewed with the aim of reflecting and improving interventions, preventing the dynamics of the street from diverting attention from the team to a purely assistance action.

In addition, the team has attended specialized training in addictions, first aid, human tracking and the legal and social reality of unaccompanied foreign minors.

Regarding staff turnover, during the fifth month of street intervention, a social educator left the team, which meant having to start a new hiring process, leaving only two educators on the street during a month. The new hiring process brought a psychologist into the team and was a necessary addition after the previous months of experience and the challenges encountered.

Dimension 2: Coverage

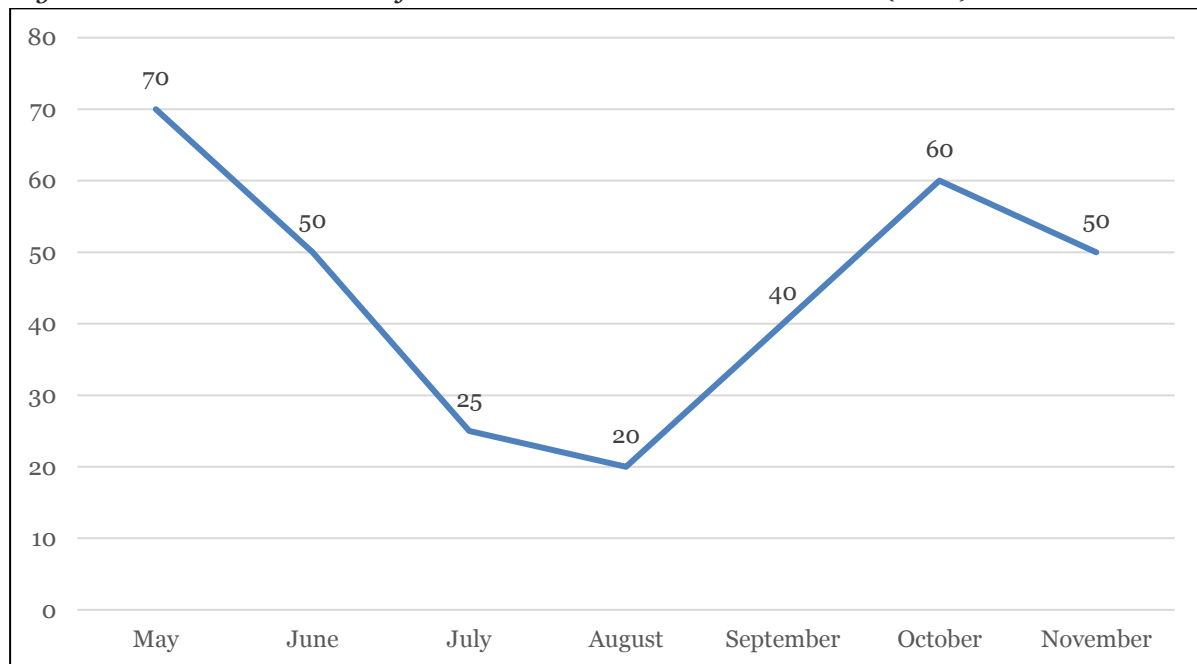
As a pioneer program, one of the objectives of the PREMECE is to know the target population. Before starting the program, the number of minors in street situations was estimated to be approximately 30. Throughout the seven months of street intervention, the Drari team made monthly estimates. Figure 1 shows the fluctuation in the number of minors in street situations during the seven months of intervention in 2018.

Many of these children were counted month after month because they remained for months on the street. However, others crossed to the peninsula or returned to Morocco while new ones appeared. The decrease in the presence of children from May to June was due to Ramadan, when many children decide to return home to spend the holy month with their family, and then go back to Ceuta to continue efforts to cross to the peninsula. During the summer months, the same trend was identified.

The Drari team recorded information on 146 different children in seven months. The first contacts were not difficult. The minors were curious about the presence of the Drari team members in the port and were usually receptive. In the beginning, the team approached the minors, but this changed quickly with minors taking the initiative to approach the team. Another important element is that after a few months of intervention, children living on the streets for longer periods began to introduce newcomers to the Drari team.

One limitation of coverage is the permanent presence of minors in the restricted port area. The team is not authorized to enter this dangerous area, in which heavy machinery is operated. To contact these children, the team has to wait for them to leave the port, which they do with a certain frequency to look for food or to take a walk, seizing the moment when there are no ferries leaving the port.

Figure 1. Estimated number of minors in street situations in Ceuta (2018)



Source: authors' elaboration

Dimension 3: Material resources

With regard to material resources, the availability of working space was the most problematic aspect of the program implementation. At first it was intended to establish space in the reception center, but this proved unfeasible due to several reasons. For one, the reception center is located away from the port area, which is where minors in street situations are concentrated. Setting up a contact point outside the port would unlikely attract minors, who were focused on the schedules of trucks and boats, or seeking food, for example by begging in front of the shops near the port. Secondly, many minors turn to the street due to a lack of confidence in the reception center. Hence, the Drari team concluded that in order to build trust with children, it would be more effective to not work in the reception center. Thirdly, working space in the reception center would fail to reach minors who do not even consider entering or re-entering the reception center.

The non-implementation of a working space resulted in a lack of basic material conditions for educational activities (a roof, chairs, tables, etc.) as well as a lack of storage space for the necessary sports equipment and educational supplies. Street intervention activities were interrupted and disrupted, mostly by adult immigrants on the streets, some of whom were often under the influence of drugs. Inclement weather, rain or excessive heat also complicated finding minors, who took refuge in hard-to-detect places. Finally, the lack of a controllable environment made dealing with conflict between children during the intervention or disrespectful children more difficult. Engaging children pedagogically in the streets is difficult work considering that intervention requires drug free space where children can reflect and respect agreed norms.

The lack of an adequate room makes it difficult for the team to provide the individualized attention required to dig deeper on some issues. No dedicated room also makes it more difficult for children to find the Drari team. At the same time, the Drari team had neither proper office space to conduct internal team meetings nor sufficient PC capabilities to communicate with

the intervention team and the coordinator. These difficulties were overcome with the following alternatives:

- a) A mobile unit. The use of the mobile unit was very positive, especially to give more visibility to the Drari team. It was established that each work shift would be a first round through the avenue near the port to inform the minors of the presence of the Drari team and chose a fixed place to park the mobile unit. The unit also served as a support for first assistance, to intervene more privately with some children and as a place to store the necessary material for sports and educational activities. One limitation of the mobile unit was parking and one drawback was the complaints of neighbors or merchants about the concentration of minors nearby.
- b) A room provided by the University of Granada for the intervention team meetings with the coordinator.
- c) A warehouse to store the sports and hygiene equipment provided on the community football field.
- d) A room for two hours, once a week, on the premises of an NGO in the port area, to carry out educational activities with the minors.

Dimension 4: Diagnosis

Regarding data collection for the diagnosis, 146 individual diagnostic reports were registered (one for each minor attended in this period). The main limitation on a greater volume and quality of the data collected was the high mobility of the minors. As a program of social intervention based on positive parenting and trust building, research tools such as questionnaires or structured interviews were not considered appropriate during this first year of the program. The information that completes the reports is based on relationships built with minors over time. That's why some files lack in-depth information because intervention time was not always sufficient to gather all the desired information.

With reference to field diaries, 347 days of work were registered. The information in the field diary provides a daily account on the dynamics of the street through the eyes of the Drari team, the relationships between groups of minors, the relationships with the Drari team, and interactions with other street agents such as neighbors or police. However, the dynamics of the street sometimes distracted the Drari team from its researcher role, causing the team to over-focus on the intervention. The constant contact with the management team and the research team enabled a constant reflection and better entries in the field diary about street experiences. The field diaries and individual diagnostic reports of the minors were filled in by the Drari team and analyzed by the management and research team. These registers are useful to share information and plan common intervention strategies. Moreover, the content analysis of the minor's individual diagnostic reports is useful to get a better understanding of the minors' different profiles, their transgressive behaviors, victimization, goals and migration project, as well as their perception of the police and the reception center for minors.

This information was discussed in the weekly meetings with the coordinator, and once a month a report was sent to the head of the child protective services on the street situation and some individual cases that needed intervention from that public service.

Dimension 5: Adults mentors

In order to attract minors and be able to intervene with them, the Drari team provided nail cutters, hair clippers, sponges with soap, access to showers and clean clothes after the weekly

soccer activity (using the facilities of the community soccer field), as well as first aid care. The Drari team also accompanied them to the National Police to register as unaccompanied foreign minors in the national database (photo and fingerprint), to change the registration (when the undocumented minor is registered as of legal age and later submits their identifying document), to report crimes at the police station or *Fiscal de menores* offices (when a minor is a victim of crimes), and to appear for court appointments (when a minor is accused of a crime) or comply with juvenile probation.

Access to hygiene and sports activities turned out to be effective. Physical appearance matters to minors and being clean and well-groomed help increase their self-esteem. Quite often, minors demanded machines to cut the hair and they cut each other's hair, thereby enhancing group cohesion and easing the difficult situation and deprivation in which they live.

The Drari team practiced positive parenting techniques, which include attitudes of understanding, patience, firmness, and affection. Children in street situations have both material and emotional needs. It was challenging to balance between meeting some basic needs that make the social intervention possible - thus avoiding lengthening their street situation - and providing them with attention and affection without allowing negative and dissociative attitudes and behaviors. This is a difficult balance especially with children who use drugs repeatedly. The use of drugs strongly affects the reasoning abilities of some minors and makes it difficult to manage their frustrations. With affection and firmness, the team managed to be recognized not only for its material resources, but also as adult mentors, who accompany, advise, and support their maturation process. Due to the great mobility of minors, this process comprises the continuous construction and reconstruction of the bonds of affection, control and limit setting.

The Drari team became a benchmark on the streets and minors in street situations talked about the team to newcomers. Frequently, the minors asked the team to heal their wounds or asked to be accompanied to the police station to be registered and enter the reception center. The importance of being registered into the national database is always stressed by the Drari team. The police protocol states that after being registered, the minor is to be transferred to the reception center. The Drari team aimed to initiate contact to and convince minors who had never been to the center or were not willing to enter, to register.

In addition, when minors are victims of crimes, they considered the Drari team members as adult mentors. During the months of intervention, the Drari team learned of victimization episodes and accompanied minors to lodge complaints that might not have reached the authorities. Thanks to the Drari team's trust building efforts, minors confided about victimization and agreed to report it to the police. Also, when minors were caught by the police, or accused of committing crimes, they turned to the intervention team members for support.

Through the corporate cell phone, the minors were given the opportunity to talk with their family and that was a way to put the Drari team in contact with the relatives of the minors. This resource made it possible to cover a basic need of some minors who maintained a healthy contact with their families, reinforcing their family ties.

In Table 3, we present the number of interventions in basic assistance carried out by the Drari team.

Table 3. Street intervention: basic needs

Instances of assistance in hygiene and healing physical wounds	±2,000
Instances of accompaniment for health assistance	40
Instances of accompaniment for legal protection	25
Number of minors who contacted their family	71
Number of calls or contacts with family members through social networks	266

Source: authors' elaboration

The most striking number in the table above is that of assistance in hygiene and healing physical wounds. This is an estimate number, based on field experiences. This kind of attention became an effective way of reaching out to the minors, as foreseen in the initial plan, since the healing became a daily plea by minors towards the Drari team.

Dimension 6: Intervention activities

In accordance with program objectives, two types of activities were carried out: activities of primary and secondary prevention of crime.

Primary prevention activities comprise, apart from basic assistance, free time and leisure activities. Leisure activities and casual conversations were a constant to forge new relationships as well as to strengthen existing ones. Leisure activities included arts and crafts like making bracelets, creating and decorating mandalas, making picture frames (to frame the photos that are made with the team), attending summer cinema, workshop to paint football shirts, etc. A further primary prevention activity was literacy classes taught in Spanish in traditional classroom format with a board and games.

In the initial plan, interventions based on secondary prevention of juvenile delinquency were inspired by the Prosocial Thinking Program (PTP) in its abbreviated version. Despite being a shorter version, the program requires a classroom and some continuity to work on a series of social skills in a practical and playful way. After the first month of street adaptation, the intervention activities inspired by the PTP began to be implemented. By not having a classroom, the development of the intervention activities had to be adapted to shorter activities and implementable in an open space. In addition, the continuity of the activities was compromised by unforeseen events, interruptions and weather conditions on the streets. Another limitation for continuity is the great mobility of the minors, who in a few days can cross to the peninsula and disappear from the program. Therefore, the activities were designed as independent and brief chunks, so that they minors could quickly and easily understand the objectives and gain from them.

The PTP was in the PREMECE initial plan considering on the need to improve the social skills of minors without adult mentors. Living in the streets exposes minors to not only victimological but also delinquency risks. Although the PTP cannot be applied without adaptations to this target group, especially given its high mobility, it inspired educational activities focused on juvenile maturation process.

Despite the limitations, educational activities were carried out in the street, seeking to debate relevant topics for the prevention of crime. The activities were based on the emotion management and social skills. They consisted of discussion groups (on rules of coexistence, experiences with the police, drug use, etc.), dynamics to identify and work on the control of anger,

relaxation dynamics, expression of emotions and active listening for the development of empathy and self-esteem, dynamics to deal with topics such as family, happiness, friendship, migration and dynamics to foster group cohesion.

Throughout street intervention measures, sports became a very useful tool for working on social skills. The *Juega Vive* Program was used as an inspiration, adapting it to the reality of the minors in street situations. The *Juega Vive* Program was conceived by the United Nations (2017) with the aim of providing, through sportive educational activities, short and medium term changes in the attitude and behavior of adolescents to help them stay away from violence, crime and drug use. This type of secondary prevention activities is well received by adolescents because they consist of a dynamic component.

In Table 4, we present the number of activities developed and the average participation.

Table 4. *Intervention activities*

Number of educational activities	28
Number of leisure activities	21
Average of participants in the activities	11

Source: authors' elaboration

Dimension 7: Coordination of key agents

Due to the community intervention approach of the program, municipal agents and institutions with proper competences and contact these minors were selected. Subsequently, the head of the PREMECE program arranged meetings with all such agencies, specifically with the head of the minor's protection services, the *Fiscal de menores*, National Police, Local Police, Guardia Civil, and the direction of the reception center and the juvenile justice system. We also contacted the civil organizations that were already collaborating with the reception center and with those that, due to their business name, could be interested in contributing to this coordinated work.

The most important key agent for the success of the program is child protective services. Frequent meetings were held with the person in charge of this department and monthly reports on street dynamics and individual cases of minors were submitted. In addition, the coordination has been improved by constant phone and email contact.

The *Fiscal de menores* is the highest authority for the protection of minors. Thus, frequent communication was maintained and monthly meetings were held with this organization to share the results and difficulties of the program.

The coordination with the reception center management was fundamental to try to prevent minors, who had entered after the Drari team intervention, from returning to the streets. For this, many meetings were held at the beginning of the program with the idea of designing action protocols. Over time, the frequency of meetings decreased and they were replaced by frequent phone calls. In addition, a meeting was held with the center's educators to present the program, introduce the intervention team and coordinate the collaboration between the reception center's educators and the Drari team.

However, another key agent was the custodial sanction system. During the months of street intervention, the person in charge of juvenile probation was in direct communication with the coordination of the program PREMECE. Face-to-face meetings between the Drari team and the technicians of the custodial sanction system also took place. The objective was to prevent

adolescents with minor offenses from violating their juvenile probation, for example by leaving the reception center. If this were to happen, they would be incarcerated. In these cases, coordination is important for the Drari team to collaborate with the minor and make sure he complies with the probation conditions, such as reporting in person to the juvenile justice system's officer and attending scheduled courses or workshops.

In-person meetings were held between the PREMECE program management and the national police, local police and Guardia Civil commanders to think about common strategies for the protection of minors in street situations. The local police can better develop policing strategies due to its proximity and capacity for interaction with the citizens. These advantages led the Drari team to seek close coordination with the local police.

The management team of the PREMECE program also maintained direct contact with the national police in cases of victimization of minors and in matters related to the compulsory registration of unaccompanied foreign minors in the national database. The main job of the Guardia Civil in this case, is to protect the border perimeter, which in the case of Ceuta includes the port area. The Guardia Civil cannot take action in matters of minors but interacts with them when they trespass the restricted area of the port to try to sneak into the underside of the trucks. A limitation of the program in the implementation of coordination with the Guardia Civil was the difficulty in speaking with personnel who work in the port. The Guardia Civil is a hierarchical institution and attempts to arrange meetings with this specific group were insufficient and unsuccessful.

To improve coordination between the police and social services, the program organized an international seminar to promote exchange between the police of Stockholm and all the police forces of Ceuta. Swedish police use local police strategies to deal with the situation of Moroccan children in street situations. Once they cross into the Spanish peninsula, some minors keep crossing borders until they reach Sweden, in search incarcerated the European dream. The collaborations between social services and police in Stockholm inspired collaboration between the local police of Ceuta and Drari team.

Finally, civil society was also considered a fundamental key agent from the beginning of the program. The municipal associations that work with minors took part in the initial training, and meetings with the Drari team were held to specify possible collaborations.

6. Effectiveness Assessment of the PREMECE program

PREMECE is exploratory research and a pioneer in intervention program, both of which makes its results difficult to assess. There is no previous data or previous experiences of intervention and research with this group of adolescents in street situations. However, the results of the first year of the program are presented below, based on the dimensions of the effectiveness assessment matrix (diagnosis, primary, secondary and tertiary prevention).

Dimension 1: Diagnosis

The preliminary result of the diagnosis on the street situations shows that the minors in street situations in Ceuta are all Moroccan boys. The team encountered two Moroccan girls in the port area. Both of them were admitted to the reception center for girls on the same day and did not spend a night on the streets. The majority of minors aged between 15 and 17 years old, with isolated cases of children between 12 and 14 years old.

The intervention priority for the Drari team was younger children, given their more profound vulnerability and the need for early intervention in order to achieve success. This profile, however, as well as that of the girls, does not usually stay in the streets for a long time since most either enter the reception center or end up crossing to the peninsula by hiding in trucks. Those who are almost of legal age, the largest group, see Ceuta as a passing city. They think that due to the long administration times, even if they enter the reception center they will not have their legal situation resolved before the age of 18. As adult immigrants in an irregular situation they would be susceptible to expulsion to Morocco.

The family structure of minors is very diverse, as well as their financial conditions. The majority of the families can offer a positive environment, but the financial circumstances encourage the minor to undertake his trip to Europe. On many occasions, the minor is supported by his family. However, in some cases, the minor also escapes from a difficult family situation where he is the victim of abuse, mistreatment or indifference. In other cases, family coexistence is emotionally stable and sustainable from an economic point of view. In these cases, the boys are looking for an opportunity not present in their country. In any case, most families, when the Drari team contacts them, usually show concern for the situation of the minor and some of them even collaborate with the Drari team to help them get off the streets. Unfortunately, we have found instances in which families do not want to know anything about the minor. On the contrary, but exceptionally, some families have been surprised that their son was living on the streets and not in the reception center, and have traveled to Ceuta or have convinced the minor to return home.

Unaccompanied foreign minors living on the streets of Ceuta tend to aggregate on the port avenue. They usually move in small groups, sleep during the day and stay awake at night to try to get into the first ferry of the day. However, their schedules change depending on the departure of the ferries schedules, police presence, season, etc. There is a group of invisible minors who stay almost all the time in the breakwaters of the restricted area of the port. During the weekends, when there are no ferry departures, they become visible in the port avenue. Some join groups of young people of age because they are known from their country and feel more protected. Sometimes between them, there are fights and arguments. However, there are fewer altercations when the Drari team is present on the streets despite the fact that around 30 children concentrate around the mobile unit.

These minors intend to cross to the peninsula with the Barcelona or Bilbao as potential destinations. Their contact network is other adolescents who have embarked on the trip to Europe before them. They are very active through social networks, especially on Facebook, where they receive information about their friends and acquaintances journey through Europe.

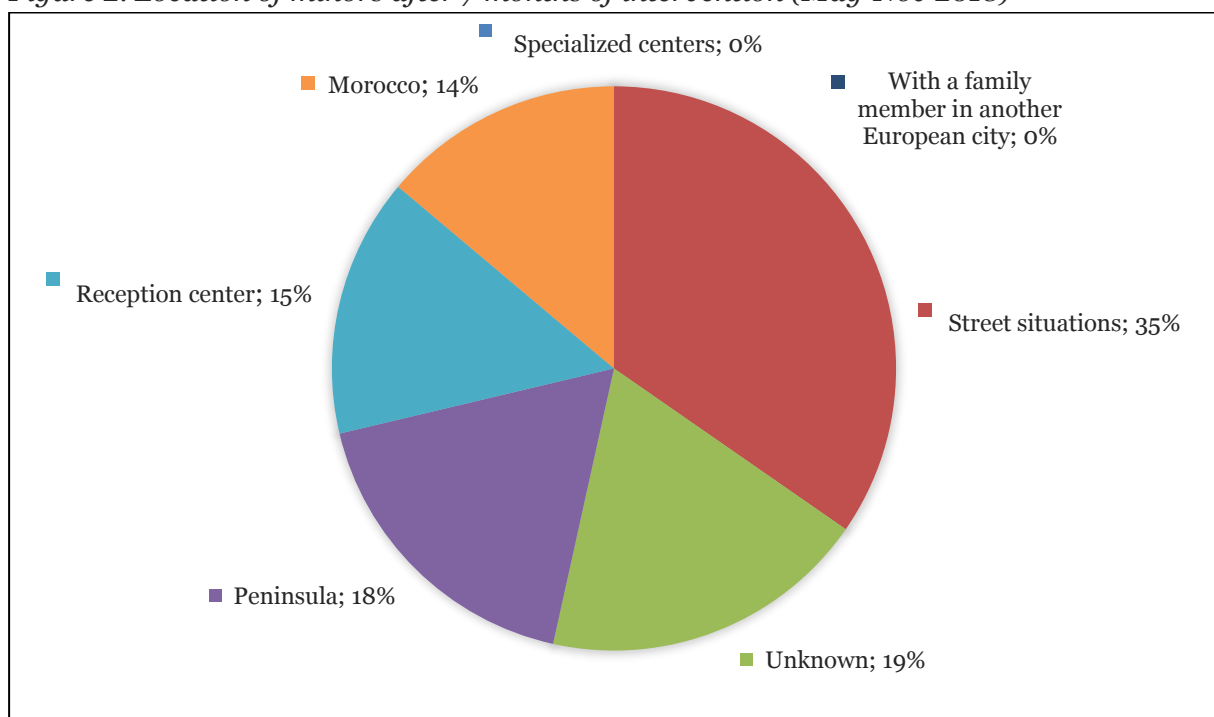
Dimension 2: Primary prevention

The objective of primary prevention is for the minor to decide to leave the streets. The best form of criminal and victimological prevention is being far from the dangers of the streets and being under the protection of family or the institutions. However, we must consider the great difficulty of this objective due to the complexity of the phenomenon and the great mobility of these minors. These aspects are beyond the capabilities of the PREMECE program.

The implementation of positive parenting strategies and educational, sports, and leisure activities, as activities of primary prevention, allowed the Drari team to work individually and in groups with minors in street situations (a total of 146 minors were attended by Drari team in 7 months).

Although the ultimate goal of these interventions was for the minor to leave the street, Figure 2 needs to be interpreted with nuances when assessing the effectiveness of the PREMECE program. In the first place, there are no data available on the number of minors in street situations before the implementation of the program, nor on their high mobility. Therefore, it is not possible to make a comparison with the previous situation and evaluate the impact of the presence of the Drari team in the number of minors in street situations. The role that the Drari team plays also has to be understood from the complexity of the field of work. The Drari team often serves as a bridge with the center and with the family, working for children to leave the street. The presence of the team members carrying out this work aims to increase the probability that a minor decides to leave the street, but it is a decision that is made by the minor and can be influenced over time by their experiences within the center or with their family in Morocco.

Figure 2. Location of minors after 7 months of intervention (May-Nov 2018)



Source: authors' elaboration

Almost half of the children accompanied by the Drari team to the reception center escaped again (18 out of 40). The center is overpopulated and does not have the capacity to accommodate the number of minors it receives. This entails several problems, from repelling minors who need more individualized attention because they feel that nobody is paying any attention to them, to the presence of groups of disruptive children, not identified by the educators of the center, who threaten and attack newcomers.

The seasonal fluctuations of minors, especially in Ramadan, also have an impact on the number of minors in the street, but those who leave only during Ramadan usually return in the following month, which means that they did not decide to quit the streets. On the other hand, as mentioned in the introduction, minors frequently cross over to Ceuta. The effectiveness of the program needs to be measured considering these aspects and cannot be measured by the number of minors in a linear manner, in other words, the longer the program exists, the fewer minors stay on the street. The Drari team is an extension of the administration that seeks to

protect the minors. The ultimate goal of the program is that the minors leave the street, but it is difficult to identify to what extent the team members facilitate such a decision. Drari team intervention is not always directly related to the decision to leave the street although there are specific cases in which the team's performance was crucial for the protection of the child and their exit from the street. For example, a family contacts the Drari team to locate their son who had escaped and actually travels to the port to bring him home. Another example is a minor with depression who decides to undergo psychological counseling and be admitted to the reception center thanks to the attention of the Drari team.

The data of minors returning to Morocco also needs to be clarified. 14% of minors who return to Morocco are not cases of family reunification. One of the actions of the Drari team was to establish contact with the families and encourage the minors to have a fluid communication with them. As a consequence of these contacts and the educational work of street intervention, the children sometimes consider going home to their family. The official channels to carry out a reunification require that the minor remain in the center during his long and tedious processing. Faced with this situation, minors usually return to Morocco on their own. The mobility capacity of these minors is greater than the public administration capacity for action. The administration should proceed to reunite the minors safely with their family environment. However, due to delays, public administration ends up not preventing minors since many travel back to Morocco by themselves. A similar situation occurs in cases of reuniting the minor with a family member in another European city.

Another major limitation faced by PREMECE was the impossibility of referrals to specialized centers of social-health intervention in cases of minors with mental illness, drug dependence, victims of trafficking etc. We have only encountered serious cases of drug addiction. However, during the months of intervention we could not refer any minor to specialized centers. The limitation in these cases is legal because they need a psychiatric report to proceed with the referral. The absence of mental illness in cases of serious drug addiction makes it legally impossible to carry out involuntary hospitalization. So we find minors in situations of extreme vulnerability that cannot be treated on the street, but they refuse to comply with the established child protection system and cannot be involuntarily referred.

Nevertheless, using the information in the reports of the PREMECE team, the child protective services of Ceuta was able to take protective measures for minors who refused to enter the reception center. These measures are related mainly to health, such as minors with epilepsy, serious vision problems or self-harm episodes. In these cases, specialized medical attention was managed, even when the minor did not enter the center. The Drari team was responsible for locating the minor for medical appointments and for carrying out the necessary treatment (provision of mediation, for example).

A considerable number of minors disappear after one or more contacts with the Drari team. That reaffirms the enormous capacity of mobility they have. In addition, we are aware that 18% of children contacted by the Drari team managed to cross the peninsula illegally. Some of them contacted the Drari team to thank them for the attention received while they were in Ceuta.

Dimension 3: Secondary prevention

An important result for the secondary prevention of crime and victimization derives from the coordination with the local police of Ceuta. The aim was to ensure that the local police, via direct contact, had better knowledge about the reality of minors in street situations, as well as their victimization. It was also intended that the police treat these minors more appropriately,

respectfully and impartially, promoting greater quality in local police work. It usually takes time to achieve this type of change, especially when it comes to hierarchically structured police organizations, where the commands and bases are often far apart and do not always share the same vision. Frequently, there are difficulties in implementing changes in police action from above, since patrol agents have their own methods, practical knowledge and perceptions that guide their discretionary actions (Da Silva, 2011). A good strategy to initiate changes in patrol police actions is to get allied patrol agents, who can serve as captors of others by sharing positive experiences and practices with them. Indeed, finding allies was achieved via meetings and training between the management team of PREMECE program and the local police of Ceuta during the first year of the program. The concrete collaborative actions between the Drari team and the local police are being implemented during the second year and will be assessed in the future.

The results of collaboration with the national police are also incipient. The collaboration focused on issues of citizen security, providing information received by the Drari team about criminal acts suffered by minors. The accompaniment of minors by the Drari team to the Police Station to register them in the database gradually revealed the work carried out and improved the coordination. With regard to the Guardia Civil, the lack of coordination prevented achieving good results.

The coordination with the reception center was fundamental as a secondary prevention strategy to get the minors to stay in the reception center and protect them from dangers in the street. This coordination consisted of sharing information on minors bi-directionally, calling attention to the special circumstances of certain minors, alerting staff about children in the center who abuse newcomers, according to information received by minors in the street, etc. The result was that of the 40 minors that the Drari team accompanied to the reception center, 22 remained despite overcrowding. This number may seem limited, given that a considerable number of children remain on the street, but it is necessary to point out that the phenomenon of unaccompanied minors crossing the Moroccan border into Ceuta is part of the problem of inequality between countries that cannot be stopped by a street intervention program.

On the other hand, the presence of the Drari team on the street is a factor of protection and secondary prevention. Drari team members are not only adult mentors for the minors but also are recognized by the citizens of Ceuta who frequently walk around the port zone as protectors of the minors in street situations. That serves as a deterrent for those who pretend to victimize them.

Reducing tensions on the streets is difficult to measure but taking into account that most of the criminal acts committed by minors have to do with aggression among themselves, the Drari team helped reduce this type of offence by working cohesively as a group, intervening in cases of conflicts between them, and helping minors manage their emotions and anger. There were also cases of minors who confessed having committed petty thefts. The fact that adults listened to them without judgment while simultaneously reflecting with them on making appropriate decisions, is also an important prevention factor.

The presence of minors in the port area is a reason for conflict and displeasure amongst local residents. The presence of the Drari team at the beginning of the program generated surprise and restlessness in the community since they did not understand what three women were doing at night with the minors in the streets. With the passing of time, the Drari team began to be part of this scenario, introducing themselves to the community and leaving their contact

card. By communicating with locals that there are adults who can mediate in cases of conflict involving children, the Drari team helped in part to reduce tensions in the neighborhood. Another important aspect of secondary prevention is the effect of the PPS program on minors. The program aims to provide minors with social skills and help them in their maturation process, which can divert them from criminal risks. Despite the limitations of implementation, when it was possible to develop educational activities inspired by the PTP, the children were attentive, available and grateful to the educators for the experience.

Dimension 4: Tertiary prevention

With regard to the tertiary prevention of delinquency and the collaboration of the Drari team with the juvenile justice system, the educators accompanied three minors in street situations to the courts when they were accused of committing a crime. In cases where the children were convicted, their responsibilities were explained to them and they were encouraged to comply with their juvenile probation. The Drari team could explain to children their rights and duties so that they can reflect and make appropriate decisions. From the three cases of minors in this situation, the Drari team managed to convince two children to enter the center and initiate the juvenile probation, reinforcing the importance of doing things well and accepting the consequences of the acts. The third minor decided to return to Morocco.

Another aspect of tertiary prevention of crime concerns minors who, without having previously been on the streets, escape the reception center during juvenile probation. The Drari team contacted some of these adolescents on the street and reported this to the juvenile justice system, thus preventing it from being counted as a violation of sentence and redirecting the minor to comply with the conditions of juvenile probation.

With regard to the tertiary prevention of victimization, the Drari team, and also thanks to the collaboration of the NGOs, has managed to make cases victimized Moroccan children in street situations more visible to police and to the *Fiscal de menores*. These minors are usually perceived as delinquents. However, the Drari team has shown that these minors are victims of various crimes by various types of perpetrators. In fact, the Drari team has had knowledge of adults who sell drugs to minors or of adults suspected of sexually abusing them. However, most of the criminal acts suffered by these minors are physical aggressions. According to the minors, those who physically attack them are usually members of the Guardia Civil and National Police, young adults in street situations or other groups of minors. In these cases, the Drari team accompanied the minors to make complaints to the *Fiscal de menores*. Thus, cases were brought into light that probably otherwise would have remained unknown.

Although the program was initially thought of as a strategy of secondary prevention of crime, the experience in the field has led to primary, secondary and tertiary prevention of crime and victimization, carrying out an important protection task of the minors.

7. Conclusions

The assessment of public policy programs is essential to complete the cycle of programs such as PREMECE, which aims to achieve results in changing some aspects of social reality. Implementation difficulties provide warning about the contrast between theory and practice, such as unforeseen impediments and new field aspects not previously known. By taking these aspects into consideration, assessing implementation allows us to identify the degree of adequacy

and compliance with the initial plan. In turn, this enables ideas for future adjustments to new plans, whether they are to continue the program or provide the basis for developing similar programs in the same context or in others.

The degree of implementation of the PREMECE program can be considered satisfactory, especially if we consider the dimensions of personnel, coverage, diagnosis and adult referrals in the street. Nevertheless, important limitations were identified. The most important of these was the lack of a location near the port for the Drari team, although it could be partially corrected by the mobile unit and the other spaces provided. Another limitation of the implementation were the difficulties of launching concrete actions of collaboration with some key agents of the city, such as the local, national and Civil Guard Police. The time factor here should be considered. Although contact and communication was frequent, especially with the local police, it usually takes time for community intervention programs to change operating structures, especially organizations such as the police.

Another important limitation in the implementation of the program concerns the secondary prevention of delinquency, specifically with the implementation of the Prosocial thinking Program (PTP). The absence of a workspace has been the main obstacle to the development of the PTP despite its flexibility as a program focused on young people.

If time was an important factor in the implementation of some aspects of the program, time plays an even more central role in the evaluation of the results. It is too early to evaluate the impact of the PREMECE program and its results. The experience of other community intervention programs such as the CTC shows that results in terms of juvenile delinquency prevention begin to emerge in the fourth year of intervention. However, we presented more immediate results, and their evaluation helps paint a picture of the effectiveness of the program regarding the more concrete aspects agreed upon in the specific objectives of the initial plan. These are aspects that may result, over a long period of time, in the reduction of juvenile delinquency and the victimization of unaccompanied foreign minors in street situations in Ceuta. The context and objectives of the project must be taken into account when assessing the results achieved. Many of the results are not quantifiable, and the qualitative results are more difficult to show, which is why it was essential for the participant observation and recording of information in field diaries and individual diagnostic reports. The results obtained are above the expectations of the program, since the quantitative results show that 22 of the 40 minors that the Drari team managed to accompany to the reception center stayed off the streets, which is the best possible result to protect them from the criminal and victimological risks.

Notwithstanding this, the PREMECE program cannot prevent children from being on the streets, since the flow of children is constant into Ceuta. However, the months of experience of this program allow us to conclude that a program of these characteristics, with a team of street educators, becomes an extension of the child protective services. The program achieved great results in gathering information to better understand this reality. The team of educators and psychologist, having acted as trust figures for minors in street situations, have been able to shed light on situations of victimization, help minors in their maturation process, motivate them to comply with the law, and reduce conflicts and tensions in the street.

In any case, the program helps to protect minors in street situations and to inform the child protective services so that they can act when necessary, even if the minor does not adhere to the established system. Even though the minor decides not to enter the reception center and remain in street situations, child protective service is still responsible for them. For this reason, the PREMECE program, which is an initiative of the child protective services of Ceuta, enable

to make them more visible and protected. No other child protective services in Spain has implemented anything like this before, so the very existence of the pilot program with a high level of implementation and first positive results during its first year. This success enables greater and better care for these children according to the standards of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child.

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