

Katrine Fangen, Kirsten Fossan, and Ferdinand Andreas Mohn (Eds): *Inclusion and Exclusion of Young Adult Migrants in Europe: Barriers and Bridges*

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Inclusion and Exclusion of Young Adult Migrants in Europe: Barriers and Bridges investigates the processes of inclusion and exclusion of young adult migrants in Europe. The book originates from an EU-funded research project and covers seven European countries: Estonia, France, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. These countries differ greatly in their emigration and immigration experiences, their citizenship traditions, their social welfare and education systems, their labour market regulations and their overall post war politics. This variation results in the book's greatest value. It permits the text to tease out how different political, economic, cultural and legal contexts affect a common group of people, notably young immigrant (first or second generation) young adults' integration into their societies of settlement.

The book's selected countries correspond to four macro-sociological regions in Europe, which exemplify different versions of the modern welfare state and have experienced different migration trends. The regions include Scandinavia or Nordic Europe (Norway and Sweden), Western Europe (France and the UK), Southern Europe (Spain and Italy) and Central Eastern Europe (Estonia). These countries reflect a variety of migration experiences and a wide range of policies dealing with young adult migrants' integration, particularly their integration into different welfare state models. For example and according to Esping Andersen's typology of welfare states, Norway and Sweden represent the Scandinavian welfare system characterised by a strong safety net against poverty, the United Kingdom represent the liberal welfare model; France, Italy and Spain are characteristic of the continental European welfare model

which is based on transfers to the poorer and weaker however with little effect on the reduction of poverty as these systems' safety nets are provided by families. Estonia is rather unique in this group of countries because of both its Communist and post-transition experiences; it has a fairly developed welfare state although not as comprehensive as do Norway or Sweden. In terms of migration trends, the France, the UK and Sweden typically are characterized as "old" host countries with a long history in immigrant reception. By contrast Italy and Spain have experienced labour migration in the last two decades and have become the southern external border of the entire EU. Norway is a newcomer to immigration while Estonia is still caught in the middle between emigration and immigration pressures. Moreover, France and the UK have experienced in particular post colonial migration from Asia and Africa. Together, these countries reflect an important variety of contexts providing different experiences for migrants' inclusion and exclusion.

In addition to different migration and welfare state contexts, the seven countries offer different traditions of citizenship. France has a strong Republican tradition based on civic assimilation of immigrants and their descendants; and the country makes naturalisation relatively easy and places a strong emphasis on the separation between church and state (laicite). The UK also has a strong sense of civic citizenship and a liberal naturalisation policy. Unlike France, the UK's approach to integration recognized and accommodates both individual and collective diversity. Sweden is more similar to the UK in the manner it allows for both individual and group diversity. Italy and Spain have rather restrictive citizenship policies (with the exception of Latin Americans in Spain) and they have yet to develop a comprehensive integration framework for their first or second generation immigrant youth. Estonia

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has applied a rather restrictive citizenship regime towards its Russian speaking populations that have remained stateless after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Estonia, Russian speaking populations technically are considered immigrants while in reality they have never migrated, or rather their migration at the time was internal and not international as they moved within the Soviet territory. These wide approaches to citizenship make for important contexts for studying the experience of migration.

The volume is organised into nine chapters, as it has an introduction, a concluding comparative chapter, and seven country chapters in-between. In setting the volume's conceptual framework, the introductory chapter discusses different theories of social exclusion and the role of citizenship issues in migrant youth integration. The important role played by the emerging global youth culture is also discussed with a view to highlighting the common challenges that both immigrant and non immigrant youth faces. The introductory chapter also points to the different definitions of migrants, citizens, foreign born, residents, foreigners and other terms adopted in different countries when seeking to assess the size of the immigrant population. As a result, the introduction highlights well the difficulties in (and importance of) comparing European countries on migrant integration issues.

As the introduction notes, the central questions that guide this volume are these. "What challenges and opportunities are young adult immigrants and descendants facing in different countries? What is their rate of participation in education, labour and leisure compared with young people without immigrant background? How is the complex interplay of ethnicity, class background, migration history, gender and urban context influencing their lives?" (p. 4) To address these questions, the authors engage research fields ranging from the labour market and education to politics and crime. These analyses eventually result in important discussions of the key problems of incorporating young immigrant adults from a socio economic perspective looking at labour market insertion, health issues and living conditions. They also cover legal issues dealing with stay and work permits as well as access to citizenship. And, from an identity perspective, the authors discuss issues relating to culture, the media, social networks, and religion.

The introduction is followed by seven chapters focusing on specific countries. Each of these chapters adopts the same structure. They start with a brief review of the migration context in the country under study and discuss when immigrants arrived, why and how. They then examine the semantic context of migrant youth, as they critically discuss the labelling and name calling of immigrant youth and the juxtaposition (if relevant) between "us" and "them." These examinations of the semantic

contexts also include analyses of the media discourse and ways in which migrant immigrant youth is represented there. The chapters also center on migration legislation, stay and work permit regimes, and citizenship and integration policies; and doing so enables them to assess how specific naturalisation policies and integration approaches have worked in each country and how they have affected the identity and social integration of migrant youth. The next sections of these chapters are dedicated to the labour market insertion of migrant youth. These sections pay close attention, where relevant (such as in Spain or Italy), to the insertion of migrant youth in the informal labour market as well as to migrant youths' educational attainment. Each country chapter also is complemented by concise but informative sections on the overall living conditions and health situation of migrant youth, their social networks and civic participation, their culture, religion and their feeling of belonging to their country of residence. There also are short sections on the presumed link on immigration and crime as well as on discrimination faced by migrant youth, racism and overall public attitudes towards them.

Even though this book is not based on new data and does not produce original findings, it still makes an important contribution. It does so by critically reviewing and synthesising existing findings and bibliographies regarding immigrant youth and the processes of inclusion and exclusion in the seven European countries studied. This volume offers an original and concise overview of the social, cultural, economic, political and legal context within which migrant youth live, study, work. As such, this volume will be of particular interest to graduate students and researchers who are seeking a comprehensive overview of the situation in specific immigration countries. Each country chapter and the book as a whole offers an impressive list of bibliographical references that also can be very useful in guiding researchers to further readings.

The most original contribution in this volume comes in the concluding chapter where the editors seek to compare the seven countries along a set of basic conditions that migration youth face in their country of settlement: the legal regime, the socio-economic conditions of young adults with immigration background, and the national discourses on migrants and their descendants. This chapter systematically assess the migration regimes through which the different countries seek to manage their immigration flows and implement integration policies. The authors note that access to citizenship is most important for the inclusion of migrant youth as residents are often not entitled to the same socio-economic rights as citizens. Moreover, a pertinent finding is that while citizenship is important for a feeling of belonging to the host country to develop, there is no guarantee that such a feeling will develop if citizenship is granted (p. 253). Welcoming policies seeking to orient

immigrants in the new country and to teach them the language are seen to have positive effects in the countries where they exist.

The concluding chapter also examines how several patterns of inequalities emerge in labour markets as well as educational attainment. Overall, immigrants are less integrated into the labour market than non migrants. Yet, the case studies reveal some interesting patterns: immigrant youth have better employment prospects than native youth in countries such as Spain or Italy as young immigrants tend to take any job offer rather than be as selective as their native counterparts. However, it also is true that immigrant youth are over-represented in the temporary job sector and in less desired areas of the economy, such as in agricultural work. Indeed, an ethnic segregation of labour markets is noted in all the seven countries studied. In terms of educational attainment, the authors point out that migrant youth may have different experiences depending on the nationality. While overall immigrants from other European countries tend to do better than immigrants from other countries, this is not a golden rule, the opposite may also happen in some cases. The question of migrant youth

integration into the school environment also relates to the integration approach adopted in the national education system. Notably, Swedish or UK schools embrace students of immigrant background in different ways than French schools, which welcome immigrants but silence cultural diversity.

This book is interesting and useful to the reader who seeks to gain a solid background knowledge on migration, migrant youth and integration issues across Europe. It covers an important and wide spectrum of national experiences and policies of social inclusion and exclusion processes that migrant youth face in Europe. The breadth of issues raised and contexts explored make the book a useful a complementary text for many courses. However, it may be of less interest to researchers who are looking for more precise analyses in that it falls short from its initial promise of showing how contextual factors condition the inclusion or exclusion processes that young migrants face. It is hoped that this linkage will be explored more fully in the forthcoming work of the project from which this book originates.