

# Family - Citizenship - Work

## Young people's answers to societal challenges: heard or neglected?

In October 2006 the UP2YOUTH project organised its first thematic workshop. At the centre stood the dialogue with practitioners and policy makers on the three topics of young parenthood, civic participation and the transitions to work of immigrant and ethnic minority youth. This UP2YOUTH newsletter documents the keynote speech by Carles Feixa as well as the draft reports resulting from the first phase of the thematic groups.

In the following we present an extract of Carles Feixa's keynote given at the Valencia workshop. It relates different modes of youth transitions with different conceptions of time which in turn is a key aspect of human agency.

## The Hourglass of Time: the life cycle in the digital era



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When we look at our watches, we observe a condensed – metaphorical – version of the history of civilisation: the division of the day into twenty-four hours comes from ancient Egypt where sundials and hourglasses were invented; the division of the hour into sixty minutes comes from the sexagesimal mathematical system used in old Mesopotamia; the face and the hands driven by a complex clockwork from medieval Europe were perfected during the modern time and were widely diffused by industrialisation thanks to American and Swiss clockmakers. Nowadays, the electronic circuits that are the basis of digital watches started to be used in the second half of the 20th. century and became pop-

ular thanks to Japanese trademarks. For my purposes, three types of clocks are considered: the hourglass, the analogical watch and the digital watch, as symbols of three cultural modalities – the hourglass is derived from a natural or cyclic conception of time, dominant in pre-industrial societies; the analogical clock springs from a linear or progressive conception of time, dominant in industrial societies; and the digital watch is based on a virtual or relative conception of time, emergent in post-industrial society. The three types of clock can be related with three different ways of social construction of biography. In order to use these metaphors of different time concepts for the distinction of types of youth, one may relate them to “youth stories” developed by the film industry.

The hourglass represents a cyclic vision of the life time based on the generation wheel prevailing in local, rural, tribal contexts. Youth is not acknowledged as a life stage and contributes little to cultural innovation. When the cycle closes, the clock is turned upside down so that each generation repeats the behaviour of the previous ones. This corresponds to the Tarzan syndrome invented by Rousseau at the end of the 18th. century and lasting until the mid-20th. century. According to this model, the adolescent is the noble savage who inevitably needs to be civilised, a being in whom the full potential of the human species remains undeveloped because he keeps pure and uncorrupted. Faced with oncoming adulthood, the young person shows the same confusion as Tarzan when he confronts civilisation, a mixture of fear and fascination. Does the adolescent need to be isolated in his child's jungle, or should he



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## Content

|                                                                  |   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| The Hourglass of Time: the life cycle in the digital era         | 1 |
| Newsflash                                                        | 1 |
| Young parenthood: postponed, anticipated or redefined?           | 3 |
| Youth participation: encouraged or chased?                       | 4 |
| Transitions of ethnic minority youth: supported or marginalised? | 5 |

## Newsflash

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| UP2YOUTH Project News        | 1 |
| European policy developments | 2 |
| Forthcoming events           | 3 |
| New publications             | 4 |
| Research flashlights         | 5 |

### UP2YOUTH Project News

#### 2nd Thematic Workshop

From 1 to 4 November 2007 the second UP2YOUTH thematic workshop will take place in Lisbon (Portugal). Other researchers are invited to present their findings and to discuss them with regard to the objectives of UP2YOUTH and the draft thematic reports. A keynote speech will be given by Ann Phoenix (Open University, UK). More information in the next UP2YOUTH-newsletter.

#### New partner of the project

The School of Education, Queen's University Belfast has joined the UP2YOUTH project since March 2007. It is represented by Andy Biggart involved in the young parenthood working group. Andy Biggart has previously coordinated the Families and Transitions in Europe project (FATE). The School of Education has developed considerable expertise and an international reputation for its research on the role of education in divided and conflict-affected societies. A main commitment of the research is to promote social inclusion in and through education. For further information. See also <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEducation>

be integrated into adult civilisation? Rapid transitions from play to work, the first insertion into a profession and marriage, participation in rites of passage such as induction into military service, would all be features that characterise a model of



adolescence based on an “organic” insertion into adult society. This is a youth story, a textual odyssey, that explains the passing from oral culture to written culture – in the Gutenberg galaxy.

The mechanical or analogical watch implies a linear, progressive conception of time, emblematic of the modern, industrial civilisation. Just as time is detached from the rhythm of nature, the invention of youth may be interpreted as an “artificialisation” of age divisions. In this model social energy is symbolically translated into so-called winding-up rites. It is, after all, a ‘mechanical’ vision of age with the life cycle as metaphor of social change. The Peter Pan syndrome, was invented by happy postwar teenagers and became hegemonic in the second half of the 20th. century, aided by the potential of consumer society and mature capitalism. According to this model, the adolescent is the new revolutionary subject, the new consumer hero, who rebels against adult society and resists becoming part of its structure – it is better to be or appear young than old. The accelerated process towards schooling, the slow transitions towards adulthood, the creation of adolescent micro-societies, both in education and leisure time, the increase in young people’s purchasing capacity, the disappearance of rites of passage into adulthood, the emergence of “tribes” and youth subcultures, are features that characterise a model of “mechanical” insertion into society. This is a story about youth, a contextual odyssey, that tells of the passage from a written culture to a visual culture – in the McLuhan galaxy.

Finally, time measurement of the digital watch is much more precise, universal and ubiquitous while the timing of an activity can be constantly reprogrammed. The social energy in the digital watch represents the anarchic, autarchic and sometimes virtual character of transitions into adult life. It is a “virtual” vision of age that favours “social nomadism” – the constant transit and exchange of generation roles and status. The Blade Runner syndrome, has emerged at the change of century and is destined to hegemony in future society. Like Ridley Scott’s replicants, adolescents are artificial beings – half robot, half human – split between obedience to the adults that have fathered them and the will to emancipate themselves. Since they have no Memory, they have no Consciousness and, therefore, they are

not free to construct their futures. Yet they have been programmed to use all the potential of their technologies and, therefore, they are better fit to adapt to changes and to confront the future without their parents’ prejudices. But their rebellion is condemned to failure; they can only carry out sterile and episodic uprisings, while they wait to acquire, one day, the Consciousness that will turn them into adults. Like replicants, adolescents have all the world within their reach, but they are not the owners of their destinies. And like Blade Runner, adults hesitate, caught between their fascination for their offspring and the need to eradicate any deviation from the norm. The result is a hybrid, ambivalent model of adolescence, on the border between increasing social infantilization, translated into economic dependence, lack of spaces for responsibility, and an increasing intellectual maturity expressed in the access to new information technologies, new aesthetic and ideological criteria, and so on. Discontinuous transition toward adulthood, social infantiza-



tion of adolescents, permanent delay in accessing labour markets and residence, the emergence of artificial worlds like Internet surfer communities, the configuration of adolescent networks on planet scale, are all features that characterise a “virtual” model of insertion into society. This is a youth story, a hypertextual odyssey, that tells of the passage from a visual into a multimedia culture – in the Gates galaxy.

The three models should not be understood as countered types in an evolution model, but as modalities of interaction between adolescents and society that can coexist in the same time-space within different institutions that condition young people’s lives. Of course, my suggestion that today’s young people be termed the “generation @” is not to underscore the hegemony of the digital watch or the virtual conception of time.

As Margaret Mead has indicated, the young people’s conception of time plays a central role in this transformation, as a sign and metaphor of new cultural consumption modalities. Today we are experiencing a moment of fundamental transit in the conception of time, similar to that encountered by the first factory workers when their lives started to be ruled by the clock. The consumption of audio-visual goods, particularly by young people, is probably the sector of the market that best reflects these changed tendencies. In these practices, though still vague, ambiguous and contradictory, we can see oblivion from the past, paradoxes from the present and uncertainties from the future, as in one of Salvador Dali’s “soft” clocks.

## European policy developments

### EU Presidency programme on Youth

For the first time three succeeding EU presidencies (Germany, Portugal, Slovenia) have adopted a common 18-month work programme. As regards youth a key theme is the implementation of the European Pact for Youth and a focus on intercultural dialogue and diversity. See: [http://www.eu2007.de/includes/Download\\_Dokumente/Trio-Programm/trioenglish.pdf](http://www.eu2007.de/includes/Download_Dokumente/Trio-Programm/trioenglish.pdf)

### ‘Flexicurity’ for young people

In its session on 24-25 May 2007 in Brussels the European Council of Education, Youth and Culture adopted a resolution in which Member States are invited to develop a ‘flexicurity’ approach in supporting young people in their transitions to work. On the one hand the aim is to prevent precarious work, on the other to facilitate the reconciliation between work and family. <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/07/st08/st08770.en07.pdf>

### EU-programme ‘Progress’ against social exclusion launched

Since the beginning of 2007 the EU-programme PROGRESS has been operating. It is structured by five key topics some of which explicitly addressing young people: Employment, Working Conditions, Gender Equality, Social Protection & Social Inclusion, Non-discrimination & Diversity. PROGRESS operates by three types of action: analysis, mutual learning, support to main actors. See also: [http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/progress/intro\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/progress/intro_en.htm).

### Support for families is key to reach Lisbon targets

The Commission today adopted a communication on „Promoting solidarity between the generations“ to help Member States meet the demographic challenge. The Communication examines how Europeans can achieve a better work-life balance. It also looks at how best to support families so they can have the number of children they desire – very low birth rates are a concern in many Member States and studies continue to show that Europeans would like to have more children. The Communication highlights differences between national policies and areas where Member States can learn from each other, in particular through the European Alliance for Families as called for by the Spring European Council last March. See: [http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/emplweb/news/news\\_en.cfm?id=231](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/emplweb/news/news_en.cfm?id=231)

# Young parenthood: postponed, anticipated or redefined?

The thematic draft report Young Parenthood is based on the 6 national reports of Bulgaria, Slovenia, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. It gives a first overview on secondary analyses about what is known of young people's agency in transition to parenthood. We found four major systemic obstacles in tandem with cultural and learning obstacles which impede on young couples plans and realization of parenthood.

A first cluster is closely related to economic (in)dependence: in as much as young adults are longer dependent on their parents and find it harder to get a job, they postpone family building or become parents under detrimental conditions. A second cluster concerns the (un)availability of affordable child care facilities. In most countries the 1 ½ model with the mother working part-time and the father full-time is still the solution to combine work and family, thereby frustrating gender equality. Thirdly research shows that the resources of the parent generation, material as well as emotional, are of great importance in the course of family founding; intergenerational relationships seem to become rather closer than looser in post-industrial societies. Finally it seems that there is not much – or in any case not enough – informed learning between the social actors and shareholders: young parents with their teachers in formal and non-formal education, municipal officials and employers; policy makers with parents and social partners, etc. Therefore the concept of participation cannot unfold its whole potential to solve the problems young adults are faced with on their way to parenthood.

We concluded that an integrated policy approach to young parenthood must not only include family policy but include all life areas of young people, from education to labour market and especially the housing market. Also family policy must not be restricted to financial transfer but develop a broader life-course approach whereby learning, work and family trajectories are interlocked.

Present discourses on young parenthood are most articulate in demographic and gender studies, thematizing declining fertility, the double burden of women in combining work and children, and lacking public childcare facilities. Growing research attention is spent to the phenomenon of "new fatherhood". There is a conspicuous absence of mutual learning of the various social actors involved in young parenthood.

As to the research agenda, we found that much more is known in all countries – albeit with certain variation in preferred topics – about the

structural and demographic implications of declining fertility rates and impediments to parenthood than is the case if we want to have a closer look into the transition process to becoming a young parent, form a family, manage the new tasks and use informal and formal resources. On that subjective side of "structured individualization" we will have to focus in the further course of the project – despite foreseeable methodological problems for us as comparative youth researchers, caused by the lack of fine enough indicators to apply to all research countries alike.

Although there are many studies and statistics which inform about reproductive behavior in comparative perspective, we found no theoretical-methodological agreement about the parameters to be used. The welfare state typology proved useful for some questions – especially concerning broad family policy indicators; already less so explaining differential fertility rates – but insufficient for others – especially subjective and cultural factors.

To place young people as actors in the center of research points to a neglect in existing studies of the specific problems of parenthood of young people in transition when they are faced, not only with their (future) roles and new obligations of parenthood but with many other problems and tasks as well which belong to modern trajectories. In other words, it is the simultaneity of different transitions and trajectories which have to be studied simultaneously and in comparative perspective; no easy task even for interdisciplinary research.

Finally, as to the role of young people as actors of their life before and after (or not) becoming parents, we conclude from our study up to now that contemporary young Europeans are realists about their dependency on systemic constraints, labor market conditions in the first place. They are also sober about the benefits of state family measures. In no country do they feel that they are sufficiently supported by the state and the public at large. It is mainly in the field of childcare facilities where they miss support, not only in lacking facilities but just as painfully in the disharmony between working hours and crèche hours. Also housing is a big problem for young families and for starters who might put off parenthood for that reason. It would be worthwhile giving more research and political attention to this aspect in relation to the life plans of young peoples and couples. The actual action space of young people/young parents is certainly not in harmony with the ideological discourse on participation, one must conclude.

## Forthcoming events

### **Young people, New Technologies and Political Engagement**

24th - 25th July 2007 at the University of Surrey. See also <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/ias/>

### **Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society**

3rd - 6th September 2007 in Glasgow. 8th Annual Conference of the European Sociological Association. See also: <http://www.esa8thconference.com/>

### **Youth on the Move?**

21th September 2007 at the University of Lisbon, Institute of Social Sciences. One-day international conference on youth and migration in Europe.

The question of migration is currently at the top of policy agendas, particularly in terms of concerns over unforeseen or unwanted population flows into and between EU member states. This however tends to obscure observation of the migratory experiences of European Youth. This conference seeks to address this deficit and advance the state of the art of research on youth and migration. To submit an abstract or to make further enquiries, please write to: [dccairns@ics.ul.pt](mailto:dccairns@ics.ul.pt)

### **Mothers - Fathers. Parenthood between media representation and every day's practice**

4th-6th October 2007 in Hannover, Germany.

This conference deals with the issue of imagery of young parenthood. It relates the various representations of fathers and mothers in the media to every day practices of young fathers and mothers. Its aim is to work out the ambivalences, varieties and dynamics as well as the resilience in parental behaviour with regard to social background, gender, ethnicity and sexual preferences, and to establish a productive dialogue between different disciplines in the field: cultural studies, media and social sciences. <http://www.muetter-vaeter-konferenz.uni-hannover.de/cfp.php>

### **Assimilation, Multiculturalism or Integration?**

10th-11th November 2007 at De Montfort University, Leicester.

An international conference about Europe and its established and emerging Immigrant Communities. See also <http://www.dmu.ac.uk/euimmigrationconf/>

## **Experts invited to the Valencia thematic workshop by the thematic group on young parenthood:**

**Karin Jurczyk** - German Youth Institute, Munich (D); **Marjolijn Distelbrink** - Nederlandse Gezinsraad (NL); **Angela Edwards** - Teenage Pregnancy Unit (UK); **Asen Karagjov** - Foundation Roma Plovdiv (BG); **Rositza Petrova** - Agency for Social Services in the local government (BG); **Adelheid Kubitz-Eber** - Pro Familia (D)

# Youth participation: active in the public - recognised or chased?

The core question of the thematic group on young people's participation is what participation actually means for young people and under what conditions their participation may actually increase. However, there appears to be only little research on the subjective views of young people on participation. Therefore, the first concern of the group is to understand the importance that this notion takes in national and European societies, success and failure of implementation as well as the challenges for the future of democracy.

Active citizenship and participation of young people is not only important for political systems in Europe, it is also a question of social integration. Accepting this, participation appears to be particularly linked to rhetoric of social capital and empowerment. Indeed, young people's participation tends to be fully accomplished if and only if it permits to narrow the gap between policy makers and young people who are the most distant from decision-making processes related to their lives as well as to their communities. This gap exists in various respects:

- Formal education appears to be a predictor for different involvement in participation processes;
- Young people experience participation programmes as tokenism while activities such as skating, squatting, or political protest are rather criminalised than acknowledged as a way to participate;
- Participation is reduced to 'soft' policy areas like youth work while in school, training, or labour market programmes 'hard' criteria (qualifications, employability) are more important;
- Young people want to participate now, participation programmes aim at educating them for participation in the future.

Against this background, our research question can be synthesised as follows: which forms and conditions of participation experiences (both initiated by public actors and by youth agency) are likely to reinforce young people's social capital and empowerment? To develop our current approach, we have organised our material along four main research questions that are both specific to the topic of participation and to the overall question towards young people's agency:

- *What is the impact of the process of individualisation on young people's participation?*

Individualisation means that social integration and participation depend more on individual decisions than on collective patterns. Both political participation and steady involvement in associations are declining. However, there are regional and national differences which require analysis. And there is only limited insight into what forms of participation are meaningful for young people and how these can be integrated with the established societal institutions.

- *Learning to participate – participation in learning*

A wide-spread position is that most young people lack the competencies needed for active participation. In fact, these are used to legitimise young people's restricted scope of participation. This is especially the case with regard to participation in school which is restricted to some aspects of school culture while issues of curricula, qualifications or discipline are excluded. At the same time learning for participation restricts to civic education or to projects addressing issues which are NOT related to the basics young people's of individual lives (environmental protection).

- *To which extent does youth culture influence the forms of youth participation?*

Current participation programmes represent a formal culture of involvement and decision-making. Our concern here is to scrutinise different forms of participation which may appear at the margins for public authorities: skating as a different culture of using public space, squatting as a different culture of claiming autonomy, anti-globalisation protest as a transnational networked community (connected by globalised media and youth culture); and also burning cars in deprived suburbs can be interpreted as attempt to getting one's voice heard and to become visible.

- *To which extent do policies facilitate participation experiences?*

Our aim is to assess the various forms of participation with regard to their relation with wider institutional structures (education, welfare, labour market policies), their attractiveness for young people, and their capacity to empower young people.

## New Publications

Bendit, René (2007): Integration and Transition Policies for Young Migrants and Ethnic Minority groups in Germany. In Krauß, E. Jürgen; Möller, Michael; Münchmeier, Richard (eds.): Soziale Arbeit zwischen Ökonomisierung und Selbstbestimmung, Kassel: Kassel University Press, pp. 277-305 (Online-publication).

Clark, Ken & Drinkwater, Stephen (2007): Ethnic minorities in the labour market. Dynamics and diversity. Bristol: Policy Press (a free report is available at [www.jrf.org.uk](http://www.jrf.org.uk))

Colley, Helen; Hoskins, Bryony; Parveva, Teodora & Boetzelen, Philipp (eds.): (2007) Social inclusion for young people: breaking down the barriers. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Daguerre, Anne & Nativel, Corinne (eds.) (2006): When children become parents. Welfare state responses to teenage pregnancy. Bristol: Policy Press.

Ellingsæter, Anne Lise & Leira, Arnlaug (2006): Politicising parenthood in Scandinavia. Gender relations in welfare states. Bristol: Policy Press.

Forum 21: Number 7-8 of the European Journal on Youth Policy is now available online.

France, Alan (2007): Understanding youth in late modernity. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Henderson, Sheila; Holland, Janet; McGrellis, Sheena; Sharpe, Sue; Thomson, Rachel (2006): Inventing adulthood: a biographical approach to youth transitions. London: Sage.

Tisdall, Kay; Davis, John; Hill, Malcolm; Prout, Alan (eds.) (2006): Children, young people and social inclusion. Participation for what? Bristol: Policy Press

## Second Generation in Europe and Education

Migration Information Source features an article by Maurice Crul, University of Amsterdam, which summarizes the findings of an international study on the educational success of the second generation of Turkish descendants across in five European countries (Germany, Austria, The Netherlands, Belgium and France). The study examines the children's educational tracks, drop-out rates and transitions to the labour market. Read the full article: [www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)

## Experts invited by the thematic group on civic participation:

**Lasse Siurala** - Youth Services, City of Helsinki (FIN); **Daniela Pruner** - National Youth Council, Austria (A); **Philipp Boetzelen** - Research Partnership between European Commission and Council of Europe (F); **Giovanni Campagnoli** - Youth Cooperative Vedogiovane (I); **David O'Donovan** - Youth Work Ireland (IE); **Nathalie Appéré** - City Council of the City of Rennes (F)

# Transitions of ethnic minority youth: supported or marginalised?

The social integration of migrant or ethnic minority youth is a process which is always taking place locally. However, at the same time this process is a European or maybe 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 late modern individualisation process and the demands for individual functioning according to education, employability, and everyday life therefore is 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 preconditions to engage in this individualisation and social integration process.

The lesson to be learned from the individualisation challenge is that migrant and ethnic minority youth are in a situation in which both pull and push forces are malfunctioning. Often they are not pulled into late modern life as they might have low success in schools due to language difficulties, cultural differences and more or less open discrimination. And often the push mechanisms do not help them managing the arenas of individualisation regarding everyday and 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 the educational life. The general impression is that migrant and ethnic minority youth does not reach the same educational level as their local peers. Family and social networks are often not able to give the support for educational life. They may need educational capital themselves or they may for cultural reasons support non educational trajectories. There is evidence from several countries that the differences in educational achievement can be related to social and class factors rather than „ethnic difference“. Although in most studies there remains a residual amount of variation that is not covered by these factors. To add to the puzzling picture, in some countries there are groups which reach higher educational levels than the overall population. Other groups display polarisation described as segmented assimilation where one part integrates into the mainstream of society and another one remains stuck in the mostly urban marginal groups of society.

Also the job opportunities for migrant and ethnic minority youth are different from ethnic majority youth. They often have left education early and

often they experience discrimination or a not open attitude in the labour market. Many therefore are obliged to work in parallel economies in service jobs or in family owned shops. However, 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 local peers.

The youth culture of migrant and ethnic minority youth also shows this double position. At the one hand migrant and ethnic minority youth might develop youth cultures which are local and cultural oriented. They can be everyday street cultures or music cultures which can be seen as answers to the everyday life experiences they are facing. At 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 agency for a change of the migrant and ethnic minority youth situation. Youth cultures sometimes may even stress a non-integrative interest. The double nature of social capital therefore seems to be an important question in the study of agency in the transitions of young people from an ethnic minority or immigration background. On the one side, ethnic communities can provide important resources to newcomers and descendants alike, while especially in deprived areas these communities can provide bounding social capital that hinders social mobility.

Migrant and ethnic minority youth are at the one hand on the road into late modern society, at the other hand they are also at the edge of society. The key policy demand for securing social integration is the existence of citizenship rights for ethnic minority youth. However this often is not enough. Sometimes differentiated rights or special interventions are necessary.

With the globalised mobility all over Europe this differentiated policy perspective becomes most important. It might be necessary to differentiate policies according to different migrant and ethnic minority youth in relation to the possibilities for supporting choices of engaging in late modern individualisation and social integration.

The agency perspective of the UP2YOUTH project reveals that in many countries research approaches prevail which concentrate on individual and social factors of educational and labour market disadvantage of minority groups while the subjective perspective of the young people themselves remains under-researched.

## Research Flashlights

### Unicef releases study on well-being of children

The UNICEF Innocenti Research institute has released a study on the well-being of children and youth in 21 industrialised countries. The report shows that among all of the 21 OECD countries there are improvements to be made and that no single OECD country leads in all six of the areas addressed; material well-being, health and safety, education, peer and family relationships, behaviours and risks, and young people's own subjective sense of well-being. See also [http://www.unicef.org/media/media\\_38299.html](http://www.unicef.org/media/media_38299.html)

### Policies on integration and diversity in the OSCE

The OSCE has commissioned a study with The Migration Policy Group to compare the integration policies of Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. The report on this study is available from <http://www.migpolgroup.com/documents/3588.html>

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Layout: <http://www.diekavallerie.de>

### Experts invited by the thematic group on ethnic minority:

**Josetxo Errea** – UGT, Navarra (ES); **Godelieve Meersschaert** - Initiative Moinho da Juventude Lisbon (PT); **Chester Morrison** - Youth Services, City of Liverpool (UK); **Beata Olahova** - Roma Education Fund, Vienna (A); **Christoph Reinprecht** - Institute of Sociology, University of Vienna (A); **Anthony Ansell-Henry** - Youth career service, City of Copenhagen (DK); **Susanne Zander** - Ministry of Education, Stockholm (S)