EU POLICY REPORT

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The aim of the EUMARGINS policy report is to inform the current EU policy debate and policy framework in the areas of social inclusion and exclusion of young people with immigrant background. The policy report will present a short summary of current EU policy frames and will discuss how EUMARGINS research results can inform policy. The policy report will conclude with concrete policy recommendations.

Summary of main observations and recommendations

Over a period of three years EUMARGINS research teams in seven countries – Norway, Sweden, France, Italy, Spain, the UK and Estonia – have analysed a large amount of secondary data as well as our own sample of 250 life story interviews with young adult migrants and descendants in urban settings of Europe. As a result of our research, the following observations for social inclusion policies are drawn:

- There is a wide diversity in experiences of inclusion and exclusion among young migrants and descendants ranging from high success in the labour market and private life to marginalisation and exclusion from all major areas of participation. Structural conditions of the host country (including citizenship legislation, migration policies, integration policies or lack thereof, structure of education system and labour market), as well as migrants’ demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics play an important role here (Fangen and Mohn, 2010a: 1). Therefore, policy solutions must take into account the specifics of each national setting as well as target the most vulnerable groups of young migrants in each country.

- Our research shows that migration status, class, ethnicity, religion, age and gender are all factors that interact and create segmentation and segregation along specific lines (Fangen, 2010: 138, Modood, 2007). More often than not several of these factors influence the processes of inclusion or exclusion of
young migrants. Ethnic and socio-economic segregation often overlap and multiple discrimination appears at the conjuncture of ethnicity, religion and gender (Paasche and Fangen, 2010: 13).

- Politics of identity: words, frames, categorizations and discourses play an important role in determining the structural and socio-cultural terms for inclusion or exclusion (Fangen and Mohn, 2010b: 237 ff). Categories such as ‘immigrants’ are created and racially scripted forms of personhood that come to life at a particular conjuncture (Back and Sinha, 2012).

- Education and labour market integration are the policy areas that play the most important role for young migrants and their descendants in their double processes of simultaneously entering a new country and entering adulthood.

Understanding EU Policy through young migrants’ life stories

European Union has set an ambitious goal to become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy by year 2020. Europe 2020 strategy, as it is known, declares five ambitious objectives in the areas of employment, R&D and innovation, climate change, education and poverty and social exclusion. Out of these five areas three - employment, education and poverty and social exclusion - are directly connected to minimising the social exclusion of young immigrants and their descendants, the target group that EUMARGINS research focused on.

Employment

In the area of employment the target is to reach 75 per cent of employment among workers aged 20-64. It is to be achieved through greater participation of young people, older workers and low skilled workers as well as the better integration of legal migrants. The countries involved in the EUMARGINS project have different strategies to reach these targets. The overall employment rate of the working age population in 2010 ranges from 75.4 per cent and 72.7 per cent in Norway and Sweden respectively to as low as 56.9 per cent and 59.4 per cent in Italy and Spain respectively (OECD Employment Outlook, 2010). In terms of youth unemployment, all OECD (High-Level Forum on Jobs for Youth, 2010) indicate an increase in unemployment rates across the board since the onset of the crisis in 2008. The rate of unemployment in Spain, which has been in OECD’s fastest growing percentages since the beginning of the crisis, is above 40 per cent. Youth unemployment in
Sweden can also be characterized as one of the worst, with close to 30 per cent. Although high, the UK falls in the centre with figures just over 20 per cent. At the other end of the spectrum, Norway seems to have been relatively unharmed by the financial crisis, with one of the lowest youth unemployment rates globally at less than 10 per cent. There is minimal statistics comparing the unemployment rates of young immigrants, descendants and natives, but an OECD report covered four of our seven countries (Liebig and Widmaier 2009: 24, Kallas et al., 2010) based on statistics from 2007. The gaps in unemployment rates between young adult immigrants with those of natives in all OECD countries on average was about 8 percentage points for men and about 13 percentage points for women (Liebig and Widmaier: 6, Kallas et al., 2010).

The positive transition to employment for young migrants and their descendants presents a challenge for Europe in reaching its targets by 2020. The EU has acknowledged the problems that exist for young people to transition from education into the labour market:

*Too few young people are making it into the labour market. The lack of tailor made pathways combining career orientation services, opportunities for up-skilling, quality apprenticeships and pre-work placements are hampering the positive transition to work for young people. Lack of clear information on new labour market entrants are thus leading employers to hesitate to fill vacancies as it may be unclear from the outset what their skills and productivity levels will be and whether they will fit the job requirements. Ensuring young people are properly equipped for the labour market needs to be stepped up in many Member States (COM (2011) 11 final).*

The collected life stories in the EUMARGINS project reveal that young migrants are going through a double transition – in addition to the transition from one country to another, they are also going through the transition into adulthood (Fangen 2007: 415). The context of the present financial and economic crisis in the majority of European countries, causes important breakdowns in many dimensions that affect young migrants, such as the raising unemployment rate, higher return migration rate and fewer emancipation chances. These are factors that are generated by the crisis and
which almost always affect the most vulnerable groups in particular, in our case, doubly affected: as young people and as migrants.

There is large variation among the available entry points for young migrants into the labour market among our selected countries. Regarding labour market segmentation, we can clearly observe in the data we have collected a difference between young migrants working in the primary labour market and those working in the secondary labour market (Ferry et al., 2011: 120-1). While in all countries the inclusion or exclusion often depends on the migrant’s status – either they are in the country legally or illegally – the way it plays out in different labour markets determines the paths the young adults take up in their future. In this way, in Spain and Italy, the entrance to the labour market is more accessible due to the availability of jobs in the so-called secondary labour market. In Norway and Sweden labour migrants from Eastern Europe often in agreement with their private employers practice tax evasion in the building sector or in the hotel and restaurant sector, however, the punishment on the employer for using workforce of people without a legal residence is so high that illegal migrants seldom work in sectors other than the criminal ones like in prostitution and drug dealing (Fangen and Mohn 2010: 163). By contrast, in Italy and Spain, workers can appear to be well integrated while working illegally and/or with no documents. The pattern seems to be as follows: first, finding a job; then, waiting to be regularized, with no social aid, support or training provided by the local authorities in between (Ferry et al. 2011: 124).

Landi, a 23-year-old Albanian male, came to Italy by road in 2002, illegally, with the help of a smuggler (Ferry et al., 2011: 123). They drove up the Dalmatian coast to the Slovenian border. From Udine, Landi they went down to Naples, where people from his home village, had already settled down, were expecting him. He
found his first – undeclared – job through the network established by the people from his home village.

“When we first arrived in Naples I worked in a tobacco plantation and the work was seasonal... We were working all day for 25/30 euros plus accommodation and food... But the worst was that it was just for some time; then we were without work for maybe several months before getting another job like that...”

As an undeclared worker, Landi had no social protection and did not receive help when he was unemployed. Survival thus depended on co-ethnic networks or the family.

“But the worst was that it was just for some time...”

Through this example, we can see that young people are trapped in the secondary labour market. Landi explains that he will be an illegal immigrant until he gets married. He will remain at his uncle's place and will work with him illegally on construction sites.

Undeclared work is widespread and also characteristic of the Italian and Spanish economies (Ferry et al., 2011: 123). It is an additional handicap for young migrants since being illegal does not prevent them from working (because of the existence of the illegal labour market), but further complicates both their individual and family situations, especially with regard to access to social rights (Ambrosini, 2007). This also means that upward working mobility is determined by the ethnic dimension underlying job seeking strategies and that, especially in specific areas of the labour market, the ethnicization of economic segments is quite common.

There is thus a significant labour market segmentation according to ethnicity – some ethnic groups have lower participation rates and higher unemployment rates
than the others. Cheung and Heath (2007) have found that in the UK ‘overall a number of ethnic minority groups, notably Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African men continue to experience higher unemployment rates, greater concentrations in routine and semi-routine work and lower hourly earnings than do members of the comparison group of British and other whites’ (ibid.). There are several explanations to this phenomena ranging from the structural (weak social networks) to cultural factors (discrimination). For example in Italy, access to the labour market is (either in its illegal, irregular or regular form) highly influenced by informal and community network information.

Furthermore, **access to higher education is also limited** in some of our selected countries. In Norway, Sweden and Estonia language is often a major barrier to taking higher education for those migrants who have not learned the majority language. In Italy, due to the Bossi Fini law, young migrants have to work in order to renew their residence permit, this being a major obstacle to taking higher education. After the financial crisis, financial status is to an increasing extent a barrier to taking higher education in other countries as well, both because fees for access to higher education is increasing and because the access to social benefits is decreasing.

An example that might illustrate this is the case of Milan, a 24-year old young man from the Czech Republic, now living in London, who wants to pass exams in Japanese in order to become a translator. He is attempting to save some money to take the exams; he works six days a week until late at night and he has one day off a week. But his migrant status, i.e. being an overseas student, is an obstacle to higher education as well. One has to have lived in an EU country or territory to be considered an EU citizen subject to EU student fees (Strömpl et al., 2010: 105).
EUMARGINS research shows clearly that knowledge of the host society’s language is the key to the integration into the labour market. In Estonia (as in all other countries represented in our project) success in the labour market is strongly connected with the acquisition of skills in the country’s language, as confirmed by Russian participants. Svetlana, a young woman with higher education is sure that she will never be able to have a good job in Estonia. After working for two months for a Russian-language newspaper, she was again unemployed and with no benefits. She progressively realised that her level of Estonian was too weak and that, within a liberal system, the only solution she had to get a stable job was to set up her own business.

“Yes, I was looking everywhere for a job. I kept sending out my CV. But the first question people always asked me was 'what is your level of Estonian?' I didn't know what to answer as I didn't know exactly what my level was... Overestimating your own knowledge, your ability to speak Estonian – you arrive to working place, but you don't have the level required; underestimating – no one needs these kinds... Well, it happens when you go and work for someone, but for me it would be easier to work for myself – in private business deal, as an independent entrepreneur, or something like that – in order not to have some sort of a threshold to cross, not to feel obliged to someone because of the knowledge of ones’ Estonian language. Because when my job is not done correctly, then someone will lose money, but then again, it would be better I would be the one who loses money”.

Thus, some participants were quite pessimistic about their future prospects as they explained that, despite the possibility to find jobs with skills in Russian, their unemployment situation resulted from insufficient mastery of Estonian.

The legal status in the country plays crucial role in determining the future perspectives for young migrants. Young migrants from certain ethnic backgrounds are further more affected due to the structural as well as socio-cultural factors. Last but not least, low linguistic skills contribute to the exclusion from the labour market. Also, many young migrants have completed education in their homeland, but
experience that this education is not acknowledged in the country of settlement, so they have to start educating themselves from scratch in order to get qualified jobs.

This is evident from the case of Haile (Paasche, 2010), who was 22 when the Norwegian team interviewed him and had only lived in Norway for four years after immigrating through family reunification with his mother. Prior to reuniting with his family, Haile had completed his education in auto-technology from Ethiopia. After arriving in Norway, Haile applied for several jobs in the field of auto-mechanics, without any luck. He has found it difficult to obtain a job, which may be partly due to his insufficient Norwegian language skills (Fangen, 2010: 143). According to Norwegian law, Haile had to join an introductory language programme compulsory to newly arrived immigrants between the ages of 18 and 55 (see Fangen and Mohn, 2010c: 253). He learned Norwegian very quickly and after seven months he was able to pass the test with very good results (88 out of 100). Good results in the language influenced him to change his plans. He discovered that he would have to study again, since the Norwegian Authorities did not recognize his educational qualifications from Ethiopia, which motivated him to stop searching for jobs and instead start from scratch by focusing on Upper Secondary education in pursuit of a better future (Strömpl et al., 2011).

“So I had contact with the education authorities, and spoke to them, they won’t accept my papers from the homeland. They said you have to go four years at the University College, and finish some subjects [in order for them to accept my education]. I didn’t bother [taking this education again once more], plus I didn’t have any language background, so I thought it would be better if I started in the first year, and build up. So I started Upper Secondary School. It was my choice, really.”

Haile had the determination to succeed despite the challenges that were presented to him and believed that “if you set goals for yourself you can make a good future,” even after he had already completed his studies in auto-technology from Ethiopia.
A different ending unfolds for many young adult immigrants who are placed in a similar situation where they face frustration, give up and fall by the wayside. The interplay of different factors at different conjunctures in the process of adulthood for young migrants needs to be taken into consideration while designing employment and labour market access policies.

Education

Education brings instrumental gains in terms of social advancement and participation as well as income-earning potential for all groups in society. For immigrants, it provides the skills and tools needed to foster their structural and socio-cultural integration as well as leads to intergenerational income gains benefiting descendants.

In the area of education, the Europe 2020 Strategy states that less than 10 per cent of the population aged 18-24 should have left school early; and that at least 40 per cent of the EU's young adults (30-34 years) should have completed tertiary or equivalent education by year 2020.

Statistics and research in the area of migrant education show that many ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged and their educational opportunities are not equally guaranteed throughout Europe (see EDUMIGROM, 2009, EU-MIDIS reports, Fløtten, 2006, Katler and Kogan, 2006, Muslims in Europe, 2009). Immigrant students have more restricted access to quality education, leave school earlier and have lower academic achievement than their native peers (OECD, 2010).

However, while looking at the experience through the personal life stories, a more varied picture about the exclusion, but also inclusion of migrant youth appears.
Firstly, as with the labour market participation, there is a **significant variation between different ethnic groups in terms of educational attainment**. In many countries (Sweden, Norway, the UK) there is a high success rate of individuals with Southeast Asian descent (Back and Sinha, 2010: 62, Fangen and Mohn, 2010b: 154, Heath et al., 2008: 221, Rothon, 2007) while immigrants of African origin often have the lowest educational attainment.

Secondly, **socio-economic characteristics of the family and school** play a role in early leaving and low grades. The lower class background emergences as the major factor to explain higher dropout rates of immigrant youth compared to non-immigrants in most of EUMARGINS countries. The level of parental education is a significant factor in the advantage or disadvantage faced by young migrants in education. Heath et al. (2008) notes that aspirations parents have for their children may be based on their relative standing and educational attainment in their country of origin. Several successful young people in our study had parents with higher education and occupied high positions in their home countries. For instance, in Norway descendants of Indian labour migrants have excelled in higher education (Finne, 2010). Their participation percentage is higher than that of ethnic Norwegians and other minority groups such as Pakistani and Turkish descendants (Fekjær, 2007, Fangen and Mohn, 2010b: 153-154). Additionally, Vietnamese and Chinese descendants are more likely than ethnic Norwegians to complete higher education on the master’s level (Fekjær, 2006, Fangen and Mohn, 2010b: 154).

Daiva, one of our informants who is pursuing a career in dentistry, says that she never felt pushed to pursue higher education, but that her parents always ‘hinted’ that because they did certain things earlier, they are in a good position now. It is
evident that because her parents obtained higher education that it created an environment where education is valued.

Alongside the parents’ class, socio-economic and educational characteristics, a highly dense population of immigrant youth in suburban schools (Norway, Sweden, France) or a total segregation of school system (Estonia) contributes to early dropout and low educational attainment. The effect of ethnic school segregation on educational outcomes seems indisputable, but the effect on performance is not linear. For Isabelle, who is born in France, but whose parents immigrated from Laos, choosing a school was an important decision and she clearly wanted to distance herself from the highly ethnically segregated schools in her neighbourhood (Paasche and Fangen, 2011).

“*I completed primary school in the neighbourhood school where I grew up, but then chose to enrol at a different high school. I did not like my neighbourhood at all, because I always felt that we would be stigmatized coming from this area with a lot of immigrants. (...) I chose another school partly to get away from the social stigma of going to this school. (...) It is not so much your ethnic origin that people notice as much as the neighbourhood you come from.*”

Overall our study reveals, first of all, that in all countries young migrants and descendants experience various forms of social exclusion in the form of bullying, teasing or more generally a feeling of being marked as different by other pupils at school (Fangen, 2010: 136, Strömpl et al., 2011). Young migrants and descendants who attend schools where young people with ethnic minority background are the majority feel more included. However, despite their stronger feeling of being included in the peer network, we see from Isabelle’s case that a very visible trend of young migrants and descendants who deliberately choose another school than the immigrant-dense neighbourhood school when they start Upper Secondary. The reason is the stigma of the minority school, the high density of social problems and so forth that
makes going to this school a major barrier against later success in higher education or in the labour market.

Ethnic density in Swedish schools often depresses immigrant pupils’ grades and that for descendants it is largely based on the socioeconomic characteristics of the family and school. Consequently, we see young people in Sweden who, if they have the chance, choose a more central school instead of the neighbourhood school of the immigrant-dense suburb (Johansson and Hammarén, 2010).

In the UK, Spain and Italy a major difference is observed between attending the private versus the public school, however, the first option is not a real alternative for most immigrant parents since it is far too expensive. There are three forms of education provision in Spain: public, private and subsidised private. Subsidised private schools are often run by the religious community and are free for the student. Private schools charge certain fee (about the Spanish school system see Feixa et al., 2010). In principle, the criteria for admission to public and subsidised private schools should be the same, but often the reality is different. Parents often select private schools for their better academic performance, but also for discipline and strict control over the students.

The element of discipline was a major reason why Marc’s parents transferred him from public to private school. 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. Marc and his family moved to a neighbourhood on the outskirts of Barcelona named Bellvitge from a nearby neighbourhood, Torrassa to escape the delinquency and gang problems prevalent in Torrassa. While living in Torrassa, Marc was also involved in buying and selling considerable amounts of hashish. He formerly studied at a public state-funded
school, but experienced many problems that lead to him dropping out for a year. He himself notes that 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 even wants to continue studying at university.

Marc says that there were more immigrants in the public school he attended than in his present school where people ‘look at him as different’. In his opinion a positive friend circle was the main difference between public (state-funded) and private school. In the public school, he and his friends lacked focus and engaged in deviant behaviour, whereas, at the private school they focus on their educational opportunities (Willet, 2011).

We also observe that among and even within schools there is a wide diversity in the support and understanding provided by teachers to students with immigrant background and the effects it has on the educational performance of the students. For instance, Haile, who immigrated to Norway from Ethiopia about four years ago. He received guidance from his teacher, who not only answered questions regarding schoolwork after regular school hours, but proved crucial in his personal development, by offering support way beyond the parameters of professional involvement. Besides Haile’s ambition, the support Haile received from his teacher at school played an important role in his inclusion (Strømpl, 2010).

Earlier research underlines that stereotypes and negative attitudes of minorities among teachers often result in higher dropout rates among migrants (Heath et al., 2008), but a supporting teacher might contradict this. Through our research we see that good educational attainment and success is often related to acquiring local language proficiency, high levels of parental education, and educational opportunities provided by the national educational systems, such as an
introductory programme including language classes for newcomers, support from teachers and possibilities for loans and scholarships and free higher education. These aspects are consistent with the findings of previous research. According to OECD data language proficiency matters a great deal: socio-economic status and lack of language proficiency are two major barriers to raising the academic performance of immigrant students at age 15 (Taguma et al., 2009). Language has a particularly significant role to play in the process of individual and societal integration, constituting both a medium of everyday communication and a resource in education. Language also acts as symbol of belonging or foreignness to a society.

In sum, as was the case with labour market participation, **successes or failures in education** are determined often by the interplay of migration background, class, race and other structural factors such as school segregation or linguistic skills of the migrants.

**Poverty and social exclusion**
Last but not least, the EU declared its target to reduce the poverty and social exclusion that by year 2020 at least 20 million fewer people are in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion. Young migrants are among the groups that face higher risks of poverty than other young people. Material deprivation plays often the crucial role in social exclusion and education is a valuable resource to escape poverty and social exclusion for young migrants.

In countries with recent immigration restrictions such as the UK inadequacy and bureaucratic delays in the immigration service have a profound impact creating marginalisation and vulnerability. In 2003 African Queen fled to the UK from Addis Ababa when she was 16, originally on a student visa organised by her aunt because this was the easiest and safest means of escape. After arriving in the UK, African
Queen sought asylum. Now 22/23, she has had five solicitors in seven years. Her last solicitor is seemingly responsible for much of her immediate problems. This came to light after a crèche attendant, now responsible for border control under the present immigration regime, rang the Home Office using African Queen’s entrance number who said they did not know of her: “And then I’m shocked because I have proof that my solicitor said he sent my document to the Home Office and that he await the answer.”

It transpired that what had happened was that after her indefinite leave to remain ran out when she was 18, her solicitor did not apply for any form of further stay for her like he was meant to and like he had written to her and told her he had. Consequently, African Queen was unaware that she had no immigration status. African Queen and the baby’s father successfully applied for UK citizenship for the baby and so now the baby receives some benefits although African Queen continues to receive nothing because the Home Office suspects that when her visa ran out she went into hiding to escape detection, as they received no further legal application from her to stay (Back and Sinha, 2011: 74-75).

In the case of Dorothy, a 17 year old residing in the UK, strict immigration legislation and high costs of legal help pushed her at different times into the informal labour market and then welfare dependency because it forbids her to work while she is attempting to pursue an education in midwifery – an area of labour market shortage in the UK (Sinha and Back, 2011). There is a need to analyse the impact that strict immigration policy has on marginalization and welfare dependency of migrants, especially young migrants.

According to Esping-Andersen a broad and quite generous income safety net ‘is demonstrably an effective bulwark against poverty’ (Esping-Andersen 2002: 15).
Thus, the Scandinavian welfare state with its generous welfare benefits to unemployed, makes the transition from unemployment to employment more smooth than in countries where young unemployed have to instead access the secondary labour market.

One example who illustrates a case where social benefits can be used as an effective tool against poverty is James, one of our informants from Norway. He has been unemployed for several months after having graduated from secondary school, but continues to remain optimistic about his prospects in the labour market. He lives on social benefits and at the same time keeps looking for jobs through the ‘youth info’, a state organization which provides aid and support to young people in all the procedures and formalities. James represents a case where the system helps provide income and material support to help individuals find a job and gain qualifications (Ferry et al., 2011: 131-133).

Through our research we can observe that integration into the labour market is best achieved in the countries that provide social benefits and set out rules and assistance in accessing the labour markets (Ferry et al., 2011: 142). We can see from James’s struggles in obtaining full time employment that social benefits played an important role in reducing his poverty and alleviating his situation, thereby providing him the choice to patiently wait to enter the primary labour market instead of being tempted to pursue ways to make easy money.

**Politics of identity**

One of the areas that needs to be discussed in this policy report, but that is not reflected on in the Europe 2020 strategy, is the aspect of identity and the politics of identity.
EUMARGINS research shows how the lives of young people can be shaped based on the aspects of their feeling of belonging (or lack thereof). ‘An immigrant’ is not a neutral term, but in many national contexts the mechanism through which hierarchies between people are established in terms of their rights to belonging (Fangen and Mohn, 2010c: 182, Back and Sinha, 2012). It is especially evident in cases such as the ‘white’ migration to the UK that does not count as ‘immigrants’ in the same way as other ‘more visible’ colonial migrants. Also in the UK, colonial migrants who came after WWII were transformed from ‘citizens’ into ‘immigrants’ on their arrival. In Estonia, Soviet era settlers became ‘immigrants’ after the re-establishment of independent statehood, a long time after the actual act of migration had occurred and in some cases even a generation later. So, “in this sense ‘immigrants’ are created and racially scripted forms of personhood that come to life at a particular conjuncture” (Sinha and Back, 2011).

Thus, policy-makers need to keep in mind that immigrant youth is socially excluded because they either do not speak the language, are materially deprived, or are subject to prejudices related to religion and/or culture. This is experienced differently by young migrants depending on their national context, structural factors as well as socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the young persons and their parents.
Benchmarks to be considered

Despite the challenges that exist to ensure the successful social inclusion of young adult immigrants, we would like to highlight some of the best practices that exist in our national contexts that can be considered for future cross-border transfer.

1. Providing support for newly arrived immigrants ensures their inclusion into society and the labour market as quickly as possible

Introduction programmes are important for allowing immigrants to develop the skills they need to be able to integrate into a society as quickly and efficiently as possible. The programmes that do exist in some of the countries of our project include language courses, cultural skills as well as assistance in entering the labour market and they have proven to be effective in the lives of immigrants.

The Norwegian integration and inclusion policy aims to enable new arrivals to participate in the labour market and in society as quickly as possible. In support of this approach, there are government supported programmes, implemented at the municipality level. It is compulsory for all newly arrived immigrants outside the European Economic Area who do not master Norwegian to take 300 hours of Norwegian language training. Besides language training in Norwegian, the public tool that was created for integration of newcomers is the Introduction Programme for refugees, which was introduced in 2004 through the Introduction Act (Fangen and Mohn, 2010b: 150). This is an educational programme which all adult immigrants (with certain exceptions) between the ages of 18-55 have a right and a duty to attend, scheduled as a full-time programme lasting up to two years. The programme offers language and social studies and preparation for work or further education. Each
participant follows an individual development plan and receives an income of around 18,000 Euro per year, conditional on full-time attendance. The argument is that the Introduction Act strengthens the newcomers’ legal position, as well as imposing obligations on the municipalities to provide quality education and job training. Studies have shown that it has yielded significant improvements for the integration of newly arrived immigrants in Norway.

Efforts to develop procedures to make it easier for people who were born outside of Sweden to get a job that better corresponds to their abilities have been under way in the municipalities for several years. The introduction programmes were also introduced at the beginning of the 1990s. In the programme, immigrants study ‘Swedish for immigrants’ and receive help finding a job/working practice and a place to live. They also receive information about Swedish society, including laws, rules and structures. The goal of the programme is to help the immigrant become self-sufficient and a part of Swedish society. The programmes are individually adapted, for example concerning their duration (Hammarén, 2010: 214). In 2007, many of the selective labour market programmes were replaced with general financial support for people excluded from the labour market. Employers hiring such people are offered incentives, such as lower taxes and social security fees for at least a year. A job and development guarantee was introduced in 2007 to help the long-term unemployed return to work. In addition, a new labour market scheme known as ‘step-in jobs’ was introduced, allowing new immigrants to combine language training with part-time employment in their field of education or competence (Hammarén, 2010:215).

In Barcelona, the official common language for education is Catalan. Taking this into consideration there are linguistic immersion programmes for those students who do not speak Catalan, such as young migrants. There is a ‘welcome’ mechanism for
young foreign students in schools designed by the Catalan administration: the aules d’acollida (‘integrated greeting classrooms’). Foreign students spend the entire first year following part of the same courses as the rest of the students, but also have to learn about the country and Catalan (Feixa et al., 2010: 34).

2. Directing resources to disadvantaged schools

School is often presented as the main integrative mechanism in France, as one of its goals is to provide equal education for every child. In this light, France implemented zones d’éducation prioritaire, where schools are given a particular status on the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of students and learning outcomes. These are zones in disadvantaged areas (with high unemployment, high percentage of students who are not native French speakers and who have repeated a grade). Schools in these zones are given more financial resources in order to increase educational opportunities by reducing class size, developing innovative strategies and mobilising local resources (Strömpl, 2011: 103). The programme was started in 1982 with the goal of raising educational achievement (Ferry et al., 2010).

The United Kingdom has also had Educational Action Zones (EAZs) for decades that are intended to raise standards of achievement in schools in socially disadvantaged areas. It involves a combination of three strategies: targeting of extra money, innovation in teaching methods, and the mobilising of local action.

These policies are an attempt at breaking the cycles of deprivation, children from the poorest homes must be given high quality and sustained additional support to ensure they can overcome disadvantage and realise their potential. Although there is no 'magic bullet' to resolve the systemic nature of educational underachievement of
children living in poverty, one solution is to invest additional school spending to disadvantaged schools.

3. Personalised guidance and encouragement after school-day is over

Parental involvement in the education of their children is important to children’s success at school. Oftentimes, many immigrant parents are likely to encounter difficulties of a linguistic and cultural nature and therefore measures to ensure that the immigrant child is being properly guided is decreased and the educational attainment of these children is lower. Therefore, schools should provide additional resources to promote communication as well as train educators to understand the importance of supporting the immigrant children who are facing difficulties and do not have the means to receive this type of support at home. We see that Haile, who also had personal drive to succeed and parent’s who raised him to believe in the importance of education, had a teacher that recognized his struggles with the language and took particular effort to be a resource person. Mahmoud, a young immigrant from Morocco residing in Italy, similarly recounts the importance of his Italian language teacher who took particular care outside of regular school hours to tutor and offer him advice, “She was spending her free time in the afternoon and evening to give me extra advice and support...This is how I survived and I had the strength to go along against the difficulties...“

Of course, teachers are seldom willing to use their freetime on pupils who require special follow-up, and this can also not be demanded of them. However, a viable alternative would be to organise a mentorship programme, involving young adults who are well integrated to assist newly arrived immigrant youths and those immigrant youths, in general, who struggle in school. Also, language lesson assistance has been provided by several schools in Norway as an easy implementable
approach. Such help can also be provided by certain centres or NGOs, which is the case in many countries, such as Norway and France.

In France, a special programme has been implemented to help immigrant youths in school. Whenever they enter the school system, children access to extra lessons in French language, a programme designed to accelerate their integration with other French-speaking children. Since 1974, specific centres have been promoted to respond to the migrant’s children’s specific needs. The CEFISEM’s (Centres de Formation et d’Information pour la Scolarisation des Enfants de Migrants) primary mission has been to deal with young migrants without French-language capabilities. Their mission have since evolved to better match youths’ difficulties at school, as well as to help teachers to develop more efficient ways to cater to these youths (Santelli, 2001, Ferry, 2005). The creation of local partnerships, bringing together students, schools, parents, teachers and community organisations, such as this one in France is essential in creating long standing partnerships to improve the educational system for those that require it most (Ferry et al., 2010: 190).

4. Creative ways to enhance participation of young immigrants

The political process has to speak to young people in creative and innovative ways so that youth feel like their voice counts and that the political process is attractive to them, particularly at a time when so many youth are disillusioned with the political system and politicians.

Providing platforms or arenas for open dialogue among young people from a range of backgrounds and inviting the media to attend. This enables the immigrant population to convey their concerns to a wider public audience thereby reducing existing stereotypes of particular immigrant groups that are prevalent in society. For instance, since 2009, the lawyer and politician Abid Raja, a well-known spokesperson
in Norway on minority issues, has organised dialogue meetings between young people of mixed background and different authority persons at the House of Literature, a place to hold public meetings and seminars organised by a range of different organisations, discussing a broad variety of topics. This initiative provides these groups with an arena and thereby helps their voices to be heard.

Another interesting project is the 'Project for the Stability of Young Latino Associations in Catalonia' implemented by Fedelatina (Federation of Latin American Associations), which began in 2005 with a joint initiative within the frame of a series of intervention projects carried out in Catalonia. The main objective is that arts and creative activities contribute to reflect that difficult reality surrounding these young people, and thus to try to set the scene for their development and training. The recipients of the project are specifically young immigrants of Latin American origin aged 15-21 years old, who twice a week are divided into different groups to attend workshops. These activities have been warmly received by the youths (Feixa et al., 2010: 39).
The EUMARGINS project has published a series of policy briefs, ranging from topics that include public discourses, the labour market, the social system, irregular migration and political participation, that provides an in-depth look at each of these topics as well as offer detailed policy recommendations. For the purposes of this report we have chosen to accentuate the following recommendations:

- The key to better integration and educational attainment is **early language learning and language support** throughout the study programme. Improve the language skills of immigrant children and their access to education at an early age. In areas where educational attainment is low, support should be given so that the local community can provide free day care to minority children and also language training to immigrant mothers.

- **Strengthening school links with parents.** Parents are often the key to enhancing the educational attainment of children. Often parents are not engaged enough in the education of the children or would like to be and do not have the tools to do so. The schools should devote more effort to involving parents in the projects and activities of the school. This could be in the form of one to one meetings between teacher and parents, and if needed with the help of link workers who have a special knowledge to certain ethnic communities.
  
  - In general, one should also consider how to **create better partnerships among the school, educators, parents and students.** This could be done at local community centres where teachers can outline their objectives and parents can discuss their concerns. This would provide critical links between the schools and their communities and broaden the support base on which schools depend on for their success. This would also provide better **involvement of immigrant parents** in their children’s education, particularly those with low educational attainment.

- **Training of teachers** in diversity management, in working in intercultural and multicultural school environment and this could involve training seminars or workshops led by experts in the field.

- **More resources should be provided to schools with high amount of pupils with immigrant background.** This could be in the form of higher salary to qualified teachers who want to work there, more material resources to these schools and extra teachers with minority background to follow up migrant pupils who need extra training and guidance.

- **Look at the broader picture in school segregation policies.** 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 in the labour market, so work-related discrimination must be battled by politicians. Likewise, **urban planning and housing policies** should be considered to counter the residential segregation that is largely associated with school segregation based on social disadvantages and the socioeconomic status of parents and neighbourhoods. Policy initiatives to improve the conditions of the suburbs are needed.

- School advisors should **encourage pupils to follow their interests** and to have realistic goals based on their grade level. Good pupils should be encouraged to aim high, whereas pupils who struggle in school should be encouraged to more vocational training.

- There is a need to invest more extensively on **language teaching** for young migrants who arrive in the country after the formal schooling age. Those countries that do not have reception classes or introductory programs should consider looking into such policies in the countries that have implemented this.

- Poor economic conditions and low labour market participation rates of young immigrants create risks of long-term exclusion, affecting the future employability and skills. EUMARGINS research shows that young migrants are in many countries hard hit because of the current financial crisis. Instead of focusing on young migrants as a problem and as a pressure on the welfare states, there should be a rising awareness on the resources more ethnic diversity means in many parts of the labour market. Europe is ageing and young migrants will in the future be needed in order to fill many jobs.
  - Therefore several measures should be implemented to **encourage employers to have young migrants in their workplace**. This could be in the form of European Union or state support to those hiring young migrants and also workplaces could be provided a set of tools tailor made to their individual needs in order to assess the diversity perspective in their organization and ensure continuation of good practice. Employers should also consider hiring diversity consultants to monitor the situation in their respective work places and encourage work placements for immigrant youth leveraging the strategic advantage that they offer.

- **Increase recognition of prior accreditation in the labour market.** Often the prior vocational accreditation or education of an immigrant is not recognized, thereby preventing their immediate employment. Therefore, broadening the assessment of these skills and accreditation would be important in the inclusion of these immigrants into the labour market at a faster pace.

- The anti-discrimination policy framework that is already in place needs to be more visible to immigrant youth, who need to be **more informed about their**
rights. Studies have shown that although anti-discrimination bodies are formally in place, they receive very few complaints of racial or ethnic discrimination. Trade unions can be involved in order to bridge the gap between employers and immigrants.

- Young migrants should be offered **regularised work instead of precarious jobs** in the informal sector. There should be an effort made in all countries to avoid young migrants ending up in the irregular labour market with poor social rights.

- **Governments need to improve the monitoring of discrimination by employers through field experiments and annual surveys.** Immigrant organisations and NGO’s could also be involved in order to provide specific data. With field experiments we refer to studies where the researcher sends out fictitious job applications some where the alleged applicant has a foreign name and some where the applicant has a name which is common in the country. In both cases, the applicant has identical qualifications. Such studies give a clear picture of how much discrimination affects the job seeking process.

- **Organisations focused on the field of immigrants and their inclusion into society can act as meeting points** between immigrants and representatives of the society like the police, the child care, social workers and so forth. Additionally, they could provide young immigrants with guidance in job seeking, for instance, preparing for job interviews and drafting job applications and so forth.

- **Provide platforms or arenas for open dialogue** among young people from a range of backgrounds along with an array of stakeholders. This would enable young migrants to convey their concerns to a wider public audience thereby reducing existing stereotypes of particular immigrant groups that are prevalent in society.

- **Advocate the use of success stories.** The EU should be at the forefront in positively depicting young immigrants. This includes continuing to monitor and critically evaluate stigmatising representations of young immigrants in the public sphere. Success stories of integration in Europe could be used politically as a tool to empower youth with an ethnic minority background who are less likely to strive for upward social mobility as long as they remain stigmatised.
  
  - This also includes counteracting the tendency to blame immigrants and minorities for the lack of jobs and for being a burden on the welfare systems of Europe during the current economic recession. These groups are financially and demographically vital for sustaining the
level of development in Europe—a fact that should be made more explicit in the public sphere, for instance through informational campaigns that can point out success stories so the public can understand the immigrant population is just as vast and diversified as the native population and that together they can bring about positive changes for the future of their country.

- Overall, the most compelling recommendation is that the EU should encourage benchmarking and best practice exchange among national agents with a specific focus on young immigrants and descendants. Countries can learn a significant amount from each other’s and their own experiences, in tackling the gaps that exist for the inclusion and integration of young immigrants.
Key Points for Policy-Makers to Consider

EUMARGINS research provides better and more detailed insight into the aspects of social exclusion and inclusion of young immigrants and their descendants.

**FIVE main aspects**, that can be concluded based on EUMARGINS research are:

1. There is a wide diversity in experiences of inclusion and exclusion among young immigrants and descendants. For policy purposes there is no coherent group called ‘immigrants’, but people with different skills, demographic and socio-economic characteristic and cultural and social capital.

2. The interplay of experience of migration, class, ethnicity, religion, age and gender emerges from the research. For example ethnic and socio-economic (class) segregation often overlap. It is not just an immigrant background, but socio-economic deprivation and discrimination that play the role in educational attainments and labour market integration. Multiple discrimination is another factor contributing to marginalisation of some groups such as visible muslim groups.

3. Words, frames, categorisations and discourses matter. Politicians and policy-makers must be aware that the person becomes an ‘immigrant’ once he or she is categorised as such. The media is also largely to be blamed for reinforcing these negative stereotypes.

4. Education is the key for future integration into labour market and host society. Education brings instrumental gains in terms of social advancement and participation as well as income-earning potential. It provides young immigrants and descendants with the skills and tools needed to foster their structural and socio-economic integration. The continuation of education of young adults who arrived to the country after the formal schooling age is crucial factor that leads to intergenerational income gains benefiting their descendants. This being said, education also includes vocational training and schools should also encourage those students who are interested in those fields to pursue them. Ethnic diversity should be present in all parts of the labour market, both the high status ones and in the handicraft ones.

5. Knowledge of host country language is another key aspect in influencing the inclusion and exclusion processes of young immigrants and descendants. Language teaching is equally important for parents of young immigrants.
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New scientific knowledge produced by EUMARGINS will be published in the form of journal articles, reports, policy briefs and a final book. For the dissemination of policy recommendations, policy workshops will be organised in each participating country at the final stage of the project. An international scientific conference on the research findings will be organised in cooperation with the EU in 2011.