

**Transitions to work of young people
with an ethnic minority or migrant
background**

Thematic report

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Introduction

Social change in European societies is closely related to processes of mobility and migration. This mobility refers to a broad range of situations when one takes old and new streams of immigrant populations into account – first, second, and third generation immigrants, immigrants from former colonies, refugees, and asylum seekers, as well as ethnic minorities with a long history as the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, or the Travellers in Ireland.

Research on ethnic minority and migrant youth has for a long time been focused in a problem perspective pointing to school and transition failure in terms of language deficits, the ambiguity of “living between two cultures”, young women retained in traditional gender roles, or involvement in criminal activities. In the 1990s, a growing body of research developed which focused on the emergence of new types of youth identities marked by hybridity, multi-culturality, and trans-cultural social spaces (Mørck 1996; Eade & Garbin 2006). In this new research, youth cultures were seen as “open cultures” and global cultures, which engaged young people from different ethnic backgrounds. In this perspective, belonging to an ethnic minority is considered a source of biographical and social resources corresponding to the challenges of post-modern life such as globalisation, flexibility, and cultural diversity. At the same time, however, the more traditional research on transitions to work shows the relative perseverance of “old” factors which influence young people's access to different societal positions, such as socio-economic background, gender, and ethnicity. These contradictory research perspectives create some new questions about forms and levels of social integration and the role of individualisation and individual agency in the integrative process.

Another challenge in the ethnic minority and migrant youth research concerns the double perspective of general and local development. In much research on social integration, conditions of local societies have not been analysed. Explanations mostly focus on deficits of ethnic minority youth according to general developments in late modern Europe. Additionally, the interest in developing general knowledge about the social integration of ethnic minority youth has often resulted in a de-contextualised understanding of integration processes. However, it seems as if social integration successes also follow the differences between the local European societies. European societies present different models of “transition regimes” or different societal set-ups in the relationship between society and individual. Social and individual trajectories are quite different in the North, Central, and South of Europe.

Therefore, it seems important to contextualise social integration – to analyse the situation of ethnic minority youth as part of local communities as well as the general community of late modern Europe.

Perspectives of integration.

Another aspect of the social integration challenge becomes visible, when young people's influence as agents on the forming of the future is included. Perhaps young people do not want to be integrated in society as it is – maybe societal changes are needed. Though social integration is a challenge to all young people, the social integrative perspective is not necessarily the same for all.

On the one hand, the social integration perspective points to an overall political or social interest in including individuals in societal, occupational, and political life. Therefore, it is possible to point to different aspects of integration, e.g. political and structural integration,

social integration, cultural integration, and occupational integration. We might need to ask which aspects of integration are most important – and wanted. On the other hand, social integration also points to agency and individualisation – being able to take part and be included in the social practices of society. From this perspective, it is important to develop social competencies as a necessary part of becoming a social agent. Therefore, it is important to ask which aspects of individualisation young people want.

It is always necessary to question the social integrative perspective when social integration of youth is in focus, especially when perspectives on integration of ethnic minority and migrant young people are discussed. Ethnic minority and migrant youth may want new forms of societal conditions and social integration. In particular, they may not want to be socially integrated according to existing local and European societal premises.

The social integrative perspective does not point to an understanding of change and the role of agency in social change. On the one hand, ethnic minority and migrant youth, as all other young people in local communities, may be interested in being included in social life. On the other hand, they may be interested in changing social life and to invent new social and cultural lifestyles together with other young people. They may want to develop new lifestyles and cultural practices, which are open to their special cultural background practices.

In this UP2YOUTH report, the different possibilities and challenges of ethnic minority youth in becoming agents in late modern European societies are in focus. This analysis does not only point to the results of social integration but also to challenges in the understanding of both the social integrative processes and the social functioning and developmental perspectives of ethnic minority youth.

On an *analytical* level, the report seeks to integrate concepts of individual cultural agency in youth transitions with new insights on changing biographical resources of young members of ethnic minorities. The focus on transitions to work allows investigation of how individual resources can be recognised by public policies with the aim of converting inequality structures into cultural and social capital. Referring to ‘diversity as resource’, the report is analysing the relationship between the socio-economic integration and the socio-cultural individualisation of ethnic minority youth, non-formal and informal contexts in which learning takes place, and how different contexts contribute to social integration. On the *policy* level, UP2YOUTH deals with the conditions and possibilities for individual agency of ethnic minority youth in different transition regimes and in the interplay between education systems, labour markets, and modes of integration.

Part 1

Chapter 1: Individualisation and Ethnicity

Sven Mørch, Torben Bechmann Jensen, Marlene Stokholm, Brian Hansen

At first glance, it seems apparent that knowledge about the integration process of ethnic minority youth and ethnic immigrant youth in Europe points in many directions. On the one hand, we experience a well-functioning development. Some ethnic minority youth are well integrated in educational and occupational structures of late modern Europe. However, we also experience challenges of ethnic minority youth's integration. Many young people are caught in a new situation, which is both demanding and difficult. They are not well integrated in education and occupational structures.

Besides the challenge of entering an adult society and its local practices, a special challenge for ethnic minority youth is entering a late modern Europe. The late modern world is both filled with opportunities for the individual but also with unclear expectations to individual functioning. In Europe, traditional and modern institutionalised developments are changing to late modernity. (Giddens 1991, Mørch 2001) The world is becoming de-institutionalised in the sense that developmental opportunities no longer just follow simple participation in institutions such as families and schools. Institutional individualisation trajectories are becoming unclear. Therefore individualisation in late modern Europe of today especially is becoming an individual challenge and responsibility, which takes place in many different social contexts and on more different societal levels. The late modern world is not without structures, though. Everyday life is guided by structures, but often they are local, invisible, and open to change, and at the same time they are changing into more politically influenced structures and opportunities.

Late modern society is engaged in a transformation into a knowledge society focused on the development of individual competencies. At the same time it seems aware of problems of deindividualisation and is therefore engaged in the development of new structures on a societal or institutional level. This development seems to have been foreseen by Parsons who pointed to the relation between "institutional individualisation" as a societal task and "instrumental activity" as an individual challenge (Alexander 1987, Mørch 1994, Layder 1994). Also the newer analysis of Giddens (1991, 1994), Beck (1992) and Baumann (1997) points in the same direction: the late modern world could be viewed as a world of structuration as it is called in Anthony Giddens' terminology (1987). And from this perspective structuration points to an interdependence between using and creating structures in everyday life, but also to the overall societal process in the late modern world. The individual has become individualised in the sense that he or she is functioning as individual social agents. The individual as an agent is becoming individually responsible for the organising of an individual life. At the same time however structuration also takes place on a more societal and political level. And at this level the process of deinstitutionalisation seems to lead to a structuration process which maybe does not reconstruct institutions but creates political agendas for the institutional practices.

The structuration process could also be seen as a process of figuration and configurations. The concepts of figuration and configuration serve both as theoretical concepts as well as methodological ones. Norbert Elias sees the concepts as theoretical ones, with figurations defined as networks of mutual dependent/interdependent people, which are formed by changing asymmetrical balances of power (Mennell 1992, p. 252).

In this model of figuration, people as individuals are parts of long and complex chains of dependence and cooperation: chains of interdependence between people. This indicates that people are connected and related to each other and have relations of power between each other. People form or take part in a variety of figurations, e.g. families, schools, and towns, but the model of figuration also accounts for relations between groups such as social classes within a society, or between states (Elias 1994).

The configuration indicates that individuals take part in different figurations and are actively involved in changing or con-figuring the existing or known figurations as they enter new figurations with other people in other contextual settings.

The concept of figuration/configuration however does not only serve as a theoretical concept of relations between people. It also serves as a methodological one. The conditions of life, e.g. the economy or laws and regulations as well as existing knowledge in the form of literature, etc., could be looked upon as certain figurations of conditions. And these figurations are subjects of change as new insight could be gained by configuration – i.e. using existing knowledge in new combinations or novel ways for new purposes (Gibbons et. al. 1994).

Instead of only searching for and gaining access to accurate, up-to-date information, the configuration process has to do with innovation when redefined as the ability to search for solutions by selecting relevant data and organising them appropriately. When information is plentiful or overwhelming, but still does not give new insight, the configuration process has to do with arranging existing data in novel ways, which means trying to connect series of previously independent data drawn from different sources and to re- or con-configure these.

So, late modern world creates challenges of figuration and configurations, of structuration or organising, for all its individuals, especially for young people, who are on their way from childhood to adult society, from educational life to occupational living. These challenges seem harder, when the young person has an ethnic minority cultural background and is trained in practices, which belong to other forms of cultural belonging (more “traditional” institutional organisations, youth, and everyday life). Ethnic minority youth may be facing a double challenge of developing both a late modern youth life and changing cultural lifestyles (Singla 2004, Mørch 2001).

At a theoretically analytical level, the challenge is to combine questions of individualisation, ethnicity and youth understanding. The social integration of “Western” and European young people points to late modern aspects of individualisation, where young people learn to function “culturally” as individual agents in a late modern western world. However, individual agency and individual individualisation as an aspects of social integration often conflict with ethnic minority youth's cultural background, where social integration may follow the logic of social categorical integration – social categories such as family, kin, local dependencies etc. (Mørch & Andersen 2006). Therefore, a first aspect of the challenge of social and cultural integration points to a clash between categorical social integration and late modern individual social integration. Individualisation processes represent a double challenge or dilemmas for ethnic minority youth. Not only do ethnic minority youth face difficulties of social integration in ordinary youth life, education, and the labour market, they are also involved in changing frames of references and values. This may result in difficulties of functioning in a late modern individualised world. They are in a change from categorical to individual social integration, a process which is often counteracted by the parents. This may create problems, especially if these young people are dependent on family support. In fact, young people from ethnic minorities may develop collective and cultural youth forms of coping that are sometimes antagonistic to mainstream societies as well as to their own family cultures. They may be caught in between past and future. While many young people are able

to manage these challenges, others react by dropping out from training programmes and may develop subcultures, which can point in new directions or place them in unintegrated arenas. In this situation, young ethnic minorities may not only be experiencing discrimination or racism but also frustration concerning their ambitions of becoming recognised in everyday life and the integrative arenas of school and work. However, new cultural forms may create new cultural integrative practices, especially for young people active in “cultural” productions and music life. Subcultures may also develop which create new cultural forms, or alternatively an “ethnicisation” of ethnic minority youth which opens up new integrative or dis-integrative trajectories (Roy 2004).

What does it mean to be ethnic minority youth?

Investigating ethnic minority youth as agents of social integration into European societies demands some clarification of the understanding of ethnic minority youth. This clarification, however, is not simple. No clear definition exists, and in real life also no clear differences between ethnic minorities and ethnic majorities exists. Also the concept of “ethnic” itself is not without problems. Mostly it has become popular to point to population differences as caused by cultural background instead of using the post-colonial terminology of races (Banton 1967, Mørch 1993, Radcliffe 2004). The concept of “ethnic”, however, is not much more clear. All cultures are mixed and interrelated. The use of the term “ethnic minorities”, therefore, is mostly connected to everyday language and understanding, and especially to the political discourses of the late modern world.

Outlining the meaning or logic of ethnic minority youth is only possible in a spatial and relational perspective. On the one hand, people with developed cultural practices (populations) moving to other contexts or localities will to a smaller or larger extent always move to contexts with new cultural practices. Particularly if they move to places where the production pattern is different, cultures are also very different. Cultural practices seem to follow productive and spatial differences and therefore they locally create relational differences. Lifestyles are local and relational practices.

To move to other contexts implies confrontation with other societal and individual demands, but also with other local cultural practices and lifestyles. The concept of ‘ethnic minority youth’ therefore refers to young people who belong to populations, which have moved to other countries or localities and therefore are confronted with new societal demands and new cultural practices. However, ‘ethnic minority youth’ may also refer to static situations, where original movements happened long ago. However, in this situation minority groups may still be upholding societal practices and cultural lifestyles and self-understandings, which both objectively and subjectively define them in contrast to other groups in society. They share cultural practices and therefore also a minority relation to the majority culture. Religious practices and values, but also looks, dressing, and everyday practices, could be seen as important elements in the upholding of a specific cultural or ethnic reference.

However, it seems as if ethnic differences mostly become visible when profound differences exist or develop in life practices of individualisation. Individualisation processes follow basic societal differences, and for young people they involve different forms of youth and educational life.

Ethnic minority youth and individualisation

In many ways the situation of migrant or ethnic minorities and ethnic minority youth in Europe is framed by the same perspectives which have been central in understanding the youth issue. When we speak of youth, we speak of a social and individual category, which is

seen and understood as both a subjective and objective reality (Mørch 2006, Frønes & Brusdal 2001). This picture becomes obvious, when youth research finds youth to be a historical construction (Mørch 1985, Stafseng 1996, Gillis 1974). Youth became visible as a subjective and objective social category in the individualisation process of educational institutions in bourgeois European society. As a result of this existence of youth as a subjective and objective social category, young people have experienced themselves as 'youth' and therefore think of themselves as having their own identity and youth culture.

Ethnic minorities could be analysed in the same way as a social construction which is both a subjective and objective social category. To make it meaningful to talk about ethnic minorities, it is important that ethnic minorities on the one hand experience themselves subjectively as a special ethnic group. On the other hand, it is also important that they are seen as an ethnic category and are given and use special social conditions in the definition of themselves as an objective social category.

In an integrative perspective, it seems as if the relationship between subjective and objective aspects of ethnic groups is very important for the understanding of the integration process. In an assimilative ethnic integrative policy, both ethnic subjective and objective perspectives are influenced and made to disappear. This situation has been an often slow but successful social change, e.g. when migration movements lead to new groups being included in local communities (e.g. the Polish population in southern Denmark in the start of the 20th century). But often these changes do not take place. The result is often an example of the American 'melting pot' ideology in which all ethnic groups are seen as equal and formally given the same objective conditions, but the subjective ethnic understanding has survived. This situation seems to have been and still could be seen as vulnerable to changes in the objective social conditions. If ethnic minority groups do not have or they lose equal objective conditions, as a result of discrimination from other groups (social discrimination) or because of a gap between the way ethnic minorities are perceived by authorities (institutional discrimination) and their own subjective self-understanding, it may create social problems. The number of young black people in US prisons tells a story of a not very well functioning integrative model.

We may talk about existing forms of unbalanced equilibrium between subjective and objective ethnic definitions. Even though groups of ethnic minority people may be objectively well integrated, they may uphold a strong and from the outside very visible subjective ethnic understanding, which in critical situations can make them a targeted social group. The developments in the former Yugoslavia and also the situation of different immigrant groups can be seen as an illustration of this development.

The worst situation in relation to social integration seems to be, when both subjective and objective "ethnic" dimensions uphold and support each other. The Roma case seems to illustrate the strong difficulties of creating changes in social integration because both the subjective and objective dimensions define the Roma group in contradictions to other social groups. They are caught in a low-income and low educational situation and are at the same time very aware of their own ethnic origin. To understand the situation of ethnic minority youth, we should therefore start by looking at the subjective and objective situation of ethnic minorities. The broad process of social integration follows these subjective and objective perspectives: integrative policies especially are sensitive to these dimensions. Therefore social integrative policies may create problems. As a result of the ethnic minority situation and the integrative policies, sometimes these subjective and objective conditions become unbalanced.

A special challenge of social integration seems to follow the individualisation process of young people. Coming from often more traditional institutional cultural practices, where

social categories and familial belonging plays an important role, they may experience great difficulties. In late modern individualisation social categories are losing influence. This may not count as an objective reality, but it does in everyday understanding of people and in social and educational policies. The individual has become an agent of a late modern world, and the democracy process underlines the equal rights and individual rights independent of social or class belonging.

On the one hand, this development helps integration processes, but on the other hand it is sometimes seen as an attack on other social and cultural practices. Expectations and realisation of late modern individualisation are therefore influenced by many perspectives and also by differentiated opportunities.

Culture or social integration

Thinking in terms of fundamental cultural or ethnic categories also creates other sorts of problems in understanding European ethnic-minority or immigrant young people. If we focus on integrative policies in Europe they seem to follow different understandings of the cultural challenge and have different understandings of cultural and social integration (fig. 1). Basically two models or discourses exist in the understanding of culture and social integration: on the one hand a discourse of cultural integration, and on the other hand a discourse of cultural relativism. The first discourse looks at culture as values and practices which function as tools for integrating individual and society. In the terms of Talcott Parsons culture “informs” the socialisation process between individual and society (Mørch 1994). This theory specifies that individuals must learn to function within societal conditions. This model has been criticized, especially as a model for integrating new and minority ethnic groups. Parsons model was not intended for “ethnic integration” but was seen as a general theory of social integration. Therefore it was criticized for making social integration a process of compliance. But in the ethnic situation it may be seen as a strong assimilation model: All individuals should learn the same cultural information. The model seems static and it points to a normative assimilation of all individuals in society.

Therefore another discourse and model has become popular. In this model only culture and personal identity is focused. In this identity/culture model, which also could be called a culture-psychology or a cultural relativistic model, culture and identity are seen as internally connected. This means that cultures should not be changed, and especially because a change in culture at the same time will be seen as an attack on people’s identity. A change in one of the elements also causes changes in the other. The model does not reflect the relation between culture and societal conditions as productive and political life. Instead all cultures are understood as totalities.

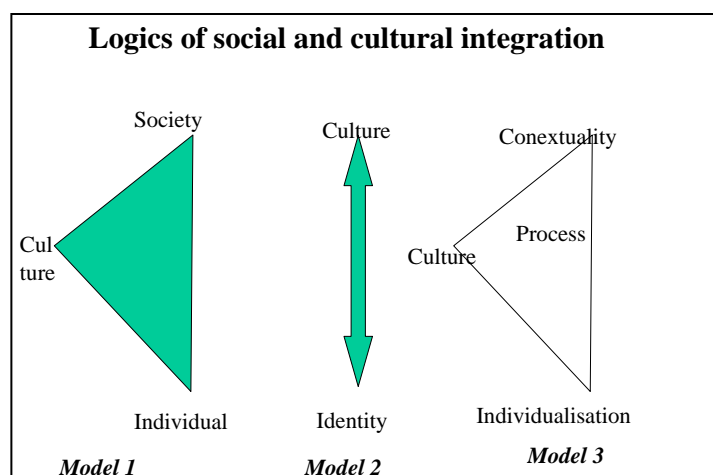


Figure 1

Therefore it is possible to underline that all cultures have the same value. No culture is better than others. In this discourse, therefore, culture as everyday practice seems blind to changing everyday practice. Everyday practice of the “homeland” is contrasted to late modern everyday practice. And this contrast seems to be most important for young people on the move into late modern European society. The cultural relativistic model seems to be an abstract cultural understanding which may create problems in practical and political life and for people living an everyday life. Any attempt to influence or change culture will be seen as an attack on the ethnic group members’ identity.

To overcome the problems in these models, and to find a way of understanding the relation between cultural and social integration in late modernity and an individualised social integration, we may point to a third discourse or model. In this model processes of individualisation are seen as the results of contextual agency supported by cultural values. Here the adaptive aspect of Parson theory and the conservative outlook in the identity/culture model is overcome. Culture develops inside the individualisation process in social contexts. This perspective points to “cultural individual agency” as important for the development and change of social and individual integration (Mørch 2001).

The youth and individualisation question

In many ways the ethnic minority youth question points to a new phase in youth development. Ethnic minority youth become the new youth challenge of late modern society.

In European history youth developed alongside the political and productive need for individualisation or agency in the different social classes. And the process of individualisation took place inside educational systems, which formed individualisation competencies in young people and in this way prepared them for working life. Therefore youth was first a bourgeois construction which was extended to other groups in society at the times they became involved in political and modern productive life. “Democratic development” became an important cause for educational and youth development. So, youth development and also youth problems have been a social class issue in European history.

Today ethnic minority youth are being included in late modern individualised youth life. As newcomers to western societies they are suddenly lifted into late modern democracy and youth life, and as minority youth they are under a pressure to participate in late modern youth life. The difficulties in this process are multiple. They may not be supported by their family and local background, they may not be successful in youth life, and they may not be welcomed inside late modern youth life. Many ethnic minority young people therefore for many reasons seem to have occupied a new and central place among late modern ‘problem youth’.

An activity and agency perspective

Ethnic minority youth become agents in late modern individualisation process. Therefore it seems important to analyse ethnic minority young people not only as objects of integration policies, but as agents of a new challenge of combining cultural background and future social life. They are becoming “cultural agents” of late modern society.

The main point of an action and activity theory perspective is to acknowledge human activity as intentional. According to Parsonian theory, people are ‘normatively intentional’¹;

¹ see Layder, D. (1994): *Understanding Social Theory*. Sage Publications. Mørch, S. (1998): Information society and normative action. In *Youth in the information Society*. Council of Europe Publishing. Mørch, S. (1994). Handlingsteorien. Udkast 1

according to ethnomethodological theory, people are ‘contextually intentional’²; and in Giddens’s theory, people are intentional in ‘making a difference’³. The awareness that people act intentionally, however, is not the only central aspect of an activity theory. Rather, an activity theory perspective focuses on activities as people’s intentional engagement in social challenges in individual lives .(Mørch 1994). This view concerning human intentionality is at the centre of an activity theory approach. Intentionality should not be isolated from its social contexts and embeddedness in societal and social relations. Activity points to a mixture of thinking, feeling and acting in demanding social contexts and according to experienced societal and social demands and expectations. In this way an activity perspective on ethnic minority youth makes subjective activities or cultural agency the focus of an analysis of ethnic minority youth’s social integration.

In understanding ethnic minority youth as cultural agents it becomes important also to focus on the gender issue. Men’s and women’s situations and especially their cultural conditions are quite different. Girls’ and women’s experiences and individual conditions are important in understanding women’s agency (Phoenix et. al. 1998). In particular, ethnic minority girls from reproductive families with strong cultural traditions (Mørch & Andersen 2006) have great difficulties in becoming cultural agents of late modern youth life. Families which move from agricultural areas to late modern western societies are under pressure to change from categorical to individual social integration. Therefore they often defend their traditions, which refer both to religious practices and the relations between men and women. In this situation, girls and young women are under pressure to stay within family traditions or they will be excluded or forced into the cultural traditions of their family. They may be excluded from education or they may be deported to the “homeland” to get married according to their parent’s wishes. They are more confined inside the social categorical social integration perspective.

In understanding ethnic minority youth some guidelines may come from following an overall activity perspective. On the one hand, an activity perspective points out that the individual uses societal conditions or acts within conditions as possibilities and constraints of action. Conditions, then, should be seen as both rules and resources of action. Conditions as historically developed possibilities and constraints of human activity are often contradictory and diffuse. This especially has been underlined in the analysis of late modern societal conditions for young people and for individualisation. For this reason, the individual both uses and changes societal conditions in his or her activity, and especially for young people in the late modern world it becomes both an option and a necessity to engage as actors in this process of change (Giddens 1991, Bauman 2001). Societal conditions however exist in social contexts. They are organised within social contexts and organise social contexts, for example, in the case of the school system and school curriculum. School, as a social context of youth, exhibits contradictory possibilities and constraints of learning and youth life, but at the same time, youth is part of the process of changing the school. So, ethnic minority youth should be understood as placed in social contexts and therefore made actors of social contexts.

On the other hand, the individual uses his/her own previous experiences and personal capacities as his/her individual tools or conditions for action. In the actualisation of societal conditions, the individual uses him/herself and actualises his/her own potentialities or “culture” in the context and according to the conditions of the situation. Through this process,

² Heritage, C.J. (1987): Ethnomethodology In Giddens, A. & Turner, T. (eds): *Social Theory Today*. Stanford Cal.

³ Giddens, A. (1987): *The Constitution of Society*. Polity Press. Oxford

the individual develops further capacities, and also self-awareness, self-understanding or a personal identity, which may work either as a force or as a restriction in later activities (Antonovsky 1987, Bohmisch 1997, Keupp et. al 1999, Andersen & Mørch 2005). Ethnic minority youth therefore do not only follow cultural background and expectations, but they function as cultural agents in combining individual and cultural backgrounds with societal demands when they are placed and made agents of social contexts.

In actualisation of societal and individual conditions, the individual's understanding of the social world and him/herself therefore plays an important role. Making sense of everyday life becomes an important issue. Also, the understanding of being a group member and part of a social context influences the activity. Therefore, knowledge and knowledgeability, a sort of sense-making, both about social life and oneself, are very important qualities in human life and also a challenge to everyday coping (Mørch 1999, Bauman 2000). The development of activities, knowledgeability and self-understanding takes place in social relationships in context. In this way, social relations are important for understanding individual activity. Ethnic minority youth often find themselves in social conditions of discrimination and exclusion, but on the other hand the social conditions and social relations between ethnic minority youth may also support their individual coping with not only social but also societal conditions. Among ethnic minority youth, youth cultures, for example, should be seen as representing common forms of activity patterns. Youth cultures are activities made by youngsters in mastering youth life. Therefore, cultures are both activities and values of activity.

So, individual activity could be seen as reflective actualisation of societal and individual conditions within a space or context. Therefore, the individual understanding of conditions, the way they are made meaningful to the individual, is important. The context is social and involves other individuals, and becomes influential in the making sense of conditions and in the construction of the individual trajectory (Asplund 1983). The individual participates in developing the activities in the context or space and is at the same time a 'user' of the activities, which already exists in the space. In this way, "structuration" becomes an important aspect of individual activity (Giddens 1984, Weber 1972, Habermas 1991).

So, the individualisation of ethnic minority youth is a construction process that both depends on and develops structures and organisations. It "figures" and "configures" social life. At the same time, this activity perspective underlines that the primary engagement of young people is not in looking for identity as a developmental goal in particular. They are trying to take part in and manage challenges of everyday life. And, if they develop self-identity in this process, it seems fine. They have to find out what they are capable of doing (Mørch 2006).

Comparative perspectives on ethnic minority youth

Transitions regimes and modes of integration

Individualisation and integration processes are both local and part of a late modern international development. European societies have different demands and opportunities created by individualisation and integration processes and can be characterised as having both different "transitions regimes" and different national modes of integration. The model of transition regimes (Walther 2006) which has been developed and discussed during the past number of years, analytically separates 5 different regimes: a *universalistic* transition regime in Nordic countries based on a comprehensive school system, a *liberal* transition regime developed in Anglo-Saxon countries focusing on individual rights and responsibilities, an *employment-centred* transition regime in central continental Europe indicating a

differentiation in educational opportunities and occupational careers, a *sub-protective* transition regime connected to southern European countries with a relatively high insecurity regarding standard work places and living conditions, emphasising the importance of family; and finally a transition regime that for a period of time has been called *post-communist*. The post-communist transition regime as an analytical category is increasingly and in many respects the most problematic because it covers a diversity of post-communist regime types. In some respects, it is argued that the post-communist transition regime is similar to the universalistic, liberal, and employment-centred transition regimes. Additionally, elements of the sub-protective transition regime have also been pointed out as similar (Walther, 2006 and Walther et. al., 2006). Since societies and societal developments in eastern European countries seem very different and increasingly hard to depict, the post-communist transition regime as an analytical category seems to have lost its relevance.

Migration/integration researchers have presented other typologies to politically and historically describe different modes of integration strategies. Some authors, like Rex & Singh (2003) suggest the following typology: The assimilation system in France, a guest worker system in Germany (and Denmark), and a multicultural system in Sweden, the Netherlands and UK. The European project EFFFNATIS works with a different typology described by Castles & Miller (2003): differential exclusion (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), assimilation (UK, France, Netherlands), and multiculturalism (Sweden, USA, Canada).

The aim of these typologies is to outline a systematic and comparable overview of national strategies and policies held in different countries. However, the weakness of these typologies is similar to the weakness of the transition regimes – countries adopt parts and bits of different systems or modes over time, and therefore specific countries can be placed under different headings at different times. At this point of the UP2YOUTH-project, it might be valuable to consider possible advantages and disadvantages of adopting one or the other typology or merely pointing out the need to clarify an alternative way of organising knowledge regarding integration, agency, and transitions to work.

In a comparative perspective of socio-economic issues, it is important and necessary to include a typology of countries (such as different transition regimes or modes of integration) as a first step of grasping regional differences regarding transition processes and possibilities of integration (Esping Andersen 1990, Gallie & Paugam 2000). The different transition regimes refer to central aspects of late modern development: Structures of educational institutions and labour markets, family organisation and importance, individual and gendered agency, policies regarding youth etc. The different modes of integration are meant as headings for certain characteristics of policies and structures regarding integration of ethnic minorities.

Comparative methodological perspectives.

The difficulties of making a comparative analysis of the situation of ethnic minority youth in Europe are related to the following issues:

Firstly, research about ethnic minority youth and agency is lacking. Some of the reasons for this problem could be:

- Lack of interest
- Fear of researching a difficult issue with potentially colliding perspectives
- Lack of data/knowledge about specific ethnic groups. Due to concerns of discrimination and racism it might not have been produced.

Secondly, research should provide answers to local issues or questions. Following this perspective, it could be argued that comparative research is not a well-developed field. Research is part of regional and local interests and contains:

- Different interests of knowledge
- Different political perspectives

The diversity of data is one of the biggest problems. Data are based on interests – more than often local interests. This makes comparison and generalisation very difficult. The following model illustrates this difficulty and the possibilities of handling data:

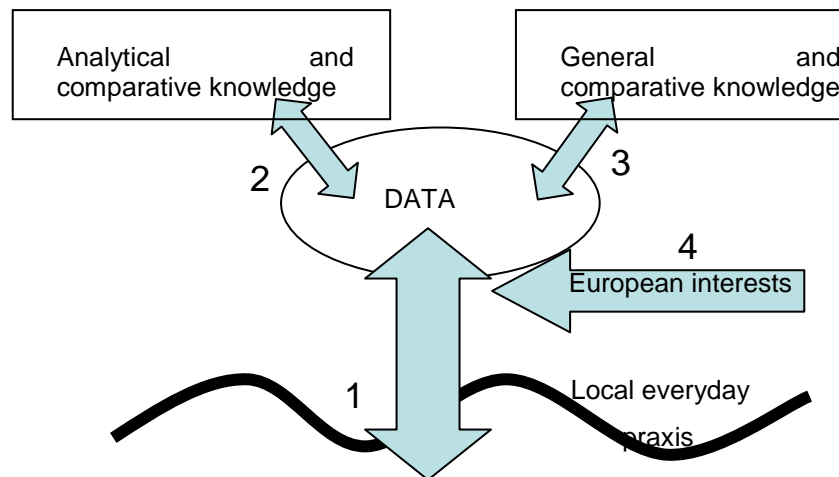


Figure 2: Comparative data analysis

Comparative analysis is dependent on data about different aspects of everyday practice and agency. These issues are usually local and therefore researched from local perspectives. Research processes therefore create data, which is often incommensurable (1). It is difficult to compare processes and situations in different social settings. This difficulty makes it necessary to try to compare data in the same process in more comparative reports. Analytical comparative reports are often working with research questions and answers of a more theoretical nature (2). The varied data makes direct comparison between data and the building of general and comparative knowledge very difficult (3).

Comparative research especially has a problem in relation to, how data can be used, or how it is possible to qualify a comparative method by changing focus from a general comparison to a contextual and relational perspective. This challenge makes it important to find out which interests the comparative knowledge should support to make information valuable. The question of which perspective we want to find knowledge about makes the relation between science and politics fragile.

The integration coefficient

To find additional ways of using comparative knowledge in understanding ethnic minority youth social integration process we have developed a way of comparing ethnic minority youth with ethnic majority youth. In this way the issue itself becomes contextual. The basic assumption is that ethnic social integration is always a local process. The question of how

well integrated ethnic minority youth is refers to their situation in comparison to the situation of other local ethnic majority youth. Therefore we have to compare the ethnic minority youth’s integration to the ordinary youth integration of the local community. In order to be able to compare integration of specific groups of ethnic minority youth across Europe and to draw more general conclusions about integration of ethnic minority youth, it is important to make sure that the dimensions of locally measuring social integration are comparable. Therefore, the measure of the integration of ethnic minority youth has to be defined according to existing European knowledge developed in reference to the overall European interest in studying young peoples’ social integration (4). The integration coefficient compares ethnic minority youth to ethnic majority youth in local or national contexts:

The integration coefficient ©

The integration coefficient (IC): $IC = \frac{E1 \cdot (1-W1)}{E2 \cdot (1-W2)}$

E: Degree of education
 E1: Degree of education of Group 1
 E2: Degree of education of Group 2

W: Degree of employment (i.e. 1 – percentage of unemployment)
 W1: Degree of employment of group 1

Figure 3: The integration coefficient

Groups 1 and 2 should be comparable groups of people, i.e. ethnic minority youth (group 1) vs. ethnic majority youth (group 2). To measure the degree of education it is possible to use the ISCED measure (International Standard Classification of Education of Educational⁴). In the Integration coefficient the E1 level has to be fixed, e.g. the percentage of young people who have reached an educational level of ISCED-III. Also unemployment level should be made from comparable measures. Educational level and degree of employment are chosen as indicating statistical numbers of integration. Documenting issues like culture, religion, involvement in non-formal learning etc. does not seem to be possible since the statistical data of these research areas presumably are too random and not reliable.

By using the integration coefficient (IC), it is possible to measure the level of integration at a national or local level. The IC can be applied to specific groups of ethnic minority, e.g. the Roma youth in Romania or the Turkish youth in Denmark, as well as ethnic minority in general vs. ethnic majority. In this way, the IC can be used nationally both to indicate differences regarding integration in general and between different groups of ethnic minority youth.

⁴ www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/isced_1997.htm

The IC is a number between 0 and 1. The closer the coefficient is to 1, the better the integration situation is, and the lower the number is, the worse the integration is. If the coefficient is bigger than 1, the selected group 1 has to be considered in detail. In these cases, group 1 is better integrated than the majority population. On the other hand, an integration coefficient bigger than 1 indicates that the ethnic minority group in question may be more able and willing to cope with demands of national policies and conditions⁵. This could also indicate that conditions regarding education and labour market are more in line with the aspirations and abilities of the ethnic minority in question. At the very least, in this case, the IC shows that the ethnic minority group of people in question experience better opportunities regarding education and work than the ethnic majority population of youth.

The idea behind the IC is the need for some kind of indicator, because it is very difficult to compare national data on a European level without crosscutting and distorting information on different groups of ethnic minorities – refugees, descendants etc. The comparative indicator can be directed by the integration coefficient, which can be compared from one country to another. Hopefully it can give room for further analysis and explanation on a national level. For example, the IC may explain how cultural diversity can be seen as an important advantage or disadvantage for the ethnic minority in question in the specific country. Of course a lot of things concerning the IC can be seen as difficulties, e.g. the jobs that young ethnic minority people have may require lower levels of qualification than the ones ethnic majority youth are employed in. But the IC is only a basic number and it has to be further analysed and discussed in order to be meaningful.

The calculations and results of the integration coefficient are only meant as a starting point for further discussion and analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of cultural diversity, national policies, and political goals, social or religious homo/heterogeneity etc. The idea is merely to use the integration coefficient as a way of making samples locally before they are compared nationally. The IC in itself does not explain anything – it is an attempt of making an indicator, which underlines that the question of integration is a local process, which needs local and national attention in order to improve possibilities of agency and transitions to work. The indicator cannot stand alone, but has to be accomplished by a further understanding and analysis on a national level. For the time being, only degrees of education and labour market are included in the IC, because these numbers presumably are well documented on a European level. Simultaneously, one can argue that the accessibility to education and jobs are crucial for people's experience of being included as citizens in the country, where they live. But it also seems necessary to include other central issues of integration such as informal and non-formal learning in youth life, youth cultures, and participation in different associations and organisations.

A qualitative approach

Both comparative knowledge and the integration coefficient may give important information about the social integration of ethnic minority youth. However, we also want to tell, not only how things look in general but also how generalities come about (Giddens 1987), in order to understand the process of ethnic minority youth as agents of social integration. Therefore

⁵ It is of course debatable whether a specific match or mismatch between demands of education and employment on one side and the degree to which ethnic minority youth meets these demands on the other side should be interpreted as willingness, ability, aspiration, or as a result of being forced to comply. The lack of education and employment among some ethnic minority young people surely cannot be explained by blaming these people – the conditions and the obstacles involved as a result of political, pedagogical, and societal decisions, as well as politics of the labour market should be analysed and considered.

qualitative knowledge is also important. We want to find ways to understand activities of ethnic minority youth agency in a late modern society. Cultural agency means ways of integrating cultural and social backgrounds with actual demands and opportunities.

This report is based on methodological approach than is otherwise mostly used to find comparative knowledge of social issues. We have looked for qualitative case examples. As it has been argued comparative knowledge very easily finds itself in a situation where general comparisons become central. Social groups and their everyday living may be compared in-between different contexts and societies as knowledge at a general level. Such knowledge, however, easily overlooks the local contextual differences, which lie behind and create the general results. Comparative studies look for generalities in perspectives and often try to avoid seeing activities which deviate from the general. However, we developed the “integration coefficient” method in order that we could move beyond the general perspective. The “integration coefficient” made it clear, that comparison should not only be between ethnic groups in Europe, but between different groups of young people inside the same local world (Bechmann Jensen et al. 2006).

In the developing of this contextual comparison it became visible that even the local knowledge should be further developed. It became important to give not a full portrait, but some examples of contextual cultural agency among ethnic minority youth. It became important to find out how figurations and configurations work in different situations. It became important to get closer to the process of social integration through the individual cultural agent. Therefore a case approach was developed. We would like to learn from cases of ethnic minority youth agency to find out how they formed and developed their agency in the new societal setting of late modern Europe.⁶

This approach of course has been tried in different case studies, but our intention was not only to give cases of individual agency, but to learn from the separated case stories according to more general themes and to build a comparative reflection by putting side by side the cases. Therefore we collected “case stories” from different countries which seem to give important knowledge about ethnic minority youth activities in handling societal challenges (Walther 2000, Habermas 1981, Bauman 2000).

In part 2 of this report we present a qualitative analysis of central themes of ethnic minority cultural agency. We have chosen contextual stories and analyse these stories according to overall central themes, which have come from the analysis of ethnic minority youth agency challenges. The cases are presented very shortly in the text and are described more extensively in Appendix.

⁶ In Robert K. Yin’s book ”Case Study Research”>Sage 1989 he argues for a special interest in finding “critical cases”, which represent the critical test of a significant theory. This is what we tried to do in this study. We looked for critical cases.

Chapter 2: Country Comparison

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This chapter aims to develop a country-based framework in preparation for the thematic-centred discussion in chapter 3.

Before starting the comparative analysis, it is important to establish a relationship to

- a) country-specific transition regimes
- b) and local changes and hindrances for ethnic minority youth on the threshold of employment

in order to come full circle to the overall theme “agency”.

These two coordinates are crucial for estimating the degree of latitudes of young people in the countries in question regarding to agency on the one hand and compulsions to act due to socio-economic constraints on the other hand.

Transition characteristics of the examined countries

Following, each country will be pictured in a concise manner according to the two coordinates introduced above. Thus, a thematic framing of the comparative analysis will be provided. The information given is based on the findings of the interim report.

Denmark and Finland are representatives of the *universalistic transition regime*. Here, diversified national standards in education and training allow permeability to different educational and carrier paths, thus leaving room for individual life plans. Young people are encouraged to self-determination and autonomy while different forms of support are available (social assistance, counselling). Youth policy centres around individual development putting weight on education which is applied to ethnic minority youth as well to provide second chance opportunities rather than a quick labour entrance.

While Denmark shows low levels of youth employment and education can be seen as a core principle, Finnish youth (at high risk of being affected by youth unemployment) are advanced in achieving competencies (both in European comparison).

The transition system in Germany can be described as *employment-centred*. Transition processes are marked by highly formalised educational and vocational carriers combined with early segregation of pupils according to their performance. The high value donated to employment produces a stigmatised precarious periphery of those being out of employment. Failures in the educational and vocational process are attributed to individual deficits. Accordingly, support is mainly directed to integration in the labour market and, in cases of deviations from standard educational paths, aims on assisting the return.

Agency of youth is subject to normative restrictions such as standard trajectories and narrow access paths to higher education and careers. The decrease of places in the dual system of apprenticeship creates a competitive situation and forces less successful youths into pre-vocational “holding patterns”. The Integration of immigrants is welfare state oriented.

Spain and Portugal can be assigned to *sub-protective transition regimes*. Low standardisation in vocational training and the labour market is linked with a significant role of family and informal economy. The course of action of young people is affected by high rates of youth unemployment, an uncertain value of school qualifications and denied access to social benefits which lead to prolonged transition processes, unstable employment and high dependence on the families of origin.

In Spain and in Portugal, decreased unemployment rates go together with a rise of precarious jobs whose conditions do not enable the often over-qualified youths to earn a living without parent's assistance.

The transition regime in Romania as a post-communist country cannot be clearly allocated to one specific type. Generally, young people of these countries have to make individualised decisions regarding their transition processes, being faced with a wide variety of opportunities and risks. Unemployment rates in Romania are relatively low in East-Central-European comparison but there is a considerable lack of career opportunities for young people. In the de-institutionalised system of Romania, the dependency on families is strong. Among the ethnic and cultural diverse youth living in Romania, the young Roma are most disadvantaged in their transition processes.

Comparative country analysis

This first comparative country analysis is based on primary statistical material from the six countries' national reports and some additional general statistics from EUROSTAT. At the end of the analysis, the results are summed up in a comparison of calculated integration coefficients (IC).

Roughly speaking, the countries in focus (Germany, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Romania, and Denmark) are very different when it comes to traditions of categorisation of ethnic minorities, youth research, methodology, access to and extent of data material etc. These differences make comparisons difficult.

From the data material comparable key variables were filtered out that in sum reflect the societal frame for transitional processes of ethnic minority youth. Three areas are crucial, in which nine key themes were identified:

Areas	key themes
Statistical facts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Demography</i> - <i>Migration History</i> - <i>Labour Market</i> - <i>Welfare</i>
<i>Learning and education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i> - <i>Informal and Non-formal Learning</i>
<i>Culture</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Culture</i> - <i>Discrimination</i> - <i>Integration Coefficient</i>

The theme of agency is not dealt with separately, since it is very diversely defined in each national report, e.g. ‘sense of belonging’, ‘coping strategies’, ‘cultural capital’ etc. Agency is therefore presented in connection to other themes.

At this point, a comparative analysis of countries according to the identified key themes mentioned above will be ventured. In the frame of this work it is not possible to provide a comparative analysis in every detail. It seems more feasible to highlight significant national characteristics.

Demography

The population share migrants or people with migration background have in their countries of residence is not the all-dominant factor for their integration, but nevertheless plays an important role in this process.

<i>General statistics of the six countries – Population</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>Spain</i>
Total population on 01.01.2006, Thousands of persons	5,427.4	5,255.6	82,438.0	10,569.6	21,610.2	43,758.3
Total female population on 01.01.2006, Thousands of persons	2,741.6	2,683.2	42,098.0	5,453.9	11,075.0	22,197.1
Total male population on 01.01.2006, Thousands of persons	2,685.8	2,572.4	40,340.0	5,115.7	10,535.2	21,561.2
<i>Source:</i> http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/						

The country with the smallest share of foreign population (about 2%) is Finland. The Russians are the largest group of foreigners in Finland followed by Estonians, Swedes, Vietnamese and Somalis.

Also, Portugal has a substandard proportion of foreigners compared to the countries in focus. In 2004, foreigners accounted for 5% of the population. During very few years, the Ukrainians have become one of the largest ethnic groups in Portugal followed by immigrants from Cape Verde who have been in the country for many years.

According to the numbers, Germany, Denmark and Spain have a similar ethnic intermix.

In 2004, foreigners accounted for 8.48% of the population in Germany. 32% of these came from other EU-countries. The largest ethnic group was the Turks (25.6%), as is the case in Denmark. In 2004, immigrants and descendants in Denmark accounted for 8.2% of the population (5.8% from non-Western countries). People coming from Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and Bosnia constituted the largest groups. They accounted for almost 48% of all ethnic minorities in Denmark. In Spain, about 8% of the population are foreigners. This group consists mainly of immigrants from South America, Africa, and Asia.

Romania is marked as a country of high ethnic diversity. Twenty different ethnic groups were recorded at the last census in 2002 – the most important ones apart from the majority are: Hungarian (6.60%), Roma (2.47%), Ukrainian (0.28%), and German (0.28%).

Migration history

Current percentages of foreigners in a society do not reflect the complexity of the arrivals of migrants over the course of time. Every country has its genuine history of migration which influences today's perceptions towards the issue.

A common feature for Portugal and Spain is their two historical immigration waves. The first wave of immigrants came from areas outside Portugal and Spain, where Portuguese and Spanish language have dominated. The second wave came from East Europe, Asia, and Africa.

In Denmark and Germany in the 60s and 70s, many guest workers were invited to come; particularly from Turkey and Yugoslavia (other large groups of guest workers in Germany where from Italy, Spain and Greece). This was mainly caused by rapid economic growth while simultaneously the countries suffered from labour shortages. In the 80s and 90s, other ethnic groups arrived as refugees.

For decades, Finland was an emigration country – the same applies to Spain and Portugal before the mentioned immigration waves. In the beginning of the 90s a change took place and within few years Finland became an immigration country. The Somalis were the first large ethnic group who arrived in Finland as asylum seekers.

The ethnic groups in Romania have typically settled in the country for generations.

Labour market

Employment is regarded as one of the major criteria for successful integration in society. Generally spoken, there is a highly visible tendency of expatriate inhabitants being unprivileged pertaining to access to the employment market and the quality of work they do.

<i>General statistics of the six countries – Employment</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>Spain</i>
Total unemployment according to ILO definition – Total thousands of persons – seasonally adjusted, March 2007	98.9	191.9	2,875.0	417.6	791.8	1,836.3
Total employment rate, Employed persons aged 15-64 as a share of the total population of the same age group, 2006	77.4	69.3	67.2	67.9	58.8	64.8
Total employment rate, Employed women aged 15- 64 as a share of the total female population of the same age group, 2006	73.4	67.3	61.5	62.0	53.0	53.2
Total employment rate, Employed men aged 15-64 as a share of the total male population of the same age group, 2006	81.2	71.4	72.8	73.9	64.6	76.1
<i>Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/</i>						

In 2004 in Germany, 10.5% were outside the labour market (55.9% men and 44.1% women). 11.5% of this group were youth under the age of 25 (equivalent to about half a million young people), and 12.4% were foreigners – meaning that 20.3% of all foreigners were unemployed which equates to almost twice the majority unemployment rate. Foreigners were primarily employed in the low wage sector e.g. in hotel- and services businesses (21.4%) and manufacturing companies (8.9%). 9.7% of foreigners were self-employed compared to 10.9% of Germans. In 2003, 12.6% of unemployed Germans were under the age of 25 compared to 11.1% of ethnic Germans and 10.2% of foreigners.

In Romania, the employment rate was 59.7% in the second quarter of 2006 – it was higher for men than women and higher for well-educated people than less educated people. In the age group of 15-24 years, 25.4% were employed – more than 10% in unskilled jobs, e.g. in the services and trade business, agriculture, fishery, or forestry. Young people have the highest unemployment rate (19.2%) which is lower for young women than for young men. Long-term youth unemployment (=unemployed more than six months) is 14.6% - more than three times higher than the equivalent rate of the whole country. Breakdowns by ethnic groups are not available in Romania's LFS, but according to census data for 2002 28.49% of the Roma people were unemployed (men: 30%, women: 24%). To have a comparative value: for all ethnic groups, the unemployment rate was about 11%. 31.54% of the Roma people worked in unskilled labour (the percentage was 7% for all other ethnic groups), and 41.6% worked in agriculture, fishery, or forestry. The Germans were generally more represented in high-level jobs than the majority population whereas the Ukrainians were highly represented in agriculture, fishery, and forestry.

In Spain, most immigrants are employed in jobs with low formal and educational qualification demands – especially in the construction and installation sector. The same pattern is also seen in Portugal. In 2005, foreigners' unemployment rate was 11.4% - in the age group of 16-24 years the unemployment rate was 19.7%.

In Portugal, the employment rate is higher among foreign youth than among Portuguese youth. However, this fact must not lead to the misconception that minority youth is generally advantaged in their employment prospects. 'Black youth' enter the labour market at the age of 15-17 years compared to Portuguese youth who enter the labour market at the age of 18-20 years. In many cases 'black youth' enter sectors with low requirements for education and official papers, and the wages are substandard. 41.7% of young foreigners between 15-24 years of age work in the construction business and 25% in the hotel and services business. 38.2% of all working foreign youth have no type of employment contract (same situation as in Spain). The development of labour market sectors, which mainly employ ethnic minority Portuguese/foreigners, started in the construction business. During the past ten years, this development has spread to other labour market sectors, such as the services business and tourism. The development has been so massive that today there is a structural dependency on unskilled, ethnic labour force. The consequences of this development for ethnic groups are social exclusion, lack of integration, and possibly reproduction of the same conditions for the next generations of immigrants and descendants to come. Despite the fact that East Europeans are more educated than the African population in Portugal, 50-60% of them still end up working in the construction business which is dominated by Africans.

The largest difference between access changes to the job market of the majority and these of the minority population exists in Finland and Denmark.

In Finland in 2004, the unemployment rate for the majority population was less than 10% compared to 30% for foreigners. Unemployment varies between ethnic groups (as in Denmark and Germany) – in 2003, 58% of the Somalis were unemployed. The

unemployment of the majority population under age 25 is 20.1%. Even though the Russians have a high educational level and typically a rather good understanding of the Finnish language, their situation in the labour market is not significantly better than the situation of the Somalis which impressively demonstrates the impact of citizenship. The immigrants are typically employed in the industrial sector, the restaurant business, or cleaning and personal care jobs. Especially restaurant and cleaning jobs are 'entrance jobs' to the labour market. In the Finnish majority population, women earn less than men, and women are typically employed in the public sector. Immigrant men are employed in jobs which in Finland are typically considered 'female occupations', e.g. personal care, cleaning, restaurant business, and educational sector – one reason is that these 'female occupations' are considered less attractive, and therefore immigrants have easier access to them. Another reason is that it has been a governmental strategy to employ long-term unemployed people in the public sector.

Similar to Finland, in Denmark ethnic minorities' unemployment rate is three times higher than the unemployment rate of the rest of the population. 51% of the immigrants are part of the labour force compared to 65% of the descendants and 79% of the Danes. Only 50% and 40% of ethnic minority men and women respectively are employed compared to 80% and 70% of the rest of the population. The Somali ethnic minorities have the lowest employment rate (as in Finland), and considering gender aspects, ethnic minority women from Iraq, Lebanon, and Somalia have the lowest employment rate. Ethnic descendants manage poorer than Danish young people – the unemployment is about 2½ times bigger. For women it is twice as big. After completing an education, descendants are unemployed for a longer time before they find employment compared to the Danes. Ethnic minorities are employed in other types of jobs than Danes – they are self-employed to a higher extent, typically in restaurant and retail trade. However, nine out of ten employed ethnic minorities are wage earners. Ethnic minorities generally have jobs with low levels of qualification demands, as is the situation in Portugal, Spain, Finland, Germany, and Romania. Another point is that, as observed in most of the countries in focus, gender aspects often deepen inequalities to the majority population.

Welfare

The often unfavourable economic situation of young ethnic minority people in comparison to the majority youth is, discrimination effects ignored for now, mainly correlated to disadvantages the young people have to experience in the key areas *education* and *employment*.

In Romania, as in many other countries, a good education is a headstone for avoiding the risk of poverty. Especially children and young people are victims of poverty – unemployed youth are eligible for unemployment benefits (75% of the minimum gross salary of the country level if one has previously been employed, and if one has just graduated school, the amount is 50% of the minimum gross salary at country level), and students from poor families can receive financial support. Self-employed (especially farmers) are in high risk of poverty. Among the different ethnic groups, Roma people are in most risk of poverty. Research shows that Romas' access to education and employment is limited by early marriages and pregnancies. In 2000, 35% of Roma women married before the age of 16, two-thirds married at the age of 18 and only 8% married after the age of 22. 37% of Roma women between 20-24 years were pregnant before they turned 18. Cohort studies show that the tendency to both marrying and having children early is increasing. The Roma people are particularly burdened by mutually intensifying factors: poor housing conditions, low access to quality education, low level of vocational competencies, and low access to the labour market. They are caught in a vicious circle of poor socio-economical conditions, inadequate institutional contexts, and

discrimination, which in reciprocity with a certain Roma culture result in social exclusion and youth lacking motivation for the future.

In Portugal, too, the educational level correlates positively with the level of welfare. This also applies to the 'black immigrants' to a certain extent. However, their average income is generally far below the equivalent educated Portuguese population's average income (the same tendency is seen in Finland concerning the Russians and the Estonians). Therefore education is not necessarily a socio-economic precautionary measure for 'black immigrants'. Citizenship can be a form of socio-economic precautionary measure. However, there is a higher degree of rejection of social reproduction/heritage among 'black youth' than among majority youth. E.g. a study shows that 9% of 'black youth' at undergraduate level have parents without any type of education – the equivalent percentage for the majority youth is zero. The trajectories of 'black youth' can therefore lead to other work places than the construction business. Another type of trajectory, which to a certain extent rejects social reproduction/heritage, is self-employment. It is estimated that 14% of foreign workforce is self-employed.

In Spain, many immigrants live close to the poverty level – especially single parent families. Immigrants from poor South American countries manage relatively well.

In Denmark, economical poverty is defined as an income less than 50% of the median income. 11.5% of immigrants and ethnic descendants can be considered relatively poor compared to 3.6% of the Danes. All citizens and residents have access to social benefits in connection to unemployment, job activation, and education. All students with Danish citizenship or permanent residence permit in ISCED III+IV+V education are entitled to financial support within the estimated time limits of the educational programmes. However, the refugees (people having a temporary residence permit) are denied access to the school system, and exchange students (with a temporary residence permit) do not receive financial support. More than every fourth inhabitant with an ethnic minority background is receiving welfare benefits. In 2001 and 2002, almost half of all immigrant and ethnic descendants live in families who received welfare benefits. Ethnic minorities with a Danish higher education certificate usually reach the same socio-economic class as the equally educated Danes.

Germany has a poverty risk of 13% (this refers to income poverty that is spoken of when the income earned is 60% or less of the medium income). Single mothers, long-term unemployed people and immigrants have the highest poverty risk. Young people's access to social benefits is limited – the welfare system is mainly aimed at elderly and unemployed people. However, students from low socio-economic backgrounds can receive financial support (cf. The Federal Educational Grants Act). For other students there is a possibility to get loans with a reduced interest rate.

In Finland, average incomes of immigrants from refugee countries and neighbouring countries are 60% and 40% below the majority population's income.

Education

Education is not only affecting labour market chances but at the same time an indicator for the quality of schooling models, in our context especially for their applicability to the demands of second-language speakers with a different cultural background.

General comments

In Romania, the educational trajectories of most ethnic minorities are very similar with exception of the Germans and the Roma people. The Germans manage a bit better than all

other groups (including the Romanians), and the Roma people manage very poorly – a third have not obtained any of the education levels (see below) and a third only attain an ISCED-I education.

In Finland, only a fourth of the Somalis and a fifth of the Vietnamese have completed an ISCED-I and ISCED-II education. Comparable to the East Europeans in Spain and Portugal, the Russians and the Estonians in Finland are typically highly educated – 90% of them have at least an ISCED-III education, which is higher than the one of the Finnish majority population (70%). Only 40% of immigrant youth continue their educational trajectories beyond mandatory educational levels (ISCED-I+II), and 25% of this group eventually drop out.

Of all ethnic descendants in Portugal, youth originating from PALOP⁷ countries generally manage the worst, especially those originating from Cape Verde. All other ethnic descendants manage equally well or even better than Portuguese youth, especially youth originating from Brazil and EU-countries. However, research shows that African descendants manage just as well as Portuguese youth with the same socio-economic background. In average, foreigners from Europe (including East Europe) have a higher education level than the Portuguese – every third has completed an ISCED-V education (attained in Portugal and/or country of origin). However, the Portuguese have a higher educational level than foreigners from PALOP-countries. Girls generally get better marks, attain higher educational levels, and have a lower dropout rate than the boys – with the exception of Roma girls.

In Spain, immigrants from Africa usually have reached no educational levels, or only low ones such as ISCED-I education. In contrast, immigrants from South America or East Europe generally have even higher levels of education than the Spanish population – similar to most ethnic descendants in Portugal.

In Germany, ethnic youth's (especially the Turks') educational level is generally lower than that of the German majority youth. Young women manage better than young men – this applies to both the minority and majority population (same situation in Denmark). The German education system differentiates students rather early according to their school achievements (at age 10).

On all levels in the Danish education system, the ethnic descendants get along a bit worse than the Danes but still much better than their parents (the immigrants). Descendant girls do better than descendant boys – 41% boys only complete ISCED-I+II education, whereas more girls complete ISCED-III+IV and ISCED-V education. Descendants from Turkey are least educated – 58% men and 46% women are neither studying nor have completed another education level.

ISCED levels

ISCED levels were designed by the UNESCO in the 1970s as an instrument for the compilation and comparison of education statistics. They have been repeatedly adapted to the growing variety of educational options in Europe over the time. According to the currently valid version from 1997, seven levels of education are discerned:⁸

⁷ PALOP = African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa).

⁸ UNESO (1997): International Standard Classification of Education

I S C E D 1997. See http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/isced_1997.htm

ISCED 0 — Pre-Primary Education

Programs at level 0, (pre-primary) defined as the initial stage of organised instruction, are designed primarily to introduce very young children to a school-type environment, i.e. to provide a bridge between the home and a school based atmosphere.

ISCED 1 — Primary education or first stage of basic education

Programmes at level 1 are normally designed on a unit or project basis to give children (customary starting between the ages of five to seven) a sound basic education in reading, writing and mathematics along with an elementary understanding of history, geography, natural science, social science, art, music and sometimes religious instruction. This level covers, in principle, six years of full-time schooling.

ISCED 2 — Lower secondary education or second stage of basic education

The contents of education at this stage are typically designed to complete the provision of basic education and fully implementing basic skills. Mostly, the educational aim is to lay the foundation for lifelong learning and human development. The programmes at this level are usually more subject-oriented and more often several teachers conduct classes in their field of specialisation. The end of this level often coincides with the end of compulsory schooling where it exists.

ISCED 3 — (Lower/upper) secondary education

This level of education typically begins at the end of full time compulsory education. Compared with ISCED 2, more specialisation may be observed and often teachers need to be more qualified. The entrance age to this level is typically 15 to 16 years. Access requirement is usually the completion of 9 years of full-time education for admission or a combination of education and vocational or technical experience. Programmes are further distinguished in ISCED 3A – 3C (according to the access opportunities they provide or not provide). The level ISCED 3c shorter than 2 years is considered as lower secondary education while the level ISCED 3c long is considered as upper secondary.

ISCED 4 — Post-secondary non tertiary education

ISCED 4 captures programmes that straddle the boundary between upper secondary and post-secondary education from an international point of view, even though they might clearly be considered as upper secondary or post-secondary programmes in a national context. These programmes can, considering their content, not be regarded as tertiary programmes. They are often not significantly more advanced than programmes at ISCED 3 but they serve to broaden the knowledge of participants who have already completed a programme at level 3.

Typical examples are programmes (differentiated in ISCED 4 A-C) designed to prepare students for studies at level 5 (i.e. pre-degree foundation courses, short vocational programmes or second cycle programmes).

ISCED 5 — first stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification)

This level consists of tertiary education programmes more advanced than those offered at levels 3 and 4. Entry to these programmes normally requires the successful completion of ISCED level 3A or 3B or a similar qualification at ISCED level 4A. They do not lead to the award of an advanced research qualification (ISCED 6). The minimum cumulative duration is two years.

ISCED 5A: Programmes that are largely theoretically based and are intended to provide sufficient qualifications for gaining entry into advanced research programmes and professions with high skills requirements.

ISCED 5B: Programmes that are practically oriented/ occupationally specific and are mainly designed for participants to acquire the practical skills and know how needed for employment in a particular occupation or trade or class of occupations or trades, the successful completion of which usually provides the participants with a labour market relevant qualification.

ISCED 6 — second stage of tertiary education (leading to an advanced research qualification)

This level is reserved for tertiary programmes which lead to the award of an advanced research qualification. The programmes are therefore devoted to advanced study and original research and not based on course-work only. They typically require the submission of a thesis or dissertation of publishable quality which is the product of original research and represents a significant contribution to knowledge. They prepare graduates for faculty posts in institutions offering ISCED 5A programmes, as well as research posts in government, industry, etc.

<i>General statistics of the six countries – Education</i>	<i>Denmark</i>	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>Spain</i>
Students by ISCED-I, 2004, Thousands of persons	419.8	387.9	3,305.4	780.2	1,005.5	2,621.1
Students by ISCED-II, 2004, Thousands of persons	225.9	199.0	5,585.6	388.8	1,116.7	1,975.8
Students by ISCED-III, 2004, Thousands of persons	263.5	305.2	2,796.3	379.5	1,038.0	1,072.4
Students by ISCED-IV, 2004, Thousands of persons	1.0	14.3	494.4	1.8	54.7	-
Students by ISCED-V, 2004, Thousands of persons	217.1	299.9	2,330.5	395.1	685.7	1,839.9
<i>Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/</i>						

ISCED I-II

In Portugal, Roma and Cape Verdean students manage poor in mandatory education – many drop out or do not pass exams. The Roma girls also have a high dropout rate – two reasons are early marriages and pregnancies. This might apply to Roma girls in Romania as well, considering the high incidence of early marriages and precocious pregnancies among this group; however, the education statistics in Romania do not contain breakdowns of dropout rates by ethnicity.

In Germany, there is a very high representation of ethnic minority youth in the least qualifying ISCED-II education. Germans with an ethnic background manage a bit better than foreign youths.

ISCED III-IV

In Romania, a very low amount of Roma people is represented on the ISCED-III educational level. In general, the dropout rate is 2.3% in the general upper secondary programmes and 5.5% in the vocational programmes. Men have a higher dropout rate than women – Roma people have a higher dropout rate than other ethnic groups.

In Portugal, immigrants and descendants from Europe, Brazil, India and Pakistan generally choose the general upper secondary programmes, while immigrants and descendants from

PALOP-countries to a higher extent choose vocational programmes – similar patterns are seen in both Germany and Denmark. Girls are more likely to choose general upper secondary programmes than boys, who in turn are more likely to choose vocational programmes.

In Spain, about half of the ethnic minority youth and more than half of the Spanish youth have achieved an ISCED-III education. Calculating the integration coefficient for these numbers (see below) would indicate a high level of integration.

In Germany, many students have difficulties completing their vocational ISCED-III education due to lack of vocational training places. The dropout rate for German students in vocational programmes is 20%, and for foreigners it is 37%.

In Denmark, most immigrants and ethnic descendants continue their studies in an ISCED-III education. The amount of immigrants and descendants who do not follow this path is a bit higher than that of the equivalent group of Danes. Immigrants and descendants also have a higher dropout rate and men have a higher dropout rate than women (38-48% compared to 26-36%). The later in life an immigrant has arrived in Denmark, the poorer he/she succeeds in the education system. There is a tendency for ethnic minority girls to choose upper secondary programmes, whereas the boys to a higher degree choose lower secondary or vocational programmes. Youths from Iran, Pakistan and Vietnam participate in general upper secondary education to a higher extent than the Danes (however, they also have a higher dropout rate than the Danes), whereas the Turkish and Lebanese youths' participation rate is lower and the dropout rate is higher compared to that of the Danes. Turkish youth have a high participation rate in lower and higher vocational programmes. One of the reasons for ethnic minorities having high dropout rates and managing poor in vocational programmes is difficulty finding vocational training places (a problem that was diagnosed for Germany as well).

ISCED V

For the academic year 2004-2005 in Romania, the gross enrolment rate in higher education (total number of students registered in higher education as percentage of total population in the standard age group 19-23 years) was 40.2% (women: 45.1%, men: 35.4%). There are more women than men studying in the universities (54.9%) – the situation is the same in Portugal.

In Spain, about a fifth of ethnic minority youth have completed an ISCED-V education – for Spanish youth the number is slightly higher.

When adjusted for age differences, descendants from Pakistan and other countries are equally likely to be studying and completing a higher education compared to Danish young people in Denmark.

Informal and non-formal learning

Extra institutional life worlds are acknowledged fields of learning, where young people gain large parts of their knowledge and abilities, e.g. in sports clubs, youth organisations or religious associations. Especially for young people with learning problems in formal education (as is often the case for migrants due to linguistic and cultural challenges or interrupted educational trajectories), the development of alternative learning settings holds considerable resources to compensate for missing formal certificates. The engagement of young people with migration backgrounds in non-formal and informal fields differs greatly across the examined countries.

In Denmark, ethnic minority women participate in association/club activities to a lesser degree than Danish/Scandinavian women and ethnic minority men. Ethnic minority boys participate almost to the same degree as Danish boys in association/club activities.

In Portugal, community projects have been established with the aim of supporting ethnic minority youth in developing cultural, social, and creative competencies. 'Black youth' participate to a much higher degree in different organisations/associations (sport, music, politics) than majority youth (the opposite case of Germany and Denmark), e.g. a study shows that 28.6% of 'black youth respondents' were members of a student organisation compared to 4.4% of majority youth respondents – for membership of sport clubs the percentages were 31.7% and 14.1% respectively.

In Germany, ethnic minority youth participate less than German youth in informal learning contexts (music, sport etc.) – however, second-generation immigrants participate more than first-generation immigrants, and immigrant boys participate more than immigrant girls. When immigrants do participate, it is often in sport clubs (Germans: 43%, first-generation immigrants: 21%, and second-generation immigrants: 37%). Reasons for low participation among immigrants can be lack of financial means and/or understanding of the nature of the association/organisations/clubs. Statistical figures evince a lower participation of immigrant girls (44% of young Turkish women spend their free time at home). This can neither be traced back to a lack of interest (43% express a wish to do sports) nor can it be explained by referring to the girls' religious observance as a limitation (the engagement of religious girls in sports associations is higher than that of not religious girls). Another field of activity is the participation in religious organisations (Germans (9%), first-generation immigrants (7%), second-generation immigrants (6%)). In the age group of 16-29 years, 14% of first-generation immigrants are members of a party compared to 20% and 21% for second-generation immigrants and Germans respectively. Generally it can be concluded that participation in informal/non-formal learning contexts increases with the educational level and time spend in Germany.

In Spain, there is a presence of immigrants in non-formal education. Some of them go to centres to start learning Spanish, while others come for occupational training or simply try to improve their knowledge in order to facilitate their integration processes. 40% of immigrants participating in these learning contexts are African immigrants.

In Finland, immigrant youth who have not been in the country very long participate to a higher extent in municipality youth clubs than immigrant youth who have been in Finland for a long time. Ethnic minority youth in general participate more than Finnish youth in activities arranged by NGOs. Interaction between Finnish and immigrant youth is limited – immigrants are accepted as long as they conform to the Finnish youth culture. In school, there is a definite informal boundary between Finnish and immigrant youth, e.g. they do not participate in group work with each other, unless the teacher demands it – the teacher is therefore crucial for interethnic interaction and integration in school.

In Romania, the engagement in informal learning contexts is relatively low for all young people. For illustration: about 10% of Romanian and Hungarian youth are engaged in organisations which provide some engagement in informal learning.

Culture

The term *culture* refers to more than one concept. In this context, it is regarded as collectively shared and collectively constructed knowledge; as an active process of groups that construct their own cultural identity.⁹

In Portugal, one of the more informal participation strategies in the Portuguese society is hip-hop and rap music. This youth culture started in Portugal in the mid 80s. Boys primarily dominate it, even though there are female rappers and hip hoppers. Today it is a culture shared by many different ethnic young people who mix their immigrant parents' culture with their own modern expressions – it becomes an alternative culture to their parents' culture and the culture of the existing Portuguese society. It is a socialisation context but also a learning context in terms of improvement of competencies such as verbal skills etc.

In Germany, there is a very low degree of interethnic and social interaction among Germans, foreigners, and Germans with an ethnic background. Among other things, this is a result of the early selection process in the education system (the different groups are generally placed in different programmes), differentiation in the labour market, and the fact that there are parts of Germany, where very few immigrants live e.g. East Germany but also parts with a high concentration and segregation of minorities - (West Germany, esp. the Ruhr area, Hamburg, Berlin, Stuttgart) – for example 55% of young Turks primarily live with other foreigners in their housing areas.

There is not *one* homogenous ethnic minority youth culture in Finland. The creation of and conditions for ethnic young people's participation depends to a certain degree on the youth culture of the majority population. Consumption of alcohol, smoking, and drugs are important parts of the Finnish youth culture. The study shows that especially young Somali girls (not so much the Somali boys) reject these activities and express a need to distance themselves from the Finnish youth culture, which they view as negative and offending. Certain aspects of Finnish youth culture cause a split between Finnish and Somali girls – they move in different directions by attempting to define themselves as member or non-member of the Finnish youth culture. However, there is a small group of Somali girls who have adapted to the Finnish youth culture – they have skipped the headscarf and drink alcohol. These girls risk being excluded by their own ethnic peer group.

In Spain, many young immigrants feel closer to their country of origin than to their country of residence, even though they are connected to the Spanish labour market and have good language skills. Strong family ties can strengthen the young immigrants' traditional values and religious beliefs

In Romania, though cultural differences do exist between ethnic groups, the available research data does not provide evidence of relevant cultural differences between youth groups of different ethnic origins.

Discrimination

By concentrating on individual barriers for integration processes of minority youth (education levels, participation in society, family backgrounds), external hindrances are likely to be overlooked. Minority youth have to cope with discrimination in all fields of social life in their new country of residence. They are discriminated against by individuals or groups (non-

⁹ See UP2YOUTH online glossary (<http://www.up2youth.org/content/category/7/23/40/>) for further elaboration of the term.

formal or informal discrimination) and by nations and institutions (formal discrimination or institutional discrimination), e.g. when school leaving certificates obtained in a foreign country are not being accepted by institutions and/or employers in the country of residence.¹⁰

In Spain, young immigrants experience discrimination, especially in the labour market. Young female immigrants are in a particularly vulnerable position, since their integration usually takes place in the context of family life (taking care of children and/or house keeping in one's own or another family's home), which means they have problems transforming traditional female roles.

In Finland, men experience more discrimination than women, young immigrants experience more discrimination than older immigrants and immigrants who have been in Finland for a long time experience more discrimination than immigrants who arrived a shorter time ago. Especially immigrants who have good Finnish language abilities are aware of the discrimination they experience in spite of their skills and educational attainments. Generally, Finnish employers do not acknowledge education or work experience from the immigrants' countries of origin. An education completed in Finland offers better opportunities than an education completed in the home country. However, Somalis have difficulties in getting a job – not even holding a Finnish education certificate significantly improves their integration into the labour market. People who have completed ISCED-V education usually have difficulties finding employment in their own line of work and are often forced to take unskilled jobs. 80% of job seeking immigrants have experienced discrimination. However, discrimination is not limited to the job seeking process but also happens in the work place.

In Romania, Roma people experience institutionalised violence, e.g. police raids, evictions without new housing appointed (often the evictions are from housing facilities/places they do not have ownership of and/or right to live in) etc.

In Germany, research shows that young ethnic Germans, who are viewed as 'well integrated' due to their attained education and jobs, do not feel accepted. They experience stigmatisation because of their ethnic roots. The young people's 'cultural capital' (bilingualism, intercultural understanding) is not recognized as an asset but rather as a weakness. Even though ethnic women manage better in school, they have more difficulties in finding vocational training places. One of the reasons is a misconception of the effect of their religious observance on their ability to do their job. Additionally, it is noticed how certain occupations have an openness towards ethnic women, for instance hairdresser, secretary etc. These are 'dead-end jobs' with low wages and poor working conditions. Discrimination varies heavily from East Germany to West Germany.

Native Portuguese express the greatest 'cultural barrier' in relation to African and East European immigrants and the smallest in relation to Brazilian immigrants. 53% of the Portuguese think that the number of immigrants in Portugal should be reduced. Research shows that two thirds of 'black youth' do not experience to have the same opportunities and rights as the majority population. The study shows how this experienced injustice affects the young people's self-image, experience of agency and satisfaction with living in Portugal. 40% of the respondents were Portuguese citizens with an ethnic background but only 4% defined themselves as being Portuguese.

¹⁰ For further elaboration on how the term is defined in the context of this work, see the UP2YOUTH online glossary.

In comparison to Danish young people, research shows that attained education is less important for ethnic descendants' chances of getting a job in Denmark. This indicates that discrimination against descendants exists in the labour market. However, family-related issues can also be determining, as is the case in Germany and Finland.

Integration coefficient¹¹

In Denmark, the IC of 0.12 based on a comparison between ethnic minorities and Danes shows that the group of ethnic minorities is poorly integrated. Due to the relatively small amount of descendants, the weighted IC of both immigrants and descendants is not significantly affected by how the descendants manage. However, a differentiated view on the statistical material reveals significant varieties. When splitting the group into immigrants and descendants, the IC of 0.76 of the descendants shows that they are much better integrated than their parents, the immigrants. The ICs of all descendants in ISCED-I+II (0.76), ISCED-III+IV (0.63), and ISCED-V education (0.53) are indicating a moderate level of integration by reflecting the descendants' rather high participation in the education system, especially ISCED-I+II and ISCED-III education. This stands in contrast with their poor participation in the labour market. Descendant women manage better than descendant men in ISCED-I+II (women: 0.77, men: 0.75) and ISCED-III (women: 0.70, men: 0.56). However, descendant men (0.56) manage better than descendant women (0.53), when it comes to ISCED-V education.

In Germany in ISCED-II education (Gymnasium), second-generation immigrants (0.850) have a higher IC than first-generation immigrants (0.665), since they show a lower unemployment rate and more of them complete the Gymnasium. It is noteworthy that the IC values for second-generation immigrants are not far from 1.0 (German youth). The picture remains constant, when IC values are calculated according to age groups (16-20, 21-25, 26-29) – second-generation immigrants reach an IC value of 0.984 in the age group 21-25 years. The main cause of the difference between first- and second-generation immigrants is the generation effect. In ISCED-II education (Realschule), first-generation immigrants (0.833) have a higher IC than second-generation immigrants (0.753) – this is the only group of first-generation immigrants who manage better than second-generation immigrants. When the IC is calculated based on gender, first-generation immigrant women have a higher IC (0.738) than first-generation immigrant men (0.570). It is opposite when it comes to second-generation immigrants – here, women have a lower IC (0.830) than men (0.875), however both ICs are relatively high. The explanation is that the difference in unemployment rates between first- and second-generation immigrant men is big, which is not the case between first- and second-generation immigrant women. It is concluded that the generation effect is stronger among men than women. In ISCED-II education (Gymnasium), first-generation Turks have a very low IC (0.251) compared to second-generation Turks (0.513) – the latter value is also low compared to other groups of second-generation immigrants in Germany.

In Romania, Roma have the following IC values: ISCED-III (0.62), ISCED-IV (0.60), and ISCED-V (0.56), thus revealing themselves as a risk group according to integration. The Hungarians have higher IC values in ISCED II-V education than Romanians: ISCED-II (1.07), ISCED-III (1.05), ISCED-IV (1.05), and ISCED-V (1.02) – they are 'better' integrated than the majority population when it comes to education and employment. The Ukrainians manage better than the Romanians in ISCED III-IV education: ISCED-III (1.03) and ISCED-

¹¹ The concept of the integration coefficient

IV (1.01). The Germans do the same in ISCED IV-V education: ISCED-IV (1.00) and ISCED-V (1.04).

Summing up, the calculated ICs reveal an urgent need of integration support for minority youths concerning education. In ISCED- V, the differences between the majority and minority youth (unfavourable for the latter) are particularly high in most countries.

Chapter 3: Thematic analysis

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Individualisation

In late modern European societies social integration and individualisation processes are closely connected. Life in late modern societies is no longer embedded in traditional structures of values, norms and securities, and therefore one important issue to address is the relationship between modernisation processes and culture and ethnicity. Youth transition into adult life is increasingly being de-standardised and even dissolved with the disappearing of adulthood as a clear developmental goal. (Frønes & Brusdal 2001) Therefore it is no longer possible to identify fixed pathways into standard adult life. In general, these changes point to a process of multiple changes in the relation between social integration and individualisation. The issues to be discussed in this part of the report refer to these changes and how they influence the social integration process and individualisation process of ethnic minority youth. Therefore the report focuses on questions such as: How do ethnic minority youth (or young people with migration background) manage the late modern process of individualisation, especially with reference to education and labour market entrance? What are their specific challenges? Which choices do they make? Which coping strategies do they develop?

Late modern individualisation takes place in the every day social contexts of education and youth life. The entrance to job and future occupation seems to follow the path paved by education and youth life. Therefore, ethnic minority youth are confronted with the same demands as other youth with regards to late modern individualisation in educational life and youth life. Their future also seems to depend on how they participate in education and youth life (Mørch 2001). However, the individualisation process is not the same in all European societies. The logic of social integration and individualisation follows the logic of the different societies, especially the welfare policy models, organisation of labour market, social support, and solidarity. The welfare differences can be clarified by using the model of *youth transitions regimes*, which has a broader perspective and focus on education and training, labour market entrance, unemployment policies, gender policy, and youth representation. As already mentioned, this model works with regimes as combinations of culture and structure and generates the following categories: Universalistic (e.g. the Scandinavian countries), Liberal (e.g. England), Employment centred (e.g. Germany), Sub-protective (e.g. The Mediterranean countries), as well as more complex models of post –communist societies. Because youth individualisation is a complex developmental and learning process influenced by educational policies, individualisation is the result of both the qualities of educational systems and the inclusion/exclusion policies of educational systems in different countries. Individualisation also follows the ‘doing of gender’ in school systems and in everyday social life. Hence, the educational and social contexts in different European societies construct quite different forms of late modern individualisation in Europe and therefore also different challenges for immigrant and minority youth.

In all European societies, late modern development leads to demands for more and more qualifications and educational prolongation. At the same time a pluralisation of social life is taking place. We may talk about dissolution of traditional structures of values and fixed pathways into standard adult life. Therefore, late modern individualisation is a complex and demanding process in which young people become differentiated according to e.g. social class

background and social and cultural capital. This complexity enhances the success of the process of individualisation in the lives of young people. For migrant and ethnic minority youth, the relationship between culture, ethnicity, social class, and modernisation is a challenge.

The roads of late modern social integration and individualisation seem to follow three different and challenging tracks:

- 1) Using youth educational trajectories for the development of an individual learning biography.
- 2) Using job entrance trajectories for the development of an individual occupational biography.
- 3) Using everyday social contexts and youth life to develop a gendered and personal biography.

The Educational Trajectory

To get an idea of how young migrants and youth from ethnic minorities manage education and labour market entrance, and what their specific problems and coping strategies look like, it is important to sum up some experiences from the different countries (see country reports). The general picture of educational achievements in the different European countries is that ethnic minority youth leave school with fewer qualifications than the majority youth. However some significant differences seem to exist between the different transition regime countries. Considering that the percentage of young people with a migration background can be rather high (in Germany 27%) it is important to know how they are managing in school.

In Germany, 18% of young people with a Turkish background leave school without any school certificate and 25% without a vocational training certificate. In Spain, studies have shown that young immigrants coming to Spain have, on average, a medium educational level, although there are differences depending on gender and place of origin. A low percentage of young people from Africa have success in secondary education or vocational training; and only one out of ten foreign children make it to upper secondary programmes, which is about one third of the participation rate of Spanish people. School failure depends on age, cultural gap, and knowledge of the language. In Denmark, the amount of immigrants who continue their studies in secondary education is only a little lower than for the equivalent group of Danes. However, they have a higher dropout rate.

In all countries, big differences exist between first, second, and third generation of immigrants. Problems of language competencies, interrupted school careers, and adaptation to local school traditions become smaller when the young people have been living in the country for a longer time. This is due to the general social integration and individualisation, which follows from the use of everyday contexts in the development of a personal trajectory. But also age upon arrival to the country is important – the later in life an immigrant has arrived e.g. to Denmark, the less does he/she succeed in education. However, as the Portuguese research also shows, the different figures are also dependent on the social class effect. Perhaps the popular “Ethnification of school failure” is more based on social class differences than specific ethnic differences.

If we look at Romania, it becomes evident that a minority may become socially isolated, when the general level of social integration causes non-existent educational and occupational trajectories. In Romania, hardly any differences exist between the general Romanian population and the Hungarian minority, while the situation of the Roma people is quite different. In the case of Roma minority in general, and of young Roma in particular, a specific

constellation of disadvantage exists. It is characterised by multiple and mutually re-enforcing deficits: low quality housing, very poor living environments, low access to quality education, low level of vocational qualification, low access to the labour market. The Romas are caught in a vicious circle: Isolation as a result of multiple deficits and discriminating attitudes, which strengthen social exclusion. Romas in Portugal are also more or less left without educational and social integration. The extremely high level of unqualified school dropouts among Roma youth is particularly chronic for the girls, who are occupied inside the family context. Despite their disastrous school results, one observes a valorisation of school in terms of declared intentions. A study shows that ethnic minority youth are aware that education may help in getting a job and that education may help girls to “free themselves from certain Roma rules”.

Early selective processes linked to ethnic and social origin often generate disadvantaged educational trajectories. In Germany, research shows that children from German parents are recommended 1.66 times more often to secondary education schools than those with migration background. In Spain, the situation is similar. School failure is dependent on a culture gap and language differences. Migrant children’s school trajectories often lead to unemployment or low salary jobs. The strategies of the ethnic minority youth may, however, include high ambition to attain an education. In Portugal, young people coming from African countries are aware of the high demands in the labour market and therefore aspire to obtain a high level of education. Among young people with a high social class background 90% expect to have a degree and 38% a Ph.D. A study shows that for “black young people” in Lisbon, who have left school, education is still seen as important. 82% would like to continue studying and 47% were still considering returning to education.

Using job entrance trajectories for the development of an individual, occupational biography also involves difficulties for ethnic minority youth. The changes of the labour market and the demand for a high level of competencies and formal education make it more and more difficult for ethnic minority youth to find vocational training places. Often they are offered places in professions, which the majority youth are not interested in. These are often professions with bad job security and low wages. The fact that ethnic minority youth are often less qualified than the majority youth leads to a situation, where they are also more often unemployed than other young people. The situation could have been much worse, if it had not been for additional special preparation measures and models, which are developed to help social and ethnic minority youth to find employment. In the Universalistic (e.g. the Scandinavian countries) and Employment-centred (e.g. Germany) transition regimes, where the demands for formal competencies are high, special measures often exist to help young people to engage in labour market and professional education.

The road to individualisation and social integration by the use of educational trajectories mostly shows the same picture. Ethnic minority youth tend to end up with a negative learning biography. They may have troubles with language, school attendance, and learning processes in school and they often experience a discriminatory practice in school life. The result seems to be that ethnic minority youth are less educated than other youth and that they give up “schooling”. The Roma in Romania and Portugal leave school especially early while “the blacks” in Spain manage education badly. Gender differences are also very visible. If girls are allowed in school – Roma girls often have to stay home to take care of small siblings – they attain better results in higher education than boys. On the other hand, boys may try to get a professional education, but they often experience discrimination when applying for vocational training places. In Germany, some boys give up their vocational education perspective and use more time on basic schooling.

In school life ethnic minority youth faces a double social and cultural challenge. On the one hand, they, and their parents, know that education is important for having success in late modern Europe. On the other hand, it is not easy to be included in the educational system. Education is more than just education. It can also for some ethnic minorities be seen as a transition into a new world with new norms and culture. For many ethnic minority young people the late modern expectations that young people should be responsible for building their own competencies is not easy to understand and handle. The perspective on education as a formal and equal right has often been used to blame young people or their parents from lower social background for not performing (or supporting) better in school. This idea of “blaming the victim” appears to be widespread in the educational and political system, when ethnic minority youth are discussed.

The occupational trajectory

Occupational trajectories for ethnic minority youth often consist of unskilled jobs and/or short time employment. They may enter the labour market early, sometimes when they are still attending school – in Portugal, 25% of young people from African countries in the age of 15-19 have a job while still in education compared to 9 % of other young people in education. Also in Spain, young people from Africa, and other groups with low education, such as the Roma, will only have unskilled jobs in an unregulated and unorganised job market. In most European countries, ethnic minority youth who have problems getting a job and who have a “traditional” family structure are sometimes included in the family’s own small business, or they get unqualified jobs through the family network. In this way, families operate as social capital for the young people, but at the same time this model of social integration supports a parallel culture or social structure. Recent figures from Denmark, however, show that if job opportunities exist for young people – as they do for the time being in Denmark because of a very low unemployment rate – young people will take family jobs to a much lesser degree, meaning they prefer to enter the ordinary labour market.

The entrance to the job market is especially difficult, when formal education is needed to have a job. In Denmark, only 50% and 40% of immigrant men and women respectively are employed compared to 80% and 70% of the rest of the population. Ethnic minorities are often employed in different types of jobs than Danes – they are self-employed to a higher extent and have jobs that require low levels of qualifications. In Denmark, immigrants’ unemployment rate is three times higher than the unemployment rate of the rest of the population, and more than every fourth inhabitant with an ethnic minority background is receiving welfare benefits. Ethnic minority young people’s entrance into the labour market is also dependent on the local level of unemployment. In Denmark, the number of employed (self-employed or otherwise) in small family shops is decreasing because of the presently low level of unemployment. Also in Spain, where formal educational demands are not so widespread, young immigrants with poor educational biographies score negatively in terms of labour integration processes – they have badly paid employment, they work in the black economy etc. Most of the immigrant population have employment with low qualification requirements; however, their labour and economic satisfaction is paradoxically high.

In the Scandinavian countries, the high educational level and the high demands for competencies in the job market create an exclusive integrative job policy, which makes it difficult to be accepted at the job market. These high demands also create prejudices and discriminative strategies against ethnic minority youth. In job situations discrimination often exists. Many ethnic minority youth who have tried to get a vocational training position in a work place have been turned down because of their foreign-sounding name. It seems as if the job market is very discriminating and more or less free to do so. Private companies do not feel

obliged to follow the democratic rules of equality but act according to economic interests and private prejudices. Therefore ethnic minority youth often meet strong discrimination, when they apply for jobs. They tend to get either bad jobs or no jobs. In everyday community contexts discrimination also exists. Immigrants' traditions and religion make them visible and different from the local population. The question of discrimination seems to follow the development of the "border of solidarity". Groups who are excluded by, or through choice are outside of the national "border of solidarity" risk facing discrimination. In many countries, strong discourses are developed which deepen the difference between local and foreign youth, e.g. in Denmark and Finland political right-wingers plead to patriotic feelings in attempting to gain support for their negative conceptions of immigrants.

The social and personal trajectory

Social contexts such as family, peer networks, and community culture are also very important for the individualisation and integration process. Participation in everyday community contexts influences individualisation in many ways. Young people learn late modern life by participating in many informal social contexts. Although media often creates discriminative prejudices, young people also learn from the media and especially "youth programmes". The peer group, which may be a mixed or ethnic minority group, also influences individualisation. Girls, however, are often not allowed in public life and if they are their brothers guard them. They therefore can have difficulties in using informal learning contexts.

Family networks may be important for the social integration of migrant youth. In Spain, studies have shown that immigrants that have access to a family network on their arrival have more possibilities to cope with integration in different areas of the social structure. In Spain and Portugal, many immigrant youth are without family networks to support them. Ethnic minority youth often arrive in Spain without their parents or brothers and sisters. This may create special problems. In Spain, the integration process of young people into social structures is often determined by familiarism, characterised by family dependency and solidarity. Due to the inexistence of a family network similar to that of young Spanish people, the ethnic minority youth become dependent on an individualised strategy. And with low schooling they easily become "relatively de-individualised", which means that they do not develop the individual competencies which young people are expected to have in order to manage late modern social and occupational demands. Therefore they are left in a rather difficult situation. When they are not included in youth life and education, they acquire a social identity through processes of late modern individualisation. Consequently they become adults rather early. They live to a higher extent in houses of their own, and they also more than twice as likely as Spanish youth to live with a partner. Immigrant youth, therefore, often stay on the border of society. Their labour situation often shows a high rate of temporality. There are gender differences in the path of emancipation, because emancipation of males is a labour and residential emancipation, while the emancipation of females is mainly family-related and residential. Differences also exist between young immigrants in relation to unemployment rates – they are notably higher for females.

Ethnic minority youth with both low education and unskilled jobs do not develop an individualised "youth and educational life" between childhood and adulthood. Youth is a modern and late modern objective and subjective social category, which is formed especially in educational life. Educational life defines youth.. Educational forms also differentiate young people into different forms of youth. Traditionally, men and women have had gender specific youth lives and very different forms of individualisation before girls became part of educational life. Today in Western societies a much more equal individualisation process is taking place, both in-between gender but also between immigrant or ethnic minority youth

and local youth because of educational practices. Ethnic minority youth who have not been involved in late modern prolonged educational careers might early adopt very “traditional” adult lifestyles. They might marry early, the girls might stay without jobs, and they might have children very early. In this way ethnic and socioeconomic conditions are intertwined for many ethnic minority youth.

Spanish studies also show, how immigrant family support networks contribute not only to the entry into social structure, but also to the maintenance of the cultural, ethnic, and religious identity of the so called “second generations”. Family relations may create differentiated ethnic minorities who consider themselves “different citizens”. This “ethnicisation” of immigrant youth is in answer to the challenge of individualisation in late modern Europe. Ethnic minority youth are often confronted with conflicts between family life and youth life. Modern European families are very engaged in the individualisation of their children and therefore support young people’s development of educational biography, even at the cost of family life. Of course this perspective also exists in many “ethnic families”. But ethnic minority youth may often be in another situation. Families of ethnic minority youth are often not focused on individualisation but on the family as the central agent. Often these families are looking at the world through traditional lenses, and therefore they see the world as built around social categories as gender and generations. The generational perspective gives them the authority to control their children, and the gendered perspective may create boys who are expected to get a job and make money and girls who are expected to become wives in future family life. Youth life and youth perspectives, maybe even education, are not visible in this situation. Hence, young people may not experience family support, when they try to engage in late modern individualised processes. The girls especially may be supported in education but not in individualisation. So, family support may be very problematic for the young people. Often they will have to break with the family to be able to engage in late modern individualised educational and occupational trajectories.

Because culture consists of both traditions and ideological values such as religion, young people may, if they choose to break with family tradition, look for help in an ideologically religious position. This may lead to a development of a more fundamentalist religious position – the choice of a “religious life” instead of a traditional cultural life, as it has been seen in different European countries. But they also have the option to break with tradition by taking up late modern lifestyles. This choice of late modern lifestyle may however be difficult for the young people because they may lose their most central social network and all family relations, and additionally they may experience discrimination and other obstacles in the social integrative process. All countries have the same experience with the importance of family support. On the one hand, as mentioned in most studies, the immigrant family wants their children to have a better education than they have had themselves, and therefore they support education. On the other hand, they want the children to stay within their own cultural context. Therefore they often insist on family culture and lifestyle. In this way, families support family members. This position creates many problems. Late modern individualisation is not supported, and the girls, especially, may experience difficulties when they are supported in educational engagement but kept away from “educational life”. In many situations, they are kept inside family circles, and sometimes the family even decides whom they should marry. This pattern does not only exist among Romas but also in other groups with an ethnic minority background.

The social integration and individualisation process is also influenced by discrimination. All children and adults, who look or behave differently from what is expected, may experience aspects of discrimination. Ethnic minority youth especially experience discrimination in every day life. Scandinavian reports show that immigrant youth are discriminated against. They are

often excluded from discos; they are watched by the police and controlled by other citizens. Discrimination, however, is very difficult to document. Especially as everyday in-formal discrimination can be more or less “hidden” and only experienced by the victim. An important question is how discrimination exists in educational trajectories and not only in everyday social life. In educational trajectories both formal and informal discrimination can take place if students are expected to behave in a special way or are treated differently because of their ethnic background. This of course happens on many conscious and non-conscious levels, for instance when teachers give up students, because they are expected to be unable to manage school demands, or when they are treated differently from other students because of their use of different strategies in the school situation. The discrimination of immigrant and minority youth influences the integration process and the individualisation patterns. Young people who experience prejudices have difficulties in integrating into a new social and cultural life.

Knowledge from the different European countries shows that a common picture exists. On the one hand, some ethnic minority youth may become disadvantaged and losers in the individualisation process due to a mixture of socioeconomic, ethnic, and discriminatory factors. On the other hand, great differences also exist among ethnic minority youth and their quality of social integrative processes. A special issue seems to be that according to cultural background and actual life, ethnic minority youth individualisation is more gendered than the general picture of European youth.

Young ethnic minorities who experience most problems of individualisation seem to be local minorities with strong cultural traditions: the Romas in Romania, the Russians and people from the Baltic countries in Finland, the Turks in Germany, the Lebanese, Pakistanis, and Turks in Denmark, the “blacks” in Spain, and the Angolan and Cap Verdean in Portugal.

The road to successful integration and agency in late modern society takes time. Most countries show that great differences exist between first, second, and third generation ethnic minority youth. Hence, the many direct and indirect social integrative initiatives in school and jobs are important. The Roma situation especially, shows the need of special measures to develop educational and occupational tracks to avoid social exclusion. There is always a need for supporting the integrative process, while a high degree of discrimination can easily stop integration. The social integration and individualisation processes also vary in Europe. Societies built on high levels of education and also high expectations of educational equality and inclusion (Universalistic and Employment-centred countries) have high expectations in terms of late modern individualisation and are therefore difficult to enter, while societies with a varied educational structure and many unskilled jobs (Sub-protective and post –communist countries) seem easier to enter, but at the same time also more dangerous in relation to future social class position.

The transition problems of disadvantaged youth with migration backgrounds described here point out the difficulties some of them have to cope with in school life. The inability of the educational system to adequately handle the problems these students might have is also pointed out. The difficulties these young people have in obtaining vocational training places or in entering the labour market are also linked to discriminations and a lack of consideration of the competencies and abilities they have acquired during their bi-cultural and bi-lingual socialization.

Based on the presented results, we have to assume a strong correlation between social and ethnic origin and hindrances to access structures of modern youth life. Even if ethnic minority youth are confronted with a double burden, namely the balancing of familial and societal expectations, they develop strategies aiming at finding forms of social integration. Some

studies show that some ethnic minority youth, especially women, have high motivation and competence which overcome the hindrances and obstacles of disadvantaging structures. They overcome the obstacles and most of them develop self-made biographies based on a realistic appreciation and a positive realization of the scarce opportunities they have.

Conclusion

The close relation between individualisation and social integration is the greatest challenge for migrant and ethnic minority youth. Forms of individualisation and forms of social integration seem to be dependent on each other. Ethnic young people therefore are under a pressure to make choices. On the one hand, they may choose to be socially integrated in the local communities and therefore engage in late modern individualisation processes – as for all young people, it does not necessarily mean to become “local”, but it means to become late modern. This means that they do not only have to become agents, but also to become agents of late modernity: They have to engage in education and processes of competence development, and they have to develop lifestyles, which place them inside “the local borders of solidarity”. This process is often referred to as a cultural assimilation process.

Immigrant and ethnic minority youth can try to preserve their ethnic and cultural traditions and try to find new ways of social integration. In this situation they may develop and influence the local community and also develop new forms of individualisation. This may happen because they want to preserve and re-new cultural practices, but most often it seems to be missing opportunities and discrimination, which excludes them from using the ‘normal/local’ trajectories. Late modern societies contain an interesting contradiction. On the one hand, they give room for plurality of cultural traditions and personal activities, but on the other hand, it seems as if the late modern social integration and individualisation exist as a demand for everyone.

Today the youth situation points to a late modern life course, a pluralisation inside the overall limits of late modern individualisation. Young people are not seeking to enter an “adult job world”. They are looking for activities they can engage in and income, which can make them part of a consumer world. The situation of ethnic minority youth mostly seems to follow this trend. They themselves make choices, which place them inside the late modern consumer world. Though, they maybe do not want to conform to other youth groups, they want to be late modern youth. As the reports show, this process is not simple. They are not very successful in managing the techniques of late modern social integration and individualisation. Especially the education trajectories seem difficult to use for the boys, and only a small part of the girls have been successful in educational life. They are faced with many obstacles to engage in late modern life and sometimes they also have troubles overcoming the contradictions between parental cultural and social practices and late modern lifestyles.

Learning

As the other themes of this report, learning is analysed and discussed heterogeneously, which makes a more accurate comparison difficult. In some national reports, levels and problems of formal learning is the focus, while other reports to a higher degree focus on differentiating between different forms of learning – formal, non-formal, and informal. Degree of details in descriptions and analysis also differ. Nevertheless, some of the main points from the national reports are highlighted in the following.

In many countries, it is mentioned how statistics identifying individuals by race, ethnicity, or minority status are either prohibited by law (Finland) or simply not investigated because of a

lack of interest or potential political dangers involved. For several countries this means that the only available information comes from social scientific representative studies and indirect measures of minorities. One unfortunate result of this is that groups with a specific ethnic origin are investigated, while other ethnic minority groups are not present in scientific discussions.

For most countries, learning is seen as the most important individual activity in the provision and shaping of life chances and making of biographical trajectories. In late-modern societies, formal education obviously still plays a crucial role but, as it is mentioned in the German report, the “qualification inflation” (more and more people have formal qualifications) and demands of employers are increasing, and the possibility of getting unskilled work is decreasing. This means that formal qualifications are necessary but not sufficient.

In all countries involved, ethnic minority youth generally lack formal qualifications, have higher dropout rates, and experience higher school failure than ethnic majority youth. Exceptions from this tendency are e.g. ethnic minorities coming from Europe or South America living Spain. However, successes and failures highly differ depending on countries of origin of the ethnic minorities and the actual level and area of education. The tendency is that the higher level of education is, the smaller dropout rates are. For a number of countries, participation and success in learning processes of ethnic minority youth change over time. Descendants have higher degrees of success than immigrants.

In Romania, the main challenge is seen as integrating the Roma population, who formally performs much lower than all other ethnic minorities in all educational levels. However, for all young people it seems that expectations of benefiting from the education system are rather low. A study shows that one fifth claims that they cannot participate in the education structures they wish to. Prerequisites of a successful life trajectory are seen mainly as a matter of belonging to a wealthy family and/or having a well-paid job and only secondly as a matter of high level education. Being lucky is also mentioned as one of the five most important prerequisites.

Because of the formal qualification inflation, informal and non-formal learning are getting more attention. Informal and non-formal learning include both positive and negative sides. Informal learning stemming from ethnic minority families and peers can in some respects create difficulties, if the learning focuses on values and traditions from the country of origin and therefore isolates or limits ethnic minority youth from taking part in ethnic majority culture and learning activities.

In both Germany and Denmark, it is pointed out how involvement in informal and non-formal activities is lower among ethnic minority youth. Exceptions are sport activities and activities where mainly ethnic minority youth from different countries of origin are involved. In Spain, however, the picture differs. Here ethnic minorities also take part in informal learning.

In Portugal, the education system tends to guide itself towards assimilative school integration because of the overwhelming amount of ethnic minority with a diverse cultural background. The school system is said to force teachers and students to stay within the limits of the official teaching programmes disregarding e.g. non-formal learning.

Being able to understand national languages is for obvious reasons emphasised as a very important prerequisite for ethnic minorities’ participation in learning processes. Teaching ethnic minorities in their mother language, bilingual classes, and preparatory classes are mentioned in several reports. In Germany, it is highlighted how staying too long in these kinds of activities involves the risk of promoting partial segregation of immigrant students within the school.

In the Finnish report, it is mentioned how preparatory classes could be seen as both formal and informal learning. Research results point out that some of students attending these classes experience better opportunities in the labour market and in the education system. Besides learning the language, it is argued that learning Finnish “values” is part of the informal curricula in these preparatory classes. Some ethnic minority parents are not too pleased with this aspect. Preparatory classes are also problematic for some of the ethnic minority youth from Russia and Estonia. They have good language skills and feel that the preparatory class slows down their integration process – they would learn Finnish easier if they were attending an ordinary class with Finnish speaking students.

In Finland, all immigrants, except for Somalis, have some kind of formal education before coming to Finland. Most ethnic minority youth has completed some formal education or vocational training in their country of origin or another country. In Finland, Russians and Estonians are most likely to have an educational background, including university studies. This indicates that these countries have a tradition of higher education than other immigrant countries. A striking polarisation between ethnic minority groups is mentioned, e.g. comparison of Somali and Chinese populations’ educational qualifications. It is generally mentioned that immigrants from China, Russia, central and eastern Europe, and other Nordic countries have high educational levels.

In other countries, the nationalities of well-educated ethnic minorities differ: The Hungarians and Germans in Romania, the Iranians and Vietnamese in Denmark, the Europeans and South Americans in Spain and Portugal. The nationalities of less educated ethnic minorities also differ from country to country: The Roma population in Rumania, the Turks and Lebanese in Denmark and Germany, the Africans in Spain, and the Roma and Cap Verdean people in Portugal.

In Finland as in Denmark, schooling is strongly linked to social mobility, economic welfare, and equality. Education is the supposed mean to neutralise class differences – in Finland this still seems sensible. Regarding employment, the rate has decreased seriously during the past 10 years from 53 % in 1994 to 29 % in 2002. Official explanations point to better employer attitudes, active employment measures such as vocational training, and Finnish-language training. The tendency is similar in Denmark. Labour market participation and employment of ethnic minorities have been given considerable attention in both countries.

In the Finnish report, different explanations of the troubles ethnic minorities experience, when they come to Finland, are presented. One is that Finland as a Nordic welfare system is exclusionary. Another perspective casts light on the fact that the Finnish society is an information society, which causes problems for ethnic minorities coming from rural and agricultural. The third explanation is the dual role of social networks in finding employment. Social networks are important in finding a job, but the social network in itself also limits which labour market sectors are available for the job seeking person. The situation is similar in the Danish society. For both Denmark and Finland it could be said that the percentage of ethnic minority people is relatively low, and the integration of ethnic minority youth is strongly connected to “youth life”, meaning a period of formal, non- and informal qualifications.

In Germany, the situation differs from this picture. The Employment-centred transition regime, including its dual education system, poses other challenges to ethnic minority youth. Unemployment among ethnic minority youth combined with a decreasing demand for labour in the industry sector challenge the German educational system (see “Individualisation” for further details)

In Portugal, the public education system is divided into general, technological, and vocational courses. In these three different areas, ethnic minority youth's participation depends on country of origin. Young ethnic people associated with greater school success (Brazil, India/Pakistan, EU, and "other nationalities") tend to enrol in general courses, while people from groups with less academic success (Cap Verde) tend to enrol in technological and vocational courses where their presence is respectively 5 and 3 times higher than young people in general. In the general and technological courses of the secondary education system, the percentage of ethnic minority youth is approximately half compared to the total number of students. In vocational courses, the number of ethnic minority youth is highest.

In some community intervention projects, it is demonstrated how informal learning processes can be successfully used in strengthening the integration process. Through informal pedagogy and practical work, young people acquire a number of skills not only relevant in professional work but also in their everyday life. These intervention projects are carried out without renouncing formal learning, because entering and staying in the projects require an obligation to attend and pass formal education.

In Spain, the presence of the immigrant population in the education system is also one of the main challenges. The education system in Spain, as in Portugal, is designed to answer the needs of a much more homogeneous and closed society than the present society is. That is why the system has been reformed. From 1985, the growing number of immigrants and the development of "the knowledge-society" have caused a deep change in view of the education system – this has made social and political contradictions visible. The main challenge in the education system is the presence of young immigrants – the number has growing rapidly during the last decade. Immigrant students come from all continents; therefore it is not possible to outline a profile of the typical student which would be helpful in the description of the difficulties they face – this is also the case in most of the other countries.

Romania is facing difficulties, which differ from the other countries. Ethnic minorities in Romania mainly consist of descendants of populations with a long history of living in the country. As far as the Roma youth are concerned, research data shows that their participation in formal education is much lower than all other ethnic minorities at all education levels. Additionally, their school performance is also under the demands of the labour market. However, in comparison to the early 1990s, Roma children's school attendance has improved. Increasing gender differences among the Roma younger generations exist, which call for an emerging emancipation of young Roma women and modernization of Roma families. But the local Roman community is valued more than the general society. Regarding the Hungarian minority, neither research data nor other documents consulted provide evidence of relevant differences between the majority population and this minority in terms of access to education (formal and non-formal). There are still discussions about whether or not separate state universities teaching in Romanian and Hungarian should be established.

Learning successes or failures differ highly depending on both the ethnic minorities' country of origin and the actual level and area of education. The tendency in formal learning is that the higher the level of education is, the smaller dropout rates are. Regarding non-formal and informal learning, several issues have to be dealt with. Many countries have preparatory classes and language classes, but the advantages and disadvantages vary depending on country of origin, attitude and cultural values held by parents etc. The tendency of involvement in leisure time activities is a bit unclear, but it seems that ethnic minority youth participate to a lesser degree than the majority youth, especially the women. Additionally, when they participate it is mainly in "ethnically segregated" activities. . For a number of countries, ethnic minority youth's participation and success in learning processes change over

time. Descendants have higher degrees of success than immigrants depending on the country in focus, but even though descendants might be integrated structurally, cognitively and socially, they still might suffer discrimination due to visible characteristics.

Culture

In former modern western societies, youth life was seen as the time of transition from being a child in a family to becoming an adult in work life. Youth life therefore has been seen as the time of individualisation into adult working life. Youth transitions have been different in different European countries, but they have been formed everywhere in educational trajectories and in informal and non-formal social contexts. Youth cultures therefore have been transition cultures and contexts –important for the development of a social and individual biography of social integration and for the development of an individual identity.

In Europe, however, late modern developments have changed the youth phase. Today the different age categories are changing or dissolving. Late modern life has become a consumer life, which differentiates people according to consumption and consuming possibilities. One may speak of a disappearance of childhood and also a disappearing of adulthood. These changes have created youth life as a prolonged time of living, which contains a mixture of consuming, learning, and working. Today, therefore youth cultures can be regarded as a symbolically relevant field of agency, where young people can invent themselves in accordance to objective demands of development of employability, subjective relevance, individually appropriated life styles, and collective trends. Here they can find ‘imaginary solutions’ for some of their developmental problems.

Youth cultures

When youth cultures are seen as transition cultures between private family life and public adult life, special problems arise when these two spheres are also culturally different. Migrant youth and ethnic minority youth are often seen as situated between, not only family life and adult life, but also between two different cultures. In this perspective, they are facing a double challenge. Today, however, some changes are taking place. Young people should take part in the late modern youth life, which is characterised by a mixture of consumption, learning, and working. Migrant and ethnic minority youth are therefore placed inside the same challenge as all other young people, but they are often influenced by cultural practices and may create cultures, which are different from other young people’s youth cultures. Their choices of cultural practice and ideology/religion are cultural developmental choices – as all youth cultures, they may support or hinder the late modern individualisation process.

Ethnic minority youth are therefore caught in a double challenge of managing modern youth life and “re-organising” or re-reflecting their own cultural context and family background. But young immigrants are not a homogeneous group. Their immigration history is different, they come from very different cultural backgrounds, and they come from differently educated families with different gender patterns. However, it seems possible to describe more general cultural practices because they combine different ethnic minority groups and are different from the cultural practices of the majority youth population.

As other young people in late modern society migrant or ethnic minority youth should learn to colonize the future. This means that if they wish to integrate into late modern European society, they have to learn to manage late modern societal life. In many respects this means that they have to change many aspects of the traditional family culture and develop late modern forms of individualisation, which support individual agency and self-confidence.

(Giddens 1994). Hence, ethnic minority youth invent individual and social strategies between traditional family cultural contexts and late modern individualisation. Ethnic minority youth culture bridges family life and cultural contexts, and late modern life. (Mørch 2006) Due to an often strongly gendered family culture and a late modern, gendered differentiation in youth cultures, strategies are often different for boys and girls. The extended youth in western societies is not necessarily an option for migrant and ethnic minority young people. Especially for the girls the situation may be quite different. E.g. young Somali girls do not experience the same kind of youth culture as somalian boys or Finnish young girls. Young Somali girls' transition to adulthood may happen a lot faster than for Finnish youth. This is due to e.g. domestic duties. Young Somali girls often live with their parents until they get married.

Understanding the special problems of ethnic minority youth, involves understanding family cultural traditions. Family background differs a lot according to both cultural traditions and values, and religious traditions. (Andersen & Mørch 2006). Hence, the distance between family background and late modern youth life with its educational demands, its lifestyles and individualisation forms is different for different ethnic minority youth. Therefore the basic family factors influencing social integration seem to be the parents education, job and religious background.

In late modern societies youth life and individualisation is seen as important processes to secure that young people become independent, responsible agents of society. This may contrast with the lifestyles of immigrant families. Many families coming from rural cultural traditions are organised around the family as the social agent and have a strong belief in traditions dictating rules of living. This means that gender and generation are the most important concepts and family solidarity and honour play an important role. Also, the understanding of work life is different in rural families. Children do not have to move from family to work life. They can stay in the family and learn from their parents, and therefore they hardly need formal education. If the world is seen through these traditional and cultural spectacles, youth life is not an important social category. E.g. in a Roma cultural perspective, boys will acquire job practice from their fathers, and girls will learn housing competencies from their mothers. Boys and girls are also educated to behave like their fathers and mothers in other ethnic minority cultures.

The cultural differences between ethnic minority families and late modern society can be great and therefore generate different cultural integration models: In Spain and Portugal a multicultural model, in Scandinavia a formal social integrative model, and in Germany a mix of different models. In different countries but especially in Finland, there has been a critical debate about the multicultural model. Immigrants are seen as symbolizing dissolution of a homogenous people and its welfare state. Even though, Finns themselves have adopted more diverse lifestyles, immigrants represent *otherness* and the break-up of cultural homogeneity. In other words, cultural diversity is seen as something immigrants have brought with them to "our" country and as something separate from "us", the majority culture. This perception defines multiculturalism as something that immigrants are responsible for, not the majority population. Criticism of the multicultural integration model may also come from another perspective. Multiculturalism may be seen as a hindrance for young peoples' social integration and future perspectives. The logic is that culture as traditions should be in accordance with the way society functions. Therefore late modern individualisation should match late modern competence demands. In this perspective, ethnic minority youth without late modern competencies are the losers of the multicultural society.

Cultural models, however, miss the issue of minority ethnic youth. Young people are not choosing between different cultures, they are moving between them and creating new cultural

practices.¹² As other young people, they need late modern competencies and late modern individualisation to be able to manage in a late modern world, despite what they or their parents want. The distance to modernity and the difficulties of re-organising their cultural background create problems for ethnic minority youth.

Among young people themselves, these challenges of culture are obvious. Great variations exist among ethnic minority youth in terms of finding solutions to the cultural integration challenges. Young people coming from “traditional” families with a low socioeconomic status will have problems in engaging in late modern cultural individualisation. For these groups of youth, the choice seems to be either to stick to their family cultural context and make friends with other ethnic minority youth or to revolt against family culture by engaging in late modern youth life. In real life these two possibilities are mixed. In Finland, a study about Somali boys shows that they conceptually can be divided in two groups: One group with traditional Somali identity and one group that has adopted the Finnish youth culture and is trying to find a western, Finnish, identity, maybe influenced by their cultural roots. Especially the girls have problems in this process. Often they are not allowed to take part in modern youth life. Strongly gendered family culture and a complex late modern gender differentiation make “girl-strategies” difficult. E.g. Somali girls seem to stay within the traditional culture. Finnish research shows that Somali girls want to distinguish themselves from the Finnish youth culture of drinking and smoking. They find Finnish youth culture negative and insecure. Family restrictions on the girls’ youth life and Somalia peer group pressure also function as hindrances to engage in late modern Finnish youth life. This restricted situation, however, also causes ethnic minority girls to engage in education. The parents are aware of the value of education and therefore often support the girls’ educational life. In education girls experience autonomy and a late modern youth life away from family traditions and expectations.

The challenges of developing a late modern youth life are also influenced by participation in local contexts. Many ethnic or immigrant young people live close to each other and often in “ghetto”-like areas. This means that their social network and peer relationships are often inside an “ethnic” community. In this way ethnic minority youth culture may function as a base of security for the young people. However, it may also contradict the overall interest of using educational life for late modern individualisation processes.

If we look at Germany, a construction of a new type of cultural identity is taking place. The migrant youth is exposed to double cultural influences. On the one hand, they live inside their family of origin and their ethnic community with its traditions and norms. On the other hand they are also exposed to cultural influences in the host society, e.g. in school or in leisure time activities in informal contexts. In Germany, young people with migration background mostly spend their leisure time with young people who also belong to an ethnical minority. This is especially true, when they meet in religious organisations, traditional dance clubs, or language courses. A study shows that 13% of the asked Turks are active in an intra-ethnic organisation compared to 5,3% of the Italians. The girls spend most of their leisure time after school at home (44%), where they prefer activities like listening to music, talking on the phone, reading, or watching TV. If the girls prefer to hang out with friends, they go to cafés or to the cinema, but they hardly participate in organised youth activities like sport clubs, political organisations, or trade unions. The low participation of girls with migration

¹² Many analysis of ethnic integration are focused on cultural models. They may speak about assimilation of cultures, formal or real cultural integration etc. The problem of this conceptualisation seems to be, that the ethnic minority group situation is analysed according to cultural “competition” instead of integration into social life. The cultural perspective in this way is part of the discourse of “cultural relativism.”

background in sport clubs cannot only be explained by lack of interest. 45% of the girls maintain that they would like to do more sports. Religious limitations cannot be seen as an exclusive explanation for low female participation rates either – girls with a strong religious education are making more sports than less religiously educated girls.

During their leisure time, male migrants meet other young members of different cultures. In youth centres and informal groups, the picture is not characterised by ethnical unity but unity based on sharing the same social background. In addition, boys (especially from second generation) participate to a higher degree in sport and labour organisations, where they meet young people of the majority.

In Spain, the formation and reproduction of the cultural identity among young immigrants is normally associated to labour exclusion. The segregation and school failure processes along with marginalisation strengthen ethnic minority youth's cultural hostility causing ghettos and urban tribes as a symbol of self-defence. Studies have shown that these second generation immigrants are not as burdened by unemployment as they are in France. And contrary to what happens in the Netherlands, they speak fluent Spanish. Outside their home, only 18% of the Moroccans usually speak Arabic. Nearly 40% of their three best friends are natives (60% among Peruvian youth). We can identify some contradictions in this socialization process. 47% of the Moroccans, 57% of the Dominicans, and 21% of the Peruvian youth feel closer to their country of origin than to the country, where they are being socialized. The data shows a relative neutralization of the cultural difference between minorities and natives. This would mean that traditional socializing contexts as school system, networks of friends, and informal socializing networks are working appropriately to integrate second generations – not without contradictions related to religion or certain traditions, though. The cultural integration of young immigrants not only depends on educational and labour market opportunities but also on family structures and social capital inherited from their families, as well as socialization network that conform their youth identity. The integration is also linked to the development of a fully multicultural education system that prioritises not only formal competencies but also training in diversity as a key tool to neutralize subcultures and ghettos. It also seems important that a collective, civic culture that does not favour the appearance of discriminatory behaviour exists.

A special situation exists for migrant females in Spain. Females often migrate alone and follow migratory patterns that are different to the ones of males. Native females improve their labour position thanks to the work of immigrant females, who do the reproductive work they refuse to. Subordination in terms of gender, social class, and ethnicity constitute the framework for the analysis of the processes that produce and reproduce the discrimination and exclusion, which young immigrant females experience. The familiaristic culture, the growth of families with two incomes, and the lack of family policies have contributed to an increase in migratory flows of young women. These women work in the precarious domestic service sector, which favours labour and salary discrimination and increases the risk of poverty.

In the Portuguese society over the last 10 years, a form of “ethnic associativism” has grown, especially within the African community. “Ethnic associativism” is various forms of organisations functioning as privileged spaces of identity affirmation – it is a way of preserving, disseminating and affirming the so-called social and cultural identity of a specific minority group in the Portuguese social context. In connection to this tendency, it becomes evident why “young black people” in Lisbon to a higher degree than majority young people with the same social background participate in associations, student associations, diverse religious groups, recreational associations, sports teams, clubs, and music groups. Moreover, their participation rate is also higher than young people from Lisbon in general when it comes

to associations of a civic nature, social work associations, sport-related supporters groups, theatre groups, political parties, and political youth activist groups. These associations/clubs are social spaces, where the public protagonism of “black people” is rather visible, and therefore they end up being positive centres of attraction and of identity reference. Sports and music are contexts, where many famous cases of quick social ascendancy trajectories and public recognition of “black” people can be found – as contexts they end up being symbols of “ethnic” success and of possible social and economic mobility.

The African descendants’ music youth culture also connects them to what they consider to be African culture. Other youth segments than African youth equally share these musical expressions, which vary from the more globalised form of rap to more local genres – the music becomes an ethnic youth culture.

Non-formal and informal contexts of young people

Youth life has become the main context for learning crucial qualifications and competencies, including cultural ones. When we talk about non-formal or informal learning of competencies, we mean those transversal capacities that enable a person to act and react in a flexible and competent way to the changing conditions in which he/she lives. Active citizenship, the participation in different organisations and in political activities, is one relevant context for such learning processes. It strengthens the meaning and experience of belonging to a shared social and cultural community and involves the idea of active participation and commitment to one’s locally chosen community.

For the boys, informal contexts of social networks are often combined with religious matters or take place within peer groups closely connected to their own country of origin. But their informal peer group youth life can also be with other ethnic minority/majority young people with more or less the same socio-economic status. The ethnic minority peer culture therefore seems to be a mixture of cultural and quite traditional social youth culture.

In Portugal, there seems to exist a rather close mixture of young people. 87% of the immigrants claim to have Portuguese friends. All over Europe, the same picture is seen: Boys are with their friends, they are on the street, they play football, and they are visible. As the German report shows, the life of girls seem quite different from the life of boys. They are not given the same freedom as the boys, and therefore girl cultures take place inside the family context and typically involve “family accepted/screened” girlfriends. Of course they do youth matters, but not openly. We may talk about a more “secret youth culture” among the girls.

Parts of ethnic minority youth live in between cultures. They often spend their time with ethnic friends. In Germany, e.g. 13% are active in intra-ethnic organisations – the boys also meet other young people in youth centres and in informal groups. The girls, however, live more inside the ethnic culture. In Germany, 44% of the Turkish girls spend free time after school in the family.

The learning from informal and non-formal contexts with a mixed youth group is important, especially for the boys. Parts of individualisation and social integration patterns are learned in informal groups. Especially second and third generation descendants seem able to engage in multiple ethnic informal settings. However, the discrimination and perceived discrimination seem to influence the social identity of ethnic minority youth – this can lead to a strong interest in ones’ own ethnic origin as seen in Germany, Portugal, and Romania.

In formal cultural contexts, boys and girls often function differently. Ethnic minority boys are endangered of creating “negative educational biographies” in school life. They might experience school activities as foreign to their peer activity structures; they often experience

defeats in school and define school as an “anti-culture”. In addition, they may not get qualified family support. Girls often do better in school. They experience a freedom and a gender equality, which they are not used to. They are also raised to be more responsible than boys, which might help them to engage in learning and to obtain good marks and recognition in the school context.

Informal everyday groupings around specific activities as hip-hop music are quite widespread. Especially in Portugal, hip-pop youth culture carries ethnic background into the groups and creates new and often internationally visible youth cultures. The message of these new youth cultures seems to be an opposition to the parental culture but also a wish for a new future. For the African youth it may be seen as a creation of a new “blackness”, a new cultural identity.

However, generally, ethnic minority youth is not active in non-formal learning contexts. If they are present, they are the “users” or “clients” of the system and not the organising actors. When girls are not active in non-formal contexts it could be seen as mostly caused by family restrictions. Girls in puberty will not be allowed much freedom.

It is often taken for granted that informal and non-formal competencies learned by young people with migration background in youth cultural contexts carry some strong potential for social integration.

In Germany, second-generation descendants experience a bi-cultural socialisation and are often frustrated by the feelings of standing between two or more cultures. Nevertheless, many of them develop social contacts with peers of the majority, as well as other second-generation ethnic youth. First-generation youth who arrived in the country at a late age seem to have more problems in terms of language, knowledge of institutions, and contacts to inter-ethnic peer groups and local youths. On the other hand, they have a socialisation relating just to one cultural system (country of origin), which gives them a stronger cultural identity. This makes it easier for many of them to integrate.

Participating in non-formal learning contexts is also determined by preferred leisure time practices. In Germany, young male and female youth with migration background do not visit bars, pubs, clubs, theatre, or concerts as often as the majority youth do. The girls prefer to spend their leisure time in domestic surroundings, where they can listen to music or read. Going to the cinema is also a preferred activity. In addition, ethnic minority youth’s participation in civil organisations is low. The participation rate in civil organisations for first-generation ethnic minority youth is 2%, for second-generation ethnic minority youth it is 4%, and for the majority youth young it is 13%.

In many countries, ethnic minority youth experience some sort of exclusion from the host society. Their peer network is mostly from their own or other ethnic minority youth groups. They often do not have many friends. In Rumania, the Roma youth appears to have fewer friends than the Romanians and Hungarians have. A study shows that they do not participate in non-governmental organizations: 10% of young Romanian majority youth and a bit more than 10% of young Hungarian minority youth belong to such organizations, while the number for young Roma minority youth was zero.

Youth culture strategies

‘Youth culture strategies’ involve both the cultural and the social transition, where they are used.

When ethnic minority youth is approaching late modern individualisation, they may use ideology or religion in a more orthodox or fundamentalist way to argue against the demands

of family traditions and create their own youth culture. In social transition process, more fundamentalist religious developments may take place, if young people in spite of their hard work of becoming integrated in European societies experience discrimination and exclusion. If they meet a wall hindering real integration, they may be left without social and maybe family background and opposed to their expected future.

This picture is seen in more places. E.g. in Spain a reproduction of resistant culture that takes up older “working class” traditions can be observed. But at the same time a neutralisation of cultural differences also take place in Spain, which creates a basis for a functioning social integrative process. In Finland, religion is one way for young immigrants to distinguish themselves from the main culture. Religion is a way for young immigrants to confirm the identity, and this creates security. Religion becomes more important in the new society.

A special problem exists for migrant youth, who are not given formal citizen status. The definition of citizenship based on a culturally homogeneous population has shown to be problematic in several EU member states. In many countries, different migration waves have strongly contributed to the development of a plural and multicultural society; however, these ‘foreigners’ are not formally included in society. They are partially or totally excluded from the general right to vote.

Ethnic minority youth live in a double challenge of changing culture and of becoming late modern youth. These two challenges are combined as challenges between two cultural contexts. The background culture of many young people is the traditional family culture – youth does not exist as a subjective and objective social category. Instead gender and generation are categories, which support an authoritative family structure. The future culture context of ethnic minority youth is a late modern society context in which individualisation has become the most important developmental issue. Here youth life and education have become the cause of change. Young people have a high degree of freedom; they are seen as equal partners of society, and they themselves have to form their own identity.

In dealing with cultural contexts, individualisation, and identity formation, ethnic minority youth may experience psychological problems. They have to develop a self-understanding, which contains two opposite cultural contexts. From a theoretical perspective it has been said that young people should develop a hyphenate identity. However, as research shows, ethnic minority youth seem to react much more closely to their everyday life experiences. They locate themselves in their cultural contexts, and therefore it is very important to understand the family background culture, when young people try to engage in late modern youth life. It is also crucial to find out, where “the wall” may stop young people in their development of an individual integrative trajectory.

Conclusion

Youth cultures are agency contexts, where the individual acts and becomes himself an agent. Therefore youth cultures are important means for social integration and individualisation. Young people who are coping with late modern demands and individual prerequisites develop youth cultures. On the one hand, ethnic youth cultures are the same as other youth cultures. They are means for managing everyday life, and they are formed in a consumer society, and therefore they are at the same time youth educational and consumer cultures. On the other hand, ethnic minority cultures are also different from other youth cultures. They form individual identities and therefore they may be sensitive to the overall process of social

integration or assimilation of the migrant or ethnic minority youth. It seems obvious, that ethnic youth culture is closely connected to the situation in which ethnic minority youth is situated. Culture becomes a picture of the world in which ethnic minority youth moves around – if this world is restricted and not successful in terms of late modern individualisation it will be seen in the youth culture.

Policy

Since the two research questions asked to the policy level are answered in different ways in the national reports, the following is organised a bit differently than simply trying to collect answers. There are four small parts: Intentions, Initiatives, Results, and Consequences. They are headlines that all countries directly/indirectly mentioned in their reports.

Intentions/goals

In several countries, integration is at the top of the political agenda. It is one of the most important issues regarding social politics, labour market politics, different political considerations, and migration laws etc.

An example is the Portuguese “Immigration Observatory” (OI), which is placed within the ACIME¹³ (High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities) focuses on scientifically and empirically based intervention. The main goal of the OI is to fund and produce studies about immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portugal. Further objectives involve fighting and deconstructing myths about ethnic minorities, as well as dealing with socio-demographic, economic, and cultural advantages of receiving and welcoming immigrants. Through a variety of channels, the ACIME and OI have sought to improve the social image of immigrants and ethnic minorities. In other countries, initiatives are also taken in order to give room for scientific investigations. Descriptions and analyses of empirical projects to show “best practice descriptions” or to qualify discussions of intentions are not systematically done. It is mentioned for example in Finland how the lack of systematic follow-up regarding individual immigrant projects creates problems.

From all countries goals are set in order to make integration processes better and to increase social cohesion in society. In the Romanian report, it is mentioned how the harmonization of regional development is a key principle of strategic planning, and that the design and the implementation of reforms have a strong regional dimension. There has already been developed regional action plans for technical and vocational education in seven development regions, including recommendations regarding the domains of vocational education and the related qualification levels that will be required by the labour market in year 2010.

From Finland, it is claimed that Finland has taken a strong initiative on ethnic and anti-discriminatory policies on a European level. Denmark talks with “two tongues” regarding goals. On the one side, diversity is a hot topic, which both private and public employers welcome and encourage regarding education and public life. On the other side, some political parties are strongly opposed to further immigration, even though Denmark only has a relatively small percentage of ethnic minorities.

¹³ ACIME has now become ACIDI (High Commissariat for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue)

Initiatives

In Finland, the major national policy is “The Integration Act” in which equal opportunities for immigrants are promoted. The act is made to encourage and facilitate integration and also to preserve culture and language of minorities.

The list of actual political initiatives is long. In most countries, education in national languages is seen as crucial. In Finland immigrants, who complies with the integration plan are offered an “integration allowance” of 500 euros.

In Romania huge efforts are made to integrate Roma children in the education system. Both education and employment policies are closely connected to the EU accession process, and the Romanian government has agreed to undertake profound and fast reforms in these areas.

In Portugal, which together with Spain has a long tradition of emigration as well as an increasing immigration, intervention plans and policies are largely concentrated in ACIME. The competencies and aims of the High Commissariat are equal to other institutional or governmental bodies in other countries: Improvement of living conditions, to ensure respect regarding social and cultural identity, to promote equality regarding opportunities, to fight exclusion etc.

A variety of efforts are carried out in the six countries, focusing on education, vocational schemes/training, enlarging possibilities of apprenticeships, fighting crime etc. Activation policies plays a major role in some countries, as well as guaranteed minimum income is used as a mean of ensuring disadvantaged groups.

In Spain, the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs has created a fund of support for integration of immigrants and educational support, which involves 10 points of intervention: Reception, education, social service, employment, housing, health, participation, equality, gender, sensitizing, childhood, and youth – most of them overlap with areas mentioned in other country reports.

In most countries, municipalities, regions or laender are supposed to carry out specific plans. This means that the overall picture of whether or not interventions are successful is often blurred.

The German mode of integration is named as a welfare-oriented integration, where more emphasis is put on social and cultural integration rather than on citizenship. It can be characterised by a strengthening of general institutions like kindergarten, school, and vocational training by means of a organisational and compensatory nature, as well as supporting migrant departments within different institutions (City councils, youth associations etc.). The strategy is similar to a Danish integration policy that is trying to embrace ethnic minorities in existing programmes of schooling, education, and counselling.

Results

Looking at the promising agendas and the variety of policies and programmes carried out, the overall impression is that no country really is in a position of saying, that they are successful in their efforts of integrating ethnic minorities. It is not to say that strategies and specific programmes fail, but merely that the problem remains. Even though second- and third-generation ethnic minority youth (descendants) perform better and are getting more and more integrated in the different societies, the disadvantaged migrants still have to face big obstacles

and odds regarding conditions of their everyday life: Discrimination, housing, economy, and opportunities of education and work.

To draw on the German conclusion: To manage diversity in transition policies continues to be a postulate and an unsolved problem rather than a reality, in the same way in which the situation of young migrants can still be characterised as being in a precarious balance between partial inclusion and partial marginalisation (regarding labour market and vocational training).

Consequences

Even though goals and intentions of integration are positive, and the number of policies and efforts carried out is huge, the result is not that positive. The fact that the consequences differ is more interesting.

Both Finland and Denmark could be seen as having problems because these countries and their “Nordic model of a welfare society” is challenged seriously by migrants coming from rural and agricultural cultures. Countries like Denmark and Finland could be seen as exclusive – only geared to take in ethnic minorities prepared to late modernity. In Denmark, some of the consequences are very hostile policies, e.g. “The 24 years of age-law”, “The attachment law”, and “The law of financial support of spouse”, which mean that it has become harder and harder to enter Denmark. The Danish political rhetoric regarding ethnic minorities is also increasingly hard. This is mainly due to certain media and politicians.

In Germany, the dual education system creates problems; among other things it seems very difficult to facilitate transition for ethnic minorities into the production industry.

Spain and Portugal as southern European countries are subjects to large amounts of ethnic minorities. Trying to include these large numbers of people and to embrace a new and enlarged multicultural reality endangers both the organisation of education, labour market, and society itself. In Spain, a discussion about the advantages or disadvantages of family reunifications goes on – family still plays a major role of securing the single individual within society. In Spain, several studies have shown that the welfare state has not succeeded in neutralizing the risk of poverty. The welfare system policies have traditionally favoured social exclusion processes, mainly among young people and females, who have limited access to basic social services (particularly illegal immigrants) and sometimes are without family support. Besides the dependence of family, the labour market segmentation by gender and age is a phenomenon that contributes to reproducing social exclusion of ethnic minorities. The limits of the welfare state together with a precarious labour market, school failure, low salaries and lack of a family network leave the immigrant population in a situation of high vulnerability and risk of poverty.

To see close family relations as a necessity, as it is in Spain, is in direct opposition to the Danish approach, where many efforts have attempted and partly succeeded in removing the possibility of family reunifications.

Consequences of initiatives taken in many countries collide with the ongoing change in immigrant population. In some countries an increase in emigration is seen. E.g. Romanians are moving to other European countries such as Italy to find work, and Poles are moving to Ireland among other countries for the same reason.

In some countries skilled and aged immigrants are welcomed as part of the labour force as a way of dealing with labour market shortage. In the Spanish report, it is mentioned how gender can add another dimension to social politics and stratification in the labour market. Young immigrant women coming from South America (Ecuador) as a result of the socio-economic crises in the 1990s take on reproductive work in the precarious domestic sector, which favours labour and salary discrimination and increases the risk of poverty. Even though this immigration can be seen as a way of improving the labour position of the Spanish women, it creates new problems because the Spanish welfare state cannot successfully cope with the social demands of this new immigrant population.

In Portugal, the state adopted a policy of fighting social exclusion of immigrants by giving new rights and guarantee of equal opportunities. But since Portugal at the same time experienced migratory flows from Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Russia, Moldavia, and Romania) new restrictions on immigration were also introduced.

The consequences of these recent movements both within EU and the labour market are still to be seen and analysed deeper.

The consequences of the policies of ethnic minorities in Romania also are still to be seen. Apparently the problems are different. In the case of Romania, as mentioned above, political initiatives are influenced to a large degree by the demands and standards set by the EU. In the report, it is mentioned how activation policies are regarded as the most successful mean in the future.

Even though many countries share the same wish to include and integrate ethnic minorities to a higher extent and even try to improve ethnic minority's opportunities, the challenge to be met is the ways in which transition processes and youth life is both organised, conceptualised, and met by ethnic minority youth.

Summary of Part 1

The social integration of migrant and ethnic minority youth is a process, which is always taking place locally. However, at the same time this process is also a European and global integration process. Ethnic minority youth is, as all other young people, engaged in a social integration process of becoming agents in a late modern world. The individualisation process and the demands for individual functioning regarding education, employability, and everyday life are therefore a developmental necessity for all young people in late modern life. Migrant or ethnic minority youth are faced by the same challenges, but often they do not have the same conditions to engage in this individualisation and social integration process.

The integration coefficient (IC) gives a first impression of this social integration process. It points to two basic aspects of social integration or two results of the social integration process. Firstly, it asks how migrants and ethnic minority youth locally manage the educational process of the late modern world in comparison to the majority population. Secondly, it asks how successful migration and ethnic minority youth are in getting a job compared to their majority peers.

Of course the IC is only a simple measure of social integration. Many other aspects of everyday life are important in the development of a late modern individualisation and social integration. However, it contextualises social integration as a local process and therefore gives comparative information on migrant and ethnic minority youth in the different European regions, which are involved in U2YOUTH. It can capture how integration seems to be most successful in situations, where the general educational level is low and jobs are unskilled, as it is in the Sub-protective region. It can also frame integration as successful in situations, where there is a match between societal demands and prerequisites of an ethnic minority. It also shows that the greatest difficulties of social integration exist in situations, where educational level is high and where only few unskilled jobs exist, as it is in the Universalistic regimes (given that the immigrant groups have the same variation in their education skills entering different transition regimes). Integration successes are therefore not only the result of good intentions and national/local policies but also locally existing demands for individualisation and strategies for societal reproduction.

The IC, however, does not explain why the situations are like this. Explanations demand more local knowledge about the different aspects of social integration and about how individuals engage in the social integration processes.

The lesson to be learned from the individualisation challenge is that migrant and ethnic minority youth are in a situation, where both the pull and push functions are not working. They are often not pulled into late modern life, because they might have low success in schools due to language difficulties, cultural differences, and more or less open discrimination. The push functions do not help them to manage the individualisation arenas of every day life and especially school life. Parents and friends are sometimes not able to support school life, and sometimes they restrict individual agency in late modern social contexts. The result seems to be that the complicated agency of late modern life is not always realized. This situation seems most visible in educational life. The general impression is that migrant and

ethnic minority youth do not reach the same educational level as their local peers. They need educational capital, or for cultural reasons they engage in non-educational trajectories.

The job opportunities for migrant and ethnic minority youth are also different from ethnic majority youth. They often leave education early and they experience discrimination in the labour market. Many ethnic minority young people are therefore obliged to work in parallel economies in service jobs or in family owned shops. It seems as if the general level of unemployment influences the choices young people make – if they have the opportunities, they want to have jobs similar to the ones of their majority youth peers.

The youth culture of migrant and ethnic minority youth also shows this double position. On the one hand, migrant and ethnic minority youth might develop youth cultures, which are locally and culturally oriented. They can be everyday street cultures or music cultures, which can be seen as answers to everyday life experiences. On the other hand, they develop cultures, which are part of the late modern youth global music and consumer cultures. Youth cultures, however, are often differentiated according to both culture and gender. In this way, youth cultures are not necessarily the centre of change of migrant and ethnic minority youth's situation. Youth cultures sometimes may even support a non-integrative interest.

Migrant and ethnic minority youth are still in an ongoing social integration process. On the one hand, they are on the road to late modern society, but on the other hand they are also at the edge of society. Policy of course influences this situation. The first demand for securing social integration is the existence of equal rights and citizen rights for ethnic minority youth. However, this is not enough. Sometimes differentiated rights or special interventions are necessary to support the integration process of migrant and ethnic minority youth. With new migratory movements all over Europe, this differentiated policy perspective becomes important. It might be necessary to differentiate policies according to different migrant and ethnic minority youth – both in relation to possibilities of supporting migrant and ethnic minority youth's choices of engaging in late modern individualisation and in relation to a more general social integration process.

Part 2

Introduction: To get closer: Surviving social integration - Agency and Ethnic minority youth in European societies.

This chapter goes behind the broad picture which exists in most writings about ethnic minority youth social integration in European societies. Also, it broadens the first chapters of this report.

As we have already described, scientific studies of ethnic minority youth seem to exist in two forms. At the one hand many local studies exist, which tell us what ethnic minority youth life looks like, especially according to education and employment, but also according to everyday life social integration and according to problems of discrimination and exclusion. At the other hand comparative studies exist, which draw general pictures, and often, as in national or international pictures, of distributions and comparisons of different population groups.

In the following chapters we try to get closer to ethnic minority youth and focus on the social integration of ethnic minority youth in an agency perspective (Hollway et.al. 2006).

This means that young ethnic minority youth are seen as constructing their world and everyday life under the new societal conditions which exist in majority society. Instead of only looking at the integrative pressure which is formulated from a societal perspective and which young people might experience and act according to, it looks for the ways in which ethnic minority youths engage in their own active process of becoming societal agents (Mørch 2006, Giddens 1984 & 1990).

The main point of an activity perspective is, as it has already been pointed out, to acknowledge human activity as intentional and individuals as engaged in managing or coping with challenges of everyday life. Therefore the activity perspective sharpens the awareness for seeing how ethnic minority youth engage themselves as social agents in their own social integration process. The individual both uses and changes societal conditions in his activity, he or she is engaged in a process of figuration and configuration in late modern European societies. This means that they utilise their competencies in their everyday life for the improvement of their individual biography. This does not necessarily mean that all they are doing is expedient for society or for themselves. The process of being a cultural agent in a late modern society is not simple but is very often dependent on the possibilities which exist, the social relational experiences and the way they utilise their self responsibility. Therefore, knowledge and knowledgeability, a sort of sense-making both about social life and oneself, are very important qualities in everyday coping (Mørch 1999, Bauman 2000).

So, individual activity of ethnic minority youth, in these chapters is seen as a reflective actualisation of societal and individual conditions within a space or context. They are seen as cultural agents of late modernity.

In the following chapters we will try to give not a full portrait, but some examples of contextual cultural agency among ethnic minority youth. It seems important to find out how figurations and configurations look like in different situations.

Therefore a case approach has been developed in which we might learn from cases of ethnic minority youth agency and find out how they have formed and developed their agency in the new societal setting of late modern Europe.¹⁴

This approach of course has been tried in different case studies, but our intention was not only to give cases of individual cultural agency, but to build a comparative reflection by putting side by side the cases in relation to more general themes. Therefore we collected “case stories” from different countries which seem to offer important knowledge about ethnic minority youth activities in handling societal challenges (Walther 2000, Habermas 1981, Bauman 2000). A short description of the individual cases is presented in appendix B.

Theoretical issues

In framing the central themes or issues of ethnic minority youth cultural agency, agency is seen in the relationship between a structural level and an individual level, as intentional “bridging” between societal demands and individual life perspectives. Young people in their activity are building bridges between the overall societal practices or trajectories and their own trajectory, biography or life story. This relation is constantly changing; it is part of a process of figuration and configurations, of a development of new trajectories and of a process of dependence on existing trajectories (Du Bois-Reymond 1998, Kieselbach et.al. 2001, Furlong et. al. 2003, Biggart 2005, Walther et.al. 2006). The figuration and configuration processes especially depend on the forms of deinstitutionalisation which exist among different societal contexts. The individual agency expectation is also changing all the time. Young people are depending on institutional trajectories, but at the same time they are expected to develop self-responsibility according to ways of managing societal conditions. This situation especially creates problems for young people with a low socioeconomic and/or ethnic background (Foucault 1976, 1994, Rose 1999).

In Part 1 we looked at:

- Individualisation in the forms of educational trajectories, occupational trajectories and social and personal trajectories,
- Learning in the forms of formal learning, informal learning and non formal learning,
- Culture both as youth cultures and as a cultural strategy
- Policy as planning intentions, goals and initiatives and looking and reflecting results and consequences of the overall integrative engagement.

In this process it became evident that certain issues demanded further reflections. We found that particularly the following issues asked for further attention:

- subcultures
- development of social responsibility
- re-ethnicisation and policy
- employability and employment perspectives
- agency and learning models

¹⁴ In Robert K. Yin’s book “Case Study Research”>Sage 1989 he argues for a special interest in finding “critical cases”, which represent the critical test of a significant theory. This is what we tried to do in this study. We looked for critical cases.

In investigating these issues closer, we searched existing literature for case descriptions which could inform us on these five issues. The collected cases made up the data material for a qualitative analysis.

Case analysis

The following five chapters in Part 2 of the report are case analyses of the five issues of interest – produced by the national subgroups of the ethnicity group in UP2YOUTH. In analysing the cases we have looked for their qualities in informing our five main question fields. The five analyses are structured around an introduction, which outlines the theoretical considerations of the issue in question, a case analysis based on a variety of case descriptions relating to the issue, and a conclusion. The case analyses are concluded in the last section. This conclusion outlines which perspectives and questions exist in the field and asks for answers to the current situation of ethnic minority youth in Europe.

In this way Part 2 may be seen as broadening Part 1 of the report and therefore our understanding of ethnic minority youth agency in the late modern individualisation process.

Chapter 4: Agency, social structures and (re)ethicized «youth subcultures»

Vitor Sérgio Ferreira, José Machado Pais

Introduction

«Youth subcultures», «youth tribes» or «youth scenes», whatever the theoretical paradigm under these concepts, correspond to micro-cultural spaces frequently participated by many youngsters with difficulties of integration in other formal social structures (Bennett & Kahn-Harris, 2004; Bennett, 1999; Blackman, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003; Muggleton, 2002[2000]), namely some of those youngsters with ethnic or migrant background (Simões, Nunes & Campos, 2005). For them, «subcultures» frequently function as social support structure for those who feel alone or not «adapted» in mainstream social world – as «newcomers» or «outsiders» –, who don't have much more positive social references to construct their own identity and self-esteem, and/or are daily confronted with more and more social risks, insecurity and hostility.

That's particularly true for those youngsters who feel themselves culturally distant from the ethnic references of their parents and, at the same time, experience a sense of otherness in contact with the hegemonic culture of the country that they are leaving in. Some of them feel misfit in their own houses, in their schools (where too many do not use the same linguistic and cultural codes and fail), and after the end of elementary school find a lot of difficulties in find a place in labour market. Many of them find their own space in the public sphere during their leisure time. That's why those socio-cultural spaces as «youth subcultures» might indicate the dimension of social exclusion of much young people from the normative trajectories and models of citizenship (Cohen & Taylor, 1978; Feixa, Costa & Pallarés, 2001; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Mungham & Pearson, 1976).

The social image of these contexts is usually marked by stigma, much more under domination of criminological and moralistic stereotypes produced, reproduced and generalized by media from specific situations, than by interpretative and systematic ground knowledge. The fact is that false beliefs can produce real effects, many times perverse effects, as discrimination, racism, xenophobia, and even physical violence. But if youth subcultures may sometimes be the stage for some cases of violence and criminality, they much frequently function as a defensive structure for those who feel insecurity and frightened, and where some youngsters can find emotional ties, friendship, commitment, positive identity, recognition, liberty, autonomy, creativity, a sense of being a protagonist in social world. In one word, subcultures may be social contexts where young people can find sources and resources to exercise their own agency as actors of social change.

Despite being micro-spaces, subcultures correspond to a global phenomenon, mainly urban, that usually emerges in social contexts defined by different forms of social exclusion (from school, work, citizenship, etc) and discrimination (class, ethnicity, culture, «race», etc), which they signal and reveal. The cultural practices and resources mobilised by the youngsters in their scenes express a form of re-action on the part of those who early in life experience hostility and constraint from the broader society, and its formal structures. Through their social participation in subcultures, some young people can feel a subjective way of exercising social power and trying to change their own living conditions.

Case analysis

Within family structure

Many studies have called attention to the difficulties that migrant and their descendents have integrating in their welcome society, considering the European countries that have been receiving migrant labour force in the last years (Machado & Matias, 2005; Malheiros, 1996; Pires 2002; Vala, Ferreira, Lima & Lopes, 2003). Because of the settlement of these populations in their guest countries, a so called «second generation» emerged. These are children of migrant people born in the countries where their parents settled to work. Those youngsters, although socialized through their families in practices and values from their ethnic origins, are also influenced by the main culture and create mix cultural forms with all the resources¹⁵ they can access. The older generation doesn't always keep up with the younger generation and this can cause conflicts between generations. The younger generation learns faster the language and the norms in the guest society and this may cause tensions between generations. The parents may feel their parenting role compromised in some areas, and this may create difficulties in relationships between parents and youngsters.

Nevertheless, this kind of tensions may vary according to children's gender. The late modernity occidental youth cultures may be resisted by parents and blocked to immigrant girls, and more adopted by young immigrant boys. Often the girls are more controlled by the family than the boys. Especially in families which function mostly according to a reproductive family pattern, the individualisation process and therefore the individual freedom to choose strategies is very complex (Mørch & Andersen, 2006). Ethnic minority families, of course, are just as heterogeneous as other families. However, these parents often have a low education, and are unskilled individuals coming from poor backgrounds, accustomed to strong family tradition. Familiar traditional patterns are particularly restrictive to Roma girls, for instance (Dias, Alves, Valente & Aires, 2006). But it also happens for African girls in Portugal, for Latin-Americans in Spain, for Somalis girls in Finland, for Turkish girls in Germany, for Moroccan girls in the Netherlands, or Arabic girls in Denmark (Feixa & Muñoz, 2004).

In a traditional reproductive family model, the girls are controlled as a «family value». This means that they should follow family interests, as they are best formulated and managed by the parents. An authoritative relation often exists between parents and daughters: “giving the existing power relations in families where girls do not have much of a say, most of them don't even try to openly discuss their wishes. They would not dare, some of them told me” (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1) and “in the case of runaways, the father-daughter relations were too disturbed to provide a solid basis for communication and confidence“ (ibid. p. 82). Also it sometimes seems as if the family control is upheld not only by the family, but by the ethnic minority community.

¹⁵ The notion of *identity resource* is explored by Dubar considering the references mobilized by individuals in the game of identifications that constructs the «identity for the self» - the set of identifications recognized by the self for himself – as well as the «identity from the others» - the set of identifications attributed by the others for the self, which ones can be accept or not by himself (2000:54).

Case box 1

Ethnic minority girls' strategies

Different coping styles or strategies seem to exist among ethnic minority girls to handle the challenges of having an ethnic minority family background and dealing with societal individualisation processes:

- a) *Negotiation*: They negotiate and discuss with their parents – sometimes negotiation is supported by professionals.
- b) *Breaking up*: Sometimes it seems necessary for the girls to make a break with the family, if they don't want to adapt to the family life perspective. This is especially the case in situations of forced marriage. Often the girls suffer from this situation – they risk exclusion from their social network.
- c) *Double life*: In relation to their parents they follow the traditional defined “rules of conduct”, while they at the same time secretly try to live a late modern Danish youth life (e.g. having Danish male friends, a boyfriend, going to the movies etc.). The girls become experts in shifting between different rules of each context.
- d) *Ideological/religious (re) construction*: They reformulate religious/cultural traditions to fit their own youth life situation.

National case descriptions (Appendix): Denmark

The youngsters often plan their future in guest countries and therefore they want to become integrated in these societies. This means that they tend to break with the family traditions and develop some agency on their own life. On the other hand, many parents also hope to go back to their home countries and therefore they do not want to change their lifestyle and perspectives. Therefore youngsters, especially girls, experience problems if they want to take part in an occidental youth life. It is difficult to combine their aspirations with parents' expectations (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1). Often the girls suffer from this situation. Sometimes it seems necessary for the girls to break with the family if they don't want to adapt to the family life perspective (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1).

This is especially the case in forced marriage (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1). Also in the Finnish society, young Somali women have well-defined roles within the family. Young Somali women marry at a young age and most adult Somali women stay home to take care of their children and the household. Attending language or vocational training is difficult due to their responsibilities at home (Finland: *The icebreakers*, Case Box 2).

Case box 2

The icebreakers

Khadra was among the six hundred unaccompanied minors who came to Finland from Somalia in the 1990s. She did not know anybody in Finland and naturally did not speak the language. She lived with a distant relative, and after having received her residence permit she applied for family reunification. After one year of preparatory instruction at school, she started in the seventh grade. She was absent from school a lot. Her earlier history of schooling was fragmented and short. The waiting time for the family reunification was tragically too long, since most of Khadras's family members did not survive to the end of the long process. The mother, who had been a professional in Somalia, had been wounded and had physical problems. Khadra took a lot of responsibility in taking care of all the bureaucracy related to her mother's resettlement and physical wellbeing. For this reason Khadra was again frequently absent from school. When the comprehensive school was approaching its end, Khadras knowledge in many subjects was still rather poor. However, she was determined to study further and seemed to have a clear idea of her future occupation. Good life for her includes a chance to study, finding a profession one is interested in and having a chance to work. She thought that she would marry around the age of 25 with a Somali man or perhaps with somebody of some other nationality. She thought that living together with somebody who shares the same culture is probably easier.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Finland, Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004)

In Germany, on the other hand, some studies found that girls with ethnic background use other kind of strategies in order to cope with their double challenge, taking in consideration their structural situation of being women (gender specific discrimination) and migrant or with a ethnic background (ethnic discrimination). They invest in creative strategies in institutional spaces, as schooling and training, trying to achieve to high competencies for dealing with discrepancies (Germany: *Transitions and milieus of young migrant girls*, Case Box 3).

Case box 3

Transitions and milieus of young migrant girls

Young migrant women and comparable indigenous women use parallel forms of coping with the passage from school to vocational training. Even if traditional life concepts are becoming less and less significant, gender specific classifications persist and lead to institutional and gender discrimination. Due to the restricted access to occupational training, young women uses strategies of social creativity by taking any status position in order to avoid an exclusion from the educational and employment sector. The lack of choice according to education and work make them act out of distress not by using their preferred orientation or their available knowledge.

With regard to the young women with migration background the significance of family is important in this transition. The strived status position in the employment sector shows social variations in the intergenerational relation leading to the fact that the young migrant women experience social mobility inside the family. Due to these obstacles and restrictions of the dominant culture, a double challenge of these young migrant women forces them to tickle with these ascriptions by developing an alternative draft.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Germany, Schittenhelm (2005)

The boys' situation is a little bit different, concerning the family constraints on their social agency. Living in a gendered familiar space, they learn how to defend themselves and how to evaluate their own experiences and views in a subordinate position but also as independent actors. The autonomous young man is constructed in the thresholds of adulthood. Somali boys in Finland, for instance, create an alternative form of masculinity (Finland: *Lads!/: Somali youngsters*, Case Box 4).

Case box 4

Lads!/: Somali youngsters

Abdriham was arrested when going to a summer party – he was "in the wrong train with the wrong people". Somebody had fought in the train and the police had arrested all foreigners just in case. Abdrihim was bitter about this incidence. He dreamed about going back to Somalia and how he would revenge all wrongs he had experienced on possible Finnish tourists. He pictures himself as a father who would tell his future children all experiences of the Finnish society. I will not forget and I will strike back.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Finland, Hautaniemi (2004)

There seems to be a gendered shared understanding of what it is to be a darkskinned young man in the public space. Of darkskinned boys a totally different member of society is constructed, with separate rights and obligations. However in some family cultures, youngmen early experience traditional pressures from their biological families regarding getting married, taking care of the family and being capable of having an income to support the family.

Another topic regarding migrants' youngsters is the time they spend daily by themselves, due to the long period their parents spend working, as they frequently have more than one job or professional activity. This is a problem that many associations intervening in poor neighbourhoods have to deal with – like, for instance, Moinho da Juventude (Youth Mill) in Cova da Moura, a neighbourhood in Lisbon suburbs¹⁶ – trying to keep children and youngsters occupied and controlled after school. People working in these associations know that it is not enough just to wait for young people to come to them. Many times they have to walk the streets trying to find and convince the youngsters and their groups that they can develop leisure and creative activities taking advantage of the material conditions offer by the associations.

School performances and working conditions

In all the countries under analysis, the research finds that newcomers and descendants often have many problems with the education system, and evince high school failure rates. Some of them have such a weak school performances not just because of poor language skills concerning the guest countries, but also because of future plans and expectations of more traditional families. This situation is flagrante in the case of young people from Roma families, namely the Roma girls in Romania and Portugal (Cortesão, Stoer, Casa-Nova & Trindade, 2005; Marques, 2005, Martins 2004). But also most Kurdish young people (from

¹⁶ For knowing the activities of Moinho da Juventude, one of the most known and prestigious cultural association working with young people with African background, see <http://redeciencia.educ.fc.ul.pt/moinho/> (se also Raposo 2005).

Turkey) living in Denmark do not engage in formal education as a way of transition. Their parents came as guest workers and had the idea to invest in Turkey (send their earnings back to the family). Nevertheless this investment did not succeed and during the past 15 years more and more Kurdish people have had their families moved to Denmark. However, they maintain the goal of being in Denmark temporarily, to earn the most money in the shortest time in order to travel back and settle in Turkey. Therefore formal education would be a waste of time, and a large number of young Kurds start early to work in pizza bars, restaurants, vegetable shops, kiosks and as taxi drivers (Denmark: *From where I origin, my future begins*, Case Box 5).

Case box 5

From where I origin, my future begins

Mustafa grew up in a Turkish village. His mother was illiterate and only spoke Kurdish. Until he started in public school, he did not himself know a single Turkish word (Kurdish is not an official language in Turkey and teaching is only done in Turkish). The only Turkish persons in the village were teachers who taught the children Turkish. Later he left the village to enter high school and afterwards he went to University and ended up being a construction-engineer. It is quite ordinary for young Kurdish people living in Turkey to have a further education, while Kurdish people born and raised in Denmark typically do not attend further education even though they master the Danish language.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Denmark, Topal (2007)

Feeling neither identified nor supported or positively recognized by the school system, they experience discrimination and exclusion in this territory. Kurdish young people in Denmark, for instance, do not feel well treated and accepted, so they might still go where the money is in order to secure themselves and their families. This ideology is transferred from the first to the second and even the third generation of Kurds. At the same time, they don't have so much hope in the future, concerning work. The conditions among these youngsters favour early school leaving, as well as the transitions for unemployment or underemployment. Also, in the labour market migrant people meet prejudice and xenophobia, making it difficult for them to integrate the guest societies.

Also in Portugal, some research figure out that the dominant trajectories or traditional pathways of young people with an immigrant or ethnic African or gypsy background through the education and training system are marked by *massive* and *cumulative failure*, as well as *premature* and *unqualified drop out* (Casa-Nova, 2005; Seabra and Mateus, 2003, 2005; Machado, Matias and Leal, 2005; Machado and Matias, 2006; Marques and Martins, 2005; Vala *et al.*, 2003). Regarding the variable gender, all studies carried out in Portugal point towards the fact that, in keeping with the pattern that has been consolidating itself in the most developed countries, not only do girls have, on average, a higher level of education than boys, but they also have lower failure rates (especially in terms of multiple repetition), achieving better school results than boys. Marques and Martins (2005), in turn, point out that school, being a space of attraction as much for boys as for girls, is more significant for girls.

The existence of labour market segments that require low levels of education from human resources and their receptivity regarding labour immigration of African origin constitutes an important factor in the understanding of the early drop out of boys from the education system and its early entry into the labour market. The fact that the Portuguese labour market is more

available and open to “black” work force which is more academically, professionally and socially unqualified than its homologous “white” workforce – because they easily accept lower salaries and are less demanding in terms of bureaucratic formalities required for entering the labour market – results in underemployment, which ends up camouflaging real situations of unemployment. Another particular characteristic of integration in the labour market of young descendants of immigrants is reflected in the predominance of a precarious integration in unqualified and underpayment sectors.

In this scenery, many youngsters search positive challengers and identity in other places than school, work or family. They find other particular life worlds where they can *escape* from disciplinary and traditional controls of school and family, find some social protection, recognition and celebration, as well as share a feeling of equality and reciprocity in their social relations. Their distancing towards school, labour market and familiar cultures can be suppressed by another social meaningful dispositive: the youth *subcultures* or *micro-cultures*. These subcultural networks, or the *subcultural capital* (Thornton, 1995) that they can provide, may contextualized the transitions from school to work as an integrative or self-exclusion way. In the case of young migrants or youngsters with an ethnic background, the subcultures that they create are frequently *(re)ethnicised* by them selves (as a way of dealing with discrimination and with the challenges they are confronted with in late modernity) as well as by the *others*, many times in a stigmatic sense.

Subculture contexts and (re)ethnicisation

In fact, the transitions of ethnic minority youth some times are supported by marginalised social structures, locally and informally organized, created in the «streets»¹⁷ (MacDonald & Shildrick, 2007) and cultural oriented towards their own social interests and values. Despite being under a strong criticism¹⁸, one can see this kind of structures as *subcultures*, a concept which stresses the power relations between socio-cultural forms. This concept has been seen by sociological tradition as minority and subaltern social affiliations (which might be based on age or generation) considering the hegemonic cultural model (which might be based on class or adulthood, for instance).

They correspond to underground youth networks, produced in a voluntary and informal way, more flexible and convivialist than the formal associative structures, without any kind of institutional frame or unidirectional ideological orientation. Their participants share a set of aesthetic and ethical affinities and affectivities, representative of interests more expressive than instrumental. And they frequently present themselves as an alternative and dissident way of living youth life, considering the dominant patterns of youth life styles, more institutionalised and massif in the occidental consumer culture.

Within those micro-social structures cultural forms of reaction to the problems that their members are facing in their everyday life are projected and elaborated, often as the result of structural tensions between minorities and hegemonic cultural forms. Considering the analytic tradition developed by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of Birmingham University, for instance, the youth subcultures emerging after the Second World War were

¹⁷ The «street» designation corresponds to a metaphoric place constructed against institutional places as «home» (on the edge of the parents) or the «class room» (on the edge of the professors). When the youngster refers to the «street» usually they mean the exodomiciliary and interstitial contexts where they live in their neighbourhoods or around.

¹⁸ For a discussion about the heuristic validity and productivity of the subculture concept in contemporary society, see Redhead, 1997; Bennett, 1999; Muggleton, 2002 (2000); Muggleton & Weinzierl, 2003; Bennet & Kahn-Harris, 2004; Blackman, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2005.

seen as *functional* answers towards transformations and difficulties lived by youngsters with working class background in these period.¹⁹ In this way, one can present these reactions as forms of *subcultural agency*, i.e., as a means of expressive and subversive action, characterised by a transforming intention and reflexivity, but socially localized far from the spheres of political decision making, intending to continue to reproduce this cultural and politically marginal localization.

Despite their importance, there are more variables in action on the basis of the social production of youth subcultures besides traditional *social class* and *age* or *generation*. The subcultures start to be mainly male cultures, considering the relative marginality that traditionally girls have had inside these social networks (Frones, 2001; McRobbie & Garber, 1976). However, some recent studies have noticed the increasing girl's presence in subcultural spaces, sometimes even creating particular gender forms of feminine subcultures.²⁰

At the same time, since their emergence, there has always been youth networks and cultural forms produced on the basis of *ethnic background*. These networks are mainly constituted by young newcomers or descendents, who were mainly born in the settlement countries of their parents. Even not knowing their parent's home countries, descendents can find in their ethnic roots relevant *resources* (symbolic, material and pragmatic) for the construction and expression of a positive sense of social and personal identity, as well as a sense of social agency and autonomy as young citizens. It's the case of resources as music, dance, gastronomy, clothes, or even language or slang.

Their poor socio-economical conditions, in association with their visible *ex-optic* phenotype and particular visuals, responsible for social «labels» that usually are used as stigmas, lead to cultural, social and institutional discrimination (Pais & Blass, 2004). Some studies show that when they perceive themselves and their group as being discriminated, some of them tend to invest in (*re*)*ethnicisation strategies*. This was the strategy used by groups as the Turkish Power Boys, in Germany (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6), as well as the Latin Kings in Spain (Feixa & Muñoz, 2004), or the Hip Hop «black» movement in Portugal (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7) to react and to cope with the situation of deprivation and feelings of marginality in reference to the dominant group. If these subcultures emerged and developed in restricted territories (the first in Germany, and the last ones in EUA), they are now displaced and spread all over the world, acquiring specificities in each social context.²¹ Despite its contemporary hybridism, their participants share a strong feeling of deprivation.

¹⁹ See Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Mungham & Pearson, 1976; Cohen & Taylor, 1978; Hebdige, 1986 (1979).

²⁰ As it happens with the movement of RIOT GRRRLS – Revolution Girl Style Now. About this movement see Gottleib & Wald, 1994. The Latin King for instance, has girl as leader (Melody Jaramillo) since it acquired the status of legal cultural association, in Barcelona. And they also have the Latin Queens, a segment just for girls inside the movement (Feixa & Muñoz, 2004). The hip hop culture, namely among the rappers, have today plenty of girls as members in Portugal as well (Cf. Cidra, 2002; Simões, Nunes & Campos, 2005).

²¹ These specificities occur from confront between a triple cultural memberships: parental cultural background, dominant culture of host society and global youth cultures.

Case box 6

Turkish power boys

In the summer of 1990, the young gang “Turkish power boys” was founded by four youngsters of the Mainkur-Comprehensive school. Around 50 adolescents with Turkish ethnic background between 13 and 18 years old became members of the group. Most of the members have become criminalized and have not managed the transition from school to apprenticeship respectively work. The strategy used by the “Turkish power boys” to cope with this situation is (re)ethnicisation as result of a reaction of deprivation and feelings of marginality in reference to the dominant group. (Re)ethnicisation constitutes a supposed strategy to emphasize or rather differentiate in-group specific – contrary to out-group specific – cultural, social or economic group properties to (re)gain social recognition or their valued group distinctiveness, i.e. (re)gain a positive social identity in comparison with the out-group discriminated against. Principles of friendship, (man) power in relation to the Turkish concept of “Ehre” (Honour), “delinquency” (mainly street robbery), and cultivation of the Turkish or “Turkish slang” are the main strategies.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Germany, Tertilt (2001)

Case box 7

Black rap

Street rap, as opposed to commercial rap (elitised, whitened and domesticated, as they say), is perceived by young people as a social intervention “weapon”, as a way of “giving voice to a people that never had a voice” in Portugal, in the words of Chullage. Its purpose is to denounce the degraded social conditions of the neighbourhoods, where the protagonists live, the situations of discrimination and social exclusion that they face in their day-to-day, due to the processes of social categorisation and marginalisation that they are subjected to. As Chullage says, “I don’t want to get people dancing, I want to get people thinking”, comparing himself to other intervention singers of the Portuguese revolutionary period. The rappers define themselves as historical references in rap and in Portuguese history, similarly to what happened with American rap figures. It brings together young black people (and some are not black, but residents of the neighbourhoods) with several ethnic backgrounds (Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Guineans, etc.) under the umbrella of “negritude”, «all blacks together» (blackness).

(Re)ethnicisation constitutes a strategy to emphasize or rather differentiate in-group specific – opposite to out-group specific – cultural, social or economic group properties and resources to (re)gain social recognition or their valued group distinctiveness, i.e. (re)gain a positive social identity in comparison with the out-group discriminated against (Germany: *Perceived discrimination and (re-)ethnicisation*, Case Box 8). The construction of ethnic identity can be considered as a special form of social identity and allows a more or less clear differentiation between various groups, constituting a basis for a comparison between groups. Furthermore,

the subjective significance of ethnic identity for an individual appears within the scope of his evaluation of such an identity.

Case box 8

Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation

Young people with an immigrant background (young Turks and *Aussiedler*) turn to (re)ethnicisation when they perceive themselves and their group as being discriminated against. He or she will identify more closely with his or her own group, the less he or she believes in the possibility of one day becoming part of the German majority group. This reinforced group-identification finally causes a process of (re)ethnicisation or renders such a process more probable. Perceived discrimination leads to a retreat into the own group and to a mobilisation of the own group vis-à-vis other groups. (Re)ethnicisation becomes an attractive alternative when young people with an immigrant background encounter problems in their day-to-day lives, in their attempts to realise their life wishes and to achieve their goals. These problems of accounting are mainly influenced by processes of acceptance or non-acceptance of specific cultural capital by the dominant group/majority. This situation can arise in many different areas of life ranging from going to the disco to contact with government offices and authorities.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Germany, Skrobanek (2007)

The (re)ethnicisation strategy affects both social and personal identity (closer to the group of origin) and sociabilities (the group boundaries are less permeable to others outside the ethnic group) (Germany: *Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation*, Case Box 8). Further, data from many studies suggests that the tendency towards (re)ethnicisation should not be interpreted as merely a lack of willingness to integrate. The (re)ethnicisation becomes an attractive alternative when young people with an immigrant or ethnic background encounter problems in their daily lives, in their attempts to fulfil their life wishes and to achieve their goals. These issues are mainly influenced by processes of acceptance or non-acceptance of specific cultural and social capital by the dominant group.

The resources that they claim from their supposed origins, however, are not mobilised in their «purity» or «authenticity». Ethnicity is not just passed from one generation to another; it is reinvented and rediscovered by each generation, in its own context of production and reproduction. It is the case of rap culture in Portugal, for instance (Contador, 1998, 2001; Fradique 2003).

Despite being an expressive form imported from the Bronx (United States), reproducing many of its rhythmic and linguistic mannerisms of origin, the fact that most of the rap produced in the streets of the degraded neighbourhoods of Lisbon is sang in Creole creates a specific social bond between their protagonists: it culturally localizes them in Portugal and gives them a strong power of social identification («it motivates more because it connects much more, it feels like it's done by us and for us»). At the same time, it provides them with a sense of separation regarding the white Portuguese population: «I don't have to sing in Portuguese, they also didn't give me Portuguese nationality, although I was born in Portugal», says one of the protagonists. They try to define themselves as historical references in rap and in Portuguese history, similarly to what happened with American rap figures. It brings together young black people (and some are not black, but residents of the neighbourhoods) with

several ethnic backgrounds (Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Guineans, etc.) under the umbrella of «blackness», «all blacks together» (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7).

Subcultures as a civic arena

Subculture networks create some solidarity among young people living in marginal neighbourhoods, often ending with hostile rivalries between neighbourhoods. Even after compulsory re-housing, where long standing socially structured bonds between residents are destroyed, rap, for instance, is able to reunite what was dispersed, not allowing «people's conscience to become divided». It gives their members a feeling of (*ontological and social*) *comfort and security* towards the risks that they confront daily due to their public visibility: on one hand, it provides them with a feeling of shared identity; on the other hand, the «group» can function as *defensive community* (McDonald, 1999:203), in a context where the need of protection started to be real, considering the subcultural tension between some «neo tribes» (as *rappers* and *skins*, or Latin Kings and Ñetas y Maras, for instance) or even between groups of youngsters from different neighbourhoods.

At the same time, the subcultural memberships provide to their participants a sense of pride and respect about their own *difference*: being together, they can find a basis of positive social support, a structure for a mutual legitimation and recognition for their complex identities as minorities. In these social places, the youngsters with ethnic background can construct and share positively their sense of «otherness» towards the dominant youth models and life styles. As Bouchet (1999) refers for the Arabic or Palestinian youth in Denmark, they see themselves as unbalanced, proud, aggressive and reckless (Denmark: *The broken mirror*, Case Box 9).

Case box 9

The broken mirror

The boys (a group of young ethnic Arabic or Palestinian boys who have been in Denmark between 4 and 11 years and who live in a council housing sector with low income families and a high degree of minority ethnic population) see themselves, their relational engagement, and their social conditions in a specific perspective. The school is seen as a “theatre”, the family as a “pedestal” and their fathers as “degraded” and their mothers as “suppressed”, their friends as “the nerve” and their future as a “4 meters high wall”. They portray a mixed self-portrait. They see themselves as unbalanced, proud, aggressive and reckless. And at the same time, they mostly want to gain “respect”. The young people develop their identity and therefore their engagement in the world and future in a process of mirroring themselves in the society, the family and the friends. But the mirror is broken. It is not possible for them to see themselves in a whole picture. They are not able to make a self-picture, which gives them a social integrative social identity.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Denmark, Bouchet (1999)

And at the same time, they mostly want to gain «respect» and social positive recognition. Therefore the strategies of the «Arabic youth» seem to be formed as a mixture of attack at the outer world and a special form of self-defence or self protection, which create an antagonistic identity. Also among the Turkish Power Boys, a German youth culture founded by Turkish youngsters of the Mainkur-Comprehensive school (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6), the principle of friendship, the Turkish concept of honour, and the cultivation of the «Turkish slang» are the main strategies to enhance a negative social identity.

In this perspective, youth subcultures may function to these youngsters as a *civic arena*, where they can find not only a large frame of aesthetical and expressive references, but also a large frame of ethical and intervention resources of action and reaction, of critic and reflexivity, in order to be a protagonist in their guest societies. These scenes project their participants in a symbolic and social scenario where they find themselves as active subjects of their own lives and trajectories, providing them the opportunity of (re)inventing their own social and personal identity in a positive way, in subjective conditions of freedom, pride, respect and dignity. In these subcultural contexts, the youngsters with ethnic background living in poor living conditions can find themselves more as *citizens* than as *victims*, more as *subjects* than as *objects* of their own biographies, because they find stimulus and recognition for their own creative initiatives, for their action, for their *agency* as actors of social change.

Seeing the politic world as closed, distant and unreliable and, at the same time, more formal and institutional ways of social participation available as boring and inefficient, some young people choose to invest in alternative and informal ways of making their voice heard, to announcing their own preoccupations, problems, difficulties, expectations, fears, values and interests. In Portugal, for instance, the «street rap», as opposed to commercial rap (elitised, whitened and domesticated, as they say) is perceived by their performers as a social intervention «weapon», as a way of «giving voice to people that never had a voice», in the words of Chullage (one of their protagonists). Its purpose is to denounce the degraded social conditions of the neighbourhoods where the protagonists live, the situations of discrimination and social exclusion that they face in their daily life due to the processes of social categorisation and marginalisation that they are subjected to (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7).

Through their expression, these young people feel that they hold in their hands a civic responsibility, that they have some power over themselves, not letting others decide their own destiny (namely through voting, although many can not vote, not only because they are not old enough, but also because that they do not have Portuguese nationality or are illegal in the country). Rap is a form of musical and literary expression characterised by a transforming reflexivity, to the extent that its purpose is to «denounce» (give visibility) and «vindicate» to bring about «change», to «make revolution». As Chullage says, comparing him to other intervention singers of the Portuguese revolutionary period, «I don't want to get people dancing; I want to get people thinking» (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7).

But on the other hand, these ethnicized social networks can end up, in fact, working as social networks relatively isolated from the world outside the degraded neighbourhoods, stigmatising and classifying its residents and their networks. The neighbourhood protects, provides its young people with a feeling of trust that is not found outside (the territory that rap Portuguese young people call «Babylon»”), but at the same time might enclosed its respective life world, since these are neighbourhoods that offer little employment, education and leisure opportunities (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7).

Subcultures and skills

In a more pragmatic way, these social structures also might give to the youngsters some skills or even some opportunities for their transition to labour market. Being underground networks, where the deviation is the norm, their protagonists found some space to create inventive and original ways of deal with the cultural resources and the aesthetical affinities that they share. Some authors present these social contexts as real *creative experimental laboratories* (Feixa, Costa, Pallarés, 2001:298), or *cultural laboratories* (Melucci, 1989), where young people can

experience new visuals, new music forms, new other kind of performative and communicative expressions.

The initiation of the younger ones in the music and lyrical forms of rap, for instance, takes place from a very young age, an *inclusive socialisation* (Drilling & Gautschin, 2001:313) carried out through osmosis, with the purpose of «transmitting the power of words» and, simultaneously, bring to rap «new ways of thinking» formulated by the new generations of descendants. In some neighbourhoods, youth associations and community rehearsal rooms are organised, bringing together MCs from several neighbourhoods, and making them follow rules regarding work organisation, behaviour, schedules, and, at the same time, providing them with the opportunity to come into contact with an assemblage of technology and knowledge that, otherwise, would be very difficult for them to have access to. Rap, as all the others expressions of hip hop culture (graffiti, break dance, DJing, MCing, basket, etc) can, therefore, be a way of integration that does not follow the traditional forms of parents' labour reproduction (carpentry, construction and other low-qualified manual work).

Some local and national organizations (for instance, Programa Escolhas, [Choices Programme] in Portugal²²) started trying to explore hip hop expressions as a way of intercultural communication, giving to the young people better conditions of production, development and diffusion of their products and (informal) skills. At the same time, some try to catch their leaders or protagonists as cultural mediators, as a means of establishing contact between the formal world of institutions (school, migrant associations, unions, local and national powers, etc.) and the «street world» of informal groups of young people. This was also one of the main aims for the institutionalization of Latin Kings and Queens in Barcelona as legal cultural association: to give positive visibility to Latin population and their culture expressions in that city, to have young interlocutors represented in decision processes taken by the local authorities concerning Latin population living in Barcelona; and, at the same time, to have a formal platform close to this population, providing help and support (legal, counselling in school or work affairs, competencies recognition or learning, etc.) to migrants (Feixa & Muñoz, 2004).

Also in the inner city of Copenhagen, where there is a high concentration of ethnic minority youngsters, some young males with ethnic background are employed as «wild street-workers» to make social work with young people in general (including ethnic minority youth in the area) (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10).

²² See <http://www.programaescolhas.pt/> . This program is developed under the responsibility of ACIDI (High Commissariat for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, an inter-departmental structure of support and consultation of the government in the subjects of immigration and ethnic minorities) and aspired to promote the school inclusion and professional training, the spare time occupations and community participation, as well as the full integration in society, specifically directed at children and family members of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Case box 10

Wild street workers

In the inner city of Copenhagen, ethnic minority young males are employed as "wild street-workers" to do social work among young people (including ethnic minority youth in the area). Four ethnic young men between 18 and 33 years of age participate as "wild street workers" – all of them at risk of being caught up in doing criminal activities. In different ways they all experience discrimination in relation to school, as well as pressure from their families regarding getting married, taking care of the family, and being capable of having an income to support the family. Another pressure comes from the peer groups challenging them to be involved in different activities. All four ethnic young men work as wild street workers, but 2 of them stop after only 1 and 2 years. They all try to take a social workers formal education, but drops out except one – the oldest one, taking on a leading position in the social work environment.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Denmark, Mørck (2006)

Many of social projects as well as projects for unemployed young people have been carried out here. They have begun working as social workers, a strategy for not enrolling in formal education, using instead their biographical and social skills (*street wise*) to solve problems in the neighbourhood – to be mediators between young people in trouble and the municipality of Copenhagen. They are named «Wild» as they have no education but often a background and individual history similar to the (typically) slightly younger boys and girls being on the edge of society. Some of these «wild street-workers», with different trajectories including different schools and peer-groups, were indeed at risk of being caught up in doing criminal activities.

Rejecting a formal education, their strategy of employment was built on their biographical skills and competences. They think themselves as having more knowledge about what is important in social work among the marginalised people than the teachers at pedagogical education schools. In their work they use their private contacts within the milieu (subcultural capital) and means of action very alternative to the formal social work.

But besides giving same integrative competences to young people, one must be aware that subcultures can also provide some other non-integrative skills, considering the occidental normative models of social integration. In fact, the context of *in-discipline* that characterizes the subcultural spaces propitiates the development of some deviant or delinquent behaviour. This happens namely when the pressure that comes from the peer group challenging some participants to adopt violent or even criminal activities.

In a theoretical (re-)interpretation perspective, the analysis seem to show that some ethnic minority youths are fighting a de-structural life situation by clinging to their peers. However sometimes their peer networks do not support their social integration, namely when they put in action some illegitimate forms of intervention. They develop some sort of de-integrative strategies to obtain social integration inside their own group, but reacting in a disintegrative way considering the guest society. Most of the adolescent members of Turkish Power Boys, for instance, became criminalized and did not manage the transition from school to training and, afterwards, to work (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6). The same kind of phenomena is found in other ethnicized subcultures, as Latin Kings or in Rap cultures: if inside these contexts we would find pacific reactions in the form of *crew*, we could also find some more violent reactions in the form of *gang*, which have much more public visibility thru media.

In this point of view, subcultural capital is not valued positively with reference to the dominant social capital, leading to a negative social identity in the public sphere, namely when media explore and diffuse this kind of phenomena, producing some moral and social panic. Subcultures are seen as a factor of disturbance of the public order, and this kind of behaviour is generalized to all youngsters recognized as members of the ethnic group. Under the mask of the stigma, we can find the creation of a stereotype. By giving legal status to the Latin Kings and Queens movement, the goal of Melody Jeramillo, leader of the Cultural Association, is «to release Latin King of being a criminal gang», because if one of its members commit some crime or violence «this doesn't mean that all association must be incriminated». Also his vice-president, Roberto Fernando, said to media that «there are many people who say that a lot of Latins steal... And I don't deny that. Among one hundred, five steal. I accept that because one knows that there is a black sheep in all families, but we can't control them because we are a very big family».

Hautaniemi (2004) explores in his study how ethnic streetfights, where Somali boys were involved, is being discussed in the media but also among public authorities (Finland: *Lads!: Somali youngsters*, Case Box 4). Somali young men have got media attention merely through streetfights, rapes and thefts. Hautaniemi also noticed that most Somali boys in his study had been involved with the police due to their skin colour and ethnical appearance. They frequently are questioned by the police, suspected of crimes, and have their fingerprints and photographs taken. One must therefore ask how this affects the young immigrants' ability to trust the authorities, for example the police. Hautaniemi's study highlights the contradictory ways in which various actors speak of these boys. The ways that the Finnish authorities attempt to stress the best interests of these children do not necessarily coincide with the ways in which the boys and their families see their situation (Finland: *Lads!: Somali youngsters*, Case Box 4).

A national discussion forum was established, where different actors, researchers, authorities and Somali representatives participate, in order to analyse and discuss the situation, possible solutions and means of intervention. Hautaniemi takes part in these discussions and follows how different views are argued. The same was done in Barcelona concerning the Latin Kings movement. Carles Feixa was invited by the town mayor to study this group and to participate in a public discussion with other institutional authorities of the city some solutions for the social integration of these young people. In this case, the solution was the legalization and institutionalization of the informal «group» as a cultural association, a process of negotiation with the leaders of the movement that took two years long, and that tried to involve the representation of all possible authorities (priests, police, institutions, etc.) and social technicians (social workers, lawyers, academics, etc.) of town.

Conclusion

Considering the scenario drawn, the more informal subcultural sociabilities reveal an extensive power of attraction and implication among young people – namely among young people with a migrant or ethnic background –, being lived as social spaces of social participation and socialization on citizenship practices.

Both academic and political institutions that deal with youth have been given a minor importance to the social role of these spaces on the margin of the established channels for political involvement and commitment, as well as, consequently, in adapting to proposals of social participation “from the ground”, from the day-to-day dimension of life

Both the sociological reflection on the action of young people in «public life», and the institutional political instances that outline and regulate this action, have been ignoring or demonising some of the real contexts of social participation and citizenship practice of young people, thwarting the potential of social intervention that frequently misaligned and subterranean arenas provide them with.

It is in daily life, particularly in interstitial social spaces where leisure and cultural production happens, that youth citizenship is often exercised, reinvented in its senses, objectives and traditional modes of action. Actually, in nowadays the institutional and organisational scale of youth citizenship cedes ever more to a micro scale, structured in microcultural networks, from which it emerges mainly as an expressive form of construction, exploration, recognition and social preservation of personal and collective identities, namely (re-)ethnicised identities.

In many of these informal interaction networks, there arise effectively implicated cultural conflicts and claims, based on the sharing of specific distinct and distinctive forms of identity, providing their protagonists not only with a strong sense of inclusion and demarcation, but also of existence and intervention. These are social spaces where many disadvantage young people feel to be *someone*, *subjects* and *agents* of their own biography.

Chapter 5: Social responsibility

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Introduction

The challenge presented by the focus on social responsibility in relation to ethnic minority young people is located in the cultural differences between categorical and late modern individual social integration. Late modern social integration and individualisation makes social and even societal responsibility a challenging aspect of individual or self responsibility. To develop both self responsibility (in the sense, that young people themselves are free to construct their own biography) and to develop a sort of social responsibility (which does not only include family and closest friends but also the local community) is a most challenging problem. Social responsibility therefore seems to be a sort of a marker of the success of social integration. It may take more forms and therefore it may tell a narrative about individual cultural agency.

The process of social integration and individualisation takes place when the individual actualizes her/his individual biographical trajectory. This actualisation is a process enabled or constrained by both structural and individual conditions. For all young people this process typically takes place in mainly five different arenas: peer group, family, school, work, and organised free time (e.g. associations, ethnic clubs, sport clubs etc.). Within each arena different logics, experiences, possibilities, and limitations exist, and the actualization of the individual biography in youth life is to be understood as a process of structuration or of figuration and configuration.

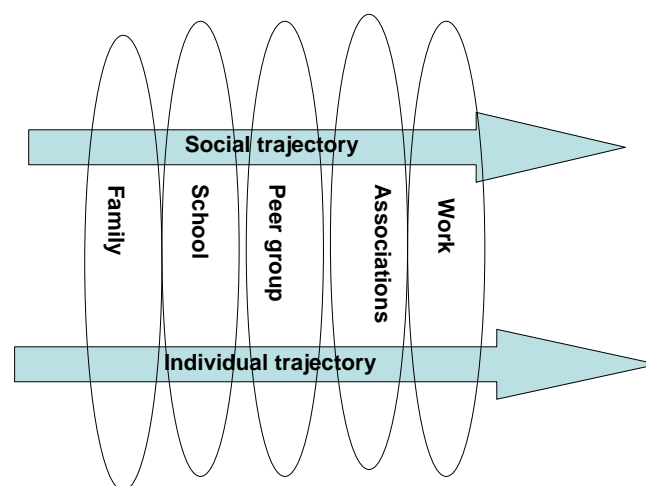


Figure 4: Trajectories of individualisation

In principle, the process of individualisation is no different for ethnic minority youth than for majority population youth – they face the same issues of managing a youth life, where the transition from childhood to adulthood takes place. They are all dependent on the contextual demands and the enabling and constraining conditions of late modern youth life. However,

many young people come from family backgrounds that are not able to support late modern youth life demands, and some ethnic minority youth may even come from families, which are not able to give late modern youth life support. For analytical purposes it may seem expedient to categorise families according to three different family logics:

- 1) the reproductive family (Families often coming from the countryside where children grow up to be like their parents)
- 2) the productive family (the middle class/bourgeois family, where the children are raised and educated to become productive citizens)
- 3) the supportive or “friendly” family (the children are supported in developing an individual trajectory in a family where adults and children look at each other as friends).

(Mørch & Andersen 2006).

Ethnic minority youth, (and also majority youth), who come from “reproductive families” characterized by parents with little or no education and who typically come from rural areas with different cultural practices and no experience of late modern youth life, are placed in a special situation. This poses a double challenge for ethnic minority youth to both manage the many challenges of late modern youth life which all young people are confronted with and to manage late modern youth life with little or no family understanding and support for what this process involves. To develop social responsibility in late modern world is part of late modern individualisation and therefore a different challenge for different groups of young people.

Social responsibility and modes of arranging

The process of individualisation is historically structured. In modern times, it is possible to talk about two forms of individualisation processes. The modern individualisation process where the central idea was, that it was society’s task to develop its members’ individualisation through socialisation processes. Today it’s different – the late modern individualisation process is no longer institutionalised in society, instead it is a prerequisite for societal participation (Andersen & Mørch 2005). This means that a central societal task is to continually establish and secure society and the individual’s sociality. In terms of social responsibility and the individualisation process, it therefore becomes crucial to explore both what youth is structurally offered in relation to social participation, and what they experience as possibilities of social participation. In order to grasp this interplay of connections it is possible to view the arenas of youth life in terms of what we can call *modes of arranging* – how are social trajectories arranged, and how do youth arrange themselves in relation to the task of securing society and their own sociality? What logics, possibilities, limitations exist and how do youth act, experience and actualize social responsibility? It becomes matter of viewing individual and social trajectories and local modes of arranging the arenas in relation to their appropriateness/suitability to the challenge of securing society, individual sociality, and social participation.

A possible hypothesis is that the above mentioned family logics can be seen as modes of arranging that not only exist in the arena of the family but also can be seen in other arenas of social life. For instance, when ethnic minority youth work in family businesses they might secure their position in the family and cover economic needs, but it also orients them less towards developing their own individual sociality in late modern life because their trajectories might be limited to reproduction of their parents’ trajectories (e.g. youth does not achieve adequate formal competencies in the school arena). This means that their mode of arranging in the family arena affects the school arena which orients them towards the family but not in a direction of greater late modern social responsibility of participation.

Zones of politics

In terms of policy level affecting the arenas of youth life, we can also talk about zones of politics situated between the arenas. The arenas are reciprocally affected by policy levels, but when we view these as zones between arenas we can see them as zones which help to interlink arenas or pose borders between arenas. E.g. in Germany the policy level affecting the school system (Dual system) might pose borders for some young people's options of citizenship. Another example is the Danish 24-years-rule (this law states that marriage between a Danish citizen, or a person with residence permit, and a foreigner is not allowed under the age of 24 – the political motive behind the law was to prevent pro forma and arranged marriages). On one hand, the law secures ethnic minority youth from arranged marriages with foreign citizens, and therefore might be said to a certain degree to protect (be appropriate for) the arena of school life and peer group where late modern sociality can develop and social responsibility be actualised. On the other hand, the law might compromise the principle of individual freedom to choose a marriage partner, and we cannot definitely state that early marriages establish orientations away from societal participation (Walther, Du Bois-Reymond, Biggart (eds) 2006).

Case analysis

Based on all the Danish cases some general perspectives appear. The cases point to some general questions about how it might be meaningful to structure our case analysis on social responsibility:

- How can social responsibility, as constituted locally in *modes of arranging* in different *arenas of youth life*, be explored? How is social responsibility constituted in the family, the peer group, the school, the work place, and the organized free time? How do youth life arenas overlap or contradict each other? How do *zone of politics* affect the arenas?
- How does the individual *connect* and *commit* herself/himself? And to what? What is there to commit and connect to?
- What is the *appropriateness/suitability* of the social and individual trajectories in relation to individualization, social integration, and social responsibility? Do they point towards social participation and sociality, to inclusion or exclusion?
- *Inclusion* and *exclusion* seems like one way of operationalizing social responsibility: Which social trajectories are available? And which ones are experienced as available? Are the societal structures open for ethnic minority youth? Are there connections between the individual and the social trajectories? Inclusion and exclusion can be further divided into *subjective* and *objective discrimination*: Are the societal structures forcing certain individuals and/or groups to seek other educational and/or labour market trajectories than those of the majority youth? How do groups and/or individuals experience their societal positions and their options of actualizing a biography?

These questions are points of attention which emerged from the different cases and therefore we are using them in the presentation of how social responsibility is present in the different cases. Our aim is not to make conclusive interpretations of the cases, but on the contrary to use these points of attention to question the cases and thereby raise new questions which will increase our understanding of social responsibility (Alzetta R & M. Tortello 2006).

Processes of social exclusion

Cultural agency

The German case of the Turkish Power Boys portrays how some ethnic minority youth create alternative identities in a youth gang by processes of re-ethnicisation (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6). The boys are allotted possibilities of participation in the formal education system and the peer group. However, they do not manage the transition from school to labour market very well (Walther 2007, Walther et. al. 2006, Kovacheva 2006). They are subjected to objective discrimination based on socio-economical conditions which lead to cultural and institutional discrimination. The question is how this objective discrimination is experienced – do the boys feel socially excluded? Perhaps their strategy of re-ethnicisation can be seen as an expression of an experienced exclusion. Re-ethnicisation therefore becomes a logic of arranging that takes place in the arena of the peer group – it's a form a cultural agency. The next important question is whether their social responsibility is only connected to their own peer group? In other words, does the peer group turn its back on sociality, or does it point itself towards other groups such as the family and their ethnic community? Perhaps their participation in the peer group can strengthen certain competencies or social identity to such a degree that they will be able to participate in other arenas in youth life. In other words, does re-ethnicisation strengthen their cultural capital to a degree where they can become societal participants in the future? The central question therefore becomes whether re-ethnicisation leads to social participation or an enforcement of an existing structural discrimination and possible subjective experience of discrimination (Mørch 1999, Bauman 2000).

The Portuguese case of Black Rap of Lisbon shows how groups of ethnic minority youth express themselves through rap music (Portugal: *Black rap*, Case Box 7). It becomes an expression of cultural agency – a way of expressing social participation and drawing attention to objective and subjective discrimination. It becomes a way of establishing an arena, where they are not directly in opposition to society. The Portuguese rappers are participating in society with the aim of changing it. The rap music groups are situated in different neighbourhoods, which on one hand protect the youth, but might also limit them in leaving these areas – it's a mode of arranging of the peer group and organized free time arenas, which potentially can exclude them from entering societal trajectories. The same danger exists with the Turkish Power Boys. So even though the rap music is an expression of agency, it's questionable whether the music helps the youth. They rap about social participation but it is questionable whether this involvement in youth culture activities influence, facilitate, or maybe even limit options of participating?

Turning away from society

The Danish case of The Broken Mirror gives a first hand impression of how subjective discrimination is experienced by ethnic minority youth in a socially marginalised ghetto (Denmark: *The broken mirror*, Case Box 9). The young people do not express that they have any options of participating – for the boys the future is a four meter high wall. They are oriented towards their peer group, less towards their families and they are developing identities in opposition to the Danish society. We see the same phenomenon in the Finnish case of the Somali boy Adriham which shows how strong the subjective discrimination can be (Finland: *Lads! Somali youngsters*, Case Box 4). Adriham has turned away from social trajectories and established an alternative trajectory in opposition to the Finnish society. He is fantasizing about returning to Somalia and killing Finnish tourists – a result of a strong, subjective experience of discrimination. Developing a transnational identity also becomes a strategy Adriham uses – there is an orientation towards ethnic roots outside the national

borders of Finland. Even though both strategies in the Finnish case of Adriham might be results of exclusion, they are not very adequate for developing social participation in the future. Both the Danish and Finnish cases show how subjective discrimination can cause some youth to enter trajectories leading them away or in opposition to society, away from sociality. The same might potentially happen in the case of the Black Rappers in Lisbon or the Turkish Power Boys in Germany but their strategies might also lead them into societal trajectories – their strategies appear more appropriate for leading them into instead of away from society.

From exclusion to inclusion?

The Danish case of Wild Street Workers is about four ethnic young people who are given the possibility to participate in a social trajectory which they have been excluded from earlier due to lack of formal education (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10). They are offered to work as street workers, where their own biographical trajectories are their main competency. All of them show social responsibility in helping their local community, but the question is where this participation leads them. It is interesting to see how two of them decide to follow a societal trajectory and get a formal education, whereas the two other street workers do not see this as a meaningful option. For these two street workers, the modes of arranging in the family and peer group arenas become influential in the work arena, not the formal education arena. This poses the question of whether their participation is only oriented towards the local community because social participation in other societal arenas is not experienced as open for them (subjective discrimination) or because the formal educational structures are not accessible for them. The trajectories of the street workers who want an education seem to lead them towards greater social participation and responsibility, whereas the trajectories of the two street workers who do not want an education seem to be more limited. It would be interesting to examine whether participation in the formal education system will lead the two street workers to social responsibility oriented beyond their own ethnic community. The case also challenges the formal education system – how can we make it meaningful for experienced street workers to participate in the education system? And do we need the formal professionalization for doing street work? Another question is whether the idea of hiring street workers on their personal biography keeps these individuals in jobs with less options of social mobility – does it open or close further options of societal participation? And finally, can the idea of letting ethnic youth deal with ethnic youth (embodied competencies) be seen as politics of segregation, as segregating zones of politics? A further interest in the relation between formal and non-formal competencies regarding educational policies seems necessary.

Entrepreneurial agency

The Spanish case of Lenir portrays a young man from Ecuador who came to Spain to work and make money for the security of his family both in Spain (mother and sister) and back in his home country (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11)

Case box 11

Lenir: Entrepreneurship

Lenir is a 24 years-old immigrant from Ecuador who lives in Spain with his mother (45) and sister (19). He combines the jobs of picking citrus fruits for a fruit warehouse (winter season) and street vending (rest of the year). On weekends during the picking season, the whole family works in street vending. Asked what the objective of the family's immigration is, Lenir answers: "Well, the most important objective for us is to buy a flat here, and then build another house in Ecuador. That is our objective right now. With that in mind, we work night and day...For me, I would like to have an own house in Ecuador, as my mother has one. My mother has given up a lot of things, but she has such a big house." Lenir is aware that he is paying a prize for this objective: "Yes, so I say to myself, I have to give up some things during my youth, but I want a better life when I'm old".

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Spain, AREA, Bétera

He is working as a street-vendor and during the winter he also works in agriculture. The case shows how social responsibility sometimes is limited to the family arena. The family logic is to create security for the family in the present but also in the future – to buy houses in Ecuador. Lenir participates seasonally in established business sectors and has a dream of one day getting a full-time job. The case does not outline whether or not he participates in other arenas – does he have the formal possibility of entering the education system and/or other sectors in the labour market? Is Lenir's orientation towards the family an expression of an objective discrimination where his options are limited? However, it does not seem as if Lenir experiences a high degree of subjective discrimination or at least he does not express it clearly. He is actualizing a trajectory where he and his family have been able to express a large degree of agency in establishing themselves as street-vending entrepreneurs. In other words, he has been able to secure his and his family's biographical trajectory, but it is questionable whether this trajectory eventually will lead him to societal participation in the Spanish society which seems almost non-existent in this case – the focus is on the family and the community of street-vendors.

The Portuguese case outlines differences between when and how ethnic minority (Chinese, Cap Verdean, and Indian) entrepreneurs establish their businesses as an expression of different ethnic, family, and personal strategies (Portugal: *Ethnic entrepreneurship*, Case Box 12).

Case box 12

Ethnic entrepreneurship

One of the main types of business strategies of immigrant populations (Indian, Cape Verdean and Chinese immigrants) in Portugal is *ethnic strategies*. These are business strategies that essentially mobilize resources (cultural, financial, human, political and/or social) within a given ethnic community obtained through solidarity and reciprocity networks intrinsic to an ethnic group. The entrepreneurs who use these type of ethnic resources are much less dependent on Portuguese labour market opportunities, because they can obtain work and capital within their community of origin (in the case of the Chinese, they set up their company with the financial support of family members and friends). *Family strategies* include resorting to intrinsic opportunities within a family network. Even if they can be found in one individual, this type of strategy results from a family project, they are inherited and perpetuated through family financial and social resources. Indian entrepreneurs are the ones who become employed at the youngest age, being also the ones who rely most on family support for developing their business strategy. Entrepreneurs whose business strategy depends mainly on personal resources (*personal strategies*) are more prone to situations of discrimination in access to the labour market and unemployment. The entrepreneurs of Cape Verdean origin are a good example of this type of personal strategy.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Portugal, Reis de Oliveira (2004)

The case shows the same tendency as in the Spanish case of Lenir. Both the Chinese and the Indian rely heavily on their families and ethnic communities for establishing and running their businesses in comparison to the Cape Verdean entrepreneurs who rely more on personal resources. As with Lenir, the question becomes whether this form of entrepreneurship leads them towards social participation in Portugal or reinforces exclusion by supporting parallel economies in the Portuguese society. Additionally, it would be interesting to know what kind of effect it has to receive help from the family and ethnic community, compared to having to rely on personal resources – does that make a difference in terms of where these entrepreneurs orient themselves? Perhaps they only actualize limited sociality when they are helped by family and/or the ethnic community. Finally, it's crucial to consider in both the Spanish and Portuguese cases whether the strategies of entrepreneurial agency keep ethnic minority youth away from educational arenas.

Structural barriers of developing agency

The Romanian case of the project 'Let's Build Together the Image of Young Roma Girls' outlines a community project aiming at mitigating the consequences of early marriages and precocious pregnancy of young Roma girls (Romania: *Project image of Roma girls*, Case Box 13).

Case box 13

Project image of Roma girls

The project was carried out by an educational organization (CEDU 2000+) in 2005 in three counties of Romania (Buzau, Calarasi and Ialomita) which are traditional Roma communities. The project targeted poor young Roma women from disadvantaged rural and urban communities. Both early marriage and early pregnancy belong to the traditional cultural model of Roma family (reiterating the mother's and grandmother's behaviour). However, not only the cultural model of family influences the demographic behaviour of young Roma women – also socio-economic factors influence the “family planning” process. Under the circumstances of low income sources from salaried work, many Roma families need to rely on child allocations or even to use their children for income generating activities, not always legal ones. There is a correlation between age at first marriage and consequently at first birth, level of education and household's income. The project therefore focused on improving awareness with regard to risks associated to precocious pregnancy and education for family planning based on proper use of contraceptive techniques, through information campaigns, training sessions, group discussions, case studies and case presentations, etc.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Romania, The Center Education 2000+ (2005)

The project is run by an educational organisation. The case can be viewed as an example of how social responsibility can be oriented towards the ethnic group and the family arena. Poverty, early marriages, and pregnancies seem to be arrangements in the family arena which contribute to keeping the girls in reproductive patterns within the borders of the family and the ethnic community. The girls' trajectories do not point to late modern social participation – they point to further exclusion which already exists for most Romas as a result of objective discrimination. Perhaps the modes of arranging of the family arena and the ethnic community combined with objective and subjective discrimination limit the girls in actualizing a real youth life with participation in arenas such as school and organized free time – they are not given the option of even developing societal late modern individualisation and social participation. The project in the case aims at creating other biographical trajectories for the girls by offering counselling – it seems as a project based on a traditional idea of socialisation where the aim is to socialize the individual towards individualisation. The question is whether this individualisation is even possible? If the Roma girls decide to enter the school arena beyond what is required, are there schools where they will be admitted and able to achieve a useful education? Will they be able to get a job outside the borders of the community, even if they have the right education? And would this education and job be meaningful for the Roma girls? Another issue is the girls who have already been married and/or become mothers – do they have any way of changing their trajectory? In other words, are the Roma girls, mothers/wives or not, offered and experiencing a way of ever developing late modern sociality and becoming participants of Romanian society?

The other Romanian case of the project ‘Youth to Youth’ outlines a project which can be said to attempt to create an arena similar to the peer group, where youth exposed to risk of social exclusion can establish a form of youth life – youth to youth (Romania: *Project Youth to youth*, Case Box 14).

Case box 14

Project youth for youth

The project has targeted 100 young people aged 15-29 from disadvantaged areas, particularly exposed to the risk of social exclusion (mostly Roma young people from rural areas). It aims at encouraging active participation of young people, especially Roma ethnics, in local community life, thus becoming active members of an inclusive society and contributing to the European integration. The rationale of the project is that participation is something that could and should be learnt and that youth NGOs could play an important role in this regard. Non-formal and informal learning are the key words. The projects opens opportunities for empowering young people from disadvantaged groups to make decisions on their future and to get involved from a well informed position in the decision making process at community and at county level with regard to problems they are concerned by. It is expected that familiarisation with the decision making process and mechanisms and better responsible involvement of young people in community life would result in better mitigation of the impact of risk factors among youth, especially those from most vulnerable groups, particularly Roma.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Romania, Organisation of Young Roma within the frame work of the ANSIT programme Community Initiatives for Youth (2007).

The aim is to affect the trajectories of the youth in question (mostly Roma youth) and learn them to become participants. The aim is therefore to create social responsibility which points to participation in the society and therefore beyond the family arena and the ethnic community. However, the questions is whether such an initiative aiming at making risk youth more aware is supported by societal trajectories (same issues as the project ‘Let’s build together the image of young Roma girls’) – if they decide to get an education and later a job is that even a structural possibility, and furthermore is it experienced as a realistic and meaningful trajectory? Both Romanian projects seem to be based on the intention of transforming the experience of subjective discrimination – the marginalized youth is helped to feel less marginalized. But the question is whether such projects will succeed if they are not supported by changes in the objective societal conditions. It would be interesting to explore the zones of politics between the youth arenas – are there policies which put objective discriminatory borders between the family and the school arena, or are there policies supporting their overlapping? Would it be possible to create policies which would secure the arenas of youth life to a higher degree?

Experiences of subjective discrimination in the family

The Danish case of differences between Kurds in Denmark and Kurds in Turkey points to the importance of parents experiencing it as meaningful to send their children to school (Denmark: *From where I origins, my future begins*, Case Box 5). Young Kurds in Turkey typically gets an education, whereas Young Kurds in Denmark rarely get educated. The claim is that in Denmark it’s too ‘easy’ – the parents do not have to get involved or might not experience meaningful possibilities of getting involved in their children’s education. Perhaps it is an issue of subjective discrimination in the family. In other words, the parents need to

experience that their contribution to their children's education is important and relevant. This raises some questions. What are the existing family logics in each country in the Kurdish families? Are there youth life arenas for Kurdish youth in Turkey and in Denmark, and are they supporting the school arena or opposing it? Do Kurds in Denmark experience discrimination in the school system in comparison to Kurds in Turkey? If we accept that the families must be involved in their children's educational trajectories, it points to involving the family in developing social participation in youth's trajectories – this requires that the families experience this as meaningful and are given the possibility to participate in their children's educational lives. This could be a way to avoid subjective discrimination and avoid that social responsibility is mainly oriented towards the family itself and in stead becomes oriented towards societal trajectories.

Processes of social inclusion

Risks of 'falling down' – risks of sliding into subjective discrimination?

The German case 'The Third Chair' outlines how ethnic minority youth with a high cultural capital create a new identity position as a result of dealing with two cultures – they are not positioning themselves between two cultural chairs but in stead creating a new chair, a third chair (Germany: *The third chair*, Case Box 15)

Case box 15

The third chair

Young immigrants (26 bicultural females and males) with a high level of educational achievement (ISCED 3 and 4) develop a strategy of handling two different cultures. These immigrants with a high cultural capital have created a new identity position as a result of dealing with two cultures: A creative reaction of living and growing up with two different cultural backgrounds leads to high competencies for dealing with discrepancies. Due to social creativity the young immigrants permanently transform/actualize there own self-concept. These immigrants are not anymore sitting between two cultural chairs but they constructed in a creative way their own "third chair".

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Germany, Badawia (2007).

In comparison to the cases of the 'Turkish Power Boys' (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6) and 'Wild Street Workers' (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10), 'The Third Chair' shows both sides of the double-sided challenge of social integration from a position where there appears to be almost no objective discrimination. It shows a different way than segregation or assimilation. The third chair can be seen as a way of balancing the different youth life arenas – it seems as if they succeed in establishing a late modern sociality while keeping a certain ethnic identity. This leads to a couple of interesting considerations. Are they able to continue combing the individual and social trajectory in their future lives or do they risks of sliding into an excluded position leading to objective discrimination and/or subjective discrimination. The subjective discrimination can also be experienced from an included position. Maybe they will not be accepted in the labour market and therefore they face risks of sliding into subjective discrimination. In other words, their ability to break certain structural discrimination in the education system does not necessarily secure inclusion in other societal arenas. An important issue is also whether they come from families with high societal

participation and a high degree of cultural capital. What kind of family logics, there are in the family arena – is it a productive or supportive family? One should also consider if there are emotional costs of the Third Chair. If the third chair is an issue of identity but also of developing high competencies for dealing with discrepancies and keeping up with the tasks of inclusion, what are the differences between this youth and the Power Boys? The Third Chair appears more suitable in terms of sociality than the identities of the Power Boys.

The Danish case of Ethnic Minority Girls' Strategies outlines four different strategies which ethnic minority girls use to cope with the challenge of balancing a traditional family life and a late modern youth life (Denmark: *Ethnic Minority Girls' Strategies*, Case Box 1). The four strategies are: Negotiation, breaking up, double life, and ideological/religious reconstruction. It is possible to evaluate the strategies in relation to social responsibility. The Negotiation strategy can be seen as a way to balance the family arena and the peer group arena, where they manage to succeed in participating in social trajectories while keeping within the borders of what is accepted in the family – the strategy has resemblance to the case 'The Third Chair'. Does the strategy help the girls to develop a negotiation competence which perhaps is helpful in their further life, or does it involve subjective discrimination? The Breaking up strategy is about distancing oneself from the family arena – in some cases this might enable some of the girls to participate in social trajectories which previously were out of their reach within the family. However, it might also have fatal consequences for the girls, e.g. exclusion and/or revenge from the family. The Double life strategy is about girls trying to balance the family and the peer group arenas by leading separate lives in the arenas – it becomes an implicit negotiation strategy. On one hand the strategy might enable the girls to participate to a higher degree in late modern youth life, but on the other hand the question is what the consequences are in the long run. Does it become a limited social participation? Do they succeed in continuing to lead a double life when they become older – do they get educated and/or employed? When the girls apply the Ideological/religious reconstruction strategy it can be seen as a form of negotiation – they stay within the ideological borders but make the religious practice fit their youth life. The girls seem to actualize a trajectory that lead to social participation, because they participate. But is their participation limited in ways that eventually will point them into limited social trajectories such as arranged marriage and reproductive family arrangements? It goes for all the strategies that it would be interesting to explore where the different strategies will lead the girls in the future.

The Finnish case of Khadra shows the difficulties of a young Somali girl balancing a traditional family arena and a late modern Finnish youth life (Finland: *The icebreakers*, Case Box 2) The girl Khadra participates in existing social trajectories but the family arena's arrangement becomes an obstacle – she needs to help her mother establish a new life in Finland. Khadra shows extreme responsibility towards her mother, but the question is whether she thereby might limit her own biography in the future? Will she succeed in continuing to follow a societal trajectory?

Conclusion

Social responsibility is both a general value and a contextual quality. Therefore social responsibility always refers to a social situation or social context. Our case analysis makes this perspective clear. Social responsibility development among ethnic minority youth relates to both contexts and to exclusive and inclusive experiences. The special meaning of social responsibility thus becomes part of the late modern societal situation and to the youth life construction at the same time.

The late modern development has underlined the new situation in which the individual life has become deinstitutionalised according to space and rules and unsecured according to biographical trajectory development (Leccardi 2006, Baumann 2001 & 1995)

As described by Baumann life planning has been changed to episodes, which refer to situational options. Particularly ethnic minority youth are facing these developments. They have often been placed in a deinstitutionalised situation and only given the option to grasp situational opportunities. They have to “read” their social situation and to develop personal and often individual trajectories to construct their own perspective of social integration. Therefore, in this late modern individualisation process young people not only become cultural agents of their own life, but also agents of society. However, this new situation calls for a form of agency which is oriented towards responsibility for a life in late modern society. This challenge of developing social responsibility therefore creates situations in which the individual must take on the responsibility of becoming a societal subject in whatever societal development he or she is taking part.

Today this is a contradictory situation. At the one hand, it becomes imperative to become not only a social actor but a societal actor, but at the other hand late modern individualisation has also become a more private concern. This development is not only part of a consumer world situation but also part of the logic of the most important part of youth life itself, the education system. Late modern education constructs individual competition and the individual qualification processes as the overall interest of the individual young person. The “Pisa logic” which floods the European societies creates individual competition in school life and therefore constructs differentiation between young people. Therefore, the opposition between becoming a social and a societal responsible person especially creates problems for ethnic minority youth, who often feel in opposition to a broad societal integration. The differentiation of young people creates high walls to climb for young people from lower social and/or ethnic backgrounds. This kind of differentiation follows patterns or modes of arranging of inclusion and exclusion as social integrative strategies. In this situation, social responsibility has become an important issue.

As the case analysis shows, it is not easy to manoeuvre in this world. Young people from families coming from societies with a low level of social security experience social responsibility as a “family issue” or a sort of responsibility with very local borders. The traditional “modern” European perspective on social responsibility was developed on the idea of the national state which made social responsibility a national and therefore societal phenomenon. The late modern picture of social responsibility shows how the individual’s social responsibility is more oriented towards him/herself. The late modern challenge therefore seems to demand solutions to the contradiction between societal life, social relations, and individual interests, i.e. ways of developing societal responsibility ‘inside’ individual action. The individual may develop a broad social responsibility, which does not necessarily become a societal responsibility. Being excluded and experiencing exclusion may lead to strong social and peer relations and to a strong social responsibility among comrades – and inside the family. Social responsibility functions differently in different social situations, and most importantly social responsibility is always a contradictory issue which is embedded in both social and cultural traditions. Therefore social responsibility follows the processes of social integration and the processes of social inclusion and exclusion.

The challenges of social integration seem to follow variables as income, education, family relations, and cultural traditions. Scoring low on two or more of these variables point to the existence of social problems or problems related to a successful social integration. Therefore social responsibility may vary according to the situation of social integration. People who are

on the borders of social integration develop a more individual or local perspective on social responsibility. They have to fight for their situation.

Social responsibility also refers to the broader inclusion/exclusion-perspective which exists in local society. In situations where local or even national solidarity is pictured as an important social quality, it becomes difficult to be included in the national solidarity. Especially markers of religion influence this situation. Cultural differences as both differences of tradition and religion are seen as being the same – a non-national perspective.

The policies of discrimination as both institutional and individual discrimination influences the development of social responsibility. The more institutional discrimination or structural objective discrimination which exist as imbedded in everyday institutional arrangements (as logic inside and in-between zones of policy), the more difficult it is to broaden a social responsible perspective to a societal level. Differentiations in terms of educational level, job-options, and workplace structure establish structures of institutional and objective discrimination, which are both chosen and enforced logics of activity. This institutional discrimination often results in a subjective discrimination which also may become contradictory. Ethnic minority youth may be discriminated against because of their social and societal position. They may choose to refrain from engaging and becoming friends with other young people.

If we combine these two dimensions, we may draw a model of the challenge of social responsibility and the answers which develops in social activity:

	Institutional discrimination	Individual discrimination	No discrimination
Social inclusion	Cultural social responsibility	Private social responsibility	Societal responsibility
Social exclusion	Local or family social responsibility	Anti-social responsibility	Anti-societal responsibility

On social inclusion, exclusion and forms of discrimination.

Social responsibility seems to be the answer to the social situation young ethnic minority youth experience. Not in a passive way, but as strategies which seem possible to develop as individualisation strategies in a world in which social integration is a contradictory process. Social responsibility may only become a societal responsibility, when young ethnic minority youth are both formally and real integrated in local communities. At the same time it seems as if discrimination leads to different forms of limitation of social responsibility ranging from societal to a more social and local form of social responsibility.

In conclusion, arranging of arenas and zones of politics in youth life influences the constitution of social responsibility, because conditions of everyday life (the expediency of social and individual trajectories) determine the possibilities of committing oneself socially. Especially, the dimensions of inclusion and discrimination influence the possibilities of developing forms of social responsibility.

Chapter 6: (Re)ethnicization and policy

Jan Skrobanek, Mariella Wilhelm

Introduction

According to the preceding comparative country analysis, research shows that if ethnic minority youth wish to integrate into late modern European society they have to learn to manage late modern societal life. In many respects, this means that they have to change many aspects of the traditional family culture and develop late modern forms of individualisation, which support individual agency and self-confidence (Giddens 1994). Hence, ethnic minority youth has to invent individual and social strategies between traditional family cultural contexts and late modern individualisation. Ethnic minority youth culture bridges family life and cultural contexts, and late modern life (Mørch 2006).

Despite these normative expectations, in many European countries, ethnic minority youth experience disadvantages, stigmatisation and discrimination in their daily life. The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006) reports cases of discriminatory behaviour towards ethnic minorities in nearly all of the European Union Member States. Complaints concern the access to higher school degrees, to employment (both for trainee positions and for full time jobs) and the treatment; they are confronted with in institutional settings. According to this, ethnic minority youth perceive their failure to find access as a cultural, social and economic debacle, as ethnically motivated discrimination or exclusion. Multiple disadvantages – especially in the school system and the labour market – result in the fact that young people from ethnic minorities becoming dependant on their own social group of origin (with all the social-cultural and economic consequences). They feel like second-class citizens, not accepted in the country in which they live.

Even though second- and third-generation ethnic minority youth (descendants) perform better and are getting more and more integrated in the different societies, the disadvantaged migrants still have to face big obstacles and odds regarding conditions of their everyday life: housing, economy, and opportunities of education and work.

Indeed, there are many empirical evidences showing that immigrants or certain ethnic minorities still only gain lower positions on the job market and that the access to work and the social circles associated therewith remain difficult. Therefore, it is not only a question of perception but of facts, clearly illustrating the disadvantages of ethnic minority youth.

Thus, ethnic minority youth live in a double challenge of changing culture and of becoming late modern youth. These two challenges are combined as challenges between two cultural contexts. Often, the young people's 'cultural capital' (bilingualism, intercultural understanding) is not recognized as an asset but rather as a weakness.

Aware of these disadvantages of immigrants or ethnic minorities, in several countries, integration is at the top of the political agenda. It is one of the most important issues regarding social politics, labour market politics, different political considerations and migration laws etc.

If all this is seen as the end of a process of blocked chances, it is necessary, to identify those aspects which caused the differences in success of ethnic minority youth. Therefore we have

to look for individual (agency) and structural aspects (constrains) which produce the differences or – as it might be – the disadvantages. Having at hand some case examples from Denmark, Germany, Finland, Romania, Portugal and Spain in the following, we will concentrate based on these case studies on two different aspects:

- a) the institutional constrains represented by the modes of policies implemented in the different countries and
- b) the modes of agency young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in order to cope with those institutional/structural constrains.

In a first step, we will analyse the course of action on the level of policy. What does the implemented policy contribute to support young immigrants/ethnic minority youth to perform social integration? Which modes of policy can be identified and how can they be characterised? How do the political actions restrict or assist the agency of ethnic minority youth?

Secondly, we will focus on strategies young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in dealing with the situation they are confronted with. What strategies do they use to get access to the society? What are the differences between those strategies? How do they cope with perceived discrimination and exclusion?

Case analysis

The process of social integration involves both societal conditions set for young immigrants/ethnic minority youth (structure) as well as acknowledgement and active involvement of young immigrants/ethnic minority youth acting (agency) within them.

In this case, policy draws the structural frame of social life by setting generally binding conditions, possibilities and limitations for the individual to act upon. Agents are knowledgeable and active individuals, who act intentionally but not necessarily consciously concerning all potential consequences from the actions made (GlossaryUp2Youth). The forms of agency are dependent on the structural frame in the different countries and hence the resultant room of action.

The following case studies show the (intended) role of policy provoking different forms of agency through restrictions and show the influence on immigrants/ethnic groups to ethnicize or not.

The policy aspect: Assimilation through school integration

The Romanian case shows that one of the major problems of the Romanian school system is the segregation between ethnic Romanians and Roma (Romania: *Participation in education in Bobesti*, Case Box 16)

Case box 16

Participation in education in Bobesti

The Roma community of Bobesti consists of settled Romas. The infrastructure of the community is poorly developed (dirt roads, no running water or sewage system or natural gas supply). Housing conditions are poor – most homes are improvised from all sorts of construction remnants collected from the garbage dump “Ochiul Boului” near the settlement. Most of the Roma in Bobesti have low levels of education and hardly any qualifications that would allow them to obtain stable jobs. Bobesti school was established in 1962 and until 1991 included grades one to ten, but at present only goes up to the eighth grade. While at its very beginning it was preponderantly Romanian and for a good while after that the school was quite mixed ethnically – currently all students are of Roma ethnicity. The segregation process unfolded in the transition period, after 1990, when freedom to choose which school to go has been granted to everybody and many people looked for schools in Bucharest, Glina or Catelu. Thus, Romanian children were gradually taken out of this school. In 2006–2007, none of the pupils who completed grade eight managed to pass the national examination, which would have allowed them to continue their studies in the upper secondary school; previous years were no better.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Romania, EUMAP (2007).

The case refers to the community of Bobesti near by the Capital Bucharest. There are three schools in the commune, one each in the three component villages. The focus of the case study lies on Bobesti School, which was established in 1962. While at its very beginning it was preponderantly Romanian and for a good while after that the school was mixed ethnically, currently, most of the students are of Roma ethnicity. After 1990, Romanian children were gradually taken out of this school. Both Romanian and Roma pupils from Bobesti attend other schools in the commune or in Bucharest, but this is done more often among ethnic Romanians. A study revealed that some families could not afford the costs of school textbooks, materials and extracurricular activities. Therefore, the observable segregation is caused by two factors: on ethnic grounds and on socio-economic grounds.

Policy action mode:

In 2005, Bobesti School applied for funds in the Phare project “Access to education for disadvantaged groups”. The decision is still pending. Additionally, the school hired a second Romanes teacher to break down language barriers between students and the teachers especially in the primary grades.

(Possible, indented or unintended) outcome:

The aim of the action was to cool down the vicious circle of lack of resources within family resulting in poor school performance of children, which at its turn results in poor employment perspectives and consequently in perpetuation of poverty.

Another Romanian case study concerns one of the key demographic characteristics of the Roma ethnic group in Romania: the early marriage (Romania: *Project on image of Roma girls*, Case Box 13). Under the situation of increasing options for non-formal marriage after 2000, the weight of Roma women getting married before the age of 20 has been increasing from 70% among the age group 25-29 to 84% among the age group 20-24. This behaviour has been accompanied by an increasing amount of early pregnancy (defined as pregnant under the age of 18 under the first birth) among young Roman women.

Policy action mode:

To diminish the phenomenon of early marriage and subsequent precocious pregnancy, the following steps were taken from the authorities:

- a) promotion of women of having got married after the age of 18 who were successful in competing at least compulsory education and had thereafter a professional career;
- b) provision of free pre-marital consultations within schools for girls aged 13-14 years and over;
- c) avoiding school segregation on ethnic basis.

(Possible, indented or unintended) outcome:

The identified policy action mode has its focus on encouraging adaptation and further assimilation of young Roma girls to mainstream demographic behaviour.

A third example of Romania shows that the Roma people's major source of income are, according to the mayor, thieving, social security and emergency aid and low paid unskilled work (Romania: Project Roman City, Case Box 17).

Case box 17

Municipal project Roman City

Roman City is situated in north-eastern Romania. The unofficially estimated number of the Roma inhabitants is approximately 14,000. In 2001, the Romas from the centre of the town were moved to the Satul Olympic neighbourhood to mitigate the tensions between the Roma and the Romanians. The Municipality developed a RON 12 billion (around EUR 3.5 million) project to refurbish some stables bought from a company and make them suitable for housing, thus offering to Roma people from the downtown building better living conditions. After the Roma community was moved from the centre of the municipality to Olympic, they set up classrooms for the Roma children's education in one of the stables. However, the County School Inspectorate stepped in and moved the children to another school, thus avoiding school segregation and ensuring education in line with reforms taken as part of Romania's accession process to the European Union. The total number of students in the Sports School Roman, which now incorporates also the school where Roma students from Olympic had been enrolled, is 320, of whom 231 are Romanians (72.19 per cent) and 89 Roma (27.81 per cent). Roma parents state that they are pleased with the way in which teaching is carried out at present, because the students are given homework, they are provided with a meal and there is an after-school programme that starts at noon and ends at four in the afternoon.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Romania, EUMAP (2007).

Until 2001, there was an old apartment building in the Mihai Eminescu neighbourhood downtown. Approximately 90% of the people who lived there were Roma.

Policy action mode:

In 2001, there was a cut of resources (utilities, heating, and sewage system) and the building turned into a sort of ghetto. The Roma were moved to another neighbourhood while the municipality offered to Roma people from downtown building better living conditions, which the municipality was paying for. Later, the Town Hall built a medical unit in this new area.

Further, the municipality set up classrooms for the Roma children's education in one of the stables. To avoid school segregation and insuring education short after the children were moved to another school.

(Possible, indented or unintended) outcome:

There has been a great success bringing young Roma into education. A survey showed that the Roma are pleased with the way in which teaching is carried out at present and the after-school programme. Caused by the Municipality action assimilation was forced. The Roma accepted the resettlement, adapted to the new environment and the children got integrated into education. Therefore, the municipality relies on education as a means to improve Roma conditions, both in terms of employment opportunities and in terms of social behaviour.

Social integration through legal action mode

Most of immigrants in Spain have no clear picture of what it means to be immigrant in Spain (Spain: Lenir: Entrepreneurship, Case Box 11). Quite often, they are shocked by the problems according to regularize one's legal status, to get a job and living as an "undocumented" immigrant.

"We were undocumented immigrants and didn't have the papers needed there ... it is difficult without a legal status, very difficult."

Policy action mode:

Like in other countries, there are different hurdles in Spain to get the status of legal resident in Spain (in the case they are not explicitly reported). However, in 2005 the situation changed completely. A new immigrant law was established.

(Possible, indented or unintended) outcome:

Establishing the legalizing law structural assimilation of the immigrants is enforced. This further fosters social integration into the family and into bigger ethnically heterogeneous networks. Nevertheless, from the case it becomes not clear if the legalizing law – beside the structural assimilation – also helps to fit into the dominant culture of the Spanish society.

"During October (he means the year 2001, when he first arrived in Spain) and until 2005, well, I've been looking for a lot of ways to regularize my situation, but it was impossible. I've sent my documentation, but it was always denied... But then, in 2005 there was regularization and we could get papers with the current president, with that Zapatero."

Marginalization due to no active support

In the town of Segovia there is a rapidly growing community of Bulgarians (Spain: *Bulgarian association GABRIELA*, Case Box 18).

Case box 18

Bulgarian association GABRIELA

Gueorgui is the president of the Bulgarian Association GABRIELA in Segovia. He represents the perfect example of emigration characterized by family regrouping. He arrived ten years ago, and after him, his wife and two sons came to Spain. He left his country for political reasons with a tourist visa, and obtained a working permit arrangement after working in several different jobs. Since 2001, he lives in Segovia and is currently working in the construction industry and in catering. The Bulgarian Association GABRIELA was created in 2004 due to an initiative of Gueorgui and the massive arrival of Bulgarians to the city of Segovia during the last five years. Gueorgui expresses his discomfort with local authorities for not favouring *associationalism* among immigrants in Segovia, as they do not provide enough resources or infrastructures. Gueorgui also feels confused about immigration policies developed on a national level. On the one hand, “there are very advertised policies that place immigrants on the front row of social policies, but on the other hand on a local level, there are just not enough resources available to favour integration of immigrants”.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Spain, AREA, Bétera.

While the first generation of Bulgarian immigrants had no integration problems there is no growing concern about the situation of their children. Their children have, in many cases, huge integration problems within the education system and suffer high school failure rates. They have problems with the language and don't identify nor feel supported by the society.

Policy action mode:

The legal action mode allows to come as an illegal immigrant with a tourist visa and to stay there with a work contract. “It is very strange to enter the country with a job-contract. We come as tourists and start moving things.” Further it promotes “associationalism” among the Bulgarian community. It helps to create participation networks on the local level and supports identity processes among the immigrant population. However, there is no active support (e.g. spending money, offering facilities or infrastructures) for associationalism of the local authorities.

(Possible, indented or unintended) outcome:

Therefore, there is much confusion and frustration among the Bulgarian immigrant population. They are dissatisfied with the support of the local authorities because – from their point of view – they do not provide enough resources or infrastructure especially with refer to the young people of the first or second generation of Bulgarian immigrants. Generally speaking, they feel not enough support economically, culturally and socially among their children. They see the danger that the young generation of Bulgarian immigrants gets marginalized or worst actively separated from the Spanish society. In so far, there are some signals that in the future separation could become an important part of behaviour of young Bulgarian immigrants in Segovia since the applied policy motivates young immigrants/ethnic group members to keep their heritage culture e.g. cultural maintenance and does not give profound help to the youngsters to get involved with the society/dominant group.

The agency aspect

What forms of agency do the young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in the analysed case studies of the different countries? Under which conditions do they take place and which output do they produce under the given conditions?

(Re)ethnicization

In Germany young Turks and Repatriates tend to (re)ethnicization when they perceive themselves or their group as being discriminated against (Germany: *Perceived discrimination and (re-)ethnisation* (Case Box 8) and *Turkish power boys* (Case Box 6)). When they feel discriminated against, young immigrants/ethnic minority youth perceive the permeability of group boundaries as being low and that strengthen social identity or identification with the group of origin. The less the young people with migration background believe to be part in the German majority one day, the more their reinforced group identification causes (re)ethnicization. The strategy of (re)ethnicization leads to a retreat into the own group, to a preservation of a cultural identity, to a sphere of solidarity and to a mobilisation of the own group vis-à-vis other groups. But this should not be interpreted as merely a lack of willingness to integrate. In praxis, the strategy of (re)ethnicization becomes an attractive alternative when young people with an immigrant background encounter problems in their day-to-day lives, in their attempts to realise their life wishes and to achieve their goals. It leads to a positive pronunciation of the ethnic identity. It can be shown for example that the cultivation of the specific cultural capital (e.g. the “Turkish slang”) appears as one of the main strategies in order to enhance a negative social identity. Therefore, processes of acceptance or non-acceptance of specific cultural capital mainly influences problems of accounting by the dominant group/majority. Like the case shows this situation can arise in many different areas of life, in the education system, the apprenticeship and labour market, from going to the disco to contact with government offices and authorities (e.g. job centre, police, and court). Quite often this ends in a low socio-economic status, which is one of the key indicators of being marginalized. Thus, in general blocked or refused access to preferred goods increases the risk that (re)ethnicization is chosen as coping strategy. Generally spoken a low class position – caused by the disintegration from dominant social, cultural and economic capital – does directly effect (re)ethnicization of ethnic minority youth.

Contrary to the previous more individual agency concerning (re)ethnicization, the following are based on a more institutional formation in this process to handle problems concerning integration in Portugal (Portugal: *Ethnic associativism*, Case Box 19).

Case box 19

Ethnic associativism

The Associação Cabo-Verdiana [Cape Verde Association] constituted in 1970 was the first association of ethnic nature to emerge in Portugal. It began by presenting itself as a socio-cultural institution with the primary objective of contributing towards the preservation and reproduction of a Cape Verdean identity. Confronted with the intensification of immigration from African ex-colonies to Portugal during the 1970's, the association transformed itself into the Associação de Cabo-verdianos e Guineenses (1976), which began to be managed by a more diversified and representative and younger, group of the Cape Verdean community (students, working students and a proletarian group of young construction workers). From the 1980's onwards there was an accentuated decline in members' participation in this association due to, on the one hand, family reunification which began to intensify – the association began to be substituted by the kinship networks. On the other hand, the number of members also fell due to the proliferation of neighbourhood associations oriented towards the resolution of concrete problems of the immigrant population neighbourhoods. Today the activity of this association is characterized by the increase in intervention activities not only among the members and groups of Cape Verdeans in the country, but also by contacts with the embassy and government of Cape Verde and Portugal, and even with decision making bodies of the European Community.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Portugal, Carita & Rosendo (1993).

Associativism is one of the available means of promotion of the representation of minority groups in the spheres of political decision-making. This organisation allows the socially more vulnerable populations to transform themselves into groups capable of expressing their interests and being represented with the organisations in power. Associação Cabo-Verdiana (later Associação de Cabo-verdianos e Guineenses) was the first association of ethnic nature to emerge in Portugal. In terms of political intervention, this association has had a positive action in the claim for an integrated immigration policy, in the regularization of the situation of illegal immigrants in Portugal, in the right to vote in municipal elections, in the adoption of measures against failure at school among members of the Cape Verdean community, in the recognition of the right to housing without discrimination, in equality of work opportunities and access to social security. The strategy of organised (re)ethnicization focused on cultural activities, the dissemination of Cape Verdean music and literature as well as seminars with renowned figures of the Cape Verdean cultural and scientific fields leads to the preservation of a cultural identity and to a sphere of solidarity and socialization among the immigrated Cape Verdeans.

An organisational representation of minority is also shown by the segregation process of young Bulgarian immigrants of the second generation in the Spanish town Segovian, as consequence of failure and exclusion experienced in the education system and labour marked (Spain: *Bulgarian Association GABRIELA*, Case Box 18) The Spanish case describes the non-integration in the educational system and the high rates of dropouts that emerged the idea to promote associationalism among the Bulgarian Community aiming to favour self-esteem and identity among the young Bulgarians and to reinforce national social networks to prevent exclusion and segregation processes. Through the strategy of reinforcement of an ethnic identity by accentuate traditions of the Bulgarian Community they manage to become a part of the Segovian community: the Bulgarian Association organize an annual celebration of a

folkloric Bulgarian exhibition with a great impact on the local community. Thus, marginalisation leads to (re)ethnicization of the young Bulgarians in form of participation in the Bulgarian Association. Here they stable their identity by practicing Bulgarian traditions and values and plead in an organisational way for the concerns of the local immigrants and thus are more included in the local community. In fact they develop a participation strategy.

Social Creativity

In Germany the study “The third chair” from Tarek Badawia (2002) demonstrates that bicultural orientated adolescents develop a new strategy of handling two different cultures (Germany: *The third chair*, Case Box 15). They are not anymore sitting between two chairs but they construct in a creative way their own “third chair” in order to be part of the majority and at the same time to be different.

This case study describes the strategy of cultural navigation and social creativity of immigrant young people with a high educational achievement in Germany. Badawia considered a strong demand of social acceptance and a need of identity among these young immigrants. Through social comparison they find a way to adapt to both cultures and to build a cross-cultural identity. This social creativity is shown by a permanently transformation or actualization of the own self-concept. It allows the young people with migration background to integrate themselves in the dominant culture without giving up their own culture.

Different coping strategies seem to exist among ethnic minority girls in Denmark to handle the challenge of being a female ethnic minority between family background and future life in the modern society (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls’ strategies*, Case Box 1). Strategies like negotiation, breaking up, double life and ideological/religious (re)construction lead to social creativity whereby the young girls manage to become included in the local late modern youth life and in this way integrated in late modern society. In the Danish society parents coming from rural or poor conditions often have a low education and unskilled work and therefore they are not very well integrated in the Danish society. Out of their own cultural and practical traditions they see the family as the central actors of society. For girls this means they should follow family interests and these interests are well controlled by parents and other family members. The double challenge concerning the girls is the result of being more controlled by the families than the boys. They see their future in Denmark and therefore they want to become integrated in the Danish society. Thus the girls want to have education and jobs. They want to become agents of their own life. One strategy is negotiating with the parents and this sometimes may lead to some changes. But sometimes it is necessary to break with the family if the girls don’t want to adapt to the family life perspectives and the parents are not ready for compromises. As a third and often used strategy Madsen describes the girls creativity by developing a secret double life concerning their double challenges of satisfy on the one hand their (traditional) families and on the other hand to participate in modern youth life. In front of their parents and other family members they follow the traditional life while secretly they try to live a late modern Danish youth life.

Another example shows high-educated Romanians in Portugal who immigrated because of employment difficulties (Portugal: *In search of the West*, Case Box 20).

Case box 20

In search of the West

In spite of having reasonable academic qualifications, young Romanians immigrate to Portugal because of employment difficulties in Romania. Mihaela is a young Romanian woman who arrived in Portugal three years ago – her personal contact (a cousin) she had in Portugal were one of the multiple determinants of the decision to migrate to Portugal. Her sister arrived later. At the moment she lives in a small house with a Romanian friend and her sister, with whom she shares a room. The first week in Lisbon corresponded to a period of discoveries, followed by a period of “uncertainties” and “ignorances”. Uncertainties when the need to find work turned into a priority that was difficult to accomplish. Ignorances which, to start with, had to do with not knowing a foreign language. But also due to the lack of knowledge about the specific cultural requisites to exercise certain professional activities. Mihaela found her first job, as a housemaid, only two months after her arrival in Portugal. Her cousins tried very hard to find work for her, but the language was always an obstacle, since Mihaela could not speak Portuguese. Of the money that she saves, Mihala sends what she can to her mother (widow and unemployed) to help her and her three brothers that are still studying in Romania.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Portugal, Pais (2006).

They want to adapt to the country of destination by convert themselves into an applicant to become a member of the community that welcomes them. Their process of integration is a process of gradual acquisition of knowledge about significant elements of the cultural matrix of the welcoming society. This knowledge allows them to adopt the cultural guidelines and function as compass to guide their day-to-day life. The strategy to become part of the host society is based on preconceived ideas towards the “Others” and “Us” in terms of ethnic differentiation and also towards beliefs concerning them in perspective of the majority. José Machado Pais showed in 2006 that the actual reality does not match the beliefs about that reality. The fictional and preconceived categories end up being destroyed in the face of reality due to disregard of the multiple cleavages that can exist between the “Others”. The categorized knowledge about the “Others” and “Us” as strategy of cultural navigation can just be verified or refuted by immigrants and members of the majority in specific situations of interaction in order to negotiate misunderstandings and prejudices.

Social Competition/ Realistic Competition

The city Braganca in the north of Portugal is a good example for negative reactions of members belonging to the majority concerning integrations processes of immigrants (Portugal: *Under the mask of stigma*, Case Box 21).

Case box 21

Under the mask of stigma

There were social upheavals generated by the presence of young Brazilian women in a city in the North of Portugal (Bragança). Due to the women's condition of *prostitutes*, *seductresses* and *immigrants*, they were looked upon as a factor of disturbance of the public order. Some women of Bragança organized themselves into a social movement, self-designated as “*Mães de Bragança*” (*Mothers of Bragança*) to drive them out of town, accusing them of bewitching their husbands with their spells and enchantments. Some of the press supported the “mothers’ movement” with xenophobic discourses. Escaping from poverty, the *meninas* (the Brazilian women) earned a lot of money from prostitution (part of which is sent to their mothers in Brazil); some quit the prostitution circuit, got married and found other jobs. At the same time, they stirred up the commerce of the city of Bragança by creating employment. It is not surprising that the traders (of restaurants, mobile phones, hairdressers, taxi drivers, apartment rentals, laundries, etc.) turned against the “*mães*”. The *meninas* also educated the clients on how to have healthier behaviours: use of condoms; a bath before and after sexual relations; promotion of the affection and conversation dimensions. Additionally, the *meninas* taught the men to look at sexuality as an art between two people, instead of considering the woman as a burden.

Ref.: National case descriptions (Appendix): Portugal, Pais (2007).

Not the marginalized people react and form up towards discrimination and non-integration processes but privileged persons who form up a negative reaction towards immigrant women for fear of their position as wives. The presence of young Brazilian women in this traditional city activated some women of Braganca to organize themselves into a social movement “Mothers of Braganca”. Accusing the young Brazilian women in their condition of prostitutes, seductresses and immigrants for bewitching their husbands, the “Mothers of Braganca” ignore structural tensions prostitution comes from: it derives from matrimonial tensions (which justify the demand) and from unemployment tensions (from which supply originates). The perspectives of the Mothers form under the mask of stigma the creation of stereotypes and thus processes of exclusion: any Brazilian woman that visits Braganca is looked at with distrust and most likely as a prostitute. Those stereotypes and following xenophobic discourses emerge as group specific representations of reality.

Kurdish-Danish Mustafa Kemal Topal (2007) stresses the question why Kurdish young people in Turkey gets an education while the Kurds in Denmark – even if they have the language skills – are not as successful as expected even though young people in Denmark have better chances both socially and economically (Denmark: *From where I origin, my future begins*, Case Box 5). As an answer to the bad success of young people with Kurdish background in the Danish educational system, Topal underlines in his case study “From where I origin, my future begins” the plans and intentions to return to Turkey, not primarily the wish to integrate in the Danish society. The goal and strategy of the young Kurdish people in Denmark is to stay in Denmark temporarily, earn most money in shortest time in order to be able to travel back and settle in Turkey. To participate in further education would be waste of time in their perspective and not an instrument for integration into the Danish society. The future plans and the expectations of the families are importantly matter the question of integration.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the case studies there are some general aspects, which we have found and which we have summarized in the following. The first interesting question we had on the material was what impact structural constraints or alternatively further structural implemented interests of certain groups – as part of the political action mode existing in the analyzed countries – have on agency. Therefore we searched the material for information how certain restrictions may influence or affect immigrants to ethnicize, to separate, to integrate etc. or not.

According to our cases at hand we were able to identify at least three clearly distinct modes of policies and its translation into economic, social and cultural structures. They signalling how young immigrants or members of an ethnic group should become acculturate.

- The first mode prefers *assimilation* of young immigrants/ethnic groups. Here it is believed that young immigrants/ethnic minority youth should give up their interest in maintaining their heritage culture and cultural identity and that they should get motivated for interacting with the rest of the society or the majority. It is hoped that through adaptation to standards of the dominant culture young immigrants or members of an ethnic group would have better access to means for realizing institutionalized ends.
- A second policy mode *marginalization* runs the risk of marginalizing young immigrants/ethnic minority youth because it encourages giving up reference/contact to the heritage culture/distinct cultural identity without giving access to the means of integration of the larger society. To disregard specific cultural needs relating to ethnic identities can lead to a break down of exchange between young immigrants/ethnic minority youth and the society/majority in general.
- To some extent – especially in the reported case of Segovia – aspects of the mode of *integration* become visible. Here the legal mode supports cultural maintenance referring to young immigrants/ethnic minority youth while striving for involvement with the society in general.

All of the reported modes of policy – and the structural constraints caused by that – lead to different outcomes of young immigrants/ethnic minority youth compared to other people or groups of the native population. This in turn brings about different modes of agency young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in dealing with the constraints or chances of the situation they faced with.

Based on analyzing the collected case studies according to “(re)ethnicization and policy” we also identified at least three dominant *modes of agency* used by young immigrants/ethnic minority youth. Marginalized by the larger society and separated by cultural and religious life styles, a significant proportion of young people with migration background is becoming part of a “processes of ethnic differentiation” reinforced by discrimination, restricted educational achievements and a low socioeconomic status.

- The most popular strategy used by the young immigrants or members of an ethnic group is *(re)ethnicization*. We suppose that (re)ethnicization constitutes a mode to emphasize or rather differentiate in-group specific – contrary to out-group specific – cultural group properties to (re)gain social recognition of their valued group distinctiveness, i.e. (re)gain a positive social identity in comparison with the out-group discriminated against.

- A second mode used is *social creativity*. Here the young immigrants or members of an ethnic group try to come up with both, the own group as well as the dominant group. To get integrated they redefine or alter the elements of their own or the group they belong to. In the case of “the third chair” for example they change the values assigned to the attributes of the group they belong to, so that they get integrated in the dominant culture without giving up their own culture. The salient dimensions – e.g. belonging to a Turkish group – remains the same, but the prevailing value system concerning it is rejected and reversed. The comparisons between “Turkish” and “German”, which were previously negative, are now perceived as positive caused by a “compromise” at a higher cultural level.
- In a third mode, ethnic group members (immigrants or members of the majority) may seek dominance through direct *competition* with the out-group. In doing so they try to reverse the relative position of their own group compared to the out-group. Like the cases show using this mode of agency will generate stereotyping and prejudice, conflict and antagonism between inferior and the dominant groups insofar as it focuses on the distribution of scarce social and economic resources.

Chapter 7: Employability and employment perspectives of young people with migrant/ethnic minority background

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Introduction

Our analyses during the figuration of the thematic issues have led to the conclusion that an agency-structure approach would be more suitable from the perspective of the overall objective of the project. This means exploring prerequisites and/or success factors of individual endeavours to cope with labour markets' requirements in relationship with labour markets' features and related institutional settings in the concerned countries. In doing so, our analysis focuses on what applies to the majority of young immigrants, and not to exceptional cases (such as career oriented immigrants with high academic qualifications).

Employability and employment perspectives are key concepts used in social research works and in policy discourses regarding the access of labour force to the labour market. Since these concepts are sometimes used with the same meaning, we find it necessary to point out from the beginning that in our analyses "employability" is mostly associated with individual related features (such as cultural capital and recognition), while "employment perspectives" focuses on features that are external to the job seeker, such as labour market constraints, employment policies, institutional settings, etc. Nevertheless, getting employment is the result of an inter-play between individual features (agency) and external (structural) features. For the purpose of this report, we have opted to use "employability" when referring to factors preponderantly related to agency and "employment perspectives" when referring to factors preponderantly related to structure. This does not mean ignoring the inter-play of internal and external factors whichever concept we use, but helps instead clear understanding of what we are focusing on in a certain context.

The report is structured along the main factors that we have identified as relevant for enabling and/or smoothing the access of ethnic minority youth to the labour market. However, the small number of cases documented within the project, along with limited information available from secondary sources to the project team, makes it impossible to elaborate on each factor. We will therefore focus on some important factors for which information was available as of the time of preparing this report. Additionally, we will refer to factors that are not directly related to the labour market features but play important roles for the development and support of educational and career life plans, such as family background and cultural capital, social capital and motivation).

Case analysis

Competencies, qualifications & professional skills

The mainstream thinking of how (young) people should proceed to gain a foothold in the labour market starts with acquiring (general and) specific competencies through general education and follows with acquiring qualifications through vocational education and training, then continuously improving professional skills in order to maintain and improve the occupational status. This includes, of course, consideration of favourable environment as well

as of the failure risks, from the origin family, relatives and peers levels up to education and labour market structures.

The cases documented by our colleagues, yet only a few, suggest that this is not the case when considering young immigrants in European countries. On the one hand, it appears that they feel themselves like fallen in a water where they have to swim for survival, no matter how good they do it and whether they do it in the right way or not. This makes them thinking that prerequisites of success relate to their ability to cope with local setting in the host country in order to earn their living rather than to their qualifications and past professional experience. However, cases of career driven immigrants have also been documented, in which the advancement strategy is to accommodate the origin culture with the mainstream culture in the host country, while constructing their own position (Germany: *The third chair*, Case Box 15). On the other hand, it appears that in most cases aspirations for occupational status in the host country are pretty low (at least for the first generation immigrants), what actually matters being the opportunities for earning money, which would then provide for better living conditions in their countries of origin, for better educational and employment career for their descendents, or whatever. While it is difficult to assess based on cases we have the extent to which these immigrants see their future in the host country or in their origin country, it seems that the option of going back is often just an “exit strategy” in case they fail to achieve a decent living in the host country.

To illustrate the statements above, let’s first see what Lenir says (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11):

“...for the job I do, I think the most important thing is to have intelligence, don’t you think? As I tell you, my mother doesn’t know how to read or write, but she does a great job here, I think. When we go and buy some new goods to sell them, we first buy a small quantity, and if it sells well, we buy more, and that is how we do it. That’s what we need, intelligence, to survive, to live on. ...”

“How I see the future? Well, probably working for some company, in ten years or so. Because sales are slowing down year after year and there nothing to do. Since 2005 there has been a decrease of 30%, which means that only after two years we sell 30% less. In a few years, it will get a lot worse and then, probably, I will be working for a company in ten years, as my other sister is already doing.” However, the origin country is not left aside while settling life objectives: “Well, the most important objective for us is to buy a flat here, and then build another house in Ecuador. That is our objective right now. With that in mind, we work night and day...For me, I would like to have an own house in Ecuador, as my mother has one. My mother has given up a lot of things, but she has such a big house.”

A typical position for those seeing their emigration experience just as an earning money endeavour was documented by our Danish colleagues. It is the case of Kurdish young people (from Turkey) living in Denmark, for most of whom taking an education would be a waste of time since their goal is to earn most money in the shortest amount of time, then to travel back and settle in Turkey (Denmark: *From where I origin, my future begins*, Case Box 5).

At the other extreme we find the case of Somali-speaking youth in Metropolitan Helsinki, documented by our Finish colleagues (Finland: *The icebreakers*, Case Box 2). As revealed by the case study, formal education is highly valued among the Somalis, yet adult Somalis having often difficulties in finding a job due to high unemployment in the society and not being able to work within the same occupation as in Somalia and therefore having to re-educate themselves. In the meantime, the adults have high expectations for their children’s school achievement and want their children to get a good education. This is not for the sake of education in se, but rather as a means to meet the model of “integrated immigrant”, which in the eyes of the dominant population is one who has found employment.

Another way of conceiving life paths in the host countries by young immigrants, regardless their ethnic origin has been documented by our German colleagues (Germany: *The third chair*, Case Box 15). It relates to career driven immigrants with high educational achievements who develop a specific strategy of handling the two different cultures (their own and that of the host country). “They want to be part of the majority and at the same time they want to be different.” To achieve this, they create a new cross-cultural identity rising out of their own and the dominant cultures. By doing this they are no longer “sitting between two chairs”, but sitting on their own “third chair”.

Finally, to round up the landscape of young immigrants’ thinking relating to prerequisites and/or success factors of gaining a foothold in the labour markets from host countries, we should evoke the case of a young Romanian immigrant in Portugal, documented by our Portuguese colleagues (Portugal: *In search of the west*, Case Box 20). Although accepting an under-qualified job (she found her first job as a housemaid), as soon as Mihaela, the protagonist of the case story, arrived at her country of destination, she converted herself into an applicant to become a member of the community that welcomed her. The case exemplifies the situation of the “foreigner” when, after arriving in another country, he/she seeks to interpret a cultural matrix that is strange to him/her, so as to attain a desired integration or overcome obstacles on the path to that integration.

The cases documented by country teams in our thematic group refer mostly to individual and group strategies developed and put into practice by immigrant population in the respective countries and less to institutional settings aimed at enabling inter-cultural accommodation and smoothing integration of foreign labour force into local labour markets of the host countries.

Past professional experience

Although much appreciated by employers, the past professional experience is something that even autochthonous young people in European countries have difficulties in making use of while trying to access a better paid job. As country reports suggest, this is mostly due to extended compulsory education along with lack of appropriate schemes enabling acquisition of professional experience while studying in the formal education systems (maybe to a lesser extent in Germany, where vocational and apprenticeship training schemes appear to be more developed). But when looking at immigrants’ situation, as reflected in the case studies/stories, one can easily see that even when having such experience immigrants can hardly document it and so less make use of it to get suitable employment. This is also the case of qualifications acquired in the origin countries by these immigrants, but at least efforts are being done in many European countries to develop appropriate mechanisms for acknowledgement of qualification certificates issued in other countries.

Going back to our selected cases, we may illustrate how previous qualification being useless in the new context the past experience along with learning by doing have helped Lenir to carry out his business (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11). In his mother country, Lenir started working when he was 10 years old, helping his mother with handcrafts: “*we exported goods from Ecuador to Chile and everything, always, was pure handcraft*”. At the age of 14 he left Ecuador and rejoined his parents who were already working there as street vendors; helping out with street vending was his first experience of immigrant worker, but also his first contact with the real meaning of emigration: looking for a job, regularizing one’s legal status, living as an “undocumented” immigrant and being exploited. After moving to Portugal, he simply developed the new abilities acquired in Chile and learned from how people were doing this in the new context:

“When we go and buy some new goods to sell them, we first buy a small quantity, and if it sells well, we buy more, and that is how we do it. That’s what we need, intelligence, to survive, to live on. Well, I’m not telling you that I’m very intelligent, but look, some others...well, I have seen them work, and we work at the same markets and fairs. Well, I don’t know, but they don’t seem to improve. I can’t tell you why. I work with my family, we work as a group, and if it is possible, we’ll try to get two or three vending-places, but others only have one or two stands, and they sell very few things. I don’t know, I think you have to work harder, pay more attention to what you are doing, and that’s basic, paying attention.”

He also needed to get aware of the norms that ruled street vending in Portugal.

A special case when past experiences (yet not quite professional) have helped immigrants to get employment has been documented by the Danish team (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10). In the inner city of Copenhagen, an area with a high percentage of ethnic minority youth, ethnic minority young males are employed as “Wild street-workers” to deal with social work, out-reach work among young people in general (including ethnic minority youth in the area). They do not have formal educations, but are employed on the ground of their biographical and social skills (street wise), which they are expected to use for solving problems in the neighbourhood – to be mediators between young people in trouble and the municipality of Copenhagen. This is however a good example of how knowledge and experience of ethnic minority groups could be positively combined with additional training towards development of specific careers. Similar cases have been identified by the Romanian team with regard to Roma people involved in Police actions within neighbourhoods with large groups of Roma settling therein, and with regards to education programmes addressed to this ethnic minority (cf. *Good Governance in Multiethnic Communities. Conditions, instruments, best practices, ways to achieve and measure good governance at the local level - a joint publication of the Ethnocultural Diversity Center and the King Baudouin Foundation for Democracy et alii.*, 2007; available on line via www.edrc.ro or www.kbs-frb.be – not included in the case studies report).

To follow and extend these kinds of initiatives, not only openness and propensity of (local) authorities in the host countries are necessary, but also an enabling legal framework and permissive structures of policy implementation.

Access to information and acquiring job search skills

While basic knowledge about main information sources and dissemination channels with regard to job opportunities, is pretty easily acquired by young nationals of the immigrants’ host countries through their participation in formal and non-formal education, through public information campaigns carried out by responsible agencies, as well as through their social networks, young immigrants are facing at least a double challenge in this regard: the lack of knowledge relating to the institutional settings of the labour market in the host country and the lack/weakness of social networks.

Notwithstanding the role of immigrants’ family and ethnic networks as facilitators of newcomers’ access to the basic prerequisites of integration in the welcoming communities (lodging and first job), one can not speak about real access of immigrant youth to labour markets in the host countries without effective policy measures to ensure access to information and assistance with job seeking. And this might be not enough, as suggested by the Portuguese case studies report, since even low qualified jobs often require knowledge of a specific way of doing things in the host community, e.g. “knowledge about the specific cultural requisites to exercise certain professional activities, such as being a “housemaid”, the confrontation between the characteristic “common way of doing things” of one country and that of another (even in terms of cooking)” (Portugal: *In search of the west*, Case Box 20).

Both governmental and non-governmental structures may have a role in developing and implementing such policies and good practice examples in this regard have been documented by our colleagues in both cases.

In Portugal, the Coordinating Secretariat of the Multicultural Education Programmes, in partnership with the local ethnic associations, develop multicultural education projects, whose methodology is based on bringing together common points between the various ethnic communities integrated in schools. Besides, a state support structure, the *Entrepreneurial Support Group*, integrated within the *National Centre of Support to Immigrants*, was recently created, with the purpose of supporting and following up entrepreneurial initiatives, by providing information regarding formalities and legal aspects of setting up a company, the existing incentives and financial support, as well as the conditions of access to bank funding (Portugal: *Ethnic entrepreneurship*, Case Box 12).

The already quoted initiative of the municipality of Copenhagen to employ ethnic minority young males as "Wild street-workers" is a good example in this regard as well. According to our Danish colleagues (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10) the area has a reputation of experimenting with a variety of strategies regarding social work among young people; lots of social projects as well as projects for unemployed young people have been carried out there. The content of work includes using private contacts within the milieus and to use means of actions very alternative to the formal social work. They were all offered the opportunity of taking social workers formal education, but most of them failed to graduate. However, the initiative had positive effects and the challenge identified by our colleagues is how to transform the successes in one community (of learning/practice) to others, including with regard to the labour markets.

To illustrate the role that non-governmental organisations (may) play in initiating and developing programmes aiming, *inter alia*, at improving the access to information and acquiring job seeking skills by immigrant and ethnic minority youth, we will refer below to three cases documented respectively by the Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian teams.

The Bulgarian immigrants' association "GABRIELA" was created in 2004 as a result of the massive arrival of Bulgarians to the city of Segovia during the previous five years, forming a large colony of "Segovian Bulgarians" (Spain: *Bulgarian sssociation GABRIELA*, Case Box 18). It was initially aimed at maintaining traditions and habits of their country of origin, but shortly became also an instrument for promoting participation of these immigrants in the local community's life. According to Gueorgui, the leader of this association, the first generation of Bulgarian immigrants in Segovia has managed integration into the labour market pretty well, although in jobs that do not require high qualification or expertise. "Family and friends inform about jobs and offer support during the first moments." With the purpose, on the one hand, of creating capable participation networks on a local level and, on the other hand, of creating identity reinforcement processes among young people they also created a sports association called "Bulgaria 24", with main objectives to favour self-esteem among young Bulgarians and reinforce national social networks to prevent exclusion and segregation processes. However, it seems that local authorities have not ranked the objectives of these associations among the priorities of their community, which determined Gueorgui to express in the interview quoted by our colleges "his discomfort with local authorities for not favouring *associationalism* among immigrants in Segovia, as they do not provide enough resources or infrastructures". While the "discomfort" of immigrants' leader might be understood from the perspective of group interests, one should not ignore that any integration endeavour must take into account the value system and the priorities of the welcoming community, which the local authorities are bound to keep as paramount. A "colony" approach

might be suitable for immigrants whose objective is just earning money then go back to their mother country, but one could hardly argue that this is suitable for people wishing to settle for good in the host country.

A more pragmatic and adaptative approach has been documented by the Portuguese team with regard to immigrants' associations established in their host country in the case of Associação Cabo-Verdiana (Portugal: *Ethnic associativism*, Case Box 19). Constituted in 1970, this was the first association of ethnic nature to emerge in Portugal. It began by presenting itself as a socio-cultural institution of regional characteristics (due to the fact that Cape Verde was a Portuguese colony and, therefore, a region of the Empire), with the primary objective of contributing towards the preservation and reproduction of a Cape Verdean identity among the original elements of Cape Verde that lived in the metropolis. In addition to the preservation of a cultural identity, the sphere of solidarity and socialization that the association promoted among the immigrated Cape Verdeans is also worthy of mention. Confronted with the intensification of immigration from African ex-colonies to Portugal during the 1970's, the Casa de Cabo Verde transformed itself into the Associação de Cabo-verdianos e Guineenses (1976), which began to be managed, not by an elite of immigrants that arrived in Portugal before the 1960's but, by a more diversified and representative, as well as much younger, group of the Cape Verdean community, in which the students, working students and a proletarian group of young construction workers were dominant. More than half of the members (54%), at that time, were less than 30 years old, being mainly men. The intervention of this association was changed radically, in terms of an increase in political and community intervention, seeking to resolve the problems of integration of the majority of the community, which involved the promotion of a literacy programme, as well as social assistance, health and education activities, in the residential neighbourhoods of immigrants, usually of illegal construction. More recently, the activity of this association was characterized by the increase in intervention activities not only among the members and groups of Cape Verdeans in the country, but also by contacts with the embassy and government of Cape Verde and Portugal, and even with decision making bodies of the European Community. In terms of political intervention, this association has had a positive action in the claim for an integrated immigration policy, in the regularization of the situation of illegal immigrants in Portugal, in the right to vote in municipal elections, in the adoption of measures against failure at school among members of the Cape Verdean community, in the recognition of the right to housing without discrimination, in equality of work opportunities and access to social security.

A similar case from the perspective of providing support to disadvantaged ethnic minority groups towards their better social integration (including access to employment) has been documented by the Romanian team (Romania: *Project youth for youth*, Case Box 14). It refers to a project implemented by the Organisation of Young Roma from Galati City (OYRG) in the framework of the ANSIT programme "Community Initiatives for Youth - 2007". The project named "Youth for Youth" aimed to open opportunities for empowering young people from disadvantaged groups to make decisions on their future and to get involved from a well informed position in the decision making process at community and at county level with regard to problems they are concerned by. It was to a large extent a learning by doing project, participants being trained and directly involved in project's activities, such as information campaigns, volunteering and attracting volunteers, meetings with decision makers aimed at sensibilising them with regard to their specific problems, development of a website and a discussion forum, job seeking activities, civic activities, etc. The project approach highlights an important prerequisite of participation as agency: the sense of being able to (successfully) get involved. The project's rationale suggests that young people in disadvantaged positions (pretty typical for young Roma) do not engage in social change because, inter alia, they

actually do not know how to do it and what means are available to them in this regard. It reveals that not only professional skills are necessary for engagement but also social skills, for which non-formal and informal learning with support by youth NGOs could be a solution to compensate/complement formal education.

Entrepreneurship

Living from independent economic activities, more or less officially registered, is sometimes an option for immigrants, either as an alternative source of income to temporary employment or as main source of income. In our case studies/stories this appears in the form of buying and re-selling goods, which does not require special qualification, but requires instead specific abilities and (when done officially) knowledge of applicable regulations on the respective markets. But cases have been also documented when true businesses have been established by groups of immigrants, with relevant links to origin countries and their ethnicity. We mainly refer to cases documented by the Spanish and Portuguese teams.

Referred to as “ethnic businesses” by the Spanish team and as “ethnic (business) strategies” by the Portuguese team, businesses developed by immigrants appear to either integrate activities/services carried out mainly by immigrants (house-cleaners, home-carers for older people, maids, waiters or kitchen-helpers, etc), which initially used to be contracted individually and afterwards through intermediary companies (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11), or mobilize resources (cultural, financial, human, political and/or social) within a given ethnic community, obtained through solidarity and reciprocity networks intrinsic to an ethnic group (Portugal: *Ethnic entrepreneurship*, Case Box 12). Worthy to recall here the good practice example of formal support structures created by the state in Portugal to encourage and assist this kind of entrepreneurial initiatives, already referred to above.

These kinds of initiatives/strategies not only provide income to immigrant business persons, but also provide employment for their co-nationals. Therefore, ensuring the legal framework to enable entrepreneurship among immigrants and availability of programmes and funding schemes to encourage such entrepreneurship may be considered important prerequisites of business agency for young immigrants. However, the potential of “ethnic businesses” to create employment for (young) immigrants is rather low if compared to the actual dimensions of unemployment among this category.

Motivation

While trying to focus on what practice has revealed - through the concrete cases documented by country teams – in support and/or substantiation of our emergent theme, in order to round up (without pretending to run through all of them) the constellation of factors that play important roles in smoothing the access of immigrant youth to suitable employment, we can not avoid saying something about motivation, as far as available information allows for. We will only explore what case studies reveal with regard to the two key determinants of motivation: subjective relevance of targets (in our case, getting suitable jobs) and subjective assessment of probability/chances to reach the targets.

As we have already noticed, most immigrants referred to in our case studies have rather low expectations with regard to the jobs they might get in the host country, the relevance of which is mostly associated to the money they would earn from. This does not mean automatically low motivation, especially in the case of those whose target is just to earn money and get back to their country of origin, but for the large majority of those wishing to settle for good in the host country money motivation, yet strong at the beginning, most probably loses strength sooner or later on the account of other targets, such as personal fulfilment, social recognition,

children's education and career perspectives, etc. While compared to the short-term target the subjective assessment of success chances might be optimistic enough to stimulate agency, also supported sometime somewhere by (ethnic) social networks and/or NGOs, when it comes to higher expectations one cannot say, based on the documented cases, that many young immigrants foresee good chances to succeed. To mitigate the resulting dissonance, or just to hide it from the peers' eyes, many young immigrants in such situation call on the "exit strategy" of "doesn't matter, I actually intend to go back in my country and start my own business .. or whatever", which rarely happen. Of course, others go for youth sub-cultures as a means to, *inter alia*, compensate the lack of satisfaction, but this is another matter, which exceeds the scope of this report. Finally, what happens most likely is the reproduction of precarious employment and social status of immigrants.

Conclusion

In consideration of the small number of cases documented within the project, along with limited information available from secondary sources to the project team, the conclusions below should not be taken as generalisations, but only as indicative of certain socio-economic contexts that often place ethnic minority / migrant origin youth in a disadvantaged position as compared to their peers from majority groups while engaging in the individualisation and social integration process.

The improvements achieved by developed countries in the areas of education and vocational training, along with welfare policies, have led, *inter alia*, to a deficit of low/unqualified labour force in sectors such as constructions, service businesses, tourism and personal care, which resulted in a structural dependency on unskilled, immigrant labour force in the labour market. Of course, this is not an encouraging environment for policies aiming at improving employment opportunities for immigrants. It is not encouraging for immigrants either in what regards propensity for improving/acquiring new qualifications.

The interplay between the labour markets' demand for immigrant labour force and the coping strategies of immigrants seems to lead to a *modus vivendi* that can be maintained only as far as the immigrants' coping strategies respond to the labour markets' demand in the host countries. This is intuitively understood or informally learned by the first generation of immigrants and has in most cases a de-motivating effect on their career aspirations and educational improvement plans. As suggested by our case studies, in response to this labour market demand, in most cases immigrants' aspirations for occupational status in the host country are pretty low (at least for the first generation immigrants). Nevertheless, several case studies suggest that many immigrants develop high aspirations regarding the employment status of their children, but one could hardly assert that the informal learning context in which these children actually grow up and develop their life plans is a stimulating one with regard to motivation for educational attainment and career development.

In spite of some cases having revealed that past experience and skills achieved by immigrants in their mother countries, namely in the field of entrepreneurship, one should notice that this kind of knowledge and abilities does not help very much wage earners, which compose the largest category of immigrant workers. For wage earners qualifications achieved in their mother countries are in most cases useless. This is not only because of the lack of market demand (e.g. traditional handicrafts), but also because of the lack of mechanisms for recognition of qualifications achieved by immigrants in their mother countries.

The country reports also reveal that preoccupations and responsible institutions for smoothing cultural accommodation of immigrants, as well as institutional frameworks responsible for

managing migration flows do exist in all the concerned countries. Also efforts are being done to improve adequacy of the formal education offer to the labour market demand and to develop enabling environments for non-formal learning programmes. In the meantime, these reports suggest that the existing institutional settings and policies are rather suited for improving employment perspectives of autochthonous population (and maybe better integrated second generation of immigrants) than for “new comers”.

Young immigrants are also facing difficulties with regard to the access to information and job search skills. To a certain extent, they try to cope with these challenges relying on co-nationals’ networks, but this does not help them very much to catch up the deficit and compete on equal footing with young nationals on the labour market. This may at the most help them to catch up the deficit in comparison with immigrants previously settled there, which rather leads to reproduction of immigrants’ position on the respective labour market than to achievement of a better employment status. Although not documented by our case studies, one should not ignore mass media warnings on the risks of becoming victims of trafficking in human beings or of getting involved in criminal activities that relying on certain networks of co-nationals may incur.

The case studies have also revealed that not only professional skills are necessary for engagement but also social skills, for which non-formal and informal learning with support by youth NGOs could be a solution to compensate/complement formal education.

While it is difficult to assess based on cases we have the extent to which these immigrants see their future in the host country or in their origin country, it seems that the option of going back is often just an “exit strategy” in case they fail to achieve a decent living in the host country, but this is rarely followed. Finally, what happens most likely is the reproduction of precarious employment and social status of immigrants.

Chapter 8: Agency & learning – creative, non formal, and informal learning

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Introduction

Migrant youth represents a complex reality that starts at the country of origin with a project of leaving the country, and continues at the reception society, where immigrants have to cope with integration or stay excluded. The discourse of these immigrants shows expectations about the reception society that are not always met. Leaving the society of origin is explained by a number of reasons, such as the deterioration of the quality of life, or an investment for the future in social and cultural capital, as they think about migration as an opportunity and a possibility to develop new expectations.

The beginning of the migration process is also related to different networks that have been created by family members and relatives of the countries of origin and destination, as migrants don't just choose to go anywhere, but to those places that offer "securities" to some extent.

The migration process can also be based on an attempt of family regrouping or carried out individually. In both cases family networks (extensive or nuclear networks) and contacts in origin and destiny can be the support used by immigration.

Among young people, immigrants and those belonging to ethnic minorities, it is important to highlight that there are two different insertion paths: there are those who invest in educational capital as a way to promote, and those who leave the education system to enter the labour market. Most of the ones leaving education reproduce labour patterns of their parents, and they start a process of individualization moving away from their communities of origin by a consumption of signs of integration (clothes, brands) or identity. Young people that have been living in the country of destination for a longer period of time develop strategies that will allow them to make social integration easier.

The societies of destination maintain a discourse of "pauperization" of immigration that allows legitimating subsequent domination of immigrant workers using arguments of cultural superiority and the requirement of integration.

When it comes to the interpretation, there are also two different discourses to be highlighted: the discourse of the native youth ("*essentialist or cultural racism*" and "*integration*") is presented as very homogeneous, focusing on the incidence of cultural differentiation and on the obligation of immigrants to adapt to the norms that rule the society of reception. According to the essentialist discourse, difficulties and problems are a consequence of deficiencies (in culture, in training) shown by immigrants. This discourse is in clear contradiction with the vision stated by young immigrants regarding a protection of their identity (*multiculturalism*). Is it possible for these two discourses to cohabit, or are they only creating borders between groups of young people that may feed racism? Pedreño states

“new racism is characterized by the fact that racist subjects do not show feelings of hatred or aversion, but they feel uncomfortable, insecure, and sometimes fearful; sensations that make them avoid the other, more than leading to direct aggression” (Pedreño, 2007: 147).

Young Spanish people clearly assume the presence of immigrants and their contribution to the economy (*“They come to work in the most hard and undesirable jobs”* (Pedreño, 2004: 91)), although due to the complexity of the new social reality, some expressions of rejection towards immigrants are inevitable among native groups.

Although most immigrants come to work, this fact is not always considered in the discourse stated by native young people as one of the main topics. This is so mainly because work “does not hold an important position in their subjective vital experience, in their way of looking at the world and living their daily life” (Pedreño, 2004: 90).

Consumption has also become a factor of social integration, and it is as important or even more important than the education system. The models offered by the society of consumption to young people are interiorized as a part of the process of socialization and integration into the culture of reception. In fact, spare-time activities are a great reward everyone is looking for as a way of obtaining satisfaction and gratifications after making great efforts. Young immigrants assimilate clothing styles and trends of native people; they also share spare-time spaces with young natives. This could have been an important differentiating factor between positions held by young people in the social structure with regard to cultural habits of consumption, but it wasn't, as young immigrants clearly show similar positions and aspirations. This fact highlights the homogenizing expansion of consumption and spare-time culture among all social groups (Spain).

Learning/training in current societies has left the context of school, and at the same time has acquired more importance for social insertion processes, especially in societies of knowledge.

In this context, non-formal or informal training acquired through every day activities allows acquiring and gathering knowledge and abilities through every day experiences and their relation to the environment. Learning constitutes a non-stopping and spontaneous process that is not always intentional.

Formal and non-formal learning of young immigrants is conditioned by their own social capital (characteristics of society of origin, family model, etc.), and the procedures the society of destination uses to acknowledge the knowledge and abilities they possess.

The wish of young people belonging to ethnic minorities, immigrants or people with a migration background, is to achieve social integration in the society of destination, mainly through their participation in the labour market.

The legal situation of immigrants in the society of destination is linked to the possibilities of labour insertion. For those legally living in the country it seems that sub-jobs, unemployment, black economy, temporality, precariousness are their destiny. For those staying illegally only marginality and uncertainty is left.

In Spain immigrant workers represent a great proportion in certain sectors of the labour market. This means a segmentation that can occasionally also mean segregation. Their activity mainly focuses on construction, agriculture, domestic services and hotel industry. “If we analyze job conditions in these sectors we see that, generally, these conditions are a lot worse than the average, and as a consequence they are among the less “desirables” jobs from the workers point of view (...) more dangerous, arduous and precarious.” (Cachón, 2007: 111). During the last years, immigrants have been focusing more and more on self-employment, and therefore, “ethnic businesses” are developing, as it is the case for “services to aid people”: domestic employees, support for older people, cleaning, waiters or kitchen

helpers, etc. First, these workers offered themselves and were “contracted” individually, but lately they have created cooperatives or companies that act as intermediaries. They are accepted because of the economic function they carry out, but at the same time they are socially rejected.

A good number of immigrants start working at the labour market of the society of destination through self-employment (especially street-vending). It is possible to analyze this fact using the concept of the Theory of mixed embeddedness, a term coined by Kloosterman (1996). The whole migration process starts and is supported with the assistance of family, and the support contributed by ethnic resources – general and specific information regarding processes and paths that have been discovered by co-nationals and information given by other immigrants independently of their nationality. Solé et al applied this theory in Spain in the field of self-employment and businesses managed by immigrants – “*ethnic businesses*” – in the following way:

“1) Starting point is the theory of mixed embeddedness. Immigrants become businessmen, take risks, because they are embedded in and protected by social networks (“ethnic resources”) that provide information on environment, labour force, suppliers, clients and financing methods. At the same time, the socio-economic and institutional structure of the society of destination conditions the placing of these entrepreneur activities in certain urban areas. 2) Once placed in such an ethnic model, immigrants try to leave this model in order to access a greater part of the market that also includes natives and foreigners in general...Although the most usual business activity is trading, this business logic extends to all kinds of initiatives (workshops, telephone booths, domestic services, etc.) (Solé/Parella, 2007: 9-10)

This interpretation can be complemented with the concept “*context of reception*”, used by Portes in *Mixed embeddednes* (Portes, A. & R.G. Rumbaut, 1990). *Social networks facilitate the development* of feelings of intra-group solidarity, which constitutes an important source of social capital for the creation and consolidation of their projects. The main idea is that the “context of reception” creates specific social conditions and environments for national groups, and simultaneously offers opportunities and constrictions to individuals, independently of their human capital or the cultural characteristics. Difficulties (discrimination, legal obstacles, competition...) can create “contexts of reception”.

Case analysis

An example of what we just outlined is the case of Lenir, a young Ecuadorian and immigrant in Spain (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11). He works as a street-vendor and it is possible to call his business a “small family business”. Lenir decided to create this business, he himself becoming his own employer. On the one hand, this kind of business initiatives show that these practices are not marginal: they pay taxes to town-councils for having a place to offer their goods, they buy in specific warehouses, they work with invoices (they have to be able to prove the goods they are selling are not stolen), and on the other hand they prove to possess enough abilities to survive in the country of destination.

Knowledge brought by young immigrants from their respective countries of origin is not always useful to integrate into the society of destination. Although formal education from a different country can be accepted after a process of validation, the same cannot be said for non-formal learning. In this situation, young immigrants are forced to start a process of re-training in the country of destination with the aim of achieving integration into the labour market as soon as possible. Occasionally, the formal system is rejected, as it doesn’t answer to young people’s expectations about themselves (Denmark: *From where I origin, my future begins*, Case Box 5).

Those projects that have been analyzed show that, in order to integrate into the labour market, immigrants don't need too much previous knowledge, except for the cultural elite immigrants, but attitudes, abilities and learning that allow them to answer to the challenges created by the labour market. This process is favoured by the existence of social networks, and regularisation processes facilitate social integration (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11).

Another aspect to underline regarding ethnic minorities is gender. Gender becomes a factor of discrimination to access the education system and the labour market. This discrimination is stronger among females (Finland: *The Icebreakers*, Case Box 2), as they play a different role in families. Females are faced with the needed training to reproduce models of the society of origin and take distance from dominant models in societies of destination. This situation is even more emphasized among those families that still hope to return to their country of origin some day; therefore they don't want to lose their cultural identity. Young men face higher risks of being excluded in school and even in their own family, while females have a well-defined family role. Although presenting lower school failure rates, female's family tasks can make assistance to formal/non-formal education courses difficult. In this sense, it should be added that a great number of young females, more than among males, start a migration project individually, which means that the difficulties they have to face in the countries of destination are even greater, as a family network is not available for them, specially in the case of females with children.

Protection and defence of individual/collective interests is developed through the creation of *social networks* (Spain: *Bulgarian association GABRIELA*, Case Box 18) by groups of natives, as well as groups of immigrants. These networks sometimes become movements (Portugal: *Ethnic associativism*, Case Box 19) with excluding discourses.

The role of family also becomes fundamental for the process of acculturation, although the intergenerational conflict is present the whole time, due to young people learning a lot faster than their parents. Furthermore, in many occasions there are intergenerational conflicts and rejection of education by parents that fear their children will lose a certain cultural background in favour of integration in the culture of destination, as well as fear they will lose their authority as parents. Therefore, education and training level of parents is a determining factor in order to analyze how young people manage and cope with the new society of destination. Sometimes young people are aware of the fact that background and previous training from their country of origin is not very useful to integrate into the labour market and the society of destination. They know they need to start a process of re-education in order to integrate into society and labour market.

The lack of *formal education* leads young people to a situation of vulnerability. But this situation can be corrected by thinking about young people's own biographies. Education, labour insertion, promotion and protection of identity (Portugal: *Ethnic associativism*, Case Box 19) constitute a good example to highlight non-formal educational activities. Lower early school leaving rates are needed to improve qualifications and allow young people to access the labour market. This is one of the main issues. The *process of integration* is also influenced by personal experience and the acquisition of knowledge of the culture of destination. Gradual socialization in the new culture will lead to success of insertion into the new society (Portugal: *In search of the west*, Case Box 20).

Marginality

Experiences of people that have suffered a situation of marginality or have experienced the risk of real marginality are able to use their non-formal learning to carry out a socially needed

labour activity. Using social abilities they have learned on the streets to solve problems of citizens, young people and local authorities has given them a certain social prestige that allows them to carry out functions of formal education. Therefore, it is needed for them to be acknowledged by public institutions in order for them to not exclusively depend of biography and accumulated experience (Denmark: *Wild street workers*, Case Box 10).

Local intervention plans

Local intervention plans have proven to be efficient to integrate young people from ethnic minorities into participative and training activities and projects in order to seek a job. Non-formal education promoted by NGO's and other civil organizations can be a solution to compensate problems of formal education. Although, the main problems are still school leaving, lack of motivation among young people and insufficient training of parents; these factors make insertion of young people difficult and prevent them from identifying the main problems. Local policies that improve living conditions of minorities can contribute to mitigate the conflict (Romania: *Project Roman City*, Case Box 17). Culture and family tradition, together with socio-economic factors, play an important role in cultural reproduction of strategies linked to school failure, labour precariousness and reproduction of poverty. This deficit in training increases the risk of poverty, unemployment and makes access to certain social resources more difficult, which often makes young people more vulnerable.

The migration project

The migration project of families, regarding the decision of staying in the society of destination or returning to their country of origin, becomes very important for young people's training (, Denmark: *From where I origin, my future begins*, Case Box 5). Therefore, the main issue is decision-making of parents with regard to their children. Do we stay here or return to our country of origin some day in the future? This decision affects both the results in the formal education system, labour insertion and qualification, and the continuity of cultural forms of the society of origin. The decision facilitates the process of integration into the new society or makes it more difficult. Motivation of parents towards their children's training is very important, because they see the process of education of their children as a factor of social promotion and overcoming of poverty. This motivation is not the same between parents that have decided to surely return to their countries and parents whose idea of returning is simply a project. All of them are aware that they are at the new country to work and spare money that will allow them to live in and invest into the future of their country of origin. But those knowing they will some day return leave training and the responsibility of motivating young people to the education system, while the others also see family as an educational institution. It is also interesting to highlight that the processes of integration of immigrants are not exclusively a question of knowledge of the language or culture of the society of destination, but of plans for the future and family expectations, where certain ways of thinking of the previous generations still play a significant role.

Young people with immigrant background that have decided not to return to the societies of origin of their family develop strategies that lead to family independence (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1) in order to adapt to the society. Among young people, formal education and non-formal learning share a dialectic relation in the process of integration and maintenance of a cultural identity. Formal education is a factor that leads to the loss of family identity, and at the same time rejection of formal education leads young people to a situation of marginality. In fact, young immigrants use their culture of origin as a

way to resist the dominant culture of the country of destination and the formal education. Therefore, this process reproduces precariousness paths among young people.

Young people that *feel rejected* have a vision of the world, they think about themselves, their friends and the social situation. Young people's vision about family, values, housing, school life, environment, friends, social networks, private and public issues, qualifications, the future (Denmark: *The broken mirror*, Case Box 9). Young people build their own identity in a world that is difficult for them, and sometimes even rejects them. This situation shows that it is not enough to know the social conditions young people are living in, their individual resources, but the most relevant thing is to know how they see the world, society, their participation as a group and their own self. Young people have a different vision of reality depending on the group they belong to. Therefore, strategies used are different. They develop their identity and see themselves through society, family and friends, but are not able to build a social identity to integrate. They see reality only partially (Denmark: *The broken mirror*, Case Box 9). The analysis shows how young people belonging to ethnic minorities are fighting with an unstructured situation of life while developing their own strategies, while looking for integration. Furthermore, they don't let themselves be influenced by the culture of the country of destination, even reject that influence that for some co-nationals is important, as they slowly acquire customs they see in the country of destination. For example, some Ecuadorians living in Spain don't like co-nationals adapting their customs to what they see around them, although always being in contact with the society of destination.

Independence

The process of independence from the family carried out by young people depends on the migration project of the parents (wanting to stay or thinking about returning to their country of origin). Young people belonging to ethnic minorities and families with a rural origin are usually controlled by more traditional family models, and therefore processes of individualization of young people become more difficult. In this process the character of mothers is usually very important, as they act as mediators in the conflict that is created between the control the father wants to exert as the main authority in a patriarchal family and the latent wish of young people to integrate into the life-styles of the society of destination, where they establish relationships to other young people.

The contrast between the family model represented by their parents and the one young immigrants see in society (Denmark: *Ethnic minority girls' strategies*, Case Box 1) makes processes of independence more difficult and determines the strategies they use. If they decide to stay, they break up with the migration project of the parents, with family traditions, and they also decide to adopt behaviours that are typical of the society they live in. Among the most used strategies there is the negotiation with parents, the seeking for external support, leaving home and live with a brother (but with the parents keeping an eye on them) or the development of a double-life. These strategies allow gaining some time to avoid a direct parents/children conflict. Partially leaving home, while the parents still keep an eye on the young people, as well as a double life, allow starting a process of integration, and at the same time maintaining identity elements of the culture of origin. Young people become true experts in connecting and disconnecting to and from different realities depending on the moments and environments they are. If the parents plan to return and wish to maintain identity characteristics of the country of origin, this situation adds difficulties to the strategies used by young people.

Transition from school to work

The processes of transition from school to work of young immigrant workers are influenced by collective contexts, individual biographies, educational opportunities and professional career options. In this context, ethnicity and gender acquire importance in the choice of strategies that allow reinforcing identity (Germany: *Transitions and milieus of young migrant girls*, Case Box 3) as young immigrant females and native females discovered parallel paths of transition from school to work. Due to the restricted access to work, young females use creative strategies to avoid exclusion from the education system and employment. This situation constitutes a challenge for both groups, due to gender discrimination.

Lenir's biography (Spain: *Lenir: Entrepreneurship*, Case Box 11) is marked by the absence of a youth stage: he starts working at a very young age, doesn't finish compulsory education, and very soon takes responsibilities for the whole family. He is the first one to migrate to Spain and is obliged to take responsibility as a self-employed person in the street-vending business. He doesn't want to be influenced by the culture of the country of destination, even rejects this influence, while some co-nationals acquire the customs they see in Spain. Although he is always in contact with co-nationals, he wants to live his own life, as it would be the case in his own country. That's why he wants to marry someone from his country of origin, and not a Spanish woman. He also thinks that there are gender differences regarding his job, and that is another reason for marrying an Ecuadorian woman. He wants to train her personally, without the influence of the culture in the country of destination. He has already chosen a wife in Ecuador that has a driving license and therefore will be able to work in the street-vending business, while he will be able to work as an employee for a company somewhere else.

Young immigrant people with high levels of *school success* (ISCED 3 and 4) develop strategies that allow them to live in two different cultures. The educational level acquired acts as a resource for integration in the (Germany: *The third chair*, Case Box 15) society, as "they want to be a part of the majority, and at the same time they want to be different". Acculturation and processes of integration create a new position of identity as a result of two cultures living together.

Sometimes failure of transitions from school to work favours processes of social disintegration. Young people in such a situation do not consider culture as useful social capital. These young people really feel marginality and react against the dominant social group, strategically developing a process of re-ethnicization (Germany: *Turkish power boys* (Case Box 6) and *Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation* (Case Box 8)). This process of re-ethnicization contributed to promote sub-cultures as internal capital of the group. Addition of concepts such as "honour", "delinquency" or "slang" favoured the development of a negative identity. But it is also possible that this negative identity is the result of belonging to lower classes, more than a result of the process of re-ethnicization. (Germany: *Turkish power boys*, Case Box 6).

Summary of Part 2

Our main interest and focus for the studies have been to get closer to the content concerning what could be called “Contextual agency”, which include *processes of progression, dynamics and movements* both *individually, socially* in different arenas as well as within the Society of reception.

From the five different chapters taking up specific themes of agency, a variety of concerns and considerations have been made. All five figuration chapters deal with the issue of integration or more specifically with the potential of wishes to and to have opportunities for engagement in different arenas of life and in the Society of reception as such.

Agency, social structures and (re)ethnicized “youth subcultures”. Youth – subcultures and re-ethnicization has been taken up as an important agency-area. Being micro-cultural spaces, which are frequently accessed by youth also with an ethnic minority background.

Ethnic minority youth might (as also ethnic majority) use “subcultures” as a kind of social support structure for those who feel alone or not adapted in the mainstream social world but merely as newcomers or outsiders. For ethnic minority youth that feels culturally distant from ethnic references of parents and at the same time experience a sense of “otherness” in contact with the hegemonic culture of the host country, youth- subculture appear to be an appealing option.

The Social image of youth-subcultures is often marked by stigma (criminological, moralistic etc. generalized by media from single episodes or specific situations²³).

In the analysis of youth – subcultures as agency, it is stated, that “false believes can produce real effects”.

These effects could be anything from discrimination, racism, xenophobia etc. But if youth-subcultures sometimes may be regarded as a stage for violence and criminality, they much more frequently and continuously function as a defensive structure for those, who feel insecure and frightened, spaces where youth seek emotional ties, friendship, commitment, recognition, liberty etc.

“Subcultures might function as social contexts where young people find sources or resources to exercise their own agency as actors of social change”.

The analysis of the theme involves youth sub cultures with regards to the family structure and gender (as a means to negotiate own cultural meanings in between parental values and values of youth life in the reception culture). But it also includes of course, troubles experienced by ethnic minority youth regarding the education system and labour market.

When experiencing problems with recognition or acceptance within school, work or in families ethnic minority youth might search for positive challenges and identity somewhere else.

They might find other particular life worlds where they can escape from disciplinary and traditional controls of school and family, find social protection, recognition and celebration,

²³ John Muncie claims with reference to Stan Cohen, that often media present actions done by youth by taking the *atypical* (action) making it *typical* (for the subculture, ethnic minority youth or youth in general) and then interpret and evaluate it in a *overtypical* way (with reference to an imagined average citizen with a conservative and moralistic views) Muncie, J: “The trouble with Kids today” 1983

as well as a possibility to share a feeling of equality and reciprocity in their social relations. Their distancing towards school, labour market and familiar cultures can be suppressed by another social meaningful disposition: the youth subcultures or micro-cultures. The sub-cultural networks, (or sub-cultural capital) established, may contextualize the transitions from school to work as an integrative or as a way of self-exclusion. In the case of ethnic minority youth, the subcultures created might be (re)ethnicized by themselves (as a way of dealing with discrimination and with the challenges they are confronted with in late modernity) as well as by the others, often in a stigmatic sense.

(Re)ethnicisation constitutes a strategy to emphasize or rather differentiate in-group specific – opposite to out-group specific – cultural, social or economic group properties and resources to (re)gain social recognition or their valued group distinctiveness, i.e. (re)gain a positive social identity in comparison with the out-group discriminated against (Skrobanek, 2007). The construction of ethnic identity is considered as a special form of social identity that allows a basis for comparison and differentiation between groups. Furthermore, the subjective significance of ethnic identity for an individual appears within the scope of his evaluation of such an identity.

The (re)ethnicisation strategy affects both social and personal identity (closer to the group of origin) and sociabilities (the group boundaries are less permeable to others outside the ethnic group) (Skrobanek, 2007).

The tendency towards (re)ethnicisation should not be seen as a lack of willingness to integrate, except as an attractive alternative when young people with an immigrant or ethnic background encounter problems in their daily lives, in their attempts to fulfil their life wishes and to achieve their goals. These issues are mainly influenced by processes of acceptance or non-acceptance of specific cultural and social capital by the dominant group.

The resources that they claim from their supposed origins, however, are not mobilised in their «purity» or «authenticity». Ethnicity is not just passed from one generation to another; it is reinvented and rediscovered by each generation, in its own context of production and reproduction.

Youth subcultures can have the potential of being a civic arena, in which aesthetic and performative references can be found as well as a frame of ethics and intervention strategies of critic and reflexivity.

The benefits includes that ethnic minority youth might get the feeling of a civic responsibility, to have individual (and social) power, to find themselves being more citizens than victims and to gain subjectivity instead of being objectified with their biographies. On the other hand it is argued that ethnicized social networks or youth subcultures also holds the danger of working as relatively isolated networks, stigmatised and classified by its members.

The second configuration analysis deals with *social responsibility*. The analysis takes of from the question of social integration and individualization. The different arenas of youth life (Family, Peer groups, work, school and organised leisure time) are analysed from the concepts of in different modes of arranging: How are social trajectories arranged and how do youth arrange themselves in relation to the task of securing society as well as their own sociality? (i.e. in different family-logics: Reproductive, productive and supportive) and with the insertion of “zones of politics” between the different arenas of youth life. Political interventions might be targeting a certain problem, but easily creates new problems within other arenas etc.

Social responsibility is understood as both a general value and a contextual quality. As a consequence of this social responsibility always refers to a social situation or social context, which the analysis makes clear. Social responsibility development among ethnic minority youth relates to both contexts and to experience of in- and exclusion. The special meaning of social responsibility thus becomes part of the late modern societal situation and to the construction of youth life at the same time.

The ongoing development of society means new conditions for individuals. In this process certain groups are specifically vulnerable²⁴. The deinstitutionalisation of individual life and the uncertainty regarding individual biographies hits ethnic minority youth as their cultural insight and history (family situation and relation to peers) only permits them to grasp more situated options.

The challenge of developing social responsibility seems to create situations in which the individual must take on the responsibility of becoming a societal subject in whatever societal development he or she is taking part.

As society changes from modern to late modern both the social and individual demands on the subject increases and contradicts. It is no longer sufficient to be a social actor, except a societal one. At the same time the individualisation is becoming increasingly more “private”.

The contradictory situation is visible both within the consumerism and within the education system: It is important to make a difference, to compete with other people in order to stand out individually, but it is also necessary to relate to other people and to act socially in order to make agency towards the development processes.

Differentiation follows patterns or modes of arranging alongside inclusion and exclusion as social integrative strategies.

The challenges of social integration seem to follow variables as income, education, family relations, and cultural traditions. Social responsibility may vary according to the situation of social integration. People who are on the borders of social integration develop a more individual or local perspective on social responsibility. They have to fight for their situation.

Social responsibility is presented as referring to a broader inclusion/exclusion-perspective which exists in local society. In situations where local or even ethnic minority solidarity based on the country/region of origin is pictured as an important social quality, it poses difficulties as to be included in the national/societal solidarity in the host country. Especially religious beliefs can influence this situation. Cultural differences as both differences of tradition and religion are seen as being the same – a non-societal perspective.

Also policies (of discrimination) influence the development of social responsibility. Both subjective and objective discrimination surely seem important. The more structural objective discrimination plays an important role in everyday institutional arrangements depending on the difficulties with taking a social responsible perspective to a societal level. Differentiations in terms of educational level, job-options, and workplace structure establish structures of objective discrimination, which are both chosen and enforced logics of activity. This objective discrimination often results in a subjective discrimination which also may become contradictory. Ethnic minority youth may be discriminated against because of their social and

²⁴ Broadly speaking; women, ethnic minorities, working-class people as well as youth are vulnerable in comparison to the grown-up, better off male ethnic majority population, whenever new developments means radical changes within economy, rules for education, labour market etc. (Bechmann Jensen in press)

societal position and they might give up the engagement/involvement with ethnic majority young people.

Social responsibility therefore seems to be the answer to the social situation young ethnic minority youth experience. Not in a passive way, but as strategies which seem possible to develop as individualisation strategies in a world in which social integration is a contradictory process. Social responsibility may only become a societal responsibility, when young ethnic minority youth are both formally and locally integrated in local communities. At the same time it seems as if discrimination leads to different forms of limitation of social responsibility ranging from societal to a more social and local form of social responsibility.

In conclusion, arranging of arenas and zones of politics in youth life influences the constitution of social responsibility, because conditions of everyday life (the expediency of social and individual trajectories) determine the possibilities of committing oneself socially. Especially, the dimensions of inclusion and discrimination influence the possibilities of developing forms of social responsibility.

Under the theme of *(Re)ethnicization and policy* it is stated how second and third-generation ethnic minority youth in spite of their better performance and increased integration in different European Societies, they still are faced with big obstacles and difficult odds regarding conditions of everyday life.

The disadvantages of ethnic minorities in several countries put integration at the top of the political agenda as one of the most important issues regarding social politics, labour market politics, different political considerations and migration laws etc.

Because of this, the figuration and analysis on (re)ethnicization and policy focuses two different aspects being:

- The institutional constrains represented by the modes of policies implemented in the different countries and
- The modes of agency young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in order to cope with those institutional/structural constrains.

Analysing the case material presented (see appendix) different areas of importance is taken up regarding firstly the Policy aspect (assimilation through school integration, social integration through legal action mode and marginalization due to no active support). Secondly forms of individual/collective modes of agency is discussed ((Re)ethnicization, social creativity and social/realistic competition)

In the analysis three clearly distinct modes of policies and its translation into economic, social and cultural structures are identified. The different modes of policies give indications on how ethnic minorities should or could become “acculturated”.

The first mode points to assimilation of ethnic minority youth. The Rationale being, that ethnic minority youth should disregard an interest in maintaining their heritage culture and cultural identity and rather find motivation for closer interaction with the ethnic majority. Through adaptation to standards of the dominant culture ethnic minority youth are thought of as having better access to means for realizing institutionalized ends.

A second policy mode identified as marginalization also stresses an encouragement to give up a reference to the heritage culture/distinct cultural identity but does not establish or provide access to the means of integration of the larger society. The risk of disregarding specific cultural needs of ethnic minorities is, that an exchange and mutual understanding between ethnic minority youth and the society/majority in general is endangered.

The last mode of policy identified is named the mode of integration. Here the legal mode supports cultural maintenance referring to young immigrants/ethnic minority youth while striving for involvement with the society in general. (Skrobanek/Wilhelm)

The different modes of policy – and the structural constraints that might follow – are met by different modes of agency by ethnic minority youth in dealing the situation they face/perceive.

Three dominant *modes of agency* used by ethnic minority youth are identified as well.

- The most visible or popular strategy used by ethnic minority youth appears to be *(re)ethnicization*, which is supposed to constitute a mode to emphasize or differentiate in-group specific cultural group properties in order to (re)gain social recognition of a valued group distinctiveness.
- A second mode identified is named *social creativity*. Striving for integration the strategy involves redefinition and balancing elements of both the ethnic minority and majority culture, compromising in order to find a “higher cultural level”.
- In a third mode, groups of ethnic minority youth (as well as groups of the ethnic majority) may seek dominance through direct *competition* with the out-group. This can be seen as a strategy of reversing the relative position of ones own group compared to the out-group. The strategy holds the risk and potential of generating stereotypes, prejudice and conflicts between groups of people, especially in a situation of scarce social and economic resources.

Regarding competencies/qualifications or professional skills there might be a general assumption, that ethnic minority youth “just” have to follow the pathways of the majority population to get a foothold in the labour market i.e. acquiring competencies through formal education (vocational training etc.) and to follow up by continuously improving professional skills in order to maintain and improve their occupational status.

The general assumption might be adequate for groups of fortunate ethnic minority young people, but it surely does not hold for ethnic minority youth as a whole.

For some ethnic minority youth it appears as if: “they feel themselves like fallen into water where they have to swim for survival, no matter how good they do it and whether they do it in the right way or not”. This might lead to the assumption that prerequisites of success relate to the ability to cope with local settings in the host country in order to earn a living rather than to their qualifications and past professional experience.

However, cases of career driven immigrants have also been documented, in which the advancement strategy is to accommodate the origin culture with the mainstream culture in the host country, while constructing their own position.

Aspirations among ethnic minority youth for occupational status in the host country can be low, what actually matters being the opportunities for earning money, which might provide for better living conditions in their countries of origin, for better educational and employment career for their descendents etc.

Some ethnic minority youth may have doubts about whether they see their future in the country of reception or rather in their country of origin. An important part of the discussion might be, whether the option of “going back” is a future plan, an “exit strategy” in case they fail to achieve a decent living in the host country or merely an idea, which is not really within reach in reality.

It is further pointed out regarding agency on employment and employability that the interplay between the demands of the labour market regarding ethnic minorities and their coping strategies seems to lead to a *modus vivendi* that is maintained only as far as the coping strategies respond to the demands in the reception/host countries. From the analysis it seems that first generations of ethnic minority immigrants informally learn this and that it easily leads to de-motivation regarding career aspirations and educational improvement plans. As far as descendants, second and third generation, are concerned it is pointed out how many immigrants develop high aspirations regarding the employment status of their children, but also how the conditions and contexts of learning, in which the ethnic minority youth grow up and make life plans hardly can be said to be very stimulating or facilitating regarding the motivation for this.

Post professional experience might be seen as an advantage, but among even autochthonous ethnic minority youth in European countries have difficulties in making use of this, trying to access better paid jobs. The overall problem is the difference between formal educational paths in countries of origin and countries of reception, but the problem also concern the lack of documentation of competencies among ethnic minorities. Some efforts are done in order to acknowledge qualification certificates issued in other countries, but not only openness and propensity of local authorities seems necessary. Also enabling legal frameworks and a more permissive structure of policy implementation appear to be of importance.

Also of importance, the analysis of agency of employment and employability, focus on the access to information and acquiring job search skills (translations, programmes, associations etc.)

Entrepreneurship among ethnic minorities is taken up as another way of making way in employment. “ethnic business” or certain areas of employment (streetvending, setting up restaurants, cleaning companies etc.) Initiatives like setting up “ethnic businesses” do provide an opportunity of income for the entrepreneurs as well as for their co-nationals. On these grounds ensuring legal frameworks to enable entrepreneur-ship as well as setting up programmes and funding schemes to encourage this might be considered. On the other hand “ethnic businesses also carries the danger of segregating the labour market further as a labour market for ethnic minorities and one for the ethnic majority, which might consolidate differences in working conditions and demands and imply a tendency of ethnic minority people staying disintegrated except in working conditions worse than the average.

On agency of learning, creative, non-formal and informal learning, the analysis starts focusing on the expectations of migrant youth, indicating, that troubles often begins where expectations of ethnic minority youth, regarding the reception Society are not met. People moving from one country to another are not just going to any place except to a country, which offers some kind of opportunity or starting point, be it security, an existing network of family, friends or opportunities for earning a living etc.

Often a migration process is depending on existing networks even if the initiative to migrate is taken individually. Coming to or being born and raised in a receiving Society obviously includes the question of learning and education. The level of formal education for ethnic minority youth is of course an important question, as a lack of formal qualification, depending on the receiving Society, implies that only a certain and limited space of job possibilities are within reach.

On agency of learning, it is pointed out how a lack of formal education poses vulnerability among Ethnic minority youth as it presumably means hard work in poor conditions without much hope of getting better options. Consumption is mentioned as a factor of social integration, which is getting more and more important. Leisure time activities, family life and

cultural activities all includes opportunities of having the feeling of belonging to something, but it also impose a conflict regarding exclusion/inclusion, as different lifestyles in different arenas of live contradict ways of living. In this respect it is pointed out how activities and learning in an informal and non-formally could be seen as both necessary, desirable and troublesome.

For some ethnic minority youth their entrance to the labour market means that youth life, regarding learning processes formally, non formally and informally is absent, which might have great consequences for the integration process quite different from the strategies held by ethnic minority youth with formal qualifications, who are able to (or at least tries to) handle both ethnic minority values and expectations/values from the ethnic majority culture.

All together the qualitative analysis`/figurations made on different perspectives, including learning, work, sub-cultural forms, re(ethnicization) and social responsibility make a web of understanding processes of integration regarding agency strategies of ethnic minority youth as well as different forms of social and societal structuration (which accordingly can be viewed as societal agency).

The qualitative reporting does not provide any clear overall guideline to successful integration processes, except point in the direction of understanding praxis, as a dialectical process in which most attempts of agency can be seen as either initiatives to integrate or as attempts to overcome or at least get a foothold within a local environment.

Both the wishes and aspirations of ethnic minority youth and the interest of the host society of course have to be taken in consideration. Accordingly the distance (culturally, educationally, regarding policies on the labour market and everyday social conventions) between the country of origin and the host country plays an important part in the integration strategies sought.

With these final qualitative analyses our attempt has been to figurate and con-figurate agency – sketching out cases of contexts, situations and scenarios and treating these as starting points for a further consideration of what is the elements and potential turning points when ethnic minority youth meets the host society.

It has been possible to sketch out different potentials, different possible consequences and different outcomes of the same situations and the overall lesson to learn from our analysis, might be both to broaden the perspective (many and conflicting interests of different societal institutions and groups of people) and to narrow the understanding of individual and group actions with regard to the demands and conditions of the single contextual situation.

Conclusions

Transitions to work of young people with an ethnic minority or migrant background are maybe the most important part of social integration in all European societies. Social integration is the broad challenge of social development which involves all citizens in a society or social context. Social integration in late modern western societies both requires the development of system integration and social and individual integration. System integration refers to the development of economical and political democratic societal functioning. The social or individual integration is embedded in the system integration but especially point to the development of individual functioning which makes individuals able to engage in social life and become active in establishing social change. Individual social integration therefore point to the development of “individualisation” or “social or cultural agency” which functions expedient according to actual societal demands as they exist especially in educational life, labour market and democratic institutions. As such it is a process which takes place with both a global and local reference, but at the same time is always happening inside different arenas of everyday life.

The social integration demands of ethnic minority youth in Europe is the same as for all other young people: The development of late modern individualisation or of social and cultural agency. And the first impression also seems to be that ethnic minority youth manage late modern challenges very well. Of course it takes some time to learn to know the new society, but generally (apart from the Roma situation) the social integration process in Europe seems to give many good examples of a successful social integration. Ethnic minority youth however may experience problems of social integration as all other young people and especially it seems as if problems follow the same challenges as for the ethnic majority youth: socioeconomically factors. The general risk factors for young people are that parents are without job, that they are without education and that there exist family problems. The ethnic minority youth very often are in the risk zone because of these risk factors. However more risk factors exist for ethnic minority youth such as cultural pressure and discrimination.

Because late modern individualisation both exist as answers to diverse conditions and demands and as diversity in ways of developing social agency ethnic minority youth may develop forms of social integration which are different from the majority. Social and cultural agency therefore may take on different forms.

When social and individual integration processes however seem more demanding and more difficult for ethnic minority youth it follows the extra social risk factors. They have to integrate cultural and practical differences in their social agency. They often have to combine or reorganise parental traditions and values according to a new local life, and also they are confronted with late modern western demands according to practices, values and competences in European societies. And European societies have developed a high level of educational demands as tickets to labour marked positions. The social integration process therefore is challenging and especially because the process of social integration is all the time in a change and is formed and lived locally or contextual in different places in Europe.

The process of social integration is imbedded in challenges and different logics of contextual social life. At the one hand great differences exist in between European societies. Ethnic minority youth situation varies according to which societal transition model migrants meet. At the other hand ethnic minority youth as cultural agents seem in a varying degree to be able to influence their situation. This double or contradictory perspective of agency development seems to follow the general contradictions which exist according to social integration in late

modern European societies, where both low socioeconomically status and ethnic background makes social integration difficult.

The issue of European ethnic minority or migrant young people also points to a double challenge according to youth life as a time and process of social integration. In everyday life young people with ethnic minority background, or “the new youth” in Europe, faces both a social and cultural integration challenge. At the one hand they are placed as other young people in a late modern youth life which is demanding and important for future social success in the process of social integration. At the other hand, they are challenged by a new cultural lifestyle which may be different from values and traditions of parents and therefore also makes it difficult to engage and become successful in late modern youth life.

This way of contrasting the different perspectives of ethnic minority social integration seem to follow existing traditions of understanding and analysing the ethnic minority perspective. The first perspective points to the challenges of social integration and the second to the development of cultural differences. These traditions seem to oppose each other, but also to restrict an understanding of ethnic minority youth social and cultural agency. The social integrative perspective often draws a very static picture of the society and its values and also looks at the individual as only an element in a process of social integration. The cultural perspective often sees the process of individual development as a cultural process between cultures, as an abstract discourse about cultural differences and cultural assimilation.

What both approaches seem to overlook is, that ethnic minority integration is a process which has in its centre the individual agent. Therefore the social integration process should focus the agent as an engaged player in his or her life. An agent, who finds and uses energy in a process of becoming integrated in some kind of social life,

In the present study this double focus at social and cultural perspectives is understood according to a broader reference of social and cultural agency, which accepts the development of diversity inside the social integrative challenge. This e.g. means that Turkish people in Germany should not necessarily be seen as Turks or Germans, and that they should not be analysed as caught between a Turkish or German cultural identity. They are Turkish agents in a German society, and in this way creating new forms of social and cultural social integrative agency.

In order to develop a broad picture of transitions to work of young people with an ethnic minority or migrant background; the study looked at six different regions/countries in Europe: Germany, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Romania, and Denmark. And to find knowledge about ethnic minority youth in the different localities or societies the study focused three important arenas of youth life, educational life, youth labour market and informal or social arenas of everyday life.

In collecting and analysing existent research on ethnic minority youth both a comparative and a local analysis level have been developed. In the study the logic of transition regimes is used to reflect the comparative analysis of ethnic minority social integration.

The comparative analysis however is not simple. There is a lack of research about ethnic minority youth and the knowledge which does exist very often refers to very local and political issues. Therefore, besides collecting and analysing comparative knowledge, the study has also developed a way of analysing the comparative perspective as a local issue. The “integration coefficient” looks at how ethnic minority youth manage their social integration in comparison with local ethnic majority youth. It organises knowledge about education and unemployment according to local comparison between majority and minority youth.

To develop a more local and contextual knowledge of ethnic minority youth social and cultural agency the second part of the study goes behind the comparative and general knowledge. It looks at existing qualitative research to find “cases of agency” and to analyse ways in which ethnic minority youth develops new social integrative processes in their local contexts.

Comparative country analysis

The first challenge ones meet when studying ethnic minority youth is the definition of ethnic minority youth. Ethnic minorities are all the times in a change which makes categorisations very unclear. To overcome these problems the study have chosen a pragmatic perspective and looked at ethnic minorities according to migration and the existence of an objective and subjective ethnic minority understanding. This practical position however does not solve all problems. Categorisation in research differs between studies and between countries and makes information very unsecure. Also a broad categorisation makes internal differences in ethnic minorities’ social integration invisible. Transitions to work of young people with an ethnic minority or migrant background maybe vary more according to socioeconomically position and educational background than they vary according to ethnic background.

In this study the comparative country analysis have aimed to develop a country-based framework in preparation for the thematic-centred discussion of ethnic minority social integration and social and cultural agency.

This analysis is done with a relationship to

- country-specific transition regimes
- local changes and hindrances for ethnic minority youth on the threshold of employment

In the analysis three areas are focused, in which nine key themes were identified:

Areas	<i>key themes</i>
Statistical facts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Demography</i> - <i>Migration History</i> - <i>Labour Market</i> - <i>Welfare</i>
<i>Learning and education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education</i> - <i>Informal and Non-formal Learning</i>
<i>Culture</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Culture</i> - <i>Discrimination</i> - <i>Integration Coefficient</i>

The results of the comparative analysis in many ways confirmed the general knowledge which exists according to transitions to work of young people to an ethnic minority or migrant

background. Ethnic minority youth social integration may be described according to the themes and the general picture points to the importance of the local and contextual frame. Especially educational success is dependent on the organising of educational systems. When ethnic minority youth often have problems in educational life it both follows the level of educational demands and also the organising of educational processes. Often ethnic minority youth are active and engaged in education, but will have a high drop out rate, which in the end leave them with lower educational levels than the majority youth. Also these difficulties of education follow different ethnic groups. Parental educational level and cultural practices influences educational achievement. Especially the Roma's seems to have difficulties in becoming active in educational systems.

The overall picture regarding social integration of ethnic minority seems to be, that parts of the migrant and ethnic minority youth are in a situation, where both the pull and push functions are not working. They might not be pulled into late modern life, because they might have low success in schools due to language difficulties, cultural differences, and more or less open discrimination. Also the push factor does not work. Parents and peers might not be able to help them to integrate in educational and labour life and manage the individualisation demands of every day life. Parents and friends sometimes restrict individual agency in late modern social contexts. So, the push factors may be working opposite. Discrimination as both institutional and individual may lead to a resignation according to social integration. And in this situation other references becomes important for young people.

The result seems to be that the complicated agency of late modern individualisation is not always realized. This situation seems most visible in educational life. The general impression is that migrant and ethnic minority youth do not reach the same educational level as their local peers. They need educational capital, or for cultural reasons they engage in non-educational trajectories.

The job situation for migrant and ethnic minority youth is also different from ethnic majority youth. Educational drop out and experiences of discrimination in the labour market makes labour marked social integration difficult. Many ethnic minority young people are therefore obliged to work in parallel economies in service jobs or in family owned shops. However, they also sometimes become entrepreneurs in the local economy. They are able to develop new forms of entrepreneurship based on both practical experience and the educational level they have obtained.

The diversity of social and cultural agency influences the practices and the cultural and youth cultural forms. Youth culture of migrant and ethnic minority youth shows this diversity. On the one hand, migrant and ethnic minority youth might develop youth cultures, which are contextual and culturally oriented. They can be everyday street cultures or music cultures, which can be seen as answers to everyday life experiences. On the other hand, they develop cultures, which are part of the late modern youth global music and consumer cultures. Youth cultures, however, are both diversified practices but also critical and opposed cultures. And often they are differentiated according to both ethnic groups and gender. In this way, youth cultures are not necessarily the centre of change of migrant and ethnic minority youth's situation. Youth cultures sometimes may even support a non-integrative interest.

The agency perspective

In the second part of this report, the intention has been to get closer to ethnic minority youth and focus the question of social integration of ethnic minority youth in an agency perspective (Hollway et. al. 2006).

This implies that young ethnic minority youth are seen as constructing their world and everyday life under new societal conditions as they exist in majority society. Instead of only looking at the integrative pressure which is formulated from a societal perspective and which young people might experience and act according to, we have looked for the engagement which ethnic minority youth unfolds in their own active process of becoming societal agents

By taking on an activity perspective the study wanted to acknowledge human activity as intentional and individuals as engaged in managing challenges of everyday life.

The individual both uses and changes societal conditions with his activity, he or she is argued to be engaged in a process of figuration and configuration in late modern European societies.

People unfold their competencies in their everyday life for the improvement of their individual biography, which does not necessarily mean that all they are doing is expedient for either society or for them selves.

The process of being a cultural agent in a late modern society is not simple but dependent on existing possibilities, the social relational experiences and the way they unfolds their self responsibility. Both knowledge and knowledge-ability, a sort of sense-making both about social life and oneself, are very important qualities in everyday coping (Mørch 1999, Bauman 2000).

Individual activity of ethnic minority youth is seen as a reflective actualisation of societal and individual conditions within a certain space or context. Ethnic minority youth are cultural agents of late modernity.

The second part of the report, gives examples of contextual cultural agency among ethnic minority youth. It also illustrates that it is important to find out how figurations and configurations look like in different situations.

In the first part of the report central themes or issues of ethnic minority youth cultural agency is analysed in the relation between a structural level and an individual level. But this analysis also points to an intentional “bridging” between societal demands and individual life perspectives. Young people in their activity are building bridges between the overall societal practices or trajectories and their own trajectory, biography or life story. In this process it became clear that particularly the five following issues asked for further attention:

- subcultures
- development of social responsibility
- re-ethnicization and policy
- employability and employment perspectives
- agency and learning models

In investigating these issues closer, the study searched existing literature for case descriptions which could inform these five issues. The collected cases made up the data material for a qualitative analysis which combined the experiences from the comparative analysis with the agency perspective.

Regarding the issue of *subcultures*, it is in daily life, particularly in interstitial social spaces where leisure and cultural production happens, that youth citizenship is often exercised, reinvented in its senses, objectives and traditional modes of action. Increasingly the institutional and organisational scale of youth citizenship cedes to a micro scale, structured in micro-cultural networks, from which it emerges mainly as an expressive form of construction, exploration, recognition and social preservation of personal and collective identities, named as (re-)ethnicized identities.

In many of these informal interaction networks, effectively implicated cultural conflicts and claims arise, based on the sharing of specific distinct and distinctive forms of identity, providing their protagonists not only with a strong sense of inclusion and demarcation, but also of existence and intervention. These are social spaces where many disadvantaged young people feel to be *someone*; *subjects* and *agents* of their own biography.

The benefits includes that ethnic minority youth might get the feeling of a civic responsibility, to have individual (and social) power, to find themselves being more citizens than victims and to gain subjectivity instead of being objectified with their biographies. On the other hand it is argued that ethnicized social networks or youth subcultures also holds the danger of working as relatively isolated networks, stigmatised and classified by its members.

The analysis of the theme of *social responsibility* takes of from the question of social integration and individualization. The different arenas of youth life (Family, Peer groups, work, school and organised leisure time) are analysed from the perspective and concepts of different *modes of arranging*: How are social trajectories arranged and how do youth arrange themselves in relation to the task of securing society as well as their own sociality?

Social responsibility therefore both points to general value and a contextual qualities. As a consequence of this social responsibility always refers to a social situation or social context and the development of social responsibility among ethnic minority youth relates to both contexts and to experiences of in- and exclusion. The special meaning of social responsibility thus becomes part of the late modern societal situation and the construction of youth life at the same time.

The ongoing development of society means new conditions for individuals. The deinstitutionalisation of individual life and the uncertainty regarding individual biographies hits ethnic minority youth as their cultural insight and history might only permit them to grasp more situated options. The challenge of developing social responsibility seems to create situations in which the individual must take on the responsibility of becoming a societal subject in whatever societal development he or she is taking part.

Social responsibility, as a certain kind of strategy, therefore seems to be the answer to the social situation young ethnic minority youth experience.

But social responsibility may only develop into a “societal responsibility”, when young ethnic minority youth are both formally and practically integrated in local communities. Discrimination might as an example lead to different forms of limitation of social responsibility ranging from societal to a more social and local form of social responsibility.

In conclusion, arranging of arenas and zones of politics in youth life influences the constitution of social responsibility, because conditions of everyday life (the expediency of social and individual trajectories) determine the possibilities of committing oneself socially.

The analysis of *Re-ethnicization and policy* points at the two different aspects the institutional constrains represented by the modes of policies implemented in the different countries and the

modes of agency young immigrants/ethnic minority youth use in order to cope with those institutional/structural constraints.

From the analysis of cases different areas of importance is taken up regarding firstly the Policy aspect (assimilation through school integration, social integration through legal action mode and marginalization due to no active support). Secondly forms of individual/collective modes of agency ((Re)ethnicization, social creativity and social/realistic competition)

In the analysis three clearly distinct modes of policies and its translation into economic, social and cultural structures are identified. The different modes of policies give indications on how ethnic minorities should or could become “acculturated”.

The first mode points to *assimilation* of ethnic minority youth. The Rationale being, that ethnic minority youth should disregard an interest in maintaining their heritage culture and cultural identity and rather find motivation for closer interaction with the ethnic majority. Through adaptation to standards of the dominant culture ethnic minority youth are thought of as having better access to means for realizing institutionalized ends.

A second policy mode identified as *marginalization* also stresses an encouragement to give up a reference to the heritage culture/distinct cultural identity but does not establish or provide access to the means of integration of the larger society. The risk of disregarding specific cultural needs of ethnic minorities is that an exchange and mutual understanding between ethnic minority youth and the society/majority in general is endangered.

The last mode of policy identified is named the mode of *integration*. Here the legal mode supports cultural maintenance referring to young immigrants/ethnic minority youth while striving for involvement with the society in general.

The different modes of policy – and the structural constraints that might follow – are met by different modes of agency by ethnic minority youth in dealing with the situation they face/perceive.

Three dominant *modes of agency* used by ethnic minority youth are identified during the analysis.

The most visible or popular strategy used by ethnic minority youth appears to be *(re)ethnicization*, which is supposed to constitute a mode to emphasize or differentiate in-group specific cultural group properties in order to (re)gain social recognition of a valued group distinctiveness.

A second mode identified is named *social creativity*. Striving for integration the strategy involves redefinition and balancing elements of both the ethnic minority and majority culture, compromising in order to find a “higher cultural level”.

In a third mode, groups of ethnic minority youth (as well as groups of the ethnic majority) may seek dominance through direct *competition* with the out-group. This can be seen as a strategy of reversing the relative position of ones own group compared to the out-group. The strategy holds the risk and potential of generating stereotypes, prejudice and conflicts between groups of people, especially in a situation of scarce social and economic resources.

In the analysis from cases regarding *employability and employment perspectives* a general assumption, that ethnic minority youth “just” have to follow the pathways of the majority population to get a foothold in the labour market i.e. acquiring competencies through formal education and to follow up by continuously improving professional skills in order to maintain and improve their occupational status can be identified.

This general assumption might be similar to and adequate for groups of fortunate ethnic minority young people, but is obviously an insufficient understanding for ethnic minority youth as a whole.

Given the demands of the labour market, some ethnic minority youth develop an assumption that prerequisites of success relate to the ability to cope with local settings in the host country in order to earn a living rather than to their qualifications and past professional experience.

However, cases of career driven immigrants have also been documented, in which the advancement strategy is to accommodate the origin culture with the mainstream culture in the host country, while constructing their own position. Aspirations among ethnic minority youth for occupational status in the host country can be low, what actually matters being the opportunities for earning money, which might provide for better living conditions in their countries of origin, for better educational and employment career for their descendents etc.

Some ethnic minority youth may have doubts about whether they see their future in the country of reception or rather in their country of origin. An important part of the discussion might be, whether the option of “going back” is a future plan, an “exit strategy” in case they fail to achieve a decent living in the host country or merely an idea, which is not really within reach in reality.

It is further pointed out regarding agency on employment and employability that the interplay between the demands of the labour market regarding ethnic minorities and their coping strategies seems to lead to a modus vivendi that is maintained only as far as the coping strategies respond to the demands in the reception/host country. From the analysis it seems that first generations of ethnic minority immigrants informally learn this and that it easily leads to de-motivation regarding career aspirations and educational improvement plans. As far as descendants; second and third generation are concerned, it is pointed out how many immigrants develop high aspirations regarding the employment status of their children, but also how the conditions and contexts of learning, in which the ethnic minority youth grow up and make life plans hardly can be said to be very stimulating or facilitating regarding the motivation for this.

Past professional experience might be seen as an advantage, but even autochthonous ethnic minority youth in European countries have difficulties in making use of this, trying to access better paid jobs. The overall problem is the difference between formal educational paths in countries of origin and countries of reception, but the problem also concern the lack of documentation of competencies among ethnic minorities. Some efforts are done in order to acknowledge qualification certificates issued in other countries, but not only openness and propensity of local authorities seems necessary. Also enabling legal frameworks and a more permissive structure of policy implementation appear to be of importance.

Entrepreneurship among ethnic minorities is taken up as another way of making way in employment. “ethnic business” or certain areas of employment (streetvending, setting up restaurants, cleaning companies etc.) Initiatives like setting up “ethnic businesses” do provide an opportunity of income for the entrepreneurs as well as for their co-nationals. On these grounds ensuring legal frameworks to enable entrepreneur-ship as well as setting up programmes and funding schemes to encourage this might be considered. On the other hand “ethnic businesses also carries the danger of segregating the labour market further as a labour market for ethnic minorities and one for the ethnic majority, which might consolidate differences in working conditions and demands and imply a tendency of ethnic minority people staying disintegrated except in working conditions worse than the average.

On agency of learning, creative, non-formal and informal learning, the analysis starts focusing on the expectations of migrant youth, indicating, that troubles often begins where expectations of ethnic minority youth, regarding the reception Society are not met. People moving from one country to another are not just going to any place except to a country, which offers some kind of opportunity or starting point, be it security, an existing network of family, friends or opportunities for earning a living etc.

Often a migration process is depending on existing networks even if the initiative to migrate is taken individually. Coming to or being born and raised in a receiving Society obviously includes the question of learning and education. The level of formal education for ethnic minority youth is of course an important question, as a lack of formal qualification, depending on the receiving Society, implies that only a certain and limited space of job possibilities are within reach.

On agency of learning, it is pointed out how a lack of formal education poses vulnerability among Ethnic minority youth as it presumably means hard work in poor conditions without much hope of getting better options. Consumption is mentioned as a factor of social integration, which is getting more and more important. Leisure time activities, family life and cultural activities all includes opportunities of having the feeling of belonging to something, but it also impose a conflict regarding exclusion/inclusion, as different lifestyles in different arenas of life contradict ways of living. In this respect it is pointed out how activities and learning informal and non-formally could be seen as both necessary, desirable and troublesome.

For some ethnic minority youth their entrance to the labour market means that youth life, regarding learning processes formally, non formally and informally is absent, which might have great consequences for the integration process quite different from the strategies held by ethnic minority youth with formal qualifications, who are able to (or at least tries to) handle both ethnic minority values and expectations/values from the ethnic majority culture

From multiculturalism to social diversity

In our way of understanding youth and especially ethnic minority youth it has been important to acknowledge that youth is constructing their world and everyday life under the new societal conditions which exist in majority society. Here both local and contextual conditions become important. In activity, the individual's understanding of societal, social and individual conditions plays an important role in making sense of everyday life. The particular conditions the individual finds and the specific situation are crucial to the mastering of actual problems or tasks, and the conditions the individual finds important in understanding his or her own life are important to the engagement in actualisation. Also, the understanding of being a group member and part of a social context influences the activity. Therefore, knowledge and knowledge-ability, a sort of sense-making, both about social life and oneself, are very important qualities in human life and also a challenge to everyday coping.

The report underlines that social integration does not necessarily contrast the cultural and social aspects of the integration process. Rather than looking for unity in social integration, social integration also exists as diversified. Agency combines cultural and social diversities in a differentiated contextual reality. In the process of becoming integrated different possibilities exist. And the construction of the future becomes more important than the reflection on the cultural background.

In the case examples in part 2 of the report it is shown that the diversity of answers to the challenges of social integration also constructs a diversity of questions. The overall perspective of the social integrative processes seems to be that ethnic minority youth as all other young people find way of integrating themselves in late modern society.

Though social integration refers to structural integration demands the development of activities, knowledge-ability and self-understanding takes place in the social relationship in the contexts. Social relations and interactions are crucial in the process of developing diversity. Ethnic minority youth however often find themselves in social conditions of discrimination and exclusion. They may be discriminated both at an institutional and a personal level and in this way excluded from the development of diversity social integration. But as the case examples show, the social conditions and social relations in-between ethnic minority youth may also support their individual coping of social and societal conditions. Ethnic youth cultures, for example, are representing common forms of activity patterns. Youth cultures are activities made by youngsters in mastering youth-life.

Therefore ethnic minority youth individualisation is a construction process that both depends on and develops structures and organisations. It is both a figuration and configuration process. At the same time, this activity perspective underlines, that the engagement in challenges of everyday life create diversity in social integrative processes of late modernity.

From social integration to contextual diversity

Migrant and ethnic minority youth are in an ongoing social integration process. Often this process is seen as a sort of necessary acculturation to late modern social interaction. As this analysis have underlined, late modern social integration does not necessarily mean cultural or social assimilation.

Though social integration exist as a general condition of late modern individualisation this does not mean that integration could or should be tackled in a specific and definite way.

On the one hand, ethnic minority youth are on the road to late modern society, but on the other hand they sometimes are also at the edge of society. Policies of course influence this situation. The first demand for securing social integration is the existence of equal rights and citizen rights for ethnic minority youth. However, this is not enough. Sometimes differentiated rights or special interventions are necessary to support the integration process of migrant and ethnic minority youth. With new migratory movements all over Europe, this differentiated policy perspective becomes important. It might be necessary to differentiate policies and perspectives according to different migrant and ethnic minority youth – both in relation to possibilities of supporting migrant and ethnic minority youth's choices of engaging in late modern individualisation and in relation to a more general social integration process.

The solution is not necessarily either an assimilation perspective pointing towards a very homogeneous culture or a multicultural society.

As the report shows, it might be more beneficial to take on a perspective of social and contextual diversity, implying that integration processes are best carried out in local or smaller contexts, in which common interest and activities among local inhabitants are possible to find.

In that respect a common or standardised European integration needs to be taken into account. Social integration appears to be a matter of attachment and belonging predominantly to the local surroundings and a daily life.

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Appendix

A: Research questions

Individualisation

- How do young migrants and youth from ethnic minorities manage education and labour market entrance? What are their specific problems and coping strategies?
- Which (discriminating) limitations are ethnic minority youth facing in education systems and Labour markets?
- How do their families support them, and to what extent are issues (education, work, sex, leisure etc.) negotiated in the relation between family and the young person)? What gender differences exist in these respects?

Learning

- What are the challenges of ethnic minority youth regarding involvement in (late-modern) educational contexts?
- What and were do ethnic minority youth actually learn?
- What are the prerequisites of successful ethnic minority youth?

Culture

- Which forms of youth (and peer) culture are developed? In which non-formal and informal contexts does learning take place and how does different contexts contribute to their social integration? How are these cultural contexts recognised by societal institutions?

Policy Level

- Which conditions (possibilities) of individual agency are provided for ethnic minority youth in different transition regimes? What forms of interplay between education systems, labour markets and modes of integration can be found and how do they influence transitions to work?
- How can management of diversity be conceptualised without reproducing segmentation and inequality?

B: The qualitative cases

Overview of national cases

Country	Case name & Case Box no.	Source/reference
Denmark	Wild streetworkers (Case Box 10)	Line Lerche Mørck: <i>Communities of border – learning and exceeding marginalisation.</i>
	From where I origin, my future begins (Case Box 5)	Mustafa Kemal Topal (2007): <i>From where I origin, my future begins.</i>
	The broken mirror (Case Box 9)	Dominique Bouchet (1999): <i>The broken mirror.</i>
	Ethnic minority girls' strategies (Case Box 1)	<p>Arenas, J. & Jessen, T (1991): <i>Den anden generation i eksil.</i></p> <p>Brouwer, L. (1992): <i>Binding Religion</i></p> <p>Heide-Jørgensen, V. (edt) (1995): <i>Allahs Piger.</i></p> <p>Ketner, S.L., Buitelaar, M.W., Bosma, H.A. (2004): <i>Identity strategies among Adolescent girls of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands.</i></p> <p>Madsen, L. (2006): <i>Etniske minoritetspigers konflikter med deres forældre.</i></p> <p>Mørch, S. & Andersen, H. (2006): <i>Individualisation and the changing youth life</i></p> <p>Ashgate Mørk, Y.(1998): <i>Bindestregsdanskere. Fortællinger om køn, generation og etnicitet.</i></p> <p>Røgilds, F. (1995): <i>Stemmer i et grænseland – En bro mellem unge indvandrere og danskere?</i></p> <p>Sareen, M. (2003): <i>Når kærlighed bliver til tvang. Generationskonflikter og tvangsægteskaber i Danmark.</i></p> <p>Sørensen, T. H. (1999): <i>Døgnkontaktens arbejde med unge fra etniske grupper – en evaluering.</i></p>
Portugal	Under the mask of stigma (Case Box 21)	José Machado Pais (2007): <i>Under the mask of stigma: Prostitutes, seductresses, and immigrants.</i>
	In search of the west (Case Box 20)	José Machado Pais (2006): <i>In search of the west: Eastern European Immigrants.</i>
	Ethnic associativism (Case Box 19)	Cristina Carita & Vasco Nuno Rosendo (1993): <i>Ethnic associativism in the Lisbon metropolitan area.</i>
	Ethnic	Catarina Reis de Oliveira (2004): <i>Business strategies</i>

	entrepreneurship (Case Box 12)	<i>of immigrants in Portugal.</i>
	Black rap (Case Box 7)	Otávio Raposo (2006): <i>Nubai. The black rap of Lisbon.</i>
Finland	The icebreakers (Case Box 2)	Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004): <i>The icebreakers. Somali-speaking youth in metropolitan Helsinki with a focus on the context of formal education.</i>
	Lads!: Somali youngsters (Case Box 4)	Petri Hautaniemi (2004): <i>Lads! The contested childhood of Somali youngsters in Finland.</i>
Germany	Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation (Case Box 8)	Jan Skrobanek (2007): <i>Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation among young turks and resettlers.</i>
	Turkish power boys (Case Box 6)	Hermann Tertilt (1996): <i>Turkish power boys. Ethnography of a youth gang.</i>
	The third chair (Case Box 15)	Tarek Badawia (2003): <i>'The third chair' – how immigrant young people with a high educational achievement develop a strategy to creatively handle cultural differences. A study based on grounded theory.</i>
	Transitions and milieus of young migrant girls (Case Box 3)	Karin Schittenhelm (2005): <i>Social conditions in transition. Young migrant and autochthon women between school and vocational training.</i>
Romania	Project image of Roma girls (Case Box 13)	The Center Education 2000+ (2005): <i>Let's build together the image of young Roma girls</i>
	Project youth for youth (Case Box 14)	Project implemented by the <i>Organisation of Young Roma</i> within the frame work of the ANSIT programme <i>Community Initiatives for Youth – 2007.</i>
	Project Roman City (Case Box 17)	EUMAP (2007): <i>Equal access to quality education for Roma. Vol. 1.</i>
	Participation in education in Bobesti (Case Box 16)	EUMAP (2007): <i>Equal access to quality education for Roma. Vol. 1.</i>
Spain	Lenir: Entrepreneurship (Case Box 11)	AREA, Bétera: López, Sala A.M. Cachón, L. (coord.) (2007): <i>Juventud e inmigración. Desafíos para la participación y para la integración.</i> Cavalcanti, L. (2007): <i>Negocios étnicos: importación y repercusiones de una categoría.</i> Kloosterman,R. (1996): <i>Mixed Experiences: post-industrial transitions and ethnic minorities on the</i>

		<p><i>Ámsterdam Labour Market.</i></p> <p>López Blasco, A (2007): <i>Qué necesitamos saber de la "juventud emigrante.</i></p> <p>Portes, A. Sensenbrenner, J. (1993): <i>Embeddednes and migration.</i></p> <p>Solé, C., Parella, S., Cavalcanti, L. (2007): <i>El empresario inmigrante en España.</i></p> <p>Tarrius, A. (2004): <i>Más allá de los estados-nación: sociedades, culturas y redes de emigrantes en el Mediterráneo Occidental.</i></p>
	<p>Bulgarian association GABRIELA (Case Box 18)</p>	<p>AREA, Bétera: <i>Participation of immigrants in the local context.</i></p>

Case studies from National Reports

Cases from Spain

AREA – Andreu López Blasco, Germán Gil Rodríguez, Almudena Moreno Mínguez

Cases (July)

Search for the “how” and not the “what”

I Context:

There is a high percentage of immigrant population in Spain...and not only in the biggest cities. We try to show life and strategies used by young immigrants in three different social environments: two little towns of around 12-14.000 inhabitants and the capital of a province, Segovia.

1. Young people –South Americans – Ecuador. Singularity

(Individualization; integration; Education system and role of social network/ Associationism; females)

Susana is a young 19-years-old Ecuadorian woman. She lives in Spain with her mother and her older brother. Her father takes care of their home and their family in Ecuador. All three entered the country as tourists and stayed as illegal immigrants. The young female went to school in Massamagrell (a town north of the city of Valencia) and stayed in the education system, as this was her only way to avoid repatriation to Ecuador. Her mother found a legal job, which allowed them to start a process of legalization, and later on to request family regrouping.

The whole family belongs to the Spanish-Ecuadorian association Rumiñahui (1996), an association that tries to improve the living-standards of Ecuadorian immigrants, starting with fostering, legalization of their situation in Spain and giving all needed information about aspects regarding legal situation, labour, training, health system, education and housing. All this thanks to coordinated work between social organizations and unions.

The young woman has fixed-term contract after fixed-term contract and jobs with low qualification requisites. However, these jobs allow her to ask for a mortgage to acquire an apartment. This apartment has become the joint objective of all family members.

During unemployment periods she sells products of Ecuador on the streets.

In this case, we clearly see how they develop and master techniques that allow them to stay in the country without legal documents, as well as how belonging to social networks facilitates integration of immigrants.

2. Young Moroccans, trendsetter

(Ethnization and Integration; Family support; Studies about secondary formal learning)

Ali is a young 24-years-old Moroccan that belongs to a family of immigrants. He lives with his parents and older brother. The parents have worked in Barcelona and now all of them live in Puçol since 1995. The young man has finished compulsory and secondary education in Spain. His jobs are mainly temporary (construction, painting, agriculture...), as it is the case for many young Spanish people. He speaks and reads Spanish and Arabic perfectly, and therefore he is hired by the town-council as a mediator between the Arabic speaking population and the local authorities. He translates texts from Arabic into Spanish or Spanish into Arabic for the town-council and acts as a mediator when problems arise.

In this case, labour and social integration has been favoured by the fact that he fluently speaks both languages. Complex identities, and therefore unsettled, are developed through the dialogue with significant referents. Integration hasn't meant loss of identity, but its development in the private sphere (family, food, clothing...). Even though, we know identities are plural, multidimensional, and therefore communication requires not only knowing the languages, but also knowledge regarding different life-styles that require a process of interpreting to allow communication between them.

3. Young Bulgarians and social participation through a sports-club

(Culture; Associationism; Integration; Participation)

The number of immigrants has been growing considerably in Segovia. Therefore this city is currently the capital of a province in the region of Castilla y Leon with the fastest growth of immigrant population for the last five years. The Bulgarian community is the largest group in the capital. The dynamism of this community has developed a strong associative and participative network with influence towards the social and cultural life of the city. As a consequence, the Federation of Bulgarian Associations in Spain has its headquarters in Segovia. Probably the most interesting case regarding the process of integration of young people into the social network of Segovia is the creation of a sports-club called "Bulgaria 24". This club brings a great number of young Bulgarian people together. It acts as a place to build up relations and develop the own identity, regarding the own community as well as other young people.

This is a good example of how work with young immigrants during spare-time and sport activities is very positive to strengthen participation of young people in social networks, promote development of abilities to communicate with others and favour integration of young people beyond traditional socio-educational and socio-labour insertion. This is an additional way to favour the solution of intercultural and integration conflicts of young immigrants.

II Methodology

We are carrying out interviews – **Narrative-Biographical Interview** – with immigrants of these three typologies.

Our objective is to carry out interviews without standardised questions. Take the position of an anthropologist that arrives in an unknown country. He is taken around by a native person and tries to obtain information about situations, life and people.

A narrative-biographical interview is based on the stories of different lives told by different people. The interviewer asks or refers to specific situations of a biography to guide the conversation, but the interviewee chooses his memories, how he/she interprets these memories and the way they are related to each other: His/Her account, how perceptions, wishes, actions, experiences are explained and related to each other.

It is very important to see how he/she interprets or re-interprets his/her life, even if it is a “fairy-tale” based on the real life.

Move from “what” to “how”. (Ralf Bohnsack et al;Mannheim; Schütz...y Stich,J)

It is necessary to avoid a “social news item”, which is a risk when we speak about description of “cases”.

Case study presentations – Romania

1. The project “Let’s Build Together the Image of Young Roma Girls”

Source: Presentation brochure published by The Center Education 2000+, Bucharest, 2005

1. Contextualisation

The project was carried out by an educational organization (CEDU 2000+) in 2005, in three counties from Romania (Buzau, Calarasi and Ialomita) with relevant traditionalist Roma communities. The project targeted poor young Roma women from disadvantaged rural and urban communities. It was a research-action project, aimed at mitigating the consequences of early marriage and precocious pregnancy of those Roma girls, mainly with regard to their participation in education (both formal and non-formal). The (qualitative) research component aimed to probe the specific needs and problems of the target group as to best guide the intervention measures.

One of the key demographic aspects of Roma ethnic group in Romania is the early (precocious) marriage (35% of young Roma women got married before the age of 16). Under the circumstances of increasing options for non-formal marriage (consensual couple) in Romania after the year 2000, especially among Roma, the weight of Roma women getting married before the age of 20 (early marriage) has been increasing from 70% among the age

group 25-29 to 84% among the age group 20-24 (data 2005); in the meantime, precocious marriage (before the age of 18) has been increasing from 44.6% among the age group 25-29 to 52.1% among the age group 20-24 (data 2005).

The above demographic behaviour has been accompanied by early pregnancy (under the age of 18 at the first birth). Thus, the weight of early births among young Roma women has been increasing from 30.6% among the age group 25-29 to 37.1% among the age group 20-24 (data 2005).

The research component of the project revealed that both early marriage and early pregnancy belong to the traditional cultural model of Roma family (reiterating the mother's and grandmother's behaviour), and that the numbers of early marriages and early pregnancies are likely to increase according as the Roma community women belong to are more traditionalist. Likewise, the consensual couple model is associated with traditional Roma cultural model of family, although during the last one and a half decade incidence of this model among non-Roma population has been increasing as well.

2. Narrative

The project aimed at exploring the complex factors that determine the demographic behaviour above referred to and to propose proper measures/policies for reducing the incidence of precocious pregnancy among Roma young girls.

Through the research component, the project revealed that not only the cultural model of family influences the demographic behaviour of young Roma women but also socio-economic factors influence the "family planning" process. Under the circumstances of low income sources from salaried work, many Roma families need to rely on child allocations or even to use their children for income generating activities, not always legal ones. Research has also revealed a correlation between age at first marriage and consequently at first birth, level of education and household's income. Moreover, such correlation has been identified not only in the case of Roma but also in case of other ethnic communities living in poverty. Therefore, project measures focused on improving awareness with regard to risks associated to precocious pregnancy and education for family planning based on proper use of contraceptive techniques, through information campaigns, training sessions, group discussions, case studies and case presentations, etc.

3. Strategies/Plans for further action

As strategies for further action towards diminishing the phenomenon of early marriage and subsequent precocious pregnancy, the project recommended promotion among Roma communities where the phenomenon has higher incidence of women having got married after the age of 18 who were successful in completing at least compulsory education and had thereafter a professional career; this referred mainly to positions such as school mediator, teaching staff, and marital councillor. It also recommended provision of free pre-marital consultations within schools for girls aged 13-14 years and over, along with specialized

counselling by school psychologists for girls having got married before the age of 18, including advice for family planning in the sense of avoiding precocious pregnancy but also encouragement to continue education. Avoiding school segregation on ethnic basis and de-segregation where cases had already occurred have also been recommended as ways to encourage adaptation of young Roma girls to mainstream demographic behaviour.

4. Theoretical (re-)interpretation

It is a good example of how research-action projects can address complex social problems that apparently have ethnic grounds but socio-economic factors behind actually play a greater role.

2. Youth for Youth project

1. Contextualisation

The project is being implemented by the Organisation of Young Roma from Galati City (OYRG) in the framework of the ANSIT programme “Community Initiatives for Youth - 2007”.

Galati City, with around 300,000 inhabitants, of which 76,100 young people aged 14-29, is the capital city of Galati County (around 618,000 inhabitants), South-East Romania. Unemployment in Galati City is not much higher than at country level, but more than a quarter of the unemployed are young people under the age of 25; yet not recorded officially, the situation of young Roma in this regard is much worse.

According to OYRG’s assessment, participation of young people from Galati County is at all levels rather low. They explain this, on one hand, by insufficient presence of factors that might stimulate and motivate participation, such as meetings (of decision makers) with young people, youth events, youth services, and on the other hand by the limited access to information on existing opportunities (e.g. programmes for youth, otherwise quite few, are not enough advertised, so that very few youngsters are aware of them). Besides, exposure to poverty and unemployment along with lack of information and services tailored to their needs make young people particularly vulnerable in front of risks such as drugs and/or alcohol addiction, illegal migration, sexually transmittable diseases, and delinquency.

2. Narrative

The project has targeted 100 young people aged 15-29 from disadvantaged areas, particularly exposed to the risk of social exclusion (mostly Roma young people from rural area). It aims at encouraging active participation of young people, especially Roma ethnics, in local community’s life, thus becoming active members of an inclusive society and contributing to the European integration.

The rationale of the project is that participation is something that could and should be learnt and that youth NGOs could play an important role in this regard. Non-formal and informal learning are the key words of OYRG's approach. It is also a bottom up approach, starting with understanding and assuming responsibility for the problems of local community and getting involved in resolving problems that are of interest for them. Familiarisation with European values and education towards observance of these values in the process of participatory community development and provision of equal opportunities are also being paid suitable attention.

The project includes offering services and organising activities specific to young people, along with direct involvement and participation of the target group in these activities. It is to a large extent a learning by doing project, participants being trained and directly involved in project's activities, such as information campaigns, volunteering and attracting volunteers, meetings with decision makers aimed at sensibilising them with regard to their specific problems, development of a website and a discussion forum, job seeking activities, civic activities, etc.

3. Strategies/Plans for further action

The project opens opportunities for empowering young people from disadvantaged groups to make decisions on their future and to get involved from a well informed position in the decision making process at community and at county level with regard to problems they are concerned by.

It is expected that familiarisation with the decision making process and mechanisms and better responsible involvement of young people in community life would result in better mitigation of the impact of risk factors among youth, especially those from most vulnerable groups, particularly Roma.

It is also expected that better knowledge and understanding of European values and principles of participatory community development would ease the European integration at local level.

Youth counselling and training activities will be continued by the implementing organisation along with information campaigns, while a network of minimum 20 young volunteers will continue mobilization of young people from disadvantaged areas in the dialogue with decision makers and community based actions.

4. Theoretical (re-)interpretation

The project approach highlights an important prerequisite of participation as agency: the sense of being able to (successfully) get involved. The project's rationale suggests that young people in disadvantaged positions (pretty typical for young Roma) do not engage in social change because, inter alia, they actually do not know how to do it and what means are

available to them in this regard. It reveals that not only professional skills are necessary for engagement but also social skills, for which non-formal and informal learning with support by youth NGOs could be a solution to compensate/complement formal education.

3. Case study on living conditions of Roma minority, relationships with majority population, and participation in education in Roman City, Romania

Source: EUMAP (EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program of the Open Society Institute) Report: Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma - Volume 1 (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia), Budapest 2007, available on line via www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/roma_education

1. Contextualisation

Roman City is situated in north-eastern Romania, in Neamţ County. Its total population, according to the 2002 census, is 69,268 inhabitants, out of whom 1,594 (2.3 per cent) are Roma, the largest minority and the second-largest ethnic group after the Romanians (67,210 people or 97.02 per cent). The unofficially estimated number of the Roma inhabitants (by the mayor of the city) is approximately 14,000 people. The Roma people's major sources of income are, according to the mayor, thieving, social security and emergency aid and as for occupations, most Roma people are unqualified workers.

Until 2001, there was an old apartment building put up in the Communist regime, with 104 one-room apartments in the Mihai Eminescu neighbourhood downtown. Approximately 90 per cent of the people who lived in the building were Roma, and the rest were Romanians. By 2001, the building had been turned into a sort of ghetto at the heart of the town, with no utilities: no heating, no electricity and no sewage system. In 2001, the Roma from the centre of the town were moved to the Satul Olympic neighbourhood, so as to mitigate the tensions between the Roma and the Romanians, who threatened to set the building on fire.

2. Narrative

The Municipality developed a RON 12 billion (around EUR 3.5 million) project with funds from the citizens to refurbish some stables bought from a company and make them suitable for housing, thus offering to Roma people from the downtown building better living conditions (whitewashed room, with tarmac roads leading up to the building, with toilets, water, electricity, heating stove and wood, which the municipality was paying for). According to the leader of the local Roma community, at the end of 2006 about 2,000 people live in the Olympic neighbourhood, out of whom an estimated 40 per cent were men.

Later, with support from a foundation, the Town Hall built a medical unit in Olympic. The Town Hall also made agricultural land behind the houses in Olympic available to the people there to use.

After the Roma community was moved from the centre of the municipality to Olimpic, they set up classrooms for the Roma children's education in one of the stables. However, the County School Inspectorate stepped in and moved the children to another school, thus avoiding school segregation and ensuring education in line with reforms taken as part of Romania's accession process to the European Union. As for the school year 2006-2007, approximately 100 Roma students go to school for first to eighth graders and 20 people are enrolled in the remedial education class that is part of the national "Second Chance" programme. The total number of students in the Sports School Roman, which now incorporates also the school where Roma students from Olimpic had been enrolled, is 320, of whom 231 are Romanians (72.19 per cent) and 89 Roma (27.81 per cent). The distribution of students in classes for pre-primary and primary education is ethnically balanced, while in classes for lower-secondary education (grades V-VIII) most students are Romanian (from the Olimpic neighbourhood, only the students from grades I-IV go to the Sports School, the others go to the Danubiana Technical College Roman). There are six special needs students who were included in the mainstream school.

Roma parents state that they are pleased with the way in which teaching is carried out at present, because the students are given homework, they are provided with a meal and there is an after-school programme that starts at noon and ends at four in the afternoon.

3. Strategies/Plans for further action/directions for the future

The major problem of the Roma community, underscored by the mayor of the municipality, is lack of education, which leads to poverty and to behaviour issues in society. The mayor states that the vast majority of the Roma community are beneficiaries of social allowances. Some 30-40 people have also been employed by the town cleaning service. Roma people receive emergency funds from the Town Hall, either in the form of firewood, or as medical intervention.

While doing their best to improve living conditions of Roma community (at present, the Roman Town Hall is preparing a project to bring gas for heating into the Roma community of Olimpic, yet being afraid that they will not have the necessary money to pay the bill), the municipality relies on education as a means to improve Roma conditions, both in terms of employment opportunities and in terms of social behaviour. Half of the municipality's budget is already passed on to schools.

However, both the mayor and the school mediator understand that conditions provided in schools can not ensure by themselves continued participation in education. Cases of Roma children dropping out of school have been already recorded and there is concern that gradually there will be more children who will start missing from school, because of their social situation, as well as because of illiteracy of their parents, who often send their children to work or to beg. Addressing these issues exceed, in the opinion of local actors involved in the case study, the resources of municipality and require special integration programmes, with appropriate funding.

4. Theoretical (re-)interpretation

It is an interesting example of local policy aiming at both inter-ethnic conflict mitigation and improving living conditions of a minority group (yet replacing a type of segregation with another type of segregation), with due attention to avoiding school segregation on ethnic ground of children from the minority group. What has made this possible was the understanding by both majority population and local authorities of the social grounds of minority's behaviour that had generated the conflicts, which can not be addressed without community mobilization for improving the living conditions of minority group along with providing access to quality and non-discriminatory education for their children.

4. Case study on living conditions of Roma minority and participation in education in Bobesti village, Glina commune, Romania

Source: EUMAP (EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program of the Open Society Institute) Report: Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma - Volume 1 (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia), Budapest 2007, available on line via www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/roma_education

1. Contextualisation

Glina Commune (a larger village unit) is in Ilfov County, approximately 3 kilometers from Bucharest (on the southern edge of the city). The villages that are included in the administrative structure of Glina commune are Glina, Catelu and Bobesti. According to the 2002 census, Glina Commune had 7,147 inhabitants, including 5,921 Romanians, 1,222 Roma, 2 Hungarians, and 2 Bulgarians. Roma therefore make up 17 per cent of the total population of Glina commune. According to the mayor, the largest Roma community is in Bobesti village, where approximately 500 people declared Roma ethnicity on the census. However, the mayor's estimate is that the actual number is approximately 1,000. The Local Council includes six Roma councillors, who were included on the electoral lists of mainstream parliamentary parties.

The Roma community of Bobesti consists of settled Roma, some of whom have preserved their traditional occupation as violinists. The infrastructure of the community is poorly developed: there are dirt roads which are impassable in rain or snow; there is no running water or sewage system in the community, nor is there a natural gas supply. The community of Bobesti is connected to the electricity network. Housing conditions are poor: most homes are improvised from all sorts of construction remnants collected from the garbage dump "Ochiul Boului", near the settlement.

Most of the Roma in Bobesti have low levels of education and hardly any qualifications that would allow them to obtain stable jobs. According to the estimates of the Roma school inspector, only about ten per cent of the Roma in the community work in Bucharest, while the rest live on social allowance, child benefit and on money made from recycling waste collected

from the neighbouring dump site. The Roma who are professional musicians are somewhat better off, because they have managed to get temporary jobs abroad.

2. Narrative

There are three schools in the commune, one each in the three component villages. Bobesti school was established in 1962 and until 1991 included grades one to ten, but at present only goes up to the eighth grade. The school also has two groups of students in the pre-school, totalling about 40 children. The school has only one computer, which is used by the director and the school staff; the students have no access to computers or computer classes. There is no telephone line or fax machine. The school has had fluctuating staff, according to the principal. Out of the 13 teachers who make up the teaching staff, only 5 have tenure, while seven are substitute teachers who teach at all the three schools in Glina Commune. The school has a Romanes teacher and plans to hire a second one. All the students in Bobesti study Romanes.

While at its very beginning it was preponderantly Romanian and for a good while after that the school was quite mixed ethnically, currently, except for one Romanian student who was transferred to this school for disciplinary reasons, all the other students are of Roma ethnicity. The segregation process unfolded in the transition period, after 1990, when freedom to choose which school to go has been granted to everybody and many people looked for schools in Bucharest, Glina or Catelu. Thus, Romanian children were gradually taken out of this school. Both Romanian and Roma pupils from Bobesti attend other schools in the commune or schools in Bucharest, but this is more common among ethnic Romanians. Therefore, one could say that segregation is not necessarily done on ethnic grounds, but rather on social grounds.

From grades one to four the school results are rather poor, although according to the director, there have been no cases of functional illiteracy at the end of fourth grade. School performance is not better in the lower secondary school either. In 2006–2007, none of the pupils who completed grade eight managed to pass the national examination, which would have allowed them to continue their studies in the upper secondary school; previous years were no better. A teacher explained failure exclusively on the poverty that dominates the community, and on the lower secondary school students' engagement in various jobs in the household or outside it. The director also suggested that the poor school performance is due largely to absenteeism. In the schools where there are problems connected to attendance it is customary to blame the families for absenteeism. However, the case study revealed that some families cannot afford the costs of school textbooks, materials and extracurricular activities, and that although the school organises extracurricular activities, children from poorer families cannot afford them.

Collaboration with parents and the community is sporadic, occasioned by various school celebrations. The interviewed teachers believe that the responsibility for this poor collaboration is with the parents and the students, who are not aware of the school's role, and they blame the social models who have not gained success as a result of doing well at school. One of them also evoked the wrong examples to follow that most of them have, e.g.

footballers, popular music singers have money etc, while the French teacher has torn shoes. Thus, they don't understand why their children should study.

3. Strategies/Plans for further action

Along with other schools from the county, the Bobesti school applied for funds in the Phare 2005 project "Access to education for Disadvantaged groups", hoping to become a "magnet" school for the Romanian children in the settlement, who at present commute to Bucharest schools or schools in the neighbourhood. The decision is still pending and will hinge on the quality of application submitted by the Ilfov County School Inspectorate. At present, a new preschool is being built, within a town-hall-funded project.

There are no bilingual education programmes for the teachers who do not speak Romanes, although there are reportedly language barriers between the students and the teachers especially in the primary grades, and to a lesser extent in the secondary grades. Beginning this academic year, the school intends to hire a second Romames teacher, and to set up a position for a school mediator, if the county's application within the Phare programme is approved. However, the school director expects it will be difficult to find a candidate meeting the requirements for the mediator post. The lack of resources at local budget makes local authorities to look forward to attracting external funding in order to improve living conditions and school facilities.

4. Theoretical (re-)interpretation

The case study is a typical illustration of how certain Roma communities are caught in the vicious circle of lack of resources (including education of parents) within origin family resulting in poor school performance of children, which at its turn results in poor employment perspectives and consequently in perpetuation of poverty.

Cases from Portugal

Case studies from Portugal about young people with an ethnic or migrant background

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UNDER THE MASK OF STIGMA: PROSTITUTES, SEDUCTRESSES AND IMMIGRANTS

Source: José Machado Pais (2007), field work notes

This case study addresses the social upheavals generated by the presence of young Brazilian women in a city in the North of Portugal (Bragança) with strong traditionalist inclinations (see the article published in *Time* magazine, “When the *meninas* (girls) came to town: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,517712-5,00.html>).

Due to their condition of *prostitutes, seductresses and immigrants*, they were looked upon as a factor of disturbance of the public order. Some women of Bragança organized themselves into a social movement, self-designated as “*Mães de Bragança*” (*Mothers of Bragança*), to drive them out of town, accusing them of bewitching their husbands with their spells and enchantments. Some of the press supported the “mothers’ movement” with xenophobic discourses.

The sociological interest of this case study is that it shows that, in fact, the “public order” disturbed by the Brazilian prostitutes (*meninas*) is a “false order”, in which social integration is a mere façade. Under the *mask of stigma* we uncover a power of denunciation of camouflaged realities that prefigure *emerging issues*:

Responsibility: The *meninas* educated the clients on how to have healthier behaviours: use of condoms; a bath before and after sexual relations; promotion of the affection and conversation dimensions; etc.

Employability: Escaping from poverty, the *meninas* earn a lot of money from prostitution (part of which is sent to their mothers, in Brazil); some quit the prostitution circuit, get married and find other jobs. At the same time, they stirred up the commerce of the city of Bragança, by creating employment. It is not surprising that the traders (of restaurants, mobile phones, hairdressers, taxi drivers, apartment rentals, laundries, etc.) turned against the “*mães*”.

Learning: The *meninas* taught the men to look at sexuality as an art between two people, instead of considering the woman as a burden. Some men started doing different “things” with their wives. These, in turn, began looking more after their image to please their husbands, by investing in their aesthetic capital.

Sub-cultures and social structures: This case study shows that sub-cultures are often the result of structural tensions: prostitution itself derives from matrimonial tensions (which justify the demand) and unemployment tensions (from which supply originates).

Ethnic differentiation: Under the *mask of stigma* we find the creation of the stereotype: any Brazilian woman that visits Bragança is looked at with distrust, as most likely a prostitute. What have we learnt?

Those stereotypes emerge as false representations of reality, giving rise to images that crystallize in the discourses that convey those same images.

IN SEARCH OF A WEST: EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

Source: José Machado Pais (2006), *Nos Rastos da Solidão. Deambulações Sociológicas [On the Trails of Solitude. Sociological Discourses]*, Âmbar, Porto.

Due to employment difficulties, in spite of having reasonable academic qualifications, there is a tendency towards immigration among young Romanians. Mihaela is a young Romanian woman who arrived in Portugal three years ago. Her case allows one to follow the process of integration of the “immigrant” as a process of gradual acquisition of knowledge about «significant elements» of the cultural matrix of the welcoming society. As soon as Mihaela arrives at her country of destination, she converts herself into an applicant to become a member of the community that welcomes her. The cultural guidelines that she experiences, transform themselves into actual socialization processes. This «case study» reveals that only after having acquired a certain knowledge of those guidelines can immigrants begin to adopt them – and not only adapt them – as compasses to guide their day-to-day actions.

Responsibility: this case study reveals the undertaking of a family obligation in connection with the significant others that stayed behind in the country of origin. Mihaela, of the money that she saves, sends what she can to her mother (widow and unemployed), to help her and her three brothers that are still studying in Romania.

Employability: this case study reveals how linguistic limitations constitute a strong obstacle to the obtainment of employment. Mihaela found her first job, as a housemaid, only two months after her arrival in Portugal. Her cousins tried very hard to find work for her, but the language was always an obstacle, since Mihaela could not speak Portuguese. That obstacle was overcome by trying to find work for which the command of the Portuguese language was not that necessary (such as baby sitting) and through informal learning processes of the Portuguese language, having had the help of a Brazilian boyfriend.

Learning: the experiences lived by Mihaela immediately after she decided to leave Romania exemplify the situation of the “foreigner” when, after arriving in another country, he/she seeks to interpret a cultural matrix that is strange to him/her, so as to attain a desired integration or overcome obstacles on the path to that integration. Emigrants, when they arrive in a new country, do not command the respective “common thinking” of day-to-day life. That knowledge began to be conveyed to Mihaela at a distance, by compatriots with emigration experience. They spoke to her about the good Portuguese food, the sun, the beaches, *fado*, she was given Porto wine to taste, told that the actual Portuguese language would be easily learnt given her Romanic roots. Mihaela began to acculturate herself mentally to Portugal, even before arriving there. Then, the first week in Lisbon corresponded to a period of discoveries, followed by a period of “uncertainties” and “ignorances”. Uncertainties when the need to find work turned into a priority that was difficult to accomplish. Ignorances which, to start with, had to do with not knowing a foreign language. But also due to the lack of knowledge about the specific cultural requisites to exercise certain professional activities, such as being a “housemaid”, the confrontation between the characteristic “common way of doing things” of one country and that of another (even in terms of cooking).

Sub-cultures and social structures: the “contacts” she had in Portugal were one of the multiple determinants of the decision to migrate to Portugal, namely a Romanian cousin that had been in Portugal for six years. Mihaela spoke to a cousin and they decided to venture themselves. Her sister arrived later. At the moment she lives in a small house with a Romanian friend and her sister, with whom she shares a room. The maladjustment between the life she was living and the representations that had been formulated about the country of destination may result in feelings of isolation and/or solitude.

Ethnic differentiation: this “case study” demonstrates how preconceived ideas, by immigrants regarding the population of the welcoming society as well as by the latter regarding immigrants, reveal processes of reification about the Other in representational, ethnicized and fictional categorizations which end up being destroyed in the face of real interaction situations. In other words, actual reality does not match the beliefs about that reality. The validity of those beliefs is based on a pre-fabricated consensus that tends to oppose “us” (immigrants) vs. “them”, without recognizing the multiple cleavages that can exist between “them”. Consequently, that type of knowledge cannot be verified or refuted by immigrants before they have the opportunity to confront that knowledge with the responses that “they” (from the welcoming country) may provide in specific situations of interaction. “They”, in fact, also complain of the prejudice and misunderstandings that flourish in immigrants’ heads. These, in turn, think exactly the same about “them”. Thus the risk of divergences and social cleavages, as happened with Mihaela, by reacting in a uniformly aggressive way to not always offensive ways of looking at her as a foreigner.

ETHNIC ASSOCIATIVISM IN THE LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA

Sources: Cristina Carita, Vasco Nuno Rosendo (1993), «Associativismo cabo-verdiano em Portugal. Estudo de caso da Associação Cabo-verdiana em Lisboa» [Cape Verdean Associativism in Portugal. Case Study of the Cape Verdean Association in Lisbon], *Sociologia – Problemas e Práticas*, no. 13.

João Manuel Silva Sardinha (2001), *Preservar a Identidade: integração da comunidade caboverdiana na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa: Associativismo e perspectivas das associações* [Preserving the Identity: integration of the Cape Verdean community in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area], Lisbon, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Masters Thesis.

Associativism is one of the available and most legitimate means of promotion of the representation of minority groups in the spheres of political decision making. It constitutes a means of organization that allows the socially more vulnerable populations to transform themselves into pressure groups capable of expressing their interests, of being represented and of negotiating with the organizations in power.

The Associação Cabo-Verdiana [Cape Verde Association], constituted in 1970, was the first association of ethnic nature to emerge in Portugal. It began by presenting itself as a socio-cultural institution of regional characteristics (due to the fact that Cape Verde was a Portuguese colony and, therefore, a region of the Empire), with the primary objective of contributing towards the preservation and reproduction of a Cape Verdean identity among the original elements of Cape Verde that lived in the metropolis. In addition to the preservation of a cultural identity, the sphere of solidarity and socialization that the association promoted among the immigrated Cape Verdeans is also worthy of mention.

In its first few years of existence, the Casa de Cabo Verde [Cape Verde House] focused on recreational and cultural activities, namely the holding of social events, the dissemination of Cape Verdean music and literature and the promotion of conferences and seminars with renowned figures of the Cape Verdean cultural and scientific fields.

Confronted with the intensification of immigration from African ex-colonies to Portugal during the 1970's, the Casa de Cabo Verde transformed itself into the Associação de Cabo-verdianos e Guineenses (1976), which began to be managed, not by an elite of immigrants that arrived in Portugal before the 1960's but, by a more diversified and representative, as well as much younger, group of the Cape Verdean community, in which the students, working students and a proletarian group of young construction workers were dominant. More than half of the members (54%), at that time, were less than 30 years old, being mainly men.

The intervention of this association, whose orientation was disassociated from the problems of this group of non-qualified immigrants (it was mainly frequented by an elite of qualified technicians), was changed radically, in terms of an increase in political and community intervention, seeking to resolve the problems of integration of the majority of the community, which involved the promotion of a literacy programme, as well as social assistance, health and education activities, in the residential neighbourhoods of immigrants, usually of illegal construction.

From the 1980's onwards there was an accentuated decline in members' participation in this association due to, on the one hand, family reunification which began to intensify. In effect, at that time, the association began to be substituted by the kinship networks which from the 1980's onwards, with the arrival of the close relatives of the immigrants that had previously come to Portugal, reconstituted themselves. The association's orientation towards the reception of immigrants changed and these

withdrew into their homes when their wives and children immigrated. On the other hand, the number of members also fell due to the proliferation of neighbourhood associations oriented towards the resolution of concrete problems of the immigrant population neighbourhoods.

The activity of this association was recently characterized by the increase in intervention activities not only among the members and groups of Cape Verdeans in the country, but also by contacts with the embassy and government of Cape Verde and Portugal, and even with decision making bodies of the European Community. In terms of political intervention, this association has had a positive action in the claim for an integrated immigration policy, in the regularization of the situation of illegal immigrants in Portugal, in the right to vote in municipal elections, in the adoption of measures against failure at school among members of the Cape Verdean community, in the recognition of the right to housing without discrimination, in equality of work opportunities and access to social security.

Ethnic differentiation: from the 1990's²⁵ onwards, numerous associations of ethnic nature, namely *youth associations*, usually of a multicultural make-up, were set up, in contrast to the largest associations of immigrants that had been organized until then.

Responsibility: those associations, with a strong implantation in the more problematic neighbourhoods whilst geographic area of activity, directed their efforts towards the vindication of rights, resources and support for their residents, operating as a body of *pressure* and *mediation* in their contact with the central bodies (Acime, Ministries and departments responsible for programmes directed at young people), municipal bodies (Municipal and Parish Councils) as well as other state institutions (such as schools or Employment Centres).

Learning and employability: it is worth noting the collaboration between the local powers and the associations within the context of the training of young people in the domain of intercultural mediation, in terms of representing and giving voice to the aspirations of young people from the more problematic neighbourhoods, as well as undertaking projects whose purpose is to carry out diagnostics of the specific problems of neighbourhoods, grant academic support and professional training, and create employment grants for their young people, for example. Many neighbourhood ethnic associations also try to bring closer together students and schools by undertaking certain initiatives, such as inviting teachers to visit the neighbourhoods, so that they may become acquainted with the social reality of their students. In addition, there are also some neighbourhood associations that have mediators that function as a connection point between families and school, helping young people to integrate in school. Lastly, the Coordinating Secretariat of the Multicultural Education Programmes, in partnership with the local ethnic associations, develop multicultural education projects, whose methodology is based on bringing together common points between the various ethnic communities integrated in schools.

Subculture: another type of activities specifically directed at younger groups and also frequently organized by these associations are those connected with sports and culture, the latter with the objective of promoting *interculturalism* (gastronomy fairs, music and ethnic dance events, etc.). Some of these events give visibility to more informal youth sociability structures, created around creative

²⁵ Whereas in 1986 there were only two immigrant associations registered, in 1990 there were ten and in 1996 the number had increased to 78, including ten associations of African university students. (Cf. Ana Teixeira & Rosana Albuquerque, *Active Civic Participation of Immigrants in Portugal*, Country Report prepared for the European research Project POLITIS, Oldenburg, 2005)

resources of a more underground nature, such as the resources included in expressions of *hip hop* (*rap*, *break dance*, *graffiti*, *basket*, etc.)

BUSINESS STRATEGIES OF CAPE VERDEAN, INDIAN AND CHINESE ORIGIN

Source: Catarina Reis de Oliveira (2004), *Estratégias Empresariais de Imigrantes em Portugal [Business Strategies of Immigrants in Portugal]*, Lisbon, Observatório da Imigração, no. 10, ACIME.

Business activity has been one of the labour options for certain elements of immigrant populations, namely among the younger elements. This case study compares three immigrant populations in Portugal (Indian, Cape Verdean and Chinese), and observes that, on average, entrepreneurs began at age 25 (although the mode is at age 18). The ones who start earlier are the immigrants of Indian origin, while those of Cape Verdean origin, on average, set up their first business activity at age 30 (mode: 25 years old) and the Chinese at age 31 (mode: 30 years old).

Responsibility: given the range of bureaucratic and material constraints related with the undertaking of business initiatives by immigrants in Portugal, this form of *business agency* represents a form of planned long term action, an intention that mobilizes a wide range of economic, cultural and social resources by its protagonists, and that requires a great deal of personal responsibility, determination and commitment towards several social institutions, namely towards the financial institutions of the initiative (which may vary between family members, the banking system and micro-credit). A state support structure, the *Entrepreneurial Support Group*, integrated within the *National Centre of Support to Immigrants*, was recently created, with the purpose of supporting and following up entrepreneurial initiatives, by providing information regarding formalities and legal aspects of setting up a company, the existing incentives and financial support, as well as the conditions of access to bank funding.

Ethnic differentiation: one of the main types of business strategies of immigrant origin identified by this study refers to *ethnic strategies*. These are business strategies that, essentially, mobilize resources (cultural, financial, human, political and/or social) within a given ethnic community, obtained through solidarity and reciprocity networks intrinsic to an ethnic group. The entrepreneurs who most use this type of ethnic resources are much less dependant on Portuguese labour market opportunities, because they can obtain work and capital within their community of origin (in the case of the Chinese, they set up their company with the financial support of family members and friends, i.e., through sources of capital that are at the margins of the traditional banking system, usually interest free, resulting from reciprocity relations within the community).

Employability: in addition to being a type of *agency* that implies self-employment, it also often promotes employment for others. Ethnic work can be a competitive advantage in these companies. The solidarity and inter-knowledge networks among populations of immigrant origin enable the recruitment of an ethnic workforce that is willing to accept labour conditions that are more difficult to be accepted by the autochthonous population. The Chinese clearly prefer co-ethnic workers, due to reasons of trust, solidarity and facility in communicating in the same language, preferring to hire immigrants that speak the same dialect of origin. However, Indians prefer not to hire co-ethnics, because these tend to learn the workings of the business and quickly set up their own company and become competitors, resulting in a highly saturated market in which there is a lot of competition. Therefore, Indian entrepreneurs are the ones whose companies rely more on family work, in comparison with the entrepreneurs from China and Cape Verde.

Subcultures and social structures: families often provide the necessary basic conditions to start up an own business. *Family strategies* include resorting to intrinsic opportunities within a family network (family resources include family savings for developing a business activity, a large number of family workers and the professional and migratory family experience). Even if they can be found in one individual, this type of strategies results from a family project, they are inherited and perpetuated through family financial and social resources. They are constituted through family participation and descendants. Indian entrepreneurs are the ones who become employed at the youngest age, being also the ones who rely most on family support for developing their business strategy.

On the other hand, the entrepreneurs whose business strategy depends mainly on personal resources (*personal strategies*) are more prone to situations of discrimination in access to the labour market and unemployment (for example, the Cape Verdeans). The entrepreneurs of Cape Verdean origin are a good example of this type of personal strategies, particularly because the development of their activity derives mainly from personal savings and not from financial help from family members, friends or co-ethnics.

Learning: Cape Verdean entrepreneurs' professional experience reveals a strong positive effect on business initiative: they invest mainly in the construction sector, because they have the necessary knowledge for a safe investment. They are, however, the least prone to invest in their own business and to give up paid employment. In fact, Cape Verdeans have the lowest rates of self-employment in Portugal, due to their lack of resources and, in particular, the deficiency of ethnic opportunities (when compared to the Chinese). On the other hand, Indian entrepreneurs show a strong tendency to learn the business through family socialisation, often assuming important roles in their parents and close relatives' business activities.

NUBAI. THE BLACK RAP OF LISBON

Source: Otávio Raposo (2006), *Nubai. O rap negro de Lisboa [Nubai. The Black Rap of Lisbon]*, documentary directed by the anthropologist Otávio Raposo, edited by João Rosas.

This case study presents rap as a *subcultural agency*, i.e., as a means of expressive and subversive action, characterised by a transforming intention and reflexivity, but socially localized, far from the spheres of political decision making, intending to continue to reproduce this cultural and politically marginal localization.

Responsibility: street rap, as opposed to commercial rap (elitised, whitened and domesticated, as they say) is perceived by young people as a social intervention “weapon”, as a way of “giving voice to a people that never had a voice” in Portugal, in the words of Chullage (one of the documentary’s protagonists). Its purpose is to denounce the degraded social conditions of the neighbourhoods where the protagonists live, the situations of discrimination and social exclusion that they face in their day-to-day, due to the processes of social categorisation and marginalisation that they are subjected to. Through their expression these young people feel that they hold in their hands a civic responsibility, they feel that they have some power over themselves, not letting others decide their own destiny (namely through voting, although many can not vote, not only because they are not old enough, but also because that they do not have Portuguese nationality). It is a form of musical and literary expression characterised by a transforming reflexivity, to the extent that its purpose is to “denounce” (give visibility) and “vindicate” to bring about “change”, to “make revolution”. As Chullage says, “I don’t want to get people dancing, I want to get people thinking”, comparing himself to other intervention singers of the Portuguese revolutionary period.

Learning and Employability: the initiation of the younger ones in the music and lyrical forms of rap takes place from a very young age, an inclusive socialisation carried out through osmosis, with the purpose of “transmitting the power of words” and, simultaneously, bring to rap “new ways of thinking” formulated by the new generations of descendants. In some neighbourhoods, youth associations and community rehearsal rooms are organised, which bring together MCs from several neighbourhoods, and make them follow rules regarding work organisation, behaviour, schedules, and, at the same time, provide them with the opportunity to come into contact with an assemblage of technology and knowledge that, otherwise, would be very difficult for them to have access to. Rap can, therefore, be a way of integration that does not follow the traditional forms of parents’ labour reproduction (carpentry, construction and other low-qualified manual work).

Subculture and social structure: rap creates some solidarity networks between young people living in marginal neighbourhoods, often ending with hostile rivalries between neighbourhoods. Even after compulsory re-housing, where long standing socially structured bonds between residents are destroyed, rap is able to reunite what was dispersed, not allowing “people’s conscience to become divided”. These social networks grouped around rap end up, however, working as social networks relatively closed off from the world outside the degraded neighbourhoods, stigmatising and classifying its residents. The neighbourhood protects, provides its young people with a feeling of trust that is not found outside (the territory that young people call “Babylon”), but at the same time encloses its respective world of life, since these are neighbourhoods that offer little employment, education and leisure opportunities.

Ethnic differentiation: in spite of being an expressive form imported from the United States, reproducing many of its rhythmic and linguistic mannerisms of origin, the fact that most of the rap produced in the streets of the degraded neighbourhoods of Lisbon is sang in Creole creates a specific social bond between their protagonists: it culturally localizes them in Portugal and gives them a strong power of social identification («it motivates more because it connects much more, it feels like it's done by us and for us»). At the same time, it provides them with a sense of separation regarding the white Portuguese population: «I don't have to sing in Portuguese, they also didn't give me Portuguese nationality, although I was born in Portugal», says one of the protagonists. They try to define themselves as historical references in rap and in Portuguese history, similarly to what happened with American rap figures. It brings together young black people (and some are not black, but residents of the neighbourhoods) with several ethnic backgrounds (Angolans, Cape Verdeans, Guineans, etc.) under the umbrella of “negritude”, «all blacks together» (blackness).

Cases from Finland

Helsinki University

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The agency perspective

In this paper we try to give a more broader understanding of how agency is actualised in the Finnish society based on some case studies in Finland. We draw mainly on two broad studies on Somali youth including a gender perspective. In these studies it is emphasised that ethnicity is not just passed from one generation to another, but rather it is reinvented and rediscovered by each generation. Diasporic and transnational consciousness is transferred in various degrees to the younger generations. Therefore the future perspectives of youth and the meanings of education and employment seem to include more than just 'ethos' of integration.

Differences in various human and social capital variables in each case and the complex interplay between these variables in the context of the receiving society may partly explain variability in performance, as well as in the formation of acculturation paths in general. Research indicates that single variables by themselves are seldom crucial in explaining educational performance, but the complex interplay between human and social capital, the receiving society's characteristics and human agency is what makes acculturation paths divergent. Even if one can list several things that is of significance for a successful integration it is important to notice that when talking about young people, the life situation may differ from time to time. The life situation may change for an individual in e.g. one year, which has an impact on integration both subjectively as well as objectively.

The icebreakers. Somali-speaking youth in Metropolitan Helsinki with a focus on the context of formal education. Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo. The Family Federation of Finland, The Population Research Institute D 42/2004

Learning

Alitolppa- Niitamo (2004) states in her study that she was astonished of the one-sided integration discourse of Finnish society. First generation Somali speakers live in a transnational context to a high degree, with a strong diasporic consciousness and their aspirations and educational choices must be understood in that context. We have chosen two cases from this study that illuminate the relationship between structuration and agency, one on the first experiences and one on acculturation strategies. We start first with some general remarks from the study and with a description of a future good life in Finland from Khadra.

Khadra

Khadra was among the six hundred unaccompanied minors who came to Finland from Somalia in the 1990s. She did not know anybody in Finland and naturally did not speak the language. She lived with a distant relative and after having received her residence permit applied for family reunification. After one year of preparatory instruction at school she started in the seventh grade. She was absent from school a lot. She had somatic pains, which may be expressions of all the worries and uncertainties she must have gone through at young age. Khadra was deeply religious. She wore a dark veil, studied the Koran every morning before coming to school, and attended Koranic school regularly. Her earlier history of schooling was fragmented and short. In Finland she had a lot of problems in following the curriculum in school, but she was very good at home economics. The waiting time for the family reunification was tragically too long, since most of Khadras's family members did not survive to the end of the long process. The mother, who had been a professional in Somalia, had been wounded and had some physical problems. Khadra took a lot of responsibility in taking care of all the bureaucracy related to her mothers resettlement and physical wellbeing. For this reason Khadra was again frequently absent from school. When the comprehensive school was approaching its end Khadras knowledge in many subjects was still rather weak. However, she was determines to study further and seemed to have a clear idea of her future occupation. Good life for her includes a chance to study, finding a profession one is interested in and having a chance to work. She thought that she would marry around the age of 25 with a Somali man or perhaps with somebody of some other nationality. She thought that living together with somebody who shares the same culture is probably easier.

This example shows how the young may have to embrace the role of the adult in handling for example the family's business with the authorities. At the same time the young feel that their parents want to maintain their authority towards the children. It is important to stress that the young want to define their own ethnicity and build the cultural practices. In school, on the other hand, it is important to remember that young immigrants are faced with a large number of psychical, social and cultural challenges.

Alitolppa-Niitamo found some interesting gender differences between the importance of education and integration. Depending on the culture, boys and girls advantage of education can differ. Adolescent immigrant boys from Somalia with little or no formal schooling are at risk of slipping away, not only from their families, but also from the Finnish society. Young Somali women, on the other hand, have well-defined roles within the family. Young Somali women marry at a young age and most adult Somali women stay home to take care of their children and the household. Attending language or vocational training is difficult due to their responsibilities at home.

Although formal education is highly valued among the Somalis, the parents sometimes find difficulties in supporting their children at school. Adult Somalis are often in a difficult situation, such as having difficulties in finding a job due to high unemployment in the society, not being able to work within the same occupation as in Somalia and therefore required to re-educate themselves. These difficulties lead many parents in directing their expectations towards their children. The adults have high expectations for their children's school achievement and want their children to get a good education. However, due to the parents' lack of language skills, they are not always able to assist their children with their homework. This makes it also difficult for the children to manage in school. Another problem is that the parents sometimes fear that the children adapt western values in the school system. Many Somali adolescents work hard in school, but they are at risk of dropping out, despite their parents' high expectations.

Alitolppa-Niitamo has stressed some important prerequisites according learning which might help youth to cope with obstacles associated with schooling: making advanced content courses available in the students' native language or in both languages, using culturally sensitive materials and techniques, educating school staff of immigration/refugee migration and minority/multicultural education issues, establishing more links with the majority and ethnic community for situated learning and offering intensive counselling regarding personal matters and post-comprehensive school opportunities.

Case 1: To begin right at the beginning

A well integrated immigrant is, in the eyes of the dominant population, one who has found employment. In this respect the integration of Somalis has been slow. This is due to not only prejudice from the dominant population but also because it has been difficult to make use of the Somalis previous work experiences and education background.

One Somali who has been living in Finland for a long time describes the first experiences of the Finnish society:

We were keen and full of energy. We thought this would be the beginning of a new life. We had high expectations, we wanted to study and work. But the long time spent waiting at the reception centres, lasting from two to three years, had a passivating effect, and our

energy wasted away. People's attitudes here also caused uncertainty, and being a thorn in the flesh was not easy. Some reacted by losing heart; they got a bit paranoid. Others looked the situation in the face and refused to submit and some just stuck to their own group. The recession also had an impact, and many of those who already had a profession back in Somalia were disappointed when they could not get a job. Many of us studied the language and we realised that since the social system here is so different we would have to begin right at the beginning.

Re-education can be a necessity of immigrants who wishes to enter the labour market. The study of Alitolppa-Niitamo showed that the situation in the Finnish society with high unemployment made it difficult for the Somalis to integrate in the society and the Somalis met prejudices and xenophobia at the labour market. Many Somalis who had previously an education and occupation in Somalia learned that they had to re-educate themselves in order to get a job.

Case 2 : Different acculturation strategies – the role of family

Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo calls attention to the difficulties the young had integrating in the society. Adolescents from a different culture are influenced by the main culture and create cultural forms of the components they have in their usage. The older generation doesn't always keep up with the younger generation and this can cause conflicts between the generations. The older generation can feel that the expectations of the younger generation differ much between the different societies. The acculturation happens in different pace. The younger generation learns the language and the norms in the society faster and this can create conflicts between the generations when the younger generation guides the older generation in the new society. The parents can feel that their parenting role in some areas disappear, and this can create difficulties in maintaining the parenting role in other kind of areas. The most severe intergenerational conflicts arise with the young who have not lived with that particular family already at their homeland. Social parenthood has been widely practiced in Somalia and thus non-biological children have moved with the rest of the family even to Finland

Divergent opinions prevail both between and within families over what might be assimilated from Finnish society. The various members of the family may adopt very different acculturation strategies and parents may lose their role of parenthood under pressure from the family to change..

In our culture, children are their parents property and children are expected to remain with their families. The father wants to order his children here as well, even though he

does not know the system. The father might be 50 years old and have been living here for only three years and in other words know nothing. Parents cant help their children with their homework and children may begin to regard their parents as stupid. The children who were born here in Finland came here when they were very young do not know their parents background. They don't know how well their parents did in their own country. The children may speak Finnish among themselves at home and the parents don't understand a word. Yet even so the parents try to maintain their authority over their children.

Somali youth are very diverse. In terms of their capabilities to overcome challenges in a new society, the following background factors are important: 1) whether they arrived as unaccompanied minors or with a biological or social parent 2) the level of formal education of their parents or caretakers 3) their own educational level prior to the arrival and 4) their age at arrival.

Pojat! Somalipoikien kiistanalainen nuoruus Suomessa (Lads! The Contested Childhood of Somali Youngsters in Finland). Petri Hautaniemi. Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, nuorisotutkimusseura 41. Helsinki. 2004.

Hautaniemi's study is a good example of a study with an agency perspective. In his study he searches for knowledge on what it is to be a young Somali boy in Finland in the 2000's. Hautaniemi found in his study that immigrants may have various systems of keep in contact with the transnational families, such as using e.g. the internet. The diasporic experience bonds young immigrants transnationally, but on the other hand the right of their presence is negotiated locally inside the border of the national state. Gender, family and identity are important elements. They have a transnational feeling of belongingness, but on the other hand their right to their presence is negotiated locally within the Nordic states borders.

Finnish youth culture may be resisted by parents and immigrant girls, but in some extent more adopted by young immigrant boys. Hautaniemi noticed that most Somali boys in his study had been involved with the police due to their skin colour and ethnical appearance. Young Somali boys are without any premonition questioned by the police suspected of crimes, taken fingerprints and photographs. One must therefore ask how this affects the young immigrants' ability to trust the authorities, for example the police. Hautaniemi's study highlights the contradictory ways in which various actors speak of these boys. The ways that the Finnish authorities attempt to stress the best interests of these children do not necessarily coincide with the ways in which the boys and their families see their situation.

Case 3: Working on transnational identities and conflicting with the society

Somali boys live in a gendered space. They learn how to defend themselves and how to evaluate their own experiences and views. The collective membership (e.g. the transnational family) of these boys challenges the involvement in the society. The transnational identity is a contested circumstance where the boys are not only in a subordinate position but also as independent actors. Retrospective memories are part of making the multicultural world understandable. Through these memories boys tell about their early childhood, about war and the solutions they had to make as children. Here is constructed the autonomous young man, especially when it is told on the thresholds of adulthood. Through their memories they explain their present day and reflect their past and future. The transnational identity gives also direction for how these young men can be supported in the society.

The boys create an alternative masculinity. There seems to be a gendered shared understanding what it is to be a darkskinned young man in the public space. Of darkskinned boys a totally different member of society is constructed, with separate rights and obligations. Hautaniemi finds it interesting that personal integrity is a negotiated category. Young Somali men have got attention merely through streetfights, rapes and thefts. As refugees and Somalis they represent seeds of disorder that should be looked askance. They are regarded as common game and general citizens laws do not seem to apply to them.

Abdriham was arrested when going to a summer party " in the wrongt rain with the wrong people". Somebody had fought in the train and the police had arrested all foreugners just in case. Abdrihim was bitter about this insidence. He dreamed about going back to Somalia and how he would revenge all wrongs he had experienced on possible Finnish tourists . He pictures himiself as a father who would tell his future children all experiences of the Finnish society. I will not forget and I will strike back.

A more typical reaction is still avoiding, avoiding public spaces and especially in the center. Most parents of young Somalis do not want their children to walk around in the railwaycenter. Most parents link the railwaystation to crimes and drugs, as many other inhabitants in Helsinki.

Hautaniemi explores in his study how ethnic streetfights, where Somali boys were involved, is being discussed in the media but also among public authorities. A national discussion forum is established where different actors, researchers, authorities, and Somali representants participate to discuss the situation and what can be done. Hautaniemi takes part in these discussion and follows how different views are argued.

Hautaniemi's study also deals with how gender is negotiated in the bureaucracy. Stereotypes of Finnish equality are contested and equality is used quite openly as an argument for discrimination.

Cases from Germany

Jan Skrobanek, Mariella Wilhelm, René Bendit, Barbara Rink

Jan Skrobanek (2007): Wahrgenommene Diskriminierung und (Re)Ethnisierung bei Jugendlichen mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund und jungen Aussiedlern

[Perceived Discrimination and (Re)ethnisation among Young Turks and Resettlers]

Although public awareness of processes of (re)ethnisation has increased over the last few years, there has been little research in the emergence of (re)ethnisation. The quantitative research of Skrobanke is an attempt to fill this gap. The main hypothesis is that processes of school-to work-transition and social integration or self-exclusion of young immigrants are closely interrelated. This hypothesis and the objectives of this study are based on assumptions about dynamic interactions of educational and occupational histories, discrimination vs. non-discrimination and integration vs. (re)ethnisation.

To study the assumed processes and their outcomes both cross sectional and longitudinal analyses are used. Altogether 635 young immigrants (289 with Turkish background and 346 young people with a German ethnic background from East Europe and from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)) were interviewed who graduated from the lower secondary school (*Hauptschule*) repeatedly on their way from school to vocational training and employment.

Using the data from the first and second wave of interviewing in a first step of the analysis particular attention has been paid to the influence of perceived discrimination and other secondary variables, such as perceived permeability of group boundaries and social identity, on (re)ethnisation.

The starting points for the theoretical discussion were social identity, perceived discrimination and (re)ethnisation. The discussion led to assumptions concerning the interrelation between personal, biographical and structural aspects and the above mentioned variables.

Some of the hypotheses have already been confirmed. Young people with an immigrant background – here young Turks and *Aussiedler* – tend to (re)ethnicisation when they perceive themselves and their group as being discriminated against. Perceived discrimination has direct and indirect effects on (re)ethnicisation, on perceived permeability of group boundaries and on the social identity of the young people. Hence, when a young person with an immigrant background feels discriminated against, he or she will then perceive the permeability of the group boundaries as being low. This perception of impermeability of group boundaries in turn strengthens his or her social identity or identification with his or her group of origin. He or she will identify more closely with his or her own group, the less he or she believes in the possibility of one day becoming part of the German majority group. This reinforced group-identification finally causes a process of (re)ethnicisation or renders such a process more probable.

Perceived discrimination leads to a retreat into the own group and to a mobilisation of the own group vis-à-vis other groups. Whether the young people really did experience discrimination or whether these experiences are 'adequate to reality' cannot be determined from our data.

Further, the data suggests that the tendency towards (re)ethnicisation should not be interpreted as merely a lack of willingness to integrate. The results show, that the (re)ethnicisation becomes an attractive alternative when young people with an immigrant background encounter problems in their day-to-day lives, in their attempts to realise their life wishes and to achieve their goals. These problems of accounting are mainly influenced by processes of acceptance or non-acceptance of specific cultural capital by the dominant group/majority. This situation can arise in many different areas of life, from going to the disco to contact with government offices and authorities.

In relationship to successful integration policy, questions arise as to why these effects are more likely to occur among those born and brought up in Germany than among those who have themselves migrated to Germany. Thus the critical question is from which perspective the young people define the situation? Do they define it through non-adaptation to the

demands of the German 'outside world' or do they try to adapt, but then fail to be accepted by the dominant group?

In light of ongoing discussions about integration or alienation of young people with an ethnic background, discrimination – regardless of whether actual or perceived – makes alienation more probable. This is particularly problematic because it also exerts influence on other fields of perception, such as permeability of group boundaries, social identity of the young people and the overall social identity.

Tertilt, Hermann. (1996): Turkish Power Boys. Ethnographie einer Jugendbande

[Turkish Power Boys. Ethnography of a Youth Gang]

Deviance in Everyday Life is the interest of studies that employ participant observation of deviant behaviour in the research of (life-)stories of criminals, methods which are aimed at the reconstruction of the perspective from within the 'Lebenswelt' of marginal social groups.

A ethnographic work that reconstructing the 'Sinnwelt' is Tertilt's study of a contemporary street gang.

In the summer of 1990 the young gang "Turkish power boys" were founded of four youngsters of the Mainkur-Comprehensive school. Around 50 adolescents with Turkish ethnic background between 13 and 18 years old became members of that group. Most of them became criminalized and did not manage the transition from school to apprenticeship respectively work.

The access to preferred goods and social integration remains refused for these youngsters. Their poor socio-economical conditions lead to cultural and institutional discrimination: Cultural specific capital is not valued positively with reference to dominant capital of the

majority. Hence, the social comparison of the young “Turkish power boys” with the majority not come off so well, leads to a negative social identity. The strategy used by the “Turkish power boys” to cope with this situation is (re)ethnicisation as result of a reaction of deprivation and feelings of marginality in reference to the dominant group.

(Re)ethnicisation constitutes a supposed strategy to emphasize or rather differentiate in-group specific – contrary to out-group specific – cultural, social or economic group properties to (re)gain social recognition or their valued group distinctiveness, i.e. (re)gain a positive social identity in comparison with the out-group discriminated against (Skrobanek 2007).

Characteristics of the (Re)Ethnicisation found by the investigated youth gang is a positive evaluation and pronunciation of subcultural capital. The principle of friendship, of (man) power in relation to the Turkish concept of “Ehre” (Honour), also the principle of “delinquency” (mainly street robbery) and the cultivation of the Turkish or “Turkish slang” are the main strategies in order to enhance a negative social identity.

The construction of ethnic identity can be considered as a special form of social identity and allows a more or less clear differentiation between various groups and constitutes a basis for a comparison between groups. Furthermore, the subjective significance of ethnic identity for an individual appears within the scope of his positive evaluation of such an identity.

Main results of Terilt`s study demonstrate that disintegration from the dominant social, cultural and economic group is not an effect of (re)ethnicisation of the minority but of their low class position.

Tarek Badawia (2002). "Der dritte Stuhl" – Eine Grounded-Theory-Studie zum kreativen Umgang bildungserfolgreicher Immigrantengendlicher mit kultureller Differenz

["The Third Chair"—How Immigrant Young People with a High Educational Achievement Develop a Strategy to Creatively Handle Cultural Differences. A Study Based on Grounded Theory]

Tarek Badawia describes in his thesis how immigrant young people with a high level of educational achievement (ISCED 3 and 4) develop a new strategy of handling two different cultures. By using focused interviews Badawia generates the theory of the "third chair".

Badawia interviewed 26 bicultural orientated female and male adolescents (19-24 years old) in the Rhine-Main-area. Either they are at university or still students at secondary level II.

Their parents have different non-German origins but all the young migrants considered in this study have an active participation in German society in common: "They want to be part of the majority and at the same time they want to be different."

Badawia paints a picture showing how the young immigrants create a new cross-cultural identity rising out of their own and the dominant cultures. By doing this they are no longer "sitting between two chairs." With this theory he follows recent developments within intercultural educational research. The new approach in Badawia's study is that he asks the young immigrant people themselves and that he focuses in particular on their way of creating and handling their life.

Through social comparison, individuals obtain information pertaining to their own position as well as that of the group of reference (Merton 1995). A positive comparison leads to a stable identity, a negative social comparison leads to an unsure e.g. negative social identity. Badawia considered a strong demand of social acceptance and a need of identity among youngsters with migration background. This need works as a motor for stabilizing their identity or creating new aspects of it. Due to social creativity the young immigrants permanently transform/actualize their own self-concept. This results in a change of socio-cultural structures in society.

The immigrant young people with high cultural capital create a new identity position as a result of dealing with two cultures: A creative reaction of living and growing up with two different cultural backgrounds leads to high competencies for dealing with discrepancies.

They are not anymore sitting between two chairs but they constructed in a creative way their own “third chair”.

Schittenhelm, Karin (2005): Soziale Lagen im Übergang. Junge Migrantinnen und Einheimische zwischen Schule und Berufsbildung

[Social Conditions in Transition. Young Migrant and Autochthon women between School and Vocational Training]

The influence of cultural factors on social inequality have been the subject of current debates in sociology, stressing “culture” as an excluding function. A wide spread and rewarding approach in this field is the comparative study of milieus from Karin Schittenhelm. In her qualitative study she interviewed young migrant (mostly with Turkish background) and autochthon female secondary school gradulators in the age of 15 to 17 years in Berlin (1998-1999). The investigation focus on characteristics of transitions processes and challenges for young migrant and autochthon women and analyses if and how cultural styles and practices play a part in educational opportunities and occupational choices of young migrant women. Additionally, collective contexts – peers and siblings of the participants – were considered and contributed to the individual biographies.

The Grounded Theory approach allows lying open the circumstances of the pre-professional socialization of these young women and helps to learn about individual strategies to cope with the transition period successfully despite structural and social challenges. In this context the question of horizontal disparity – in form of ethnical and gender ascription – is of strong interest to answer what kind of strategies can youngsters adopt in order to enhance a negative social identity.

This cross-cultural study analyses if and how cultural styles and practices play a part in educational opportunities and occupational choices of young migrant women. Due to limited chances of the groups compared, a successful transformation of life-style preferences and

occupational orientation into reality can generally not be taken for granted. The qualitative approach differentiates to what extent cultural practices or rather the social values attributed to them become relevant for the course of the status passage between school and occupational training.

According to Schittenhelm, the young migrant women and comparable indigenous women found parallel forms of coping with the passage from school to vocational training.

Even if traditional life concepts becoming less and less significant, gender specific classifications persist and lead to institutional and gender discrimination.

Due to the restricted access to occupational training, the young women uses strategies of social creativity by taking any status position in order to avoid an exclusion from the educational and employment sector. Here, for both groups the structural situation is a challenge because of gender specific discrimination.

The lack of choice according to education and work make them act out of distress not by using their preferred orientation or their available knowledge. The outcome is assimilation with an inner separation.

With regard to the young women with migration background the significance of family becomes important in this period. The strived status position in the employment sector shows social variations in the intergenerational relation leading to the fact that the young migrant women experience social mobility inside the family. Due to these obstacles, combined with the restrictions of the dominant culture, a double challenge for the young migrant women force them to tickle with these ascriptions by develop an alternative draft.

Cases from Denmark

Torben Bechmann Jensen & Sven Mørch

Source: “Wild” Streetworkers in Line Lerche Mørck: “Grænsefællesskaber – læring og overskridelse af marginalisering” (Communities of Borders - Learning and exceeding marginalisation)

Contextualisation: In the inner city of Copenhagen ethnic minority young males are employed as “Wild street-workers” to deal with social work, out-reach work among young people in general (including ethnic minority youth in the area). The area has a high percentage of ethnic minority youth and has a reputation of experimenting with a variety of strategies regarding social work among young people. Lots of social projects as well as projects for unemployed young people have been carried out here. The study follows 4 young men with ethnic minority background.

Narrative/Experience of the individuals: The 4 ethnic young men are between 18 and 33 years of age – the oldest one named as the older generation. The 3 others as the younger generation. All ethnic minority young men participate as “Wild Streetworkers” in a period of time. They experience how they from different trajectories including different schools and peer-groups are at risk of being caught up in doing criminal activities – 3 out of four are involved in criminal activities and regarded as bullyboys. Two out of four are convicted and sentenced as one is never caught. They also undergo a development connected to the 7/11, in connection to which they experience a change in the attitude towards them from the ethnic majority people. In different ways all men experience discrimination with regards to school as well as pressures from their biological families regarding getting married, taking care of the family and being capable of having an income to support the family. Another pressure comes from the peer groups challenging them to be involved in different activities. All 4 ethnic young men work as wild streetworkers, but 2 of them stop this after only 1 and 2 years. They all try to take a social workers formal education, but drops out except one – the oldest one, taking on a leading position in the social work environment.

Strategies/Plans: They have, beginning working as social workers, strategies of not having formal educations, but to use their biographical and social skills (Street wise) to solve problems in the neighbourhood – to be mediators between young people in trouble and the municipality of Copenhagen. They are named “Wild” as they have no education but often a background and individual history similar to the (typically) slightly younger youth being on the edge of society regarding criminality, subcultural activities etc.

Strategies differs among the four. 2 are interested in formal education from public school and onwards – and one has to fight peers in order to be able to follow a school career. The oldest one being 33 take a strategy of getting more formally involved in the social work of the municipality in order to be able to have and support a family life.

The 2 ethnic minority men who drop social work reject having to have a formal education, as they think of themselves having more knowledge about what is important in social work

among the marginalised people than the teachers at pedagogical education schools. They both feel relieved leaving social work, but neither have clear ideas about their future lives.

A strategy of being employed on your biographical skills and competences, but not having further plans for neither education nor long time employment. The content of work includes using private contacts within the milieus and to use means of actions very alternative to the formal social work.

Theoretical interpretation/Re-interpretation: The Study works with a concept of “Communities of borders” and with the possibility of ethnic minority youth exceeding and finding communities on these borders with inspiration from Lave and Wenger’s Legitimate Peripheral Learning. The challenge is how to transform the successes in one community (of learning/practice) to others. How do ethnic minority young people take the next steps from success full involvement in one community into the next and how does the formal education system embrace the qualities developed within one community or practice in the formal situation. This goes for labour markets as well.

Question can be asked regarding both attitudes and actions from ethnic minority youth – as well as education and employment systems. What are or seems to be breaking points – inside the system and for the single individuals. What goes wrong when for instance one of the ethnic minority young men claims not to be willing to learn from the theoretical stuff offered by a teacher of a pedagogue-education?

Similarities exist regarding former drug-users being employed as counsellors for drug users etc. But in the actual study the strategies of ethnic minority people are more complex as former peer groups, friends, family are involved as well as being a social worker can be regarded as being part of the official Danish system trying to integrate ethnic minorities in an assimilative way.

Source: “From where I origins, my future begins” Mustafa Kemal Topal Social Kritik no 109, 2007.

Contextualisation: A story from a Turkish kurd who came to Denmark in 1996. He was entering University in Denmark and had been studying at University level in Turkey. The case is focused on Kurds from Turkey living in Denmark and the author considers three generations of Kurds – The gasterbeiters (guestworkers), 2.nd. and 3 rd. generation, of which mainly the last generation is born in Denmark, whereas the 2.nd. Generation typically is born in Turkey.

The overall question is: How come, that Kurdish children/young people gets an education in Turkey, while the kurdsih children/young people in Denmark are not as successful as expected even though young people in Denmark have better chances both socially and economically?

Narrative/Storyline:

2 cases are written. One is about the author himself. He grew up in Turkish villages. His mother was illiterate and only spoke kurdsih. Until he started in public school he did not himself know a single Turkish word. (Kurdish is not an official language in Turkey and teaching is only done in Turkish). The only Turkish people in the village was teachers who taught the children Turkish. He left the village to enter high school, living with his aunt. Still he spoke only Turkish in school and only Kurdish at “home”. The author entered University and ended up being a construction-engineer.

The claim is that it is quite ordinary for young Kurdish people living in Turkey to have a further education, while Kurdish people born and raised in Denmark typically do not take further education even though they speak better Danish than the author and people in a similar position.

One angle of answering the question is the support and backing from the family. While in Turkey the family (relatives and even neighbours etc.) would save money and invest in the education of their children (to escape poverty) for climbing socially. They were both investing and engaged in the further education (pride) of the children. In Denmark the claim is, that it is to “easy”. That Parents have handed over the educational future of their children to the Danish education system, they are de-motivated to follow up. Part of the answer is, that Kurdish children in Denmark do not succeed, as it is not enough to enter the educational system in order to have an education – it takes more!

Strategies/Plans

Most Kurdish young people (from Turkey) living in Denmark do not engage in formal education as a way of transition. Their fathers came as guestworkers and had the idea to invest in Turkey (send their earnings back to the family). Never the less this investment did not succeed and during the past 15 years more and more Kurdish people have had their families moved to Denmark. The idea is still alive, that the main goal is to be in Denmark

temporarily, to earn most money in the shortest amount of time – to be able to travel back and settle in Turkey. Therefore taking an education would be a waste of time and a large number of kurds work in pizzabars, restaurants, vegetable shops, kiosks and as taxidrivers (in Copenhagen 700 pizzabars and restaurants are owned by kurds).

The case story claims, that not only is the matter of integration a question of languageskills and culture, it is also and importantly a matter of futureplans and expectations of the families.

A strategy of hope of returning to the country of origin – no matter if this country is not regarded as the homeland. The kurds in Denmark has the amount of 12-15000. They come from 5-6 specific villages in central Turkey, where they immigrated to from East Turkey (Kurdistan) some 150 years ago. The ethnic minority youth seem to have certain images – In Denmark they feel safe, but not at home – In turkey they might feel unsafe, but “home”.

Lots of different points are pointed to in this casestory – How Kurdish people see education as an expense or as something the Danish system wants them to do for the sake of the country. And as Kurdish people in Denmark do not feel well treated and accepted, they might still go for where the money are in order to secure themselves and their families. This ideology it is claimed are transferred from the first to the second and even the third generation of Kurds.

Theoretical interpretation/reinterpretation:

The case story sheds light over the fact that certain ideologies or former reasoning of emigrating still might play a certain role – both because of its heretical impact but also forced because of the politics carried out and the lack of understanding of how transitions to employment are blurred by push and pull-strategies.

The author point to Sennett and cites: *“The positive thing about recognition or appreciation and the negative about the social honour mark out the poles of reciprocity”*. In comparison to this, what is experienced in Danmark might be that: *“The negative about the recognition or appreciation of the family and the positive about social honour increase the poles of reciprocity”*.

Instead of working together – the host country and ethnic minorities might defend themselves against each other. Not intentionally but on the grounds of being forced to leave a crucial part of the identity or self-understanding.

A Danish study “The broken mirror” (Det knuste spejl) ²⁶ tries to learn and understand how a group of young boys with an “Arabic” or “Palestinian” background manage their everyday life. They have been in Denmark between 4 and 11 years, and one of them is born in Denmark. They are living in a council housing sector with low income families and a high degree of minority ethnic population (a “ghetto” like situation).

In the study both the ethnic minority youth (12 boys age 14 -19) and also ethnic Danish girls (10 girls age 16-21) from the same housing sector are included. In this way the study compares two groups coming from low income families and characterised in the social system as problematic young people.

The study is a hermeneutic interview study and has been much criticized for its theoretical and frank description of the young person’s self-understanding. It sometimes uses the kid’s in vivo terms as theoretical concepts and it says itself that “the study is about two groups of young losers who reject a world which reject them”. (p.58)

So, the study of the young people is quit different from many other studies. However, it tries to get close to the youngsters and try to find out how they think about themselves, their friends and their social situation. The hermeneutic method is looking for the process of identity construction and is seeing the young people as agents of this construction in a world which they find it hard to belong to. In this way it becomes important to find out, not only their social conditions and their individual capacities, but especially the way they “read” both their social world, their social group participation and them selves.

In the study focus is on the young peoples life-world which is seen as: The family with parents, sieblings and values, the housing conditions, the school life, the neighbourhood, their friends and social networks, qualifications, future visions, personal characters, crime, and “the public”.

The emerging picture from the interviews are organised in tables which shows the different perspectives which exist among the two groups.

This analysis is shown in these examples from the book, which point to the understanding of the social setting of the young people. It compares the girls and the “arab” youth and therefore shows the different perspectives which exist among the young people.

	The “girls”	The “arabs”
School/ function	The coffee room	The theatre
School/image	The hole	The brake

²⁶ From Dominique Bouchet: “Det knuste spejl”. Afveje. Odense universitet. Danmark 1999

Teachers/function	The waiter	The theatre painter
Teachers/image	The necklace	The collar
The peers/function	The stomach	The eye
The peer/image	The fog	The laser
The neighbourhood/function	The playing ground	The battlefield
The neighbourhood/image	The parking ground	The dumping ground
The neighbourhood/people	The Non Danish	The Babarian
The territory	The quarter	The country

The understanding of their friends and social networks is shown like this:

	The "girls"	The "arabs"
Friends/ function	The ear/the pillow	The nerve/The gang
Friends/ideal	The teddybear	The stockade
Friends/expectations	The presence	The courage
Networks	The weathercock	The quicksand
Networks/possibilities	The rock wall	The gulf
Networks/visibility	Anonymous	Standing out

The picture of the youngsters own view on qualifications and future perspectives look like this:

	The "girls"	The "arabs"
Qualifications None	None	
Experiences	Being for others	Being with others
Qualifications/actual	Prostitution/crime	Crime/survival
Qualifications/selfevaluated	Miserable	Sufficient
Danish language	Basics	Nessesary
Foreign language	None	Arabic

Future is 4 meters high	No horizon	The horizon
Future project respected	No project	Being
Future visions lighthouse	The cave	The
Future options	Destiny	Hamperet
Future jobs	Child care/veterinary	Mechanic/doctor

The analysis is much more developed in the closer case descriptions, but the general picture is, that the boys see themselves, their relational engagement and their social conditions in a specific perspectives. The school is seen as a “theatre”, the family as a “pedestal”, but their fathers as “degraded” and their mothers as “suppressed”, their friends as “the nerve” and their future perspectives as dependent on their low qualifications which makes the future into a “4 meters high wall”.

They therefore also show a mixed self-portrait. They see themselves as unbalanced, proud, aggressive and reckless. And at the same time, they mostly want to gain “respect”.

Also, the analysis point to the “mirror” challenge. The young people develop their identity and therefore their engagement in the world and future in a process of mirroring themselves in the society, the family and the friends. But the mirror is broken. It is not possible for them to see themselves in a whole picture. They are not able to make a self-picture, which gives them a social integrative social identity.

Therefore the strategies of the “Arabic youth” seem to be formed as a mixture of attack at the outer world and a special form of self-defence or self protection, which create an antagonistic identity.

In a theoretical (re-)interpretation perspective the analysis seem to show, that the ethnic minority youth are fighting a de-structural life situation by climbing to their peers, but that the peer relation does not support their social integration. They develop some sort of de-integrative strategies to obtain social integration.

Compared to earlier times working class culture, which more or less had the same problem of social integration they seem to need some sort of collective movement for social integration.

Case: Ethnic minority girls strategies.

This “case study” looks at different qualitative studies, which shows the strategies of ethnic minority girls to manage their everyday challenges, especially their independence process from the family.

An important issue in the development of strategies among ethnic minority youth concerns the girls situation. Often the girls are more controlled by the family than the boys. Especially, in families which mostly function according to a reproductive family pattern, the individualisation process and therefore the individual freedom to choose own strategies is very complex. (Mørck & Andersen 2007)

Ethnic minority families of course are just as different as other families. However, families coming from rural or poor conditions and which are accustomed to strong family tradition may be in a special situation. In the Danish society, these parents often have a low education, they are unskilled and therefore they are not very well integrated in the Danish society.

Of course most parents wish the best for their children, but at the same time, they have other cultural and practical traditions and often see the family or the kin as the central actors of society. This means that the individual should follow family interests, as they are best formulated and controlled by the parents. In this way often an authoritative social relation exist in families and upbringing. Many in the parent generation also hope for going back to the society from which they came and therefore they do not want to change their lifestyle and perspectives.

In families with a reproductive family perspective especially the girls are controlled as a “family value”, and therefore they experience problems if they want to take part in a Danish youthlife. They often see their future in Denmark and therefore they want to become integrated in the Danish society. This both means that they want to have an education and a job, and therefore they want to break with the family traditions and develop individual influence on their own life. They want to become agents of their own life.

Studies show how ethnic minority girls develop different strategies for solving this individualisation challenge. (Ketner et al 2004, Madsen 2006)

Madsen writes, that at the one hand young people, and especially the girls, are negotiating and discussing with the parents, and this sometimes may lead to some changes (Ketner et al 2004, Sørensen 1999), maybe with some support from others and professionals (Arenas & Jessen 1991).

Røgilds (1995) tells how the Moroccan girl Nadia by discussions and conflicts with the parents by the end was allowed to move from the home and to live with her brother. The parents kept an eye on her and the first year she had to self-censure her activities e.g. not to go out at night. In a later interview (Mørck 1998) it was described how Nadia was now living an “ordinary Danish youthlife”.

Madsen also shows that it however sometimes seems necessary for the girls to make a break with the family if they don't want to adapt to the family life perspective (Mørck 1998, Røgilds 1995). This especially is the case in the situation of forced marriage (Sareen 2003). Brouwer tells: "Giving the existing power relations in families where girls do not have much of a say, most of them don't even try to openly discuss their wishes. They would not dare, some of them told me" (Brower 1992, p.84) and "in the case of the runaways, the father-daughter relations were too disturbed to provide a solid basis for communication and confidence" *ibid.* p. 82)

Madsen also tells, that the difficulties for the girls become clear in the cases when the girls who had contact to "the social day and night centre" (den social døgnvagt) had to give up their freedom, which they had developed in discussions with the parents, because they did not uphold some other family rules., especially if they had a boyfriend. (Sørensen 1999, p.41).

Though the girls does not want to break with the families it sometimes is necessary for the girls who want to live a late modern Danish youth life. It is not possible to combine it with parents expectations (Heide Jørgensen 1995). But often the girls suffer from this situation. They are excluded and they lose most of their social network. The worst scenario exists when girls, who do not follow family demands, especially if they get a Danish boyfriend, are threatened or even killed by the family members.

Madsen shows that a third strategy exist among ethnic minority girls. It is to develop a secret double life. In relation to their parents they follow the traditional defined "rules of conduct", while they secretly try to live a late modern Danish youth life. They may have Danish and/or male friends, a boyfriend, goes to the movie, in the swimming baths or dress in "modern fasion". It is possible to use the concept of "Cultural commuter" to describe the process in which the girls move between different arenas with different persons, values and norms.

However, to be a "culture commuter" does not necessary mean a sort of "divided self". The girls know the different rules, codes and languages and becomes experts in shifting in-between them. (Mørck 1998, p 132). They learn to cope different situations and they learn to separate different contextual demands: "It is in this connection that minority women invent new survival strategies without the parent finding out and growing suspicion about their intentions and activities" (Tireli p.199).

The girls may use the parents low knowledge of the Danish society to make their activities outside the house secret for the parents. Many girls use the school as an excuse for not being at home (Sareen 2003, Mørck 1998). And also the special situation of living in a big city gives new opportunities for anonymity, which did not exist in the village. The city gives more opportunities. (Mørck 1998).

One of the advantages of this situation, as Madsen says, is that the girls gain time before they have to take the conflict with their parents. They avoid a confrontation with the parents which they are not ready for. But also their double life may be seen as a sort of expressing solidarity with the parent. They don't have to criticise and confront the parent's way of living.

However, it is also difficult to live a double life:

"Young women tells how they feel watch over when they are walking in different places of Copenhagen. The increasing number of shops owned by "new Danes" especially means that more male immigrants are present in the city where they can keep an eye on each other and especially on young women...this means that the danger of being spotted in company with other young people or with a boyfriend can be great (Mørck 1998 pp. 263-4)

The constant fear of being seen creates anxiety and guilt and shame among the girls. It seems as if the family control often is upheld not only by the family, but by the ethnic minority community.

Besides these strategies a Dutch study (Ketner, Buitelaar and Bosma 2004) describes similar strategies of ethnic minority girls of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands. They point out that the girls' strategies should be seen as an actualising of the general Dutch youth conditions and that they reconstruct their own strategies in accordance with this actualisation. They focus especially on the strategies developed to cope "things which have to do with boys". In this analysis they point to a strategy used by the girls to reformulate religious/cultural traditions to fit their own youth life situation. But also they tell that this reformulation often involves both compromise and the development of their own (religious) ideology. They therefore may negotiate with their parent – often with a modest result - or they may develop a secret behaviour, a parallel activity structure, as already described among the Danish girls.

Summing up: Different coping styles or strategies seem to exist among ethnic minority girls to handle the challenges of being ethnic minority girls between family background and future life.

Especially these strategies seem to make it possible for the girls to become included in the local late modern youth life and in this way integrated in late modern society. And the basic strategies seem to be:

Negotiation

Breaking up

Double life

Ideological/religious (re) construction

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