



Barriers or Bridges?

EUMARGINS— ON THE MARGINS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

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Barriers or Bridges? is an online monthly bulletin providing the latest **EUMARGINS** project developments and flagging recent project publications.

The project is a collaborative project financed by **The Seventh Framework Programme for research and development (FP7)** of the European Union.

Research institutions in Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Estonia, Spain, Italy and France are members of the **EUMARGINS** project team.

The **project focus** is on the exclusion and inclusion of young adult immigrants in seven European countries.



Editors:

Tara Sarin and Katrine Fangen

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Welcome to the first publication of our monthly newsletter dedicated to European conditions for the inclusion and exclusion of young adult immigrants and descendants.

The aim of this newsletter is two-fold, firstly, to keep you informed of the project developments, publications and findings and, secondly, to build awareness about the issues, including the barriers and bridges, that relate to this category of young adults in order to gather a more nuanced understanding of the problems at hand as well as their subsequent solutions.

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PROJECT UPDATE & RECENT PUBLICATIONS

After a productive two-year period, the project has entered its final phase, not only has significant progress been made in the collection of secondary data based on comprehensive life story interviews with young adult immigrants and descendants, but also in the exploration of inclusion and exclusion of young adult immigrants across seven national contexts culminating in EUMARGINS first book published by Ashgate, "Inclusion and Exclusion of Young Adult Migrants in Europe—Barriers and Bridges," Fangen, Katrine; Fossan, Kirsten and Mohn, Ferdinand Andreas (eds.).



Now that the data collection period has come to an end, this final phase will witness an increase in the number of publications ranging from policy briefs to illustrative cases to articles as well as an EUMARGINS second book being published by Palgrave Macmillan. This book is primarily based on the database of life story interviews from the seven European countries. Each chapter includes cross-national analysis of the material focusing on several thematic areas; migration, the labour market, educational system, participation, and feelings of identity and belonging; and then ultimately extends the knowledge onto a broader European level. The preliminary title of the forthcoming book, is "Young Migrants in Europe: Exclusion and Belonging," Fangen, Katrine; Johansson, Thomas and Hammaren, Nils (eds.).

The EUMARGINS research members met for a two-day meeting in February, in Oslo, Norway, to discuss this book in its entirety as well as suggestions for improvement. This book is in its final stage of production, prior to submission to Palgrave, and is witnessing signs of fruition with almost all chapters advancing at a rapid pace.



BARRIERS OR BRIDGES?

European Conditions for Inclusion and Exclusion of Young Adults with Immigrant Background



Several illustrative cases from specific national contexts (United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Estonia, and Spain), as well as policy briefs (1. Categorisations and Discourses, 2. Citizenship Regimes, 3. Labour Market Discrimination, and 4. Ethnic School Segregation) have been published on the EUMARGINS website in the past few months, and two of the most recent ones are highlighted in this issue.

Lastly, the EUMARGINS brochure 'Barriers or Bridges?', while maintaining its original design, has been updated to reflect the developments in the project. The electronic version of the revised brochure will be available on the website.



STAY TUNED FOR...

ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

- Illustrative Case (Spain): Sueli's Story, by Andrea Latorre

POLICY BRIEFS

- Policy Brief 5, Political Participation and Inclusion

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES

- Back, Leslie & Sinha, Shamser (Forthcoming 2011). "The New Hierarchies of Belonging." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*.

BOOK REVIEW: INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF YOUNG ADULT IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE (ASHGATE)

- Triandafyllidou, Anna (Forthcoming 2011). *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*.

UPCOMING EVENTS

NORUNG Research Network

27-29 June 2011, Reykjavik, Iceland

Presentation by EUMARGINS Scientific Coordinator Katrine Fangen.

25th Conference of the Nordic Sociological Association: Power and Participation

4-7 August 2011, Oslo, Norway (University of Oslo)

EUMARGINS Scientific Coordinator Katrine Fangen will chair a session on inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in Europe.

Abstract Submission: 15 March 2011 (Online Submission System)

Early Registration Deadline: 1 May 2011

10th Conference of the European Sociological Association: Social Relations in Turbulent Times

7-10 September 2011, Geneva, Switzerland

EUMARGINS Scientific Coordinator Katrine Fangen will chair a session on inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in Europe. Several EUMARGINS researchers, from Norway, France and Sweden, will present their papers based on an analysis of our empirical material.

Abstract Submission: 8 March 2011 (Online Submission System)

Early Registration Deadline: 3 May 2011

International Conference

TBD (expected Fall 2011), Brussels, Belgium

Together with other international migration research projects, the insights produced by the project, as well as specific policy recommendations on a European level will be presented at this Conference.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE: SPAIN

"Marc—The Contrasting Worlds of Private and Public Education"

By Neil Willet (Spanish Research Team)

Marc describes in great depth the differences he observes between the quality of education and students in public and private education. Since enrolling in a private school he has begun to construct a life for himself and recognizes the need to establish a positive friends circle.

Marc is eighteen and was born in the Philippines, he moved to Spain at six years old. Both of his parents are from the Philippines yet Marc has been educated almost entirely under the Spanish system. He maintains links with his country of origin, mainly through the internet but also through occasional visits.



Philippines people are more respectful, in general, and that his family is also religious, so his sense of identity at a young age has been affected by this difference, that is that his behaviour and beliefs have been a source of conflict within the family unit. His parents' being of Mormon religion means they have certain expectations regarding his conduct that are not shared by members of the society where he has lived since an early age.

Marc decided that he wanted to conduct the interview in his family home, a place where he felt most comfortable, and where there would be privacy. He lives in a neighbourhood on the outskirts of the city of Barcelona, named Bellvitge, it is about twenty minutes from the center of the city on the metro, and is the final stop on one of the lines. As a neighbourhood Bellvitge is marked by its collection of easily recognisable, all proliferating, identical and enormous high-rise blocks of flats, and also renowned for its social problems. Whenever Bellvitge is mentioned in general conversation it is generally cited as 'dangerous.' Marc and his family inhabit a standard flat on the thirteenth floor of one of these buildings. His family was very polite, and Marc was mature, articulate and very open about all the things discussed over the hour in which the interview took place.

Marc's story seems typical of many young people growing up in Spain today, his father came first, spending three years living alone and working in order to facilitate the rest of his family's move. He did low level work, such as cleaning, though eventually managed to get a decent post in a metal factory and began buying a house. Marc, his mother and sister then followed. Of course Marc is still relatively young, overall he says he believes there are more opportunities in Spain than in the Philippines where he says, 'there is no future.' His life has been marked by the

Interestingly, his father was keen to invest in property away from the city center precisely due to its various social problems and the effects of social exclusion they might have on his children. His father's thinking was born of the very fact that his children may encounter the self-same dangers Marc later experienced to a large degree. Marc and his family had first lived in a nearby neighbourhood named Torrassa and then moved to Bellvitge four years ago. This change was specifically due to the delinquency and gang problems prevalent in Torrassa, again attempting to put distance between the family and the

"I don't feel as if I'm discriminated against, no, I don't feel apart, no because it's in you, if you want to get to know people or not, it's in you if you want to get on well with them or not, it's in you, if they don't want to, there are a lot more people . . . if you can't make friends with this one or those, there remains the rest of the world to get to know..."

cultural differences between his country of birth and the one where he has grown up in. He explains that in the

typical problems of youth social delinquency; drug and alcohol use, group violence, fines from and involvement with the police, failed entirely as these factors are rife in Bellvitge also.

However, Marc prefers Bellvitge to his previous neighbourhood, where there was a higher level of gang crime. He likes living where he does, and is doing his best to construct a future. He claims one of the main local problems is drugs, particularly young people's consumption of hashish. He himself spent a period buying and selling considerable quantities of hashish, and explained to me that one of the points of conflict is just how many dealers there are in Bellvitge. He still has friends that ask him where to buy hashish of the finest quality, and several friends that sell, though he is no longer dealing himself.

Marc claims he is intent on improving himself and moving past his problems, he recognises the roles his different groups of friends play and cites education as the key to the whole issue. While this may be unsurprising to someone of his age, he seemed candid about his past flaws, ready to change his friend circle and sharp enough to recognise possible opportunities. He formerly studied at a public (state-funded) school but experienced many problems that lead to him dropping out for a year, he himself says he 'wasted two years' of his life 'stupidly.' However, he has recently re-enrolled at a private college, is doing well with his studies and wants to go to University, he plans to train as an electrician for practical reasons, but would ideally like to study journalism.

Marc repeatedly stressed the difference wrought in his relationship with his peers by the spheres of public and private education. In state funded school his friends went 'to pass the time,' whereas in private schools he and his fellow students, 'go more conscious that our parents are making an effort' and, crucially, that in state schools, 'the teachers make less effort.' Whilst elaborating on this, by mentioning how his friends' aim was to mess around while at school, or simply to not attend and spend the whole day in the park drinking beer and smoking marijuana, his account seemed slightly reminis-

cent of the ideas in Paul Willis's book, *Learning to Labour* (Aldershot: Gower, 1977), about "why working class boys get working class jobs." His change to private school, where his parents pay a considerable sum to enable his attendance, only seems to underline the point that access to education for all often counts for little when resources are lacking to send children to the better schools.

In reference to his feelings of inclusion in education he said he never had a particularly poor relationship with Spanish, or Catalan, people from here. In his former schools he says there were more immigrants and in his present school there is less so that now people 'look at him as different.' In the wider society he believes that the financial crisis has exacerbated discrimination, as people now claim his parents have come to Spain to, 'take their jobs, as they accept lower pay.' In his opinion the coexistence with his friends has really been key, in the public school he and his friends engaged in deviant behaviour and he failed, at the private school they focus more on their educational opportunities and he is getting on well. However, he says he feels most comfortable in the 'El Raval' quarter, a Barce-



lona neighbourhood famous for its liberality, and even debauchery. It was formerly the city's Chinatown, located next to the docks, and so naturally full of sailors on leave and prostitutes, there was a large heroin problem there among the gypsy community in the eighties. It is now home to a highly dense population of immigrants, many without official documentation. Marc however put it succinctly, he goes to Raval as, 'there are Philipinos,' and he can, 'do whatever I want.'

He did however mention that the policing of El Raval was performed more aggressively than in comparison with where he lives, that police often sought people to deport from El Raval, while in Bellvitge the police were looking largely for serious crimi-

nals, which he explained by citing the amount of hashish he used to buy as an example of the crime that takes place. He himself has had many interactions with the local police, and most of them negative. Interestingly he did point out the difference between the national and regional police, stating that the more fines the national police give out, the more money they get in. Naturally this engenders a rather bitter relationship with the regional Catalan police, who have fewer incentives to apply the law rashly. He said he had nothing against the Spanish, in fact he has many Spanish friends, and does not feel excluded at all, he also has many Latin friends, and in the recent past he has reinforced his contacts with people from his native country, socialising often with people from the Philippines and even relearning his native tongue with the help of his mother and friends.

Marc's leisure activities seem to be a positive example of social inclusion. He enjoys photography and has a passion for certain types of music. He, with friends, rents a music studio where he goes every week day to record his own music and do production for others. Music therefore plays an integral part in his life and he emphasized the fact that he enjoyed music with a political message. He said he wanted to hear someone that had something to say, rather than needless bragging. His young life has also been influenced by his six year relationship with a girl originally from Bolivia. Marc is very intent on the importance of planning for one's future; he said he saw himself living in another country within five years, though definitely still within the boundaries of the European Union. As for work, Marc is conscious of the current economic climate and cites the crisis as the cause of many of today's problems.

As mentioned before, Marc came to Spain at six and has few memories of anything before that. He recounts experiences that are widely typical, that of the migratory trajectory of his family, family reunification, and his experiences of inclusion/exclusion through the contrasting worlds of public and private education. In two strange twists we have seen that Marc's father as an immigrant sought out areas rife with social problems while

trying to avoid them in the city center, and that in a bizarre form of inclusion, Marc has actually learnt his native language while residing in his host country.

It is fair to say that Marc is pragmatic for his age; he said he would not study to be an electrician if he did not see a future in it. He has, partly due to the religious element of his identity, the conflicts born of that and exacerbated by the migration, been able to think deeply on certain subjects and find illuminating answers. He has suffered his share of social problems, the stresses of being a drug dealer are never small, and yet he is open in his attitude towards the police. Furthermore he feels that the active political element in his music production is key, that is, inherent in this stance is the idea of doing something about the social problems he experiences, a project to be undertaken, rather

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“they (the church) say that yes, you have the freedom to choose but I don’t like it, what I . . . no, I know that all religions tell you the same, that you shouldn’t sin, they say, ‘this is good, this is bad’, but the truth is that it’s in you, really, that’s how it is.”

plaint or frustration of living in a hopeless situation.

Marc is therefore to some extent an example of successful processes of inclusion among young immigrants in Europe; he is keen to do well in education, has an array of friends, is positive about the society he lives in and his future, and, despite observing the economic problems in his country of residence, claims that though he would like to move, he would always stay in Europe.

All illustrative cases can be downloaded from our EUMARGINS website:

www.iss.uio.no/forskning/eumargins/

POLICY BRIEF EXTRACT

Ethnic School Segregation: Policy Recommendations

By Erlend Paasche and Katrine Fangen (University of Oslo)

This policy brief is the fourth in a series of six that will be published by the EUMARGINS project team. The first three policy briefs included, (1) Categorisations and Discourses, (2) Citizenship Regimes, and (3) Labour Market Discrimination.

(4) Ethnic School Segregation argues that lower educational outcomes at 'minority schools' is primarily caused by socioeconomic factors. Elaborating on this premise, politicians should consequently implement desegregation policies that reduce inequality based on socioeconomic factors at the most ethnically segregated minority schools. Below you will find an extract from the fourth policy brief highlighting the specific policy recommendations.

"In spite of ethnic school segregation being a widely discussed issue in contemporary European societies, research has yet to clearly identify the challenges it brings and the solutions to them. Some recommendations may nevertheless be confidently made.

- **Consider the problem as primarily socioeconomic.** Ethnic school segregation is more to do with social disadvantages and the socioeconomic status of parents and neighbourhoods, than it is to do with ethnicity per se. At the same time, politicians must acknowledge that ethnic and socioeconomic segregation often overlap, and that desegregation policies are needed.
- **Think of tipping points.** While awaiting more research, desegregation policies should concentrate on schools with the absolutely highest shares of students with immigrant background. The notion of tipping points in school performances, while not firmly corroborated by research, could inform policies at this stage.
- **Pay attention to school recruitment procedures.** Be aware of the structural inequalities associated with parental choice of schools and make efforts to reduce them through information and awareness-raising campaigns. Divert funding to schools with high proportions of students with migration background to make them more attractive, and inform and encourage immigrant parents so they make strategic use of their choice of school.
- **Look at the broader picture.** School desegregation policies alone are doomed to fail in the long term when students with immigrant background do not see educational qualifications as a means of success at the labour market, so work-related discrimination must be battled by politicians. Likewise, urban planning and housing policies could be considered to counter the residential segregation that is associated with school segregation.
- **Encourage research on ethnic school segregation.** We need to know more, especially through systematic, cross-country comparative research, on the effects of ethnic school segregation and how to deal with it. Given the controversy of this politicized issue, and given that population projections in affluent countries predict a rapid growth of non-western immigrant populations, research – still in its infancy – must pave the way for evidence-based school policies."

The complete brief can be downloaded from the EUMARGINS website:

www.iss.uio.no/forskning/eumargins/