David Cairns (Ed.)

Youth on the Move

European Youth and Geographical Mobility

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Beiträge zur Regional- und Migrationsforschung

edited by
Thomas Geisen

Migration processes are closely related to prevailing conditions in the regional contexts in which migration occurs. The relationship between migration and region is a complex one, involving the reasons, motivations, forms and effects of migration, entwined with the conditions of regional mobility. The series "Beiträge zur Regional- und Migrationsforschung" examines this relationship between mobility and regional contexts. The contributions to the series investigate the complexity of regional conditions and their effects on the development of mobility; analyse different forms of migration; and discuss the contexts and outcomes of migration processes. The series aims to highlight the relevance of migration processes to regional development and the connections between them.

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VS VERLAG

Contents

European Youth and Geographical Mobility
An Introduction

David Cairns

This aim of this book is explore important aspects of geographical mobility among contemporary European youth. The contributors discuss a number of significant issues, including migration in work and study, and consider the meaning of various forms of mobility, for example, short-term sojourns and long-term stays abroad, voyages relating to finding employment and moves between different European member states.

The opening chapter by Thomas Geisen explores the issues of belonging, cultural repositioning and social mobility for young migrants. This includes consideration of issues such as power relationships, inequality and the challenge of growing-up as members of a minority group. Conflicting expectations derived from cultural inheritance and the perceived need for assimilation from the majority culture can place migrant youth in a difficult situation, wherein they must balance demands from their families with those from their host country.

This discussion is followed by a chapter from Inês Pessoa on the situation facing "Cosmopolitan" youth, focusing upon the main identity consequences engendered by living in Macao for a number of young Portuguese migrants. The key research question here concerns the contribution of this particular transnational experience to creating what is termed by the author a "cosmopolitan disposition", with a willingness to re-migrate as one of its most visible signs.

The next two chapters concentrate upon different theoretical dimensions impacting upon youth mobility in particular national contexts. Katarzyna Growiec explores the theme of social capital and migration in Poland. She argues that there is a relationship between social capital, in the form of "social networks" and resources accessible through them, and migration. Based on analysis of cross-sectional data from the Polish General Social Survey 2002 and Social Diagnosis 2005-2007, this chapter illustrates the diverse impacts made by two different forms of social capital: how relationships with non-kin members of social networks (bridging social capital) help push young people to consider

migrating while relationships with kin members (bonding social capital) pull individuals back towards staying in their country of origin.

Marion Hauvette explores the relationship between short-term intra-European migration to Ireland and a sense of belonging to Europe. Her outcomes demonstrate that European identity among the young people she has surveyed is not learnt through socialisation but is rather realised through the switch of perspective entailed by living in another country. An additional aim of this study is to identify key characteristics of the European migratory elite: the "Enlightened Europeans" who claim a strong European identity, enabling them to adapt and feel at home wherever they happen to be in the continent.

Continuing the theme of exploring student migrations, David Cairns and Jim Smyth discuss the results of recent research into youth mobility orientations conducted in both Portugal and Northern Ireland. What is revealed is that only a minority of Portuguese respondents are considering trans-national mobility, but over half of those surveyed in Northern Ireland imagine themselves living abroad at some point in the future. Furthermore, family and community ties take precedence over economic pragmatism in migration decision-making.

Annette Haas and Andreas Damelang discuss the transition of young migrants into local labour markets after completing apprenticeships in Germany, focusing upon the question of cultural diversity. Analysis of the graduation cohort of the year 2000 reveals that Turkish apprentices and young people from non EU-15 migrant backgrounds have a significantly lower probability of finding employment compared to EU-15 and German apprentices. Other issues highlighted in this chapter include the importance of friends and family ties in job search activities and the significance of regional diversity within Germany.

The remaining contributions to this book focus upon other aspects of Portuguese youth mobility, reflecting the diverse range of migration-related issues which have been studied here. João Queirós explores reasons why the country has in the last few years witnessed a new wave of Portuguese migration, a consequence of the country's relative economic stagnation, alongside growing unemployment, with decline most pronounced in the Northwest. Rather than resort to increasing their educational capital, low skilled and unqualified youth in this region prefer to migrate, a tactic which has provided a safety valve for the Portuguese workforce in the past. However the rise of post-industrial working conditions across Europe, including short-term contracts and low wages, mean that these new migrants often meet with limited economic success, thus serving to deepen their social and economic marginalisation.

Meanwhile, in respect to university educated youth, in the past two decades the Portuguese government has invested heavily in the training of Portuguese researchers outside their country of origin. Ana Delicado assesses this situation,

noting that while for many this has entailed a temporary experience of living abroad followed by return, for others, such a move represents the first step in a more permanent migration process.

Finally, Nina Clara Tiesler and David Cairns explore the lives of young Muslims in Portugal. This discussion adopts the original perspective of exploring everyday issues such as educational and occupational experiences rather than exceptional matters relating to issues of security, religious extremism or violence. Data gathered from a sample of young Muslims in the city of Lisbon is juxtaposed with data taken from a further group of Lisbon youth drawn from a broad range of social backgrounds. The results reveal a picture of Muslim youth concerned with their everyday educational experiences and career expectations to a similar extent as their non-Muslim counterparts.

While seemingly eclectic, from this brief introduction we can already see that there are a number of commonalities shared by these diverse contributions: the significance of national and trans-national identities in youth mobility; the salience of family and peer networks in mediating migratory movements; and the impact of broader factors upon mobility patterns, including regional and national economic performance. Added to this mix are the implications of the actual and anticipated practice of youth mobility for national and European youth policies. The contributions within this volume should however be primarily viewed as initial explorations into these various youth mobility themes rather than definitive statements by the authors, many of whom are only at the beginning of what will prove to be long, fruitful and, more than likely, trans-national academic careers.

Acknowledgements

New Perspectives on Youth and Migration
Belonging, Cultural Repositioning and Social Mobility

Thomas Geisen

1   Introduction

Although migration has the potential to become a biographical resource in the transition to adulthood, migrant youth have been almost completely ignored in migration studies or only noticed in their role as the offspring of their parents. However, when not seen as a problem, young people can be a focus for migration research (Geisen 2007a), a development which forms part of the on-going progress being made within the field of youth studies (see Cox 2009; Hoerder et al. 2005). This understand of migration as a biographical resource is however not generally the reason why migrant youth interest both public and academic audiences, where the pre-occupation is more with demographic change within societies, the labour market potential of migrants and their perceived educational deficits (Hamburger et al. 2005; see also OECD 2006), thus stimulating the idea of migrant youth as a problem, particularly in underprivileged districts inhabited by large numbers of migrants.

Against such a background, this chapter explores developments in migration research which have contributed to a more refined understanding of migrant youth. Three paradigms are introduced: belonging, cultural repositioning and social mobility, which enable us to move towards a perspective from which migrant youth can be perceived as actively partaking in their own migration processes, despite there being many challenges in respect to their socialisation.

2   Migration as Context and Process

Migration processes are often regarded as the exceptions to the general rule of being sedentary. One reason for this is the absence of migration as an everyday social fact. This is in direct contrast to the ubiquitous attention migrants receive in connection to social problems: poverty, addiction, delinquency, internal secu-

rity, unemployment and political persecution to name but a few of the most prominent issues. As if that was not enough, global prosperity gaps are thematised as the actual causes of migration, while social problem situations and conflicts are the after or side effects. Insufficient cultural bonding, missing integration, an unwillingness to integrate and a tendency to withdrawal into ethnic communities are cited as reasons for the formation of the aforementioned migration specific social problems.

Only in recent discussion has there appeared to be an understanding of migration as a normal or even crucial part of life in modern societies, i.e. the modern society as migration society rather than a society problematised by migration. Unilinear and monocausal theories of migration, for instance (neo) classical economics or dual labour markets (Borjas 1989; Piore 1979; Todaro 1969), are being increasingly replaced by more nuanced theories. Accordingly, migrants can no longer be regarded primarily as the result of divergent social, political or economic relationships, manifest as so-called "push" or "pull" factors; they are now rather agents for whom migration is not only a means of individual biography construction but also collective social creation.

This understanding first emerged in network theory (Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989; Massey 2000), which introduced the idea that migration decisions are created in a social environment rather than out of individual impulses. Family, friends and colleagues, as well as the broader social environment, acquire significance, especially when there is prior migration experience within networks, e.g. a relationship with another migrant living in a target region. Hence, network theory centres on the complexity of decision-making and the significance of social relationships for a migration context. Migrants' own actions, and their social ties, thus matter.

"Transnationalism" and "transculturality" have benn subsequently developed since the 1990s (Faist 2004; Glick-Schiller et al. 1997; Pries 2008, 1997). Here, migration is perceived as an unfolding event, traversing the boundaries of the nation state. As with network theory, migration is a process involving various family members and other acquaintances, which together constitutes a broader form of community, which stretches beyond borders. Migration itself is no longer seen as a unique and completed event but rather something continuous, exemplified by commuting practices which can extend throughout a specific phase of life or lead to a permanent settlement.

Against the background of such theoretical developments, migration can be seen as a "balancing process" (Hoerder 2002) between regions and as a "process of socialization" (Geisen 2005). Initially, it occurs without spatial boundaries, as migration establishes itself across regions and nation states. At the same time, it

represents a temporal delimitation, since migration is no longer regarded as a unique biographical event, but rather as a structural process shaping biographical development in distinct periods of time. Such a concept of migration goes against the grain of popular typologies which systematise migration according to geographical (international and internal), temporal (temporary, short or long-term as well as permanent) and causal attributes (e.g. poverty, work or asylum). In contrast, migration as a process sees mobility as taking place in multiple places and independently, whether it was intended to be so from the start or only put into effect subsequently.

   This view of migration brings mobility into close proximity to trans-national socio-spatial situation. The socialisation of migrants is implicit since they position themselves in terms of their own perspective and the perception of others locally. Regarding local conditions, processes of adaptation to social facts are also in effect, as is the maintaining of social and cultural experiences if they are able to contribute to meeting the social and cultural challenges of migrant life. At the same time, acquired individual and collective abilities and competences represent an important resource; the result of learning processes. Hence, learning in these circumstances means to adapt to new social relations as well as the transfer of socio-cultural abilities and competences acquired biographically.

3   Belonging, Cultural Repositioning and Social Mobility

These three theoretical developments are highly relevant to youth and migration. Since the 1990s, we have seen increasing reference to concepts of belonging, cultural repositioning and social mobility in migration research, with an active interest in the subjective strategies of young migrants making the transition to adulthood. In what follows, these paradigms are discussed in the context of on-going research on migrant youth.

Belonging in the Context of Migration

The social and political claim to integration fundamentally consists of the classification without question of migrants into the national-cultural collective of the majority society. However, the "belonging" cited in much qualitative research on migrant youth explores the "other side" of discourse on such integration. In Schramkowski's (2007) study, belonging figures as a particular problem within the relationship between the social majority and migrants as members of old or new minorities, resting on a double process of attribution. Firstly, abstract demands on integration together with equally abstract, actual or alleged integration

deficits established by the majority society. Therefore, a social process of attribution takes place in social discourse on integration which is not directed at specific individuals but rather at socially and culturally homogenised abstract collectives. Hence, having a discourse on integration represents a social practice in itself within which individuals are attached to certain collectives. Secondly, belonging is regarded as individually precarious, as in this demand for integration an imposition regarding integration is made which contains a request for alienation from the migration culture to be made.

For young migrants, this issue of belonging is of particular biographical relevance, since not only do they have to perform the familial emancipation process, they are also confronted with social forms of devaluation and exclusion which underlie cultural processes of attribution. There is hence a somewhat enforced unambiguousness articulated about the integration imposition: alienation from parents and their cultural traditions or alienation and rejection from society. In the former instance, "integration" into society is made at the price of devaluating one's own previous childhood experience, while in the latter the price is abandoning the development of individual forms of autonomy and independence in society; hence, we can see that it is the integration paradigm itself which makes "belonging" a biographically important subject for migrants in general and young migrants in particular.

Paul Mecheril attributes the legitimacy challenge of multiple belongings to the social demand for "exclusive denominations and pure identities" (2003: 388) regarding the national society. Concrete experiences of belonging, with regard to the generative representation of social practices of belonging, are thus predisposed in two ways: firstly, on concepts of belonging that figure predominantly in the respective interrelation, and secondly, by individual signification as a subjective understanding of belonging (Mecheril 2003: 127). Demands on integration refer to various contexts in which culturally assessed distinctions are realised in the difference between "insiders" and "outsiders." A positioning within the concepts of belonging takes place via experiences through which a specific relation between individual and context arises. The patterns of relationship that are formed hereafter show a dual positioning with regard to facilitating actions and self-concepts. Understandings of belonging are therefore the result of an experience of belonging in heterogeneous contexts, within which they are realised by subjective positionings. With regard to young migrants, an active process of forming subjective belonging is created, which Mecheril describes as "belonging work" (2003: 335).

According to Riegel, the struggle for belonging and the desire for recognition runs through the biographical narration of young migrants like a "goldenthread," with the experience of lacking recognition and segregation "as strang-

ers" within national or ethnic communities the basis of these needs (2004: 352). The creation of transnational "Third Spaces" (Riegel 2004: 353) is of crucial importance, since they offer a possibility of retreat if recognition is refused. Mannitz has found a similar outcome in relation to the unrecognised integration of young migrants, where new social identifications are found in which to suspend "the dilemma of dominant expectations of assimilation" and to "stipulate heterogeneous demands for belonging without self-denial" (Mannitz 2006: 25).

In contrast to the demand for "integration," the concepts of "belonging work" (Mecheril), "struggle for belonging" (Riegel) and "new social identifications" (Mannitz) can serve to illustrate subjective action strategies and achievements, with socialisation actively co-determined by the young migrants. With this connection, necessary processes of adaptation to society as well as actions regarding resistance to devaluation and segregation can be better realised, and young migrants can shape their own life environments and biographical development.

Education, Identity Transformation and Self-Positioning

Badawia (2002) has explored how educationally successful migrants deal with cultural differences, tying-in with the debate on actual or professed cultural conflicts, with culture no longer seen as a hindrance to education. Important here is the role of the bicultural biographical point of origin as this becomes the source and object of subjective processes of identity creation, leading to distinct aspirations of identity, and acts as a "third chair" for independence and autonomy, reaching beyond cultural codes and localisations (Badawia 2002: 308). Meanwhile, Hummrich (2002) considers internal and external factors in the biographical transformation processes of young women. In this context, the notion of generation becomes important, since specific generational attributes can mediate possibilities of processing experiences.

Using the example of migrants who have been educationally successful, it can be demonstrated that they are able to succeed in realising forms of identity transformation and self-positioning via educational processes. In doing so, distinct structures can be developed in order to exploit and extend possibilities of action. In this process, the pursuit of independence and autonomy is applied to the distinct familial context as well as to a society characterised by social inequality. Identity establishment, education and coping with the transition to adulthood are crucial categories in this process, which define a migrant's process of growing up in a modern society, shaped by the ability to develop and realise their own distinct goals.

Social Inequality and Power

An important issue for young people with a history of migration in their family is the question of cultural differences in biographical development. Juhasz and Mey move away from culture and towards societal structure in explaining social inequality and the "interplay between a logic of inequality that is conditioned by capital and one that is conditioned by figuration" in biographies, along with an analysis of individual patterns of perception and acting which can shape the social positioning of an individual (2003: 297). Included in this discussion is the parental orientation towards return, which can become an emotional burden in the family or lead to a provisional life in the host country. Due to this initial position, substantial obstacles impede social advancement, such as refused access to higher positions and the stigmatisation of relatives of outsider groups, expressed as refused recognition.

The idea that migrant youth or young people from families with migration histories grow-up in a social space pervaded by plurality and unequal power relations is a common feature of theoretical approaches developed out of recent qualitative research. The studies discussed here hence disengage themselves from many of the simplistic and homogenising assumptions inherent in migration research. The various cultural reference points that affect the lives of young migrants are still biographically relevant factors. Ethnic identifications, while by no means homogenous, and orientations towards respective communities play a crucial role, but this community is not identical with the neighbourhood someone is living in (Treibel 2003: 194).

Beyond this, ethnic identifications do not necessarily represent a relapse into traditional patterns of action. Portes and Rumbaut refer to embracing parents' original identities less as a sign of continuing loyalty to the "home" country but more of a reaction to hostile conditions in the host society (2001: 284). Apitzsch has developed a theoretical-conceptual solution to understanding the connection between culture and structure, describing processes of cultural reorientation and self-positioning as a "creation of tradition," wherein "Essentializing tendencies of 'cultures of origin' are criticized strongly" (1999: 19). For young people from migration backgrounds, the development of tradition presupposes the implementation and adoption of existing cultural significations, as they are initially acquired in the family and subsequently in expanding extra-familial contexts. Only on this basis can human proto-trust in community and society be developed, a process which takes place in the earliest years of one's life. This then becomes the necessary prerequisite for overcoming ethnocentric limitations acquired throughout biographical development. The limitation is based on the

fact that in the early stages of development, practically all children come into contact with a limited spectrum of cultural experiences and practices.

4   Young Migrants' Transitions to Adulthood

Culture and structure apply in specific ways to young migrants' transitions to adulthood. In modern societies, this period is biographically important as young people have to perform processes of physical and social maturity in order to form an attachment to society, as well as realise the possibilities of individualisation (King and Müller 2000: 16). Hence, the notion of the individual as autonomous and self-confident, and as an independent and free personality, constitutes the crucial social mode to be performed in this transition. This involves the development of individual abilities in order to be able to detach from the cultural orientations acquired in the family as well as contributing to cultural change in society during the orientation period. However, the development of this ability to change involves an ability to preserve culture as well (Erdheim 1992: 296).

Reaching adulthood in a migration context involves a multiple challenge for young people: dissociation from parental and socio-cultural heritage and self-positioning in two distinct socio-cultural contexts, namely the aforementioned parental culture and the "new" culture of the country of residence. Thus, the dynamics of social place also matter (Erdheim 1992: 315f.). This includes integrating the effects of existing and changing relationships of power, realised in manifold and complex figurations of "insiders and outsiders" (Elias and Scotson 1993).

For young migrants, it is not the question of belonging that is problematic per se, since humans are social beings born into a heterogeneous network of relationships and belongings, but rather it is the implications of their social, cultural and political relationships, i.e. the support various groups provide, along with the position the individual is accorded in their networks, which matters. For this reason the primary focus lies in distributing and obtaining power within social figurations. The question of belonging becomes problematic when authority leads to existing social groups, endowed with different forms of power, setting into force cultural communities. The decision over belonging is therefore not only regarded as a question of the social distribution of resources, it also leads to social and cultural limitation of individual-biographical and community potential. In seeking recognition young migrants do not fight for this in a simple sense. Rather they have to

> [...] become independent from the recognition of others in the process of individuation. Individuation is achieved to the degree to which adolescents are able to sustain it, to enter into a vacuum of recognition right away, to bear feelings of pain, solitude, and loss, and to reverse these experiences into something positive (King 2004: 55).

This connection proves to be of special relevance, as these young people are not looking for "simple" recognition in a society in which they are marginalised. It is not the "struggle for recognition" (Honneth 1994) that constitutes their centre but rather looking for respect (Sennett 2004), based on self-respect and recognition.

While recognition by others is based on performance, self-respect is grounded in personality. Therefore, the need for "respect" is about more than recognition. It is about being accepted by others without questions having to be asked. Recognition is also associated with processes of authority, whereas respect refers to the other by recognising and preserving a reciprocal need. With young migrants, this is not only about being accepted by others, but also about self-respect in a society which turns migrants into outsiders; people who are not noticed or seen as worthwhile (Sennett 2004). In the transition to adulthood, self-respect and respect are crucial but at the same time scarce resources. Youth development is however highly dependent upon success in acquiring them. Efforts in this context take place on different levels, for instance in the family, the labour market or among peers, and sometimes in highly contradictory ways orientated on socially accepted performance principles or sub-cultural values.

The characterisation of youth as a space of possibilities refers not only to various possibilities of success but also failure. Distinct differences in the duration of transitions to adulthood are also pertinent, as are gender-specific differences. A short transition may happen for young women not only because of an educational exit but also early maternity. According to King and Müller, there are also problematic youth life courses based on "overload and heteronomy" which in turn are the result of "unreasonable demands on identity [...] as they are connected with conventional gender stereotypes, if, for example, respective peer group ideals are forced on male and female adolescents, in order to be granted recognition […], or in general: via the gender specific distribution of biographic opportunities and risks' (King and Müller 2000: 19).

The references made above to the possibility of a failure to reach adulthood reveal that the structure of opportunities during this time cannot be reduced to simple labels, such as "lower class" or "foreigner," but rather via the manner according to which youth development is rated individually (King 2004: 96). This does not imply, however, that specific cases cannot be focused upon in terms of their characteristic features. Empirically traceable common features in the life courses of young migrants are certainly evident, since migrant youth, like

unemployed young people, have to struggle with a lack of social recognition or disadvantageous social conditions (King 2004: 96). For each individual migrant this means that a possibility is created to alter and re-create belongings and patterns of action acquired in the course of biographical development. The developmental challenge consists of balancing bonding processes from parents and familial cultural traditions and socio-cultural self-positioning in society.

5   Conclusion and Implications

In this chapter, alterations in the perception of and perspectives on young migrants have been discussed, initially on the basis of the developments in migration theory, namely a much needed move away from a unilinear and monocausal understanding of migration towards a plural perspective centred on the protagonist, with migration increasingly seen as part of "socialization processes" (Geisen) and "balancing processes" (Hoerder). In consequence, migrant youth are no longer considered to be dependent upon adult migrants but are independent participants who develop new perspectives out of their given social conditions and try to implement them. This active attitude is thematised in research with the help of concepts of belonging, cultural re-positioning and social mobility.

The subject matter of belonging is of particular biographical relevance, as migrant youth not only have to perform a familial debonding process but also confront social forms of devaluation and segregation, whose basis is formed by cultural processes of attribution. Besides the cultural aspects materialised in self and external attributions, aspects of education, social inequality and relations to power and authority need to be considered in order to be able to understand forms and possibilities of actions. Beyond this, the understanding of migrant youth biographical actions is essentially dependent on whether or not and to what extent researchers are able to adopt a differentiated perspective that centres on the adolescent participants. Hence, researcher conflict with personal social and cultural limitations becomes a methodological prerequisite.

Following the discussion on "belonging work" (Mecheril), the "struggle for belonging" (Riegel) and "new social identifications" (Mannitz), questions were asked in regard to peculiarities during the transition to adulthood for young migrants. This is a space of possibilities (King), in which biographically relevant processes of education and development take place, indicating and initialising a generative turnover in equal measure. This implies, for young migrants, that belongings and patterns of action acquired in the present course of their biographical development are altered and re-created. Thus, they are confronted with

a double challenge: to disassociate themselves from their parents and their socio-cultural heritage and to perform a self-positioning in two different socio-cultural contexts, the culture of their parents and of the country of residence. In doing so, they are concerned with gaining self-respect and using the experience of respect as a basis and prerequisite for successful individual biographical development.

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"Cosmopolitan" Portuguese Youth
The World as Home after the Macao Migratory Experience[1]

Inês Pessoa

1   Introduction

In the last two decades of the twentieth century Macao played host to substantial numbers of young people from Portugal whose parents were employed in the territory's public and private sectors, typically in intermediate or senior positions: lawyers, engineers, economists, biologists, teachers, journalists, doctors, etc. These migratory movements were institutionally supported, in some cases by the Portuguese and Macao Governments, in others by the private organisations with whom the workers were going to be employed. This workforce also enjoyed additional status as despite being a Chinese territory at the time, Macao was under Portuguese Administration until its "hand over" to China in 1999.[2]

This chapter focuses upon the main identity consequences engendered by life in Macao for these "Portuguese" young people, with a key research question concerning the contribution of such a trans-national migratory experience to the formation of what could conceivably be termed a "cosmopolitan disposition" (or more accurately a disposition which is "cosmopolitanised" to a greater or lesser degree), with the will to re-migrate as one of its most visible signs.

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[2]   While not the main focus of attention in this discussion, the status of Macao is particularly interesting. Since the first arrival of Portuguese settlers in the territory during the sixteenth century, the political and judicial status of Macao has varied according to changing historical and political contexts, as well as the prevailing character of the relationship between Chinese and Portuguese authorities. Macao has henceforth had an ambiguous status, with several designations, ranging from "city" (1826) to "dominion" (1831) and "overseas province" (1836) to "colony" (the official expression since 1910), then "province" again (1951), and the provisory condition of "territory" in 1976 (Maltez 1998: 208).

2   Methodology

This article is part of a wider qualitative investigation into the lives of certain Portuguese young people who lived in Macao for three years or more. The discussion which follows is based on in-depth interviews conducted with twelve Portuguese young people - six male and six female - aged between 15 and 34 years old,[3] the older cases providing an insight into life in Macao at the beginning of the eighties, when the arrival of qualified Portuguese workers in the territory started to become significant in terms of numbers.[4]

   With the exception of one interviewee, who was divorced with one daughter, all respondents were single. They all lived in the Greater Lisbon area of Portugal and most had attained a high level of academic achievement: complete or incomplete university education in areas such as Management, Anthropology, Design/Painting, Fashion Design, Social Communication, Law, Architecture and Agronomic Engineering. Considering the education levels of these interviewees and the social profile of their parents (also academically qualified and with professional and socio-economic status) together with indicators of living conditions observed in the course of the research, e.g. consumption patterns, we can deduce that these interviewees were typically middle and upper middle class. The first interviews were conducted in 1999/2000, with further research developed since 2005/2006.

   The initial interviewees were sourced from different Portuguese networks of people who had lived in the territory, from whom further contacts were made via a process of "snowball" sampling. This procedure provided additional information to complement and validate the previous interviews and widened the opportunity to analyse the social dimensions of these young people's lives. These

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[3]   This study was not intended to be statistically representative but rather followed a principle of "thematic saturation", with inquiry ending when specific themes were exhausted or a further story added little or nothing to those previous (Bertaux 1993a: 27; 1993b: 156-159).

[4]   Concerning the number of Portuguese in the territory, there are references to between 500 and 900 inhabitants in 1563/64 (Amaro 1988: 25 and 1997: 19; Oliveira 1998: 50; Cónim and Teixeira 1998: 90). In 1625 there were nearly 800 individuals from Portugal in a total population of 10,000. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Portuguese settlers in Macao were usually men who arrived alone: only at the end of the nineteenth century did women start to accompany their husbands while undertaking their commissioned services, which lasted between six and ten years (Amaro 1988: 9, 37; 1997: 34-36; Maltez 1998: 213). During the twentieth century, the number of Portuguese migrants in Macao was more residual: for instance, in 1910 there is reference to 1,030 out of 74,866 inhabitants; in 1960, 2,258 out of 169,299; in 1981, 1,461 out of 241,729; in 1991, 3,625 out of 355,693; and in 1996, 3,852 out of 414,128 (see Cónim and Teixeira 1998). However it is probable that these official statistics underestimate real numbers as many "Portuguese" were born in the ex-colonies and included in the imprecise category of "others", which does not specify country of origin.

interviews were further complemented with other sources of information, including analysis of biographical materials (letters, diaries, photos, videos and other symbolic elements including clothes and domestic aesthetics), interviews with the parents of these young people, official documents and direct observation in Macao during a period of one month.

3   The Main Consequences of Living in Macao for Portuguese Youth

After the end of the Macao migratory cycle, these young people returned to Portugal, where the repercussions of their stays manifested themselves in three principal domains: socio-economic; cultural/symbolic; and social identity. Regarding socio-economic status, these young people, or at least their families, experienced upward social mobility as a result of their sojourns in Macao. This was evidenced in financial gains and an improvement in living conditions, together with changes in consumption patterns and lifestyles. While living in Macao, the parents of these young people enjoyed other benefits in the form of perks such as the covering of their housing costs, not having to pay for public utilities and being tax exempt. In the cultural and symbolic domain, the impact of the Macao experience is associated with processes of cultural hybridisation in terms of assimilating knowledge about places, people and cultures as well as the incorporation of "Asian symbols" into language, dress code, gastronomy, domestic aesthetics and other areas such as alternative medicine and popular culture, as a number of those interviewed demonstrated:

> […] during some period of time I felt that I didn't dress like the Portuguese young people, but during my period in Macao […] I wasn't aware that I had even been influenced by the local style […] (Rita).

> I have the superstition of the numbers, in part because of the Chinese people. They really believe in spirits and these things […]. I never travel by plane on the 4th of the month […] in seat number 4 or 24, or any number that ends in a 4 […] I always try to change my seat […] I'm always like this with numbers, I hate it! [...] when I see a car registration number 4444, I think: "Poor guy, he has his life ruined"! But this is not a joke, it is a real superstition, I don't play with the situation, I believe it, I don't know why. […] Numbers 8 and 9 are great, I love having a phone number with several 8's. I became very happy (Madalena).

In respect to social identities, these young people have also experienced a sociospatial identity reconfiguration process in which the cosmopolitan disposition

manifests itself in changes in social practices, consumption patterns and sociability. This latter domain is the main focus for subsequent discussion.

4   Cosmopolitanism

The term "cosmopolitan" (Kosmoupolites) has been previously translated as "citizen of the world" (Turner 2002: 57) or as Kant suggests, "citizen of two worlds - 'cosmos' and 'polis'" (cited in Beck 2002: 18). Cosmopolitan identity has also been associated with specific social categories: a Western or global business elite (Beck 2002: 17), comparable to the "über-citizens" (Kanter's designation), rich in concepts, competence and connections. Nevertheless, the relation between cosmopolitan identity and social class has been discussed in recent works which conclude that there are cosmopolitans outside these classic categories (Skrbis et al. 2004: 119-120).

In a more generic or everyday sense, cosmopolitanism can be defined as representing a "disposition", "orientation", "attitude" or "practice" associated with a "conscious openness to the world and to cultural differences" (Urry 2000: 7-8; Skrbis et al. 2004: 117-127). Besides the variety of conceptions and definitions offered by social theorists regarding being cosmopolitan, there are broader attributes or characteristics commonly ascribed to cosmopolitans concerning their dispositions, practices, repertoires, consumption patterns, outward appearances, values, beliefs and attitudes.

Such cosmopolitanism may involve displaying an attitude of "respect", "openness", "flexibility" and "reflexivity" towards cultural diversity: a conscious desire to surpass one's own culture, to discover different cultural expressions, to make contact with different social and cultural worlds and be influenced by them, as well as a willingness to empathise, engage and build bridges with other people, mainly with those who do not share the same frames of reference (Hannerz 1990: 239; Turner 2002; Urry 2000: 7-8). Directly related to this ability is the possession of heterogeneous tastes: the capacity to incorporate and appreciate a large variety of vocabularies, cultural repertoires, experiences and practices, and a wish to consume a diverse range of cultural goods and symbols, particularly from outside one's home country: this is why cosmopolitans are frequently represented as "cultural omnivores" (see Peterson 2005).

A further attribute concerns having an outlook stretching beyond local life and boundaries and full awareness of being part of a global system, with the inherent social, cultural, economic and political interconnections, potentialities and problems implied therein, allied with a tendency to hold inclusive principles,

values and ideas, and the capacity to reflect upon them (Urry 2000: 9-12).[5] Finally, cosmopolitanism can also involve displaying a predisposition towards being "imaginatively" and "virtually", but also "corporeally", mobile (Urry 2000: 7).

Although it may be possible in theory to be a sedentary cosmopolitan, human movement is regarded both as a potential mechanism to generate a cosmopolitan disposition (in the sense of the medium) and/or as a trace of a cosmopolitan identity (in the sense of the result), which has been recognised as "a key determinant of cosmopolitanism" in several approaches (Skrbis et al. 2004: 120).

5   Cosmopolitan Dispositions and Portuguese Youth

Portuguese youth who have lived in Macao display many cosmopolitan characteristics, most prominently a willingness to explore new social and cultural worlds, the openness to incorporate and be changed by a variety of distinct references. They also want to participate in cultural exchanges and display a desire to engage with the other.

> I'm in love with the Oriental language and culture, [and] because of that I'm taking a course of Mandarin in the Macao Institute and I would like to have time to frequent the Chinese culture lessons. Therefore, at this moment, my attitude is completely different because I have a curiosity that continues growing […] in the time that I lived [in Macao] there was an awakening and now there is a willingness to keep that curiosity and to feed that knowledge (Sofia).

Accounts such as Sofia's (above) help explain why, on return from Macao, these young people were perplexed by Portuguese young people who showed no such curiosity and even a reluctance to engage with the different or the unknown, e.g. new leisure practices and places. Such young people were portrayed by the Macao-inflected youth as profoundly traditional and parochial "youth tribes" (Maffesoli 1988) with conservative preferences.

> […] I felt strange […] my colleagues were not willing to come with me to Bairro Alto [an old and traditional neighbourhood in Lisbon known in the 80's and 90's for its "alternative" night culture]. And they found it strange that I went both to "Chicos" [a nightclub frequented chiefly by those from the upper middle class] and

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[5]   Reflexivity is mentioned as a crucial element in the distinction between "banal", "mundane", "domesticated", "involuntary" or "unreflexive" cosmopolitanism and "authentic" cosmopolitanism, the latter implying reflexivity and a sense of responsibility (Urry 2000: 8; Beck 2002: 28, 35; Skrbis et al. 2004: 116-117).

to Bairro Alto, always with the same smile and having fun […] because they were not able to do it […]. I was much more open to different things, because in Macao the same style was for everybody, everybody used to take advantage of the available things […]. If I know Bairro Alto and enjoy it a lot, why do they not like it? And if I consider it also funny to sometimes go to Chicos to be there with them, why do they not do the same? […] I was much more flexible and perhaps because of this it was possible for me to interact with them, more than their capacity to adapt themselves to my network […]. I can hardly accept people who cannot see both forwards and sideways (Teresa).

Another cosmopolitan trait found among these young people is a singular preparedness to meet different people and recycle friendships. That they have diverse connections and an array of friends spread throughout the world is relevant; they move nonchalantly through different social networks and "youth tribes", their flexibility converted into social and cultural capital. Such youth also display a wide range of interests and eclectic tastes in terms of cultural practices and consumption patterns: dress styles, music preferences, gastronomy (i.e. more enjoyment of "ethnic" food), domestic aesthetics and international travel experiences.

[…] in any house of people that lived in Macao you go to, you have the Chinese cupboard, the Chinese bookcase […]. My parents collect Chinese antiques; we have tons of little pots and Chinese decorative objects, Chinese ornaments (Madalena).

I enjoy a lot going to Chinese restaurants, by the way, yesterday was my mother's birthday and we went to the Chinese restaurant I enjoy most in Portugal. Even in the things I cook I invent a lot but with the Chinese logic: if I have a steak, instead of frying it [alone] I always cut everything in little pieces and I fry everything at the same time, full of mushrooms and other ingredients. For instance, I regularly use spring onions, a thing that Chinese people don't use as they use chives, but then I create apparently Chinese menus with Portuguese ingredients. I frequently cook spaghetti with Soya shoots and mushrooms […] whose taste has nothing to do [with the Chinese one], instead of salt I use a lot of Soya sauce […] but the Chinese fry everything in oil and I use olive-oil […] they don't use olive-oil […] then the result is a Chua min with spaghetti and with Portuguese taste […] (Rita).

To a certain extent, these references are a mixture of East and West, the synergy of which can be understood through some concepts with comparable meanings: "third cultures" (Featherstone 1990), "new ethnicities" (Back 1996), "bricolage" and "syncretism" (Lévi-Strauss and Gilroy and Alund respectively; see Wulff 1995). We can also add the neologisms Weaster/Weasternisation, meaning an intermingling of Western and Eastern elements.

A final attribute to be highlighted relates to the disposition towards spatial mobility commonly ascribed to cosmopolitan profiles. Although several studies on migration interpret the return of migrants to their countries of origin as the end of the migratory cycle, a movement which will presumably not be repeated, in the present context the contrary position can been observed. In other words, the Portuguese young people did not see their return to Portugal as final even though they regarded Portugal as their primary point of reference in terms of language, family, friendships, etc. On the contrary, these young people have a huge desire to depart again, with many doing so more than once. In some sense, the experience of living in Macao has generated a multiplier effect of new flows, which amplifies their "living spaces" (Courgeau 1980: 17).

> Since my first trip, my first break with Portugal, I think that I would never think of settling in a place forever, or it is very hard for me to think that I'm going to stay in a place forever. It is with some difficulty that I imagine things forever […] (Teresa).

Dispositions and habits incorporated early in favourable and positive conditions can create what could be called a "passion" (Lahire 2005: 22), in this case for mobility. Like the figure of the "pilgrim" referred to by Bauman (in Skrbis et al. 2004: 116), almost all the Portuguese young people interviewed try to "avoid fixity at any cost" and some even seem to suffer from a kind of "place polygamy", in being "married to many places in different worlds and cultures" (Beck 2002: 24).

> Macao gave me a huge disquietude, I can't stand being still, only by thinking that I'm going to spend the rest of my life in Lisbon it gives me a bad thing, I don't want to. I want to know things, I want to travel and I think that after having lived in Macao I have that capacity to live elsewhere in the World, everywhere. [Macao] gave me a huge capacity to adapt, opened the horizons in an incredible way […]. I lived in Barcelona for seven months, I went through Erasmus. I was fed up of being here, because [the migratory experience] gives you a great need to be on the move, if you are a lot of time without moving in the same place you get bored, you don't like it. […] if you go to the other side of the world to make millions of intercontinental trips, you travel, you understand that the world is so big that you don't want to die stupid, you want to see as much as you can, to know the most that you can. As I returned [to Portugal] I thought: "This is ridiculous, I was in the East, I saw things that have nothing to do with my civilization, I have to go to Europe". Then I was in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Italy and more places. I have travelled a lot in Portugal. Then I lived in Barcelona and in Barcelona I went to many places […] I was in Madrid […] and then new adventures will follow (Rita).

Hence, everything is a pretext to leave Portugal for stays of short, medium or long-term duration in Europe or other continents, or even back to Macao. These movements have been incorporated into graduate and post-graduate study trajectories, with most having participated in the Erasmus programme, and later into work trajectories.

While for some of these young people, geographical mobility also represents biographical mobility towards adulthood, even if provisional and reversible, i.e. away from the linear transition model (Pais 2000: 220), for others movement functions as a strategy to prolong their youth with the benefits of being economically supported by their parents. At the same time they have the freedom and autonomy to take advantage of life outside their parents' control. Mobility is also an opportunity for career development, knowledge acquisition, pleasure, adventure and a means to cope with the lack of local opportunities in employment and surpass personal problems in emotional or identity terms.

> If things keep going like they are [with a precarious job] I think that I'm going to go back on the road and travel, and study […] I'm more likely to go to Africa to give lessons or go to Cuba to study (Domingos).

Unlike the first flows between Portugal and Macao, these Portuguese young people undertaking further movements are the protagonists. Moreover, they move without the fear which characterised their first moves towards Southeast China, events which profoundly shook the "ontological security" of some. Although ruptures, losses, vulnerabilities, risks, uncertainties and adaptations are inherent in any migratory process, these Portuguese young people feel comfortable abroad, behaving in a much more open way towards the influence of the guest country. They adapt very easily to their new host societies, showing a conscious and reflexive will to interact with the natives and deal with cultural differences, assimilating some local references, e.g. learning the local language.

> When I did Erasmus a lot of people were afraid of going abroad, they didn't know how they would react with their family, if they would miss their country and I only saw [in it] a new experience, my family and friends would visit me, or then: "Wait a moment!" It was only one year, or one semester and we will be learning and knowing different things, and one of the positive things of having been in Macao was that it had created a little bit of the itchy feet in me (Tomas).

This attitude can be explained largely by some of their cosmopolitan attributes: their identities are punctuated by being uprooted or having multiple roots; the intersection of several belongings, with a huge predisposition towards change and knowing new realities; an intense familiarity with foreign countries; an

openness to be transformed by cultural difference, a strong will to engage with the other, to socialise with new people, and participate in social and cultural exchanges (together with having social and cultural resources such as linguistic skills).

A number of them took the decision to re-emigrate to Macao after the "hand-over" alone, with friends, or with a partner, thus demonstrating increased availability towards and a valuing of the cultural differences of the territory, to interact more deeply with the locals. Some had Chinese young people in their friendship groups, unlike during their first period in Macao, as at that time their integration processes in the host society tended to be communitarian and Luso-centric due to their consciousness of the transitory character of their stays in Macao, linguistic barriers (the majority of Portuguese migrants learnt only a few basic phrases in Cantonese), the ethnic inclusion policy promoted by the Portuguese administration, chiefly in the education system, and the insular and centripetal tendency of the Chinese and Portuguese populations; regarding their Chinese peers, the Portuguese young people used terms such as "very conservative", "impenetrable", "xenophobic" and "sinocentric".

The few Portuguese young people who remained in Portugal after their return from Macao actually revealed in their narratives a strong desire to re-emigrate. They justified their temporary "sedentary state" with financial, educational, professional or familial reasons but kept their disposition towards mobility in mind as an "awake dream" (Lahire 2005: 19).

6   Conclusion: Macao and the Creation and Development of a Cosmopolitan Disposition

From the accounts of the young people interviewed, we can see that the migration experiences of Portuguese youth in Macao, together with other factors, provide favourable conditions for developing attributes commonly linked to cosmopolitanism. This does not mean that all such experiences generate cosmopolitan dispositions or that all such migrants can be considered cosmopolitans but rather that the potential for such a disposition is created via such mobility.

Regarding these aspects, moving to Southeast Asia compelled these Portuguese young people to familiarise themselves with processes of identity de-entailment and re-entailment, which were reproduced when they returned to Portugal (their stays in Macao varied in length between three and fifteen years). In fact, the migratory experience per se tends to lead to migrants weakening or breaking some of their primary commitments, mainly prior friendships, and building new ties in the host society. Individuals are thus obliged to adapt to a

new living context, even when there is no huge cultural contrast between the society of origin and the guest society. It is true that when these Portuguese young people moved to Macao they became part of the Portuguese "community" and benefited from the formal and informal support of their fellow Portuguese. This helped "deaden the 'cultural change' impact" (Portes 1999: 91) and decrease "insecurity costs" associated with migration (Pires 2003: 74). Nevertheless, like other migrants, they had to cope with certain constraints, uncertainties, feelings of loss and emptiness, identity confusion; a huge spatial, social and cultural strangeness, as well as with situations of incommunicability, exclusion and inability to adapt (Sarup 1994: 93-94, 97-98; Muñoz 1992: 63), since the dominant cultural references and patterns in Macao were largely different to their own. Moreover, the long distance from Portugal to Macao - eighteen thousand kilometres - created difficulties in keeping regular contact with roots in social and cultural domains.

Despite the prevalence of Chinese references, Macao represented for these Portuguese young people one possibility of cultural cosmopolitanism, since the territory is known for its cultural diversity in a variety of domains: a population from Portugal, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, India, Africa and other places; and diverse languages, patrimony, gastronomy, religions, practices, values, beliefs and symbols with which these young people have been in direct contact through informal socialisation processes in the public sphere. They also travelled extensively in other areas: almost Thailand, India, Nepal, Philippines and Malaysia, which contributed to widening their primary frames of reference and the amplitude of the world differences. Three further factors are pertinent to this socialisation: firstly, life stage of these young people; secondly, the globalised world they inhabit; thirdly, their backgrounds in terms of their parents' prior mobility, which indicate that behind an individual disposition to be mobile there may have already existed a family pattern of mobility (Jackson 1991: 54).

To sum up, a cosmopolitan disposition can be weak or strong, transitory and ephemeral or durable. It can vary in time, space and according to context. The activeness of a cosmopolitan disposition should be seen as a product of the interaction between the disposition itself (an internal element) and the elements of the context (external elements) that could stimulate or inhibit it. Indeed, the strength and weakness of dispositions depend on the regularity with which they are updated, since "we do not incorporate a durable habit in a few hours", as well as on the forces and counter-forces (internal and external) they find and face, which can create, mobilise and reinforce, or inversely suspend, immobilise and even extinguish them (Lahire 2005: 21-22). As the resilience of a disposition is uncertain (it could last more or less time) and its intensity variable, a longitudinal analysis of these young people's life trajectories is needed to let us appreciate the

persistence and intensity of these cosmopolitan dispositions in the future. In other words, it will help us verify which traces survive in time or become substituted or intermingled with other biographical experiences, migratory ones or otherwise.

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Social Capital and Migration
The Case of Polish Youth

Katarzyna Growiec

1   Introduction

This chapter examines the role of social capital in trans-national mobility, focusing upon migration among contemporary Polish youth. Utilising quantitative analysis, the following discussion explains how different forms of social capital can contribute to inducing or inhibiting a willingness to undertake trans-national mobility, alongside assessment of the impact of prior internal migration experience.

This analysis is indebted to a number of perspectives on migration and social capital developed in prior studies. For instance, Massey et al. (1987) have previously discussed how kin migrant networks act as a source of social capital, while more recently Palloni et al. (2001) have shown how having relatives who have migrated to another country increases the probability of the migration of other family members, with the social networks and connections created and sustained by pioneering relatives facilitating the migration of further kin. Through such a process, kinship networks lower the costs and risks and enhance expected net returns.

While the importance of family networks in migration processes is well-established, there have been fewer studies of the significance of non-kinship networks in trans-national mobility. Family connections may not necessarily be the most important factor in migration decision-making, representing only one strand in a much larger social fabric. It is possible that social networks derived from non-kin relationships may actually have stronger migration-inducement potential than family networks, which can also diminish rather than stimulate a willingness to move abroad. Meanwhile, past internal migration experience can potentially reduce the influence of the family over individuals' present and future migration decision-making (Fischer 1984; Nilsson 2001 and 2003; Erikson 2003).

2   Understanding Bridging Social Capital

Social capital in the present context is understood as a resource embedded in different sets of interpersonal ties which may have a decisive influence upon the way people act. This conceptualisation owes a considerable debt to the pioneering definition of social capital by Bourdieu and Wacquant, as "[…] the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (1992: 119; see also Bourdieu 1986). In respect to linking social capital to actions, Coleman's suggestion that social capital is inevitably related to action is also pertinent: "social capital is created when the relations among persons change the way that facilitate action" (1990: 304). However, of specific relevance to the present context of Polish youth and their migration orientations is the notion of bridging social capital.

Most closely associated with the work of Robert Putnam, this concept is defined in juxtaposition with another resource, namely bonding social capital:

> Of all the dimensions along which forms of social capital vary, perhaps the most important is the distinction between bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive). Some forms of social capital are, by choice or necessity, inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. Other networks are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages (Putnam 2000: 22).

Putman further discusses the actions of bridging social capital in terms of the formation of social ties between people in different socio-economic positions. This form of social capital is considered to be a specific type of "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000: 19), strongly related to "resources embedded in social networks and accessed and used by actors for actions" (Lin 2001: 24). Putnam also captures something of the spirit of adventure associated with bridging actions: "To build bridging social capital requires that we transcend our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves" (Putnam 2000: 411), meaning forming effective social networks and utilising the resources generated within relationships with those beyond one's immediate circles of friends and relatives.

In defining bridging social capital, we should however refrain from being overly prescriptive: "bonding and bridging are not 'either-or' categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but 'more or less' dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital" (Putnam 2000: 23). Lin (2001) echoes this position in terms of viewing the various forms of social capi-

tal as homophilous and heterophilous interactions. It is however apparent that "heterophilous" (bridging) interactions tend to be qualitatively different to "homophilous" (bonding) interactions.

In respect to appreciating the impact of individuals' utilisations of bridging social capital, a variety of theoretical investigations have shown this resource to have multiple beneficial societal outcomes, whereas "Bonding social capital […] is particularly likely to have illiberal effects" (Putnam 2000: 358). Bridging social capital has also been associated with tolerance, gender and racial equality and civil liberties; it also strengthens the functioning of democracy by reducing corruption (Putnam et al. 1993; Putnam 2000). Putnam is not alone in positing the idea of bridging social capital as a positive resource. According to Beugelsdijk and Smulders:

> Bonding social capital has negative effects for society as a whole, but may have positive effects for the members belonging to this closed social group or network. Bridging social capital, hence, making contacts between different groups or networks is positive. At the micro level this is related to Burt's theory of structural holes, where the optimal position for an individual is between several groups (2003: 5).

These authors also argue that bridging social capital is empirically good for economic growth, while attaching too much importance to family ties (or other homogenous groups of people) can have a negative impact; they also find corruption to be negatively correlated with possession of bridging social capital.

Hurlbert, Haines and Beggs' (2000) research on the structure and content of an individual's network and its activation in the context of seeking social support in a non-routine situation (Hurricane Andrew) further highlights how networks with gender, race and age diversity can provide more support than networks lacking such diversity, while in relation to employment Granovetter (1973) has previously discovered that weak ties (between dissimilar people) facilitate job attainment better than strong ties (between similar people). However, other research findings are incongruent with this position (see, for example, Bian 1997), although Erickson's (1996; 2003; 2004) research on variety of acquaintances has shown that "people with more diversified general networks were less depressed and were better informed about health" (Erickson 2003). Moreover, Erickson argues that sense of control over one's life grows proportionately with broadening diversity of acquaintances.

3   Hypotheses and Data

The basic hypotheses behind this analysis are, firstly, that social networks with a broad range of non-kin individuals have a migration inducing effect upon Polish youth, and secondly, social networks consisting of ties to large numbers of family members reduce the willingness to undertake international migration, with an additional line of enquiry regarding the impact of past mobility experience as a negative factor in migration.

In this exploration, panel data from Social Diagnosis, a nationwide four wave (2000, 2003, 2005 and 2007) representative study of Poles has been analysed, focusing upon data pertaining to those aged between 18 and 35 years old in the 2007 wave. As dependant variables, both willingness to undertake international migration and prior experience of internal migration have been utilised. In respect to the former, the question, "Do you consider emigrating abroad in order to work there?" was employed. Responses were dichotomised according to yes or no answers, controlling for the following variables: sex, age, size of town of residence, income, education level, martial status and feeling depressed. As indices of social capital (and subsequent independent variables), responses made to the following three questions in Social Diagnosis (2007) were used:

▪   How many kin members did you socialise with on a regular basis during the previous year?
▪   How many friends did you socialise with on a regular basis during the previous year?
▪   How many acquaintances did you socialise with on a regular basis during the previous year?

The answers to these key questions consisted of the numbers of kin/friends/acquaintances indicated by respondents. Due to an absence of available data pertaining to the international contacts of the young people in question, it is not possible to control for the presence of trans-national friendship ties within individuals' social networks. Such networks are hence only discussed in terms of the number of local kin, friends and acquaintances socialised with in the past year.

In respect to the analysis of internal migration and its impact upon social networks, data from the Polish General Social Survey (2002), which formed part of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), has been employed. This data provided valuable information on the prior experiences of internal migration (the independent variable in this context) among Polish young people, with responses derived from the question: "Did you reside in the same town when you

were 14 or have you changed your place of residence since that time?" with the following two possible answers: "I reside in the same town"/"I reside in a different town".

As an indicator of social capital, weighted variables measuring the frequency of socialising with close and extended kin members (bonding social capital) and how many friends from different backgrounds (work, hobbies and local neighbourhood) respondents possessed (bridging social capital) were used. These social capital indicators in this part of the analyses formed the dependent variable.

4   Results

International Migration and Social Capital

Before proceeding to the main analysis involving exploration of the aforementioned hypotheses, it is worth considering the impact made by prior experiences of international migration on Polish youth.

Figure 1:   Experience of International Migration and Sociability with Family, Friends and Acquaintances
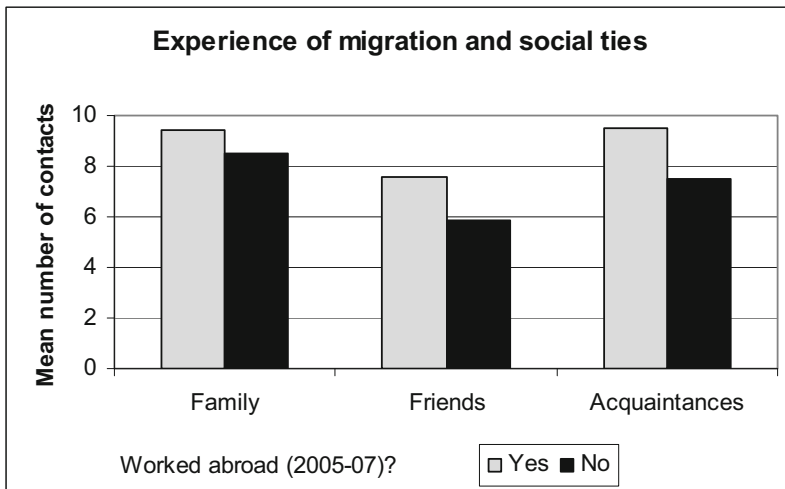
Responses to the question "Did you work abroad between 2005-2007?" taken from Social Diagnosis (2007) have been explored in relation to the mean number

of kin, friends and acquaintances individuals had frequent contact with during the previous year (Figure 1).

As we can see from this simple juxtaposition, those who had worked abroad were generally more sociable, in having more friends (p=0.00, F=13.01) and more acquaintances (p=0.00, F=7.15) compared to those who had not undertaken such experiences, although differences in terms of sociability with kin between these two groups were not significant. These outcomes suggest however that the make-up of social networks differs between recent migrants and those who have stayed at home.

Discriminant analysis enables us to further explore the issue of migration and the impact of social networks amongst the young Poles surveyed in Social Diagnosis (2007): firstly in respect to the relationship between international migration intentions as dependent variable and the size and constitution of these young people's social networks (with kin/friends/acquaintances) as independent variable.

Table 1: Results of Discriminant Analysis (1)

(Wilk's Lambda 0.954, Chi-square 65.285, Sign. p=.000)	
Willingness to undertake international migration (Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients)	
Social ties with acquaintances	.269
Social ties with friends	.210
Social ties with kin	-.434
Age	-.830
N=1385	

Discriminant Analysis (1) indicates that social ties with non-kin members (friends and acquaintances) are significant in terms of there being an apparent inducing push factor towards a willingness to undertake international migration, while conversely, social ties with kin are a pull factor against migration. Respondents aged 18-35 years old are also more eager to migrate compared to individuals from other age groups.

To control for other variables, such as sex and marital status, a further discriminant analysis including sex and being single has also been conducted (Table 2).

Table 2: Results of Discriminant Analysis (2)

(Wilk's Lambda 0.928, Chi-square 48.653, Sign. p=.000)	
Willingness to undertake international migration (Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients)	
Social ties with acquaintances	.240
Social ties with friends	.274
Social ties with kin	-.459
Age	-.524
Sex[1]	-.443
Marital status: single	.173
N=661	

From discriminant analysis (2) we can see the effects of social capital remain, although the impact of age is weakened. Males are also revealed as more willing to migrate than females, likewise those who are single. Bearing in mind these outcomes, the list of independent variables has been further extended to include income, years spent in education, different martial status, size of town of residence and feeling depressed.

The results of discriminant analysis (3) show that having controlled for all categories of marital status, income, education, size of town of residence and feeling depressed, the facilitating effect of "social ties with acquaintances" on the willingness to migrate is weakened, but the positive effect of "social ties with friends" and negative effect of "social ties with kin" remain. A surprising result is that "income" has almost no impact on willingness to migrate. However, "feeling depressed",[2] living in a small town and having spent a greater number of years in education do matter.

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[1] 1 (male) and 2 (female).

[2] This level of satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, was derived from the questions: "How would you describe your life on the scale from 'wonderful' to 'miserable'?", with possible answers being "wonderful"/"normal"/"boring"/ "miserable", and "How much evil have you done to other people?", with answers on a scale of 1 to 7.

Table 3: Results of Discriminant Analysis (3)

(Wilk's Lambda 0.900, Chi-square 58.263, Sign. p=.000)	
Willingness to undertake international migration (Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients)	
Social ties with acquaintances	.077
Social ties with friends	.225
Social ties with kin	-.320
Age	-.522
Sex	-.428
Marital status: single	.108
Marital status: divorced	.137
Marital status: widower	.102
Income	.019
Years of education	.195
Size of town of residence[3]	-.300
Feeling depressed	.281
N=566	

A welcome side effect of these discriminant analyses is the creation of a portrait of the potential Polish international migrant. In the majority of cases, this person is a young male who has a lot of friendship ties but few contacts with kin members. He, or less often she, is usually well-educated in terms of duration of schooling, single, divorced or a widow(er). He or she also lives in a small or medium sized town and, importantly, feels strongly dissatisfied with their life, even miserable.

Internal Migration and Social Capital

Social capital may not only have an impact on international migration orientations (Palloni et al. 2001) but also be related to internal migration (Nilsson 2001; 2003). In the context of the former, social capital is often viewed in terms of its support/obstacle function; in relation to the latter, it is more of a dependent variable impacting upon individuals' social networks.

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[3]   Ranging from 1 (countryside) to 6 (city with more than 500,000 citizens).

Table 4: Results of Regression Analysis (1)

Adjusted R2=.298, F(4, 204)=23,071; p=0.000
Dependent variable: <u>social contacts with kin</u>

	BETA coefficient	B	Significance
Internal migration	-0.357	-1.182	0.000
Age	-0.271	-0.115	0.000
Size of the town of residence	-0.279	-0.143	0.000
Sex	-0.071	-0.199	0.223
N=209			

Table 5: Results of Regression Analysis (2)

Adjusted R2=.153, F(4, 204)=10,378; p=0.000
Dependent variable: <u>number of friends from different backgrounds</u>

	BETA coefficient	B	Significance
Internal migration	-0.065	-0.230	0.323
Age	0.256	0.117	0.000
Size of the town of residence	-0.281	-0.155	0.000
Sex	0.115	0.346	0.073
N=209			

In the proceeding two regression analyses, the impact of internal migration in the recent past is examined in respect to respondents' social networks. Regression Analysis (1) shows that internal migration makes social contacts with kin of weaker importance, even controlling for age, size of town of residence and sex. Regression Analysis (2) meanwhile explores number of friends from different backgrounds (work, hobbies, local neighbourhood, etc.) as the dependent variable, finding that there is no significant relationship between the quantity of such ties and internal migration.

It is hard to explain precisely why internal migration makes ties with kin weaker while not having a significant effect on friendship ties when it might be reasonable to expect a change in place of residence to reduce the number of friendships an individual enjoys. There are a number of possible explanations: internal migration may provide a good opportunity to loosen non-voluntary social ties, such as social ties with kin, while keeping those which are voluntarily chosen; such moves can hence be interpreted as an excuse to dispose of un-needed, or even unwanted, family relationships. This explanation is consistent with findings from Nilsson's (2001; 2003) research. There is however another explanation, namely that the number of friends may be more or less the same after undertaking an internal migration but these are not the same people as the

"original friends". Moving towards a conclusion, we can deduce that it may well be the case that friends are replaceable while family are not.

5   Conclusion

The proceeding analysis serves to illustrate the positive effect of non-kin social networks and the negative impact of kin networks upon stimulating a willingness to undertake international migration amongst Polish youth. This outcome lends support to the hypothesis that kin members can serve a supportive but conservative function and are hence likely to work against impulses towards transnational mobility. Such an association is described by Kadushin (2002) as a safety network. In contrast, the presence of friends and acquaintances appears to increase the likelihood of engaging in trans-national mobility. Kadushin (2002) terms such non-kin social groups "efficacy networks", as they fulfil the quest for mastery (Bowlby 1988). From this outcome, we can conclude that for the Polish youth covered in the datasets utilised, in the context of a new and risky situation such as international migration, non-kin networks are more pro innovation and kin-networks are more pro status quo.

In undertaking internal migration, kin ties also suffer the most damage and are potentially weakened, whereas social ties with friends either remain, despite physical distance, or new friendship ties emerge. The data taken from the Social Diagnosis (2007) implies that kin networks (associated with bonding social capital) act as a pull factor against migration and non-kin networks (bridging social capital), a push factor. Combining the results of the analyses of internal and international migration however also leads us to ask further questions, such as why are families against international migration? One possible answer is the need to preserve the family network intact and even to maintain control over the individual. However such speculation is in need of further investigation in order to be proven.

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Temporary Youth Migration and European Identity

Marion Hauvette

1   Introduction

Every European Union citizen has the right to live and work in any EU member state they please. Although Europeans may have been traditionally reluctant to undertake mobility in the past, an increasing number of young Europeans now exercise this right to move via both individual actions and participation in EU-mediated programmes. It may indeed be the case that European youth today have a much greater opportunity, or ability, to be mobile compared to their adult counterparts, being less encumbered with personal or professional responsibilities and perhaps also less attached to their specific places of origins. Widening participating in higher education and increasingly long educational trajectories may also lead to broadening the window of opportunity for travel, particularly in terms of studying abroad. Some young people may also have a desire to postpone their entry into what have become increasingly uncertain labour markets in many European societies via undertaking mobility sojourns, which may provide an opportunity not only to travel but also enhance one's job prospects.

In this chapter, the main focus of discussion is upon temporary youth migrations, defined as medium-length stays in a European state other than country of origin but not intended to be definitive at the moment of departure. Following this definition, temporary migrations include mobility undertaken as part of EU-funded programmes such as Erasmus-Socrates and European voluntary service, alongside individually-driven temporary migrations for work, study or volunteering. In evaluating this form of youth mobility, the core issue is the influence of these stays abroad upon young people's sense of belonging to Europe.

2   Methodology

The original research upon which this discussion is based consisted of a small scale survey of young people from a number of different European countries, all of whom were studying or working in Ireland. A total of 42 young people com-

pleted questionnaires, while six also participated in extended follow-up inter-
views. The age of these respondents ranged from 20 to 36 years, hence "youth"
is understood not so much as an age category but more as a social construct cor-
responding to a particular lifestyle. The sample was also largely composed of
respondents from middle to upper social class backgrounds: young people who
may have more social and economic capital, which may in turn open up more
opportunities to travel. This study makes no claim to be representative of young
people living abroad or the wider European youth population but is rather an
exploratory investigation conducted with a view to opening up new avenues for
future investigation.

3   The Context of Temporary Youth Migration

The migratory experiences considered in this discussion are temporary, intra-
European and voluntary. In studies of migration, such movement is often ig-
nored, with the term "migration" itself often being only associated with more
definitive departures, in particular population flows from Third World countries
to the West. From such a narrow perspective, migrations taking place within the
European Union, i.e. between member states, are effectively rendered invisible, a
state of affairs reflected in the absence of official registration requirement or
effective measurement in official Eurostat figures for intra-European migrants in
the Schengen zone.

       The present study reveals that there are at least some young Europeans
moving between member states. These typically highly educated and well-skilled
young people tend to be mobile for personal or professional reasons and move as
individuals rather than with families or friends. While incidences of young peo-
ple making involuntary migrations do exist in Europe, such movements tend to
be result of regional disadvantage and absences or mismatches of skills and edu-
cational capital (see Queiros in this volume).

       The young people surveyed in the present research context also tend to view
their migration experiences as a benefit to rather than a hardship in their lives,
with this mobility integrated into education and training trajectories. This fact is
reflected in a keyword which recurs in the statements collected from these young
people, namely the verb "to learn": they learn through their studies or work ex-
perience, and in a broader sense, they also acquire and strengthen their linguistic
and cultural capital.

       One ideal-type of "temporary, intra-European and voluntary" migration is
student mobility, which possesses all these characteristics, exemplified in pro-
grammes such as Erasmus-Socrates. For those surveyed, a stay abroad as part of

such a programme is perceived in a highly positive light. Such travel is seen as constructive and part of the process of acquiring an ability to adapt to different environments. This perspective also leads to the creation of a tautology for these young people, i.e. that they travel because they see it as an enjoyable and rewarding life experience and they find life enjoyable and rewarding because they travel. When asked, respondents replied to the question, "Did you enjoy your stay abroad?" with positive comments: their personal travel experience was "exciting" (Aurélie), "funny" (Giovanni) or "fantastic" (Marlies) which made them "grow up" (Carlo) and "learn to live" (Aurélie).

A relative lack of prior experience of living abroad and a frequently limited level of resources does not seem to impinge upon these young people's enjoyment of their sojourns. Neither does a higher level of uncertainty towards the future compared to their peers who stayed behind. This latter finding could be explained by the fact that these travels occur during a relatively early stage of life and settlement being more closely associated with "adulthood" (Alberto) or a "mature age" (Federica). Travelling may in fact be viewed as an effective means of escaping adulthood and the need to look for a job or to have a "break" (Laure L.G., Mia).

4   A Migratory Elite?

In her study of European student travellers, Elizabeth Murphy-Lejeune (2002) coined the expression "migratory elite". This particular minority is regarded as an elite group in Europe both in terms of exclusivity of membership and migration orientations, in being ready to move and open to change environment, language, personal entourage, lifestyle and work experiences (2002: 51). The use of the term "elite" is justified by Murphy-Lejeune as these young Europeans possess a privilege inherited from their parents: "mobility capital" (2002: 51) transmitted by parents to their children during familial socialisation in order to broaden their horizons and taste for travelling.

In respect to how the respondents in the present context fit into such a conceptualisation, we can see that they are European nomads who adapt relatively easily to conditions in different European countries and hence can be said to welcome change. Almost all those surveyed also claimed to have a desire to move and to discover, frequently describing themselves as "open-minded". They perceive Europe as a unified "playground" (Inke), which offers simultaneous difference and similarity: the thrill of being abroad but with a reassuring feeling of belonging to the place they are in.

Factors such as familial background and "mobility capital" may have a bearing upon migration orientations, cited as push factors: "family" and having an internationally-oriented education are the most frequently cited, with 12 of the 42 respondents mentioning such influences. Crossing borders is thus not only presented as a way of learning but also as part of a "normal" lifestyle: "I started travelling when I was born" (Thomas). The interest in others and in foreign places may therefore at least in part be the result of the positive image of difference engendered via family socialisation.

While only three respondents mentioned not having ever travelled with their families, this does not mean that familial mobility capital is a necessary prerequisite for migration. A second, more individual explanation was proffered by respondents, which related to their own personalities, specifically that they see themselves as "curious" (13 occurrences), "open-minded" and "sociable", animated by a "thirst" for travel that can only be "satisfied by those trips" (Bénédicte), which allows the ideal traveller to overcome "laziness and fear" (Alberto). Furthermore, following Murphy-Lejeune, the position of "the stranger" confronted with difference is viewed as an enjoyable one: Inke, a German interviewee, said that she came to Ireland because to her it was a "very inter-cultural place" where she could "meet people from all over the world", and she "wanted to enjoy [her]self" there as she likes "learning from other people, from their experiences, and the stories they have to tell". Marine, originally from France, described a similar interest: "I like the fact of being in the stranger's position, I mean […] not rejected but different […] the more different I am, the more I still have to discover".

Some other respondents, particularly those from more rural areas, seemed to feel that they "needed" to leave their place of origin and go abroad in a manner equivalent to how previous generations had left to go live in cities. Andrea B. declared in his interview that his pre-mobility situation was "too monotonous" and that he was "trapped in the same friendships, in the same places". This lexical field of imprisonment was brought up several times: he later says he "felt like in a cage" when he came back to his village in Italy after a year spent in Spain, going back to a life "too small" for him, where "nothing had changed, it was unexciting, there was no stimuli".

5   The Benefits of Migration

The need to be elsewhere these young Europeans feel is motivated not only by a desire to escape but also by anticipated benefits from stays abroad. In regard to these benefits, along with linguistic skills, two further categories emerged from

the narratives: firstly, the positive effects of daily confrontation with difference at the level of knowledge, and secondly, personality enhancement. Being abroad in an unfamiliar environment leads migrants to confront an increased variety of places, people, lifestyles and cultures. These young Europeans attested to the fact that they learnt how to deal with difference, a process involving several steps: acknowledging differences, accepting them, understanding them, reflecting on one's own habits and becoming more tolerant and open-minded through learning how to adopt different points of view.

Respondents describe for themselves the benefits of their stays abroad. Five mention facing and accepting differences: the keys to a successful adaptation being refusing denial (Anne M.) and welcoming variety as a potential source of enrichment. Inke also states that she is "not so judgmental anymore". Then one has to "understand the way of thinking of others" (Stephanie D.), quite a challenging step for insecure people, as one needs to substitute his or her own perspective with a new one, thus admitting that one's point of view is not the only valid one. Emilia mentions that "to adopt a new point of view" is not easy, and that she has friends not mature enough to be able to do this.

This switch of perspective leads to, as a consequence, facing a reflection of one's own culture. The last step, the one every multi-cultural learner aims towards making, is acquiring the ability to adapt. Through becoming more open-minded, "flexible" (Ana) and tolerant, young migrants claim they are learning to adapt to different people and different cultures and environments, and that this allows them to "realise to a greater extent the importance of compromise and mediation" (Simone). The ultimate achievement of this whole process is "to feel good" (Virginie) in any country they are living in.

The constant confrontation these respondents make with difference logically has an impact at personal level. After attaining cultural awareness, in the young migrants' narratives, learning about oneself is one of the major benefits of a stay abroad. The statements of the respondents attest to travel being an occasion to develop "self awareness", "get over limits or the limits [they] thought [they] had" (Chiara D.M.), become "wiser and happier" (Vivian) or "stronger and smarter" (Gerardo) and improve self-confidence. This period in these young migrants' lives represents a "great personal enrichment" (Marie H.) in the "school of life" (Miroslav, Alberto), as well as an occasion for "growing up" (Roberto).

The time spent abroad by these young people is also seen as a break with or even a change of direction in one's personal evolution: an acceleration of the "maturing process" (Rhea, Michele). Two causes can be identified which explain this acceleration, the first being the constant challenge living abroad represents:

> I learned about myself because a new surrounding has new challenges for you, so you learn what you like or not and what you want or not. You can push the limits you have; you can experiment a lot here […]. You can try new ways and you see a lot faster if they work or not. (Inke)

The second identifiable cause is independence claimed after leaving a country of origin. The term "independence" itself appears in a dozen of the questionnaires and all the interviews as a benefit: this is probably due to the age of the respondents, corresponding to their position in the transition to adulthood.

Although respondents stressed the positive aspects of their migration experiences, there were some negative dimensions present. A few mentioned missing their families, friends and home environments. The reason why this feeling was not highlighted more prominently in the narratives was perhaps due to the temporary nature of the respondents' stays abroad; likewise of their discontent, being "only deprived from things temporarily" (Marine). These migrants can cope with distance, knowing they will soon go back home to their loved ones.

During the interviews, the opportunity was taken to ask further questions about such drawbacks: half of the interviewees maintained that there were no negative outcomes whatsoever, while the other three mentioned two disadvantages. The first is the fact that the life young migrants have abroad is temporary, just like the nature of their migrations. Being conscious of this, Inke noted:

> I wouldn't be able to build my life as an adult here, you know, having a family and all […] your relationships are quite short-lived. Ireland is a nice playground but you have to decide when you'll stop playing. […] No, I could not settle down here.

Although she was looking for this life when she left to "enjoy [her]self", her actions are now hindered by its limits.

The second type of stumbling block entailed in the stay abroad is that young migrants have to learn how to leave. Emotional difficulties in departing from one's country of origin may be anticipated, but leaving the host country may also be a painful experience. Being conscious of the temporary aspect of the stay further implies that all the relationships built will end or at least be weakened by distance after departure.

6   Feeling European

Among these positive and negative aspects of mobility, the young migrants evoked one change which is decisive in their perception of their own identity and triggered by their stay abroad: they realise that they belong to a European com-

munity and to a new European generation. The unclear narratives of the respondents on this issue reflect the impossibility of putting coherently into words the notion of being European. Most, when asked to "define European identity", at first avoided the question or appeared puzzled at having to face this identification at a personal level. One respondent, Thomas Z., reversed the perspective by saying that this very confusion was indicative of Europeanness: being European is having "the impression to take part of a big European mess".

In spite of dissatisfaction, European identity was defined, albeit tentatively. The diversity of criteria used in the questionnaires and interviews was striking. If classified by frequency of occurrence, the most popular criterion used by the respondents appears to be "history" (13 times). The importance of history is the result of two elements: the shared past of Europeans and awareness of the decisive influence of the past on present day developments. The second criterion used is "religion": four respondents stated that a common Christian culture still unites Europe today, alluding to a common religious heritage. Other criteria were more diverse. Economic, social and legal particularities of the EU were evoked, as well as political and social welfare systems (Stefanie W.), ethics (Andrea H.) and a sense of "common humanity and personal freedom not under threat" (Marie H). The major achievement of the EU concerning free circulation of goods, persons and capital was also alluded to through using the expressions "free mobility" (Elisabeth), "circulation of knowledge and people" (Marie H.) and "ways of communication" (Anne R.). Other elements ranged from "the structure of cities and its influence on lifestyles" (Francisco), a common "vision of life" (Carlo), open-mindedness, a certain pride in belonging to Europe (Franz), a common imagination (Simone), a freedom enjoyed by everyone (Michał), to a "readiness for changes and challenges" (Ana). Few respondents were able to sum up concisely what European identity meant to them, but those who tried brought up a mixture of criteria, both at personal and institutional levels, of lived experiences and historical heritage. Thomas Z., while trying to catch the essence of this notion, suggested what most of the respondents refer to at some point of their questionnaire: "to feel at home everywhere in Europe".

When asked to describe themselves, very few people mentioned European identity as their first term of reference, i.e. before national or local identities. Only two respondents did so, probably out of feelings of disconnectedness from their country of origin, in not having lived there for several years. This outcome of a large majority of respondents using their national identity as a means to define themselves confirms the idea prevalent in most relevant literature, that national identity is overwhelmingly important. However, it is equally apparent that national and European identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In

fact, they are seen by most respondents as not only compatible but also complementary.

The word "implicit" has also been employed in responding to this question, i.e. these young people do not mention European identity as it is implied in references to nationality. Thomas Z. explains that he would refer to his identity in national terms, although he does not identify himself with the French nation:

> […] because, for most people, European identity doesn't mean anything, because it is still something that you cannot touch or prove with a piece of paper or with something concrete! If you say to someone "I am European", in most cases this person will laugh and ask you again from which country you're coming from! […] European identity means more at the moment to non-Europeans than to Europeans themselves.

What emerges from these young people's accounts is an awareness that self-categorisation is relative, a topic addressed by eight respondents, i.e. they are conscious that self identity depends on the interlocutor and/or subject.

It may be the case that European identity is not learned in the manner national identities are acquired but rather needs to be realised via immersion in a "foreign" European context. According to the narratives gathered, one never acquires European identity through the classical process of socialisation, but rather acknowledges it. This recognition is triggered by a switch in one's perspective that occurs during a stay abroad. The respondents "realised what it meant to feel European" (Amelie), "realised the benefits of being European while being away" (Francisco), "realised [their] European identity while speaking to non-Europeans" (Emilia), "opened [their] eyes about the targets of Europe and about the possibilities that it can offer us" (Thomas Z.) or became "aware of [their] European identity while being abroad (especially when far away from Europe), not so much while being home" (Stefanie W.). This use of the verb "to realise" is not neutral: it translates into a process of recognition, leading from latent identity to awareness of its presence and to endorsement as a component part of personality.

There is a possible correlation between distance and feelings of belonging to Europe, i.e. the further away these young people have been, the more European they seem to become. It can be assumed that distance allows young Europeans to perceive their continent from this distance as a coherent whole within which their own country is but part, just as an impressionist painting may reveal its internal coherence only if the viewer takes a step back from the canvas. Marine presupposes that leaving Europe will be the final step towards the achievement of her European identity, drawing a parallel with the realisation of her Frenchness she went through during her stay in Ireland.

Similarities in the statements of several respondents lead us to think that after a certain number of stays in various European countries, some young migrants become "enlightened" Europeans. This particular usage of the term "enlightened" is inspired by Robert E. Park. In his article "Human migration and the marginal man" (1928), he describes the modification of personality migrants experience when freeing themselves from social and cultural norms:

> […] they become, in the process, not merely emancipated, but enlightened. The e-mancipated individual […] learns to look upon the world in which he was born and bred with something of the detachment of a stranger. He acquires, in short, an intel-lectual bias (Park 1928: 888).

This formation of a new self corresponds in a European context to the embrace of a European identity. The first manifestation of this move towards enlightened Europeanism is the unchallenged certainty that feeling European is meant to increase from one generation to another. Therefore, when asked "does your generation feel European?" most respondents think that their generation feels more European than the previous generation, and that this increase is a long-term evolution that will continue. As individuals, all respondents but one thought that their feelings of belonging to Europe will last or even grow when they go back "home". This can be attributed to the knowledge of other countries they have acquired and the desire to travel as much as possible during their lives, but also to friendships they have formed while being away. These migrants usually make friends within the international community in the host country, mostly with other Europeans. One could assume that as long as the contact with this circle remains the European feeling will be renewed and its strength will be constant.

Five respondents did however answer "no" to the question "do you feel European?" Three were Irish, who explained that their lack of European identification was due to the strength of their feelings of national belonging, i.e. they feel Irish not European. They also evoked the idea of there being a fundamental cultural difference between Ireland and what they call "mainland Europe", from which Ireland is "somehow disconnected" (Rhea). This raises the question of the influence of country of origin on one's sense of belonging to Europe, especially concerning Britain and Ireland. Two others rejected European identity as they rejected any kind of categorisation in general: they claim to be "[themselves] and that's enough". To both of them, European identity is imposed by supranational institutions and Europe is associated with being an excluding entity, imposed from above.

The enlightened European endorses a strong feeling of Europeanness and shows a desire to participate to the process of building Europe. These individuals have achieved a sense of belonging to Europe which allows them to "feel at

home anywhere in Europe" (Thomas Z.), constituting a modern and Europe-focused version of the intercultural individual. Several factors leading to this inter-cultural European identity can be distinguished thanks to the narratives of these "enlightened Europeans". The first one is the amount of travel and number of stays abroad within Europe undertaken. This includes short visits, such as holidays, alongside longer stays. A positive correlation between the number of sojourns spent outside one's country and the feeling of Europeanness can be observed from the respondents' narratives. Most respondents with a European identity also make the differentiation between people like themselves and others still attached to national or local identifications. Difference regarding manner and goals of travel also appears: the enlightened European diverges from the classical tourist via what they see as their interest in understanding cultures and experimenting with other ways of life when abroad rather than passively observing the sights.

Young European travellers are definitively a minority, although the previously noted absence of figures concerning this phenomenon of temporary migration seriously impedes demographic analysis. The narratives of the present research context do however illustrate the existence of a consciousness of being part of a privileged minority: "Europeans who don't have the chance to travel or don't speak foreign languages are left on the margins of that identity" (Ana). Travelling and enjoying life in different countries is a material luxury not accessible to every young European, but it also demands overcoming the fear of the unknown or leaving one's "nest hidden in the mountain" (Miroslav), and is certainly not a simple step to make for everyone.

In attempting to characterise the enlightened European's personality, three qualities emerge. The first is obviously a particular interest in discovering and understanding difference, which goes together with a desire to maintain diversity despite a shared sense of belonging to a greater unity. This inquisitiveness is present amongst the vast majority of respondents. The second is open-mindedness, frequently alluded to in the collected narratives, which allows someone to "reject boundaries" (Francisco), to communicate with all kinds of different people and to learn "how we can be different and live together" (Anne R.). The third quality is the ability to adapt to different environments without feeling threatened or lost, and as a consequence, the ability to live in a country other than one's own country of origin.

Evolution towards the figure of the "enlightened European" is generally seen as positive, but it has its drawbacks, the most important being the eternal dissatisfaction one presently feels with his or her own environment. It can be felt either as a state of "never being satisfied with where I am living, since I know there are always different things to do elsewhere" (Arthur), or as an addiction

(a term used by seven respondents) to endless movement. These individuals run the risk of not being able to settle in any place without feeling frustrated or being "bored". Accustomed to constant change, they find themselves unhappy with routine and sometimes cannot fit back into their former lives again. This endless desire to discover an elsewhere leads to a complex relationship with the notion of "home", which is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere in Europe. This in-betweenness is difficult to deal with emotionally: it is "heart-breaking" (Federica) to feel deprived of roots or home and to have "problems of non-attachment" (Ana). Some manage to deal with this by adopting a positive approach, affirming they are at home in any place where they feel happy.

The enlightened European is animated by a desire to fight for Europe, a European identity and the further construction of the European Union. The state of ambiguity in which European identity exists creates a desire to develop this notion, which requires individual effort from every European. It is a "challenge" (Roberto) people need to be aware of in order for them to be able to overcome prejudice and conflict. Enlightened Europeans describe their ideal Europe not only as an economic but also a political unity, wherein countries would be willing to give up part of their own sovereignty, civil rights would not be put in jeopardy and human rights would not be negotiable (Simone), different cultural backgrounds could cohabit without impeding communication and travellers would try to integrate themselves into host countries (Aurélie). This aspiration ranges from a simple wish to be able to say "I am European" in the future and a hope that people do feel European (Michael), to passionate declarations such as Thomas Z.'s: "I will fight for my future one big Europe".

7   Conclusion

The findings of this study demonstrate that geographical mobility, even short-term student migrations, may be instrumental in fostering a sense of Europeanness, albeit in different ways for different people, at least amongst the admittedly limited scope of those surveyed. We can see that facing other Europeans while abroad not only triggers the realisation of difference but even more so that the realisation of a European common ground allows young Europeans to understand each other relatively easily.

Being abroad in another European country, in the present context Ireland, seems to set in motion a process of reflexive knowledge of European group membership: it is the first phase in Tajfel and Fraser's (1978) two-fold typology of the process of identification. The second phase, supposed to bring an emotional attachment to the group, is however lacking in most cases as far as Euro-

pean identity is concerned, leading us to conclude that we are still far away from living in a continent of Enlightened Europeans.

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Youth on the Move? Student Mobility and Immobility in Portugal and Northern Ireland[1]

David Cairns and Jim Smyth

1   Introduction

In studies of migration, a key question is why do people move from one country or region to another? To this enquiry, we might be equally interested in finding out why other people do not move and, rather than migrate, elect to live out the entirety of their lives within the confines of one particular local community, region or nation state.

While explorations of adults' motivations for migration are increasingly commonplace, we know less about young peoples' justifications for trans-national movements or their reasons for the lack of them. Why youth has been relatively neglected within accounts of population movements is difficult to understand, with the absence of youth in migration theory particularly striking (see, for example, Cohen 1995; Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Pappastergiadis 2000). Elsewhere in this volume Hauvette also notes that reliable statistical evidence on young people's movements between different European member states is also impossible to find. The few studies which do address youth migrations concentrate upon evaluating officially mediated student mobility programmes, e.g. Erasmus-Socrates (see King 2002; King and Ruis-Gelices 2003; Baláž, and Williams 2004; Findlay et al. 2006), as opposed to considering individually inspired actions.

This chapter aims to address this knowledge gap and explore why young people are, and are not, on the move. Concentrating upon European youth from two particular regions, possible explanations include broad factors such as prevailing economic conditions. Consideration is also taken of more personal influences, which may include the strength of family ties, peer networks and community attachments (see Growiec in this volume).

2   Methodology

The original research upon which this article is based formed part of a research project entitled "Culture, Youth and Future Life Orientations". The aim of this project, conducted during 2005-2008, was to examine the future life plans of highly-skilled and well-qualified European youth, particularly in respect to geographical mobility. Young people were surveyed in two different geographical contexts: Northern Ireland and Portugal.

These two locales were chosen to represent contrasting yet comparable European regions: the former, a socially diverse and relatively affluent society wherein young people traditionally leave the parental home at an early age but retain strong family and community ties; the latter, a less prosperous but more culturally homogenous region, with young people being traditionally dependent upon and living with their families throughout the transition to adulthood and beyond. Both these regions however share strong historical traditions of migration and occupy geographically peripheral positions within the European Union.

This research incorporated, interactively, both quantitative and qualitative investigation (the latter results not included here due to lack of space). In sampling, the focus was placed upon gathering data from university students. This was due to young people at third level educational institutions having a greater potential to be mobile, or at least to be contemplating mobility during the transition from education-to-work, compared to their younger contemporaries in secondary and post-secondary education and those already settled in their careers (King and Ruis-Gelices 2003). Both samples were however matched in terms of the educational backgrounds of those included and according to other key demographic indices.

In the quantitative research phase, a questionnaire was administered to a total of 250 young people in Northern Ireland, all of whom studied at universities in and around the Greater Belfast area, and 200 young people in Portugal, specifically those at university institutions in the city of Lisbon. In each case, these respondents were taken from classes across four different academic disciplines: Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, Science and Engineering. These samples were also balanced in terms of gender and inclusion from ethnic minorities. A deliberate decision was however taken not to include students from courses wherein geographical mobility is mandatory, such as languages, meaning that this is a study of "optional" movements (Findlay et al. 2006: 300).

3   Analysis

To return to our main research questions, the following analysis and discussion of results is focused not only upon ascertaining the extent to which youth are, or are not, on the move, but also providing possible explanations for the mobility orientations on display within the two samples. The following quantitative breakdowns therefore provide information on youth mobility among those surveyed, complemented by an examination of future migration intentions across the two sampled regions. This initial analysis is followed by a more in-depth statistical exploration of migration decision-making using binary logistic regression in an attempt to move towards a better understanding of youth mobility.[2] The following descriptive breakdowns provide indications of present levels of transnational mobility and anticipated future migration intentions in both regional contexts.[3]

Table 1 provides an overview of the popularity of travel outside country of origin, including gender breakdowns. We can make two interesting observations: firstly, that the Belfast young people undertake a much greater frequency of travel outside their country of origin compared to their Portuguese peers, and secondly that among the Lisbon young people, there is a significant gender dichotomy, with young males undertaking more international travel compared to their young females in the sample.

Table 1: Travel outside Country of Origin in last 12 months by Region and Gender

Region	Gender	Travel outside Country of Origin? (%)	
		Yes	No
Belfast	Male	84	16
	Female	80	20
	All	82	18
Lisbon	Male	55	45
	Female	40	60
	All	47	53

Pearson Chi Square level of significance= .479 (Belfast), .026 (Lisbon)

While reasons for the gender difference in Table 1 are unclear, regarding differences between the two samples in travel prevalence, it may well be the case that

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[2]   A more in-depth discussion of these results, including elaboration of the qualitative case studies, can be found in Cairns (2008) and Cairns and Smyth (2009).
[3]   Pearson chi square indicators are only provided in relation to where there are statistically significant outcomes.

Portuguese youth are simply more likely to be holidaying at home. The Northern Ireland young people are less likely to do so due to factors such as the miserable Irish climate, the lack of suitably glamorous destinations near at hand and the high expense entailed in holidaying in the UK and Ireland.

While Table 1 indicates that many young people undertake a substantial amount of trans-national movement, we need to consider their motivations and justifications for travel. The most obvious outcome to emerge from Table 2 is the importance of travel for leisure purposes in both samples: more so for the young Portuguese respondents and young female respondents in both regions. Differences between genders and/or regions are however not statistically significant.

Table 2: Main Reason for Travel outside Country of Origin in last 12 months by Region and Gender

Region	Gender	Main Reason for Travel (%)				
		Leisure	Family	Work	Study	Charity
Belfast	Male	65	7	8	15	5
	Female	77	8	4	8	3
	All	71	8	6	11	4
Lisbon	Male	75	10	2	12	0
	Female	83	13	2	2	0
	All	79	11	2	8	0

The low numbers working abroad can be explained by the fact that these young people are still studying, although studying abroad was not so common. A small number of those in the Belfast sample had also travelled for charitable purposes, including church and voluntary work, while no one in the Lisbon sample had done so.

Having considered current prevalence of trans-national movement among these two groups of young people and the largely leisure-orientated nature of this movement, of further interest are future intentions to live outside country of origin (Table 3).

Table 3:   Intention to Live Outside Country of Origin by Region and Gender

Region	Gender	Live Outside Country of Origin? (%)	
		Yes	No
Belfast	Male	60	40
	Female	51	49
	All	55	45
Lisbon	Male	35	65
	Female	30	70
	All	32	68

Pearson Chi Square level of significance= .170 (Belfast), .530 (Lisbon)

That these results illustrate intentions to move rather than actions already taken place should be considered in interpreting results. We can however observe that the majority of those surveyed in Belfast (55%) see themselves living abroad in the future but only a minority in Lisbon (32%) feel the same way. We can also see that there are no statistically significant gender differences in either region. Further analysis also revealed that there was also no clear relationship between rising or falling age and wanting to be mobile in either of the two research contexts.

Having found that relatively few of those surveyed have recent experience of international travel for non-leisure purposes but that substantial numbers are considering trans-national mobility and living abroad in the future, what remains to be explored in this analysis are the influences upon mobility decision-making, including migration to other countries. The most obvious answer is the economic explanation: young people move to pursue better career opportunities and/or to escape what may be difficult financial circumstances at home. This explanation, referred to by Malmberg as the "traditional push-pull model" (1997: 29), dominates public, policy and academic discourse on migration to the extent that it is often assumed that it is the only reason to move abroad. The relationship between money and movement is hence a simple case of cause and effect: a lack of the former leading to the latter.

It would be unwise to discount the importance of finance and opportunities to maximise earnings in migration. However to assume that such a personal potentially life changing decision can be reduced to simple economics is poor sociology. This mode of thought also assumes that migrants have "costless access to perfect information" (Fisher et al. 1997: 54) regarding the economic situations of both their country of origin and imagined host society and that "a rational economic calculation" has taken place (Malmberg, 1997: 29). This is

barely credible considering the distorted views we often have of living condi-
tions in societies other than our own and the often chaotic nature of actual migra-
tory movements.

Of equal importance to this debate is the fact that the plain economic ap-
proach fails to appreciate the complexity of migration decision-making, which
will inevitably vary according to individual differences (Fisher et al. 1997: 55); it
can also be influenced by family, friends and other community ties, i.e. social
relationships and social capital (see Growiec in this volume). The impact of
finance on migration may also be diffuse, with people either moving away from
poverty and towards wealth or moving because they have the financial resources
to be mobile; this latter point is particular pertinent to the context of youth mo-
bility (see Hauvettte in this volume).

One means of exploring the possible validity of the economic explanation is
to look at the relationship between socio-economic background, as derived from
parental occupation, and youth mobility intentions.[4]

Table 4: Intention to Live Outside Country of Origin by Region and Socio-
Economic Background

Region	Socio-Economic Background	Live Outside Country of Origin (%)	
		Yes	No
Belfast	Skilled Non-Manual	54	46
	Skilled Manual	51	49
	Semi/Unskilled Non-Manual	69	31
	Semi/Unskilled Manual	54	46
	Service	60	40
	All	54	46
Lisbon	Skilled Non-Manual	32	68
	Skilled Manual	26	74
	Semi/Unskilled Non-Manual	38	62
	Semi/Unskilled Manual	0	100
	Service	23	77
	All	29	70

We cannot assume those from less affluent backgrounds will be more likely to
want to move. The Lisbon data is inconclusive, although none of the young peo-
ple from "Semi/Unskilled Manual" backgrounds in the Lisbon sample registered
mobility intentions. In the Belfast sample, we might deduce from these figures

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[4]   Socio-Economic Status was unknown for 6% of the Belfast respondents and 25% of the Lisbon
respondents due to parents being economically inactive. This was due in most part to parental
unemployment or one or both parents being deceased, although in Lisbon, a much greater pro-
portion of young people indicated that they had mothers who did not work outside the home.

that those from "Non-Manual" backgrounds are more likely to be considering mobility. Furthermore, we can see that the higher proportions amongst those from "Semi/Unskilled Non-Manual" backgrounds is consistent with the idea of the less affluent being more likely to want to move. However, the small sample sizes, particularly for the Lisbon youth, limit what we can read into these results.

Regarding more subjective economic measures, as part of the quantitative survey respondents were asked a number of key questions regarding perceptions of their own country's recent economic performance. One particularly interesting outcome concerned the acceptability of local salary levels. In Belfast, it was found that those who thought local salary levels too low were more likely to be considering living abroad (58%) but not to a significantly higher degree than those who thought otherwise (47%); neither was there a correlation between fear of unemployment in Belfast and wanting to move, with 49% of those with such a fear planning to move and 53% sharing the same anxiety planning not to be mobile.

Meanwhile in Lisbon, 72% of those considering living abroad in the future agreed that salaries are too low in Portugal but 87% of those not considering trans-national mobility also thought so. The difference here is significant (Pearson chi square level of significance .013) but not suggestive of migration being linked to perceptions of relatively low salaries at home. Rather, low wages at home count against trans-national mobility. In relation to fear of unemployment in Lisbon, the same trend found in the Belfast sample of those planning to stay being more likely to register anxiety (80%) compared to those contemplating leaving (68%) was more pronounced, although this was not a statistically significant difference.

The weakness of the "economic" indicators in accounting for youth mobility decision-making in our data, or potential poverty incubating a desire to move, means we need to look elsewhere for answers to the question of why young people want to be trans-nationally mobile. As we have seen, finance may help explain immobility, but in accounting for mobility, it may be the case that personal factors such as the influence of family and friends have more salience (Malmberg 1997: 41).

Table 5:   Statements on Family Life by Intention to be Mobile and Region

Statement	Region	ß	Exp (ß)
My family would understand if I had to leave home to find a good job	Belfast	.773	2.167
	Lisbon	.802	2.231
I have siblings who left home to live in other countries	Belfast	.662	1.938*
	Lisbon	1.171	3.224*
I have siblings who left home to live in other parts my country	Belfast	.205	1.228
	Lisbon	.533	1.703
My family need me to support them	Belfast	.138	1.148
	Lisbon	-.138	.871
I need my family to support me	Belfast	-.156	.855
	Lisbon	-.380	.684
Having a good family life is more important than having a good job	Belfast	-.466	.628
	Lisbon	-.238	.788
Most of my family live near me	Belfast	-.696	.498*
	Lisbon	-.753	.471*
It's good to live at home with your parents	Belfast	-1.017	.368*
	Lisbon	.116	1.123
I would feel incomplete without my family	Belfast	-1.282	.278**
	Lisbon	-.683	.505*

Pearson Chi Square level of significance less than .005*/=.000**

The impacts of family and peer relationships are explored a series of separate binary logistic regression analyses. All of these breakdowns utilise the intention to be mobile as dependent variable. The proceeding Table 5 explores the relationship between family life and intentions to be mobile. From these results, we can observe that having siblings living in other countries is of considerable significance: in both regions but more so amongst the Portuguese young people. This suggests a familial social learning dimension to youth migration behaviour and orientations (see Cairns and Growiec 2008). Living away from family members is also related to mobility intentions in both regions, while feeling incomplete without family is associated with wanting to remain in country of origin. Both these outcomes imply that the strength or weakness of kin ties mediates migration intentions (see Growiec in this volume).

Table 6 provides an opportunity to observe responses made to a number of statements on various dimensions of peer relationships in relation to plans for future geographical mobility. The results are somewhat inconclusive. Some apparent differences exist between the two samples: for instance, the Lisbon mobility seekers are more likely to have friends who would understand if they went to live in another country and are less likely to feel "incomplete" without or live close to their friends compared to their contemporaries in Belfast.

These dichotomies are not generally statistically significant. However, we can see that there are two exceptions in Table 6: the potentially mobile in the

Belfast sample are significantly more likely to have friends living in other countries, while the Lisbon mobility seekers are significantly less likely to live close to their friends. We can conclude that the influence of peers may not be as important as family in mobility decision-making for either the Belfast or Lisbon respondents.

Table 6: Statements on Peer Relationships by Intention to be Mobile by Region

Statement	Region	ß	Exp (ß)
I have friends who live in other countries	Belfast	.737	2.091*
	Lisbon	.639	1.894
I have friends who live other parts of my country	Belfast	.354	1.424
	Lisbon	.644	1.904
Having good friends is more important than having a good job	Belfast	.078	1.081
	Lisbon	-.256	.788
My friends would understand if I went to live in another country	Belfast	.072	1.075
	Lisbon	.798	2.212
I would feel incomplete without my friends	Belfast	-.048	.954
	Lisbon	-.644	.525
I have many of the same friends today as I did when I was a child	Belfast	-.059	.943
	Lisbon	-.255	.775
My friends would understand if I went to live in another part of my country	Belfast	-.123	.884
	Lisbon	.355	1.426
Most of my friends live near me	Belfast	-.256	.775
	Lisbon	-.644	.525*
I see myself having the same friends in the future as I have today	Belfast	-.531	.588
	Lisbon	-.233	.800

Pearson Chi Square level of significance less than .005*/=.000**

Relationships between responses made to various statements on community attachments and the intention to be mobile are explored in Table 7. We can see from these breakdowns that there are some extremely significant outcomes in terms of dichotomies emerging between the potentially mobile and immobile and also some regionally specific orientations. Mobility seekers are significantly more likely to feel European in Northern Ireland and dislike the areas they live in; romance is also important as they are more likely to consider having a relationship with someone even if it meant leaving their own country; they are also less likely to feel at home in their country of origin, much more so in Northern Ireland, socialise near where they live and to somewhat predictably want to leave their present area of residence.

Table 7: Statements on Community Attachments by Region and Intentions to be Mobile

Statement	Region	ß	Exp (ß)
I feel more European than Portuguese/Northern Irish	Belfast	1.022	2.780*
	Lisbon	.393	1.481
I don't like the area I live in	Belfast	.738	2.092*
	Lisbon	.373	1.453
I support my local football team	Belfast	-.114	.892
	Lisbon	-.616	.540
I always vote in elections	Belfast	-.182	.834
	Lisbon	-.537	.585
I regularly go to church	Belfast	-.529	.589*
	Lisbon	.541	1.717
I regularly socialise in my own area	Belfast	-.787	.455*
	Lisbon	-522	.593
I would not consider having a relationship with someone from another country if it meant having to leave my country	Belfast	-1.116	.328**
	Lisbon	-.477	.621
I always want to live in my area	Belfast	-1.517	.219**
	Lisbon	-.804	.447*
I feel at home in my country	Belfast	-2.565	.077**
	Lisbon	-1.556	.211*

Pearson Chi Square level of significance less than .005*/=.000**

The outcomes to these three different sets of statements are open to interpretation due to the subjectivity of these young people's self-evaluations. What constitutes feeling "incomplete" without family or peers is certainly debatable and ideas of being "at home" may also differ greatly according to personal circumstances. We are however beginning to obtain a more cogent idea regarding what differentiates potentially mobile and immobile youth. Families and local community ties have a bearing upon youth mobility orientations as well as, or more so than, financial considerations. This outcome should not come as any great surprise to those familiar with the complex and often contradictory influences upon young people studying at university, particularly those still living at home (see Cairns and Growiec, 2008).

Having two regional samples, we can observe some cultural differences within Europe, such as there being more dissatisfaction with life and local identities in Northern Ireland and greater economic disillusionment in Portugal. There are also common experiences, most prominently, the shared importance of family in mediating mobility decision-making. This may take the form of support and understanding to those wishing to leave or parents sufficiently detaching themselves from their children, thus enabling them to make an exit. It is therefore important that we understand the role of family and communities in seeking to appreciate why young people are, or are not, planning to be on the move.

4   Conclusion

From the evidence presented above, we have gained some, admittedly limited, insight into the mobility habits and aspirations of the young people sampled in Belfast and Lisbon. We can see that while these particular student respondents share an apparent liking for travel, actual movements undertaken are largely for leisure purposes rather than work or study. In respect to trans-national mobility in the future, we can further observe that there is greater interest in living abroad among those surveyed in Northern Ireland compared to their Portuguese counterparts.

Considering the former region is more affluent than the latter country, e.g. in terms of average incomes or GDP, this outcome is inconsistent with classical economic thinking. It is however consistent with the results of Hadler's (2006) analysis of adults' intentions to migrate from Eurobarometer 54.2 (2001), which found the explanatory power of macro-level variables to be lower than that of individual characteristics. Likewise in the present context, results make more sense when we consider personal cultural variables. Local identifications with "Northern Ireland" are weaker for tertiary educated youth, making it easier to leave whereas tighter family bonds in Portugal make it harder to contemplate an exit.[5]

While the outcomes discussed are obviously of most pertinence to the two research contexts in question and represent only an overview of mobility intentions at a particular moment in the life course, namely when young people are making the transition to adulthood, there is still much emerging of relevance to other places and different youth populations. This study should therefore be looked upon as less of a definitive statement on and more of a signpost towards an understanding of youth mobility.

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Labour Market Integration of Young Migrants in Germany: A Regional Perspective[1]

Annette Haas and Andreas Damelang

1 Introduction

In Germany, the political debate regarding opening the doors for immigrants has received a lot of attention due to current skills shortages in some occupations. There is also ongoing discussion as to how the integration of migrants already living in Germany can be improved, with emphasis upon the crucial role played by labour market participation. With approximately 9% of the population from non-German backgrounds this debate concerns a substantial number of individuals. Of particular pertinence is the question of how best to address the disproportionately high rates of unemployment amongst non-Germans, e.g. in 2000 this rate was nearly twice as high, 25%, as the equivalent rate for Germans of 13% (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2005).

The issue of labour market entrance is also extremely important in respect to career development. Disadvantage encountered at this point normally cannot be caught up during the rest of the life course. This chapter therefore investigates whether or not labour market entry differs for Germans and non-Germans who have recently completed an apprenticeship, thus enabling comparisons to be made regarding chances for labour market integration between different foreign groups living in Germany, in contrast totheir training firm.

Human capital theory, job search theory and matching models can help explain different aspects of labour market entry (see Dietrich and Abraham 2005; Franz 2006), while Seibert (2005) stresses the relevance of signallin other empirical studies focused upon the assimilation of immigrants and their chances of catching up with the native population (see, for example, Chiswick 1978 and Borjas 1994).

Relatively little attention has been paid to the fact that integration chances strongly depend upon the existence of local opportunities despite the well known unequal performance of local labour markets in Germany. This is particularly true in regard to disparities in unemployment rates between districts, even within the same federal states. This situation implies that there may be divergent chances for finding a job according to where one lives. Given the propensity for non-German nationals to live in cities and agglomerated regions, it is striking that prior studies have generally neglected a regional dimension.

2   Theoretical Considerations

There is no one dominant theory covering all relevant aspects of the subject matter under investigation. The education-to-work transition process is influenced by a wide range of determinants at individual, labour market and regional levels. We can however say that vocational training within the dual system does provide a relatively smooth transition to the labour market, at least compared to equivalent entry from university or post-secondary school training, with both of these latter routes characterised by higher rates of unemployment. Winkelmann (1996) posits two possible explanations: firstly, early attachment to the labour market provides workplace experience, which promotes more efficient job searching, and secondly, job search issues do not arise for a large numbers of young workers as the majority remain at g theory for the chances of young migrants looking for their first job. Migrants may be disadvantaged due to administrative barriers and existing prejudices, which can lead to discrimination. They may also have less labour-market specific capital due to migration, a subject discussed, quite controversially, by Kalter (2006) and Seibert and Solga (2005).

To control for unequal human capital endowment, the present discussion considers only those who have completed apprenticeship training in the German system, presuming that successful training in the dual system leads to comparable conditions for all members of the population in respect to labour market entry, i.e. Germans and non-Germans alike are both provided with general skills and company-specific capital. Furthermore, socialisation during vocational training ought to lead to the acquisition of language skills and familiarity with social and cultural conditions, i.e. soft skills, also of relevance to labour market entry. Nevertheless, divergent job search outcomes do exist, which might be explained by different network structures and more diverse job search strategies amongst non-Germans, e.g. the better their German language skills the more individuals use newspapers and the Internet (see Nivorozhkin et al. 2006).

The probability of an apprentice staying in their training firm is strongly related to the characteristics of both the firm and the trainee. Large firms may screen for potential specialists who are interested in longer employment relationships, whereas small firms are more interested in the productivity of apprentices, linked to low wages (see Niederalt 2004). Considering possible selectivity effects, studies agree that the education system acts as a sorting machine, even at a very early stage in an individual's career (see Allmendinger 1989; Ammermüller 2005), but due to selection processes in schools, migrants have poorer labour market chances (see Alba et al. 1994; Kristen 2002 and 2006).

In the analysis which follows, with reference to labour markets, relatively small regional units have been used to allow consideration of disparities in unemployment rates and productivity (see Blien et al. 2006). As regional mobility is low in Germany, local labour market situation plays a crucial role in determining the probability of finding a job after apprenticeship (see Winkelmann 1996; Riphahn 2002). The analysis itself is focused on two hypotheses relating to labour market entry and the impact of regional labour markets respectively. Firstly, bearing in mind that the institutional German apprenticeship system is highly standardised and that the dual system supports direct labour market entry after successfully completing an apprenticeship, we ask if young migrants have similar employment chances to Germans to complete an apprenticeship in Germany. A highly standardised training system should in theory ensure an equal chance of labour market entry if we control for different schooling levels. Secondly, if a particular region has a better economic situation, is there a greater chance of finding employment in the primary labour market after apprenticeship, with finding an unsubsidised job as an index of labour market success.

3   Migrants and Germans: Previous Studies on Vocational Training and Labour Market Entry

Regarding the institutional setting of this study, the specific German dual system of vocational training is the starting point of our analysis of labour market integration after apprenticeship. Beside university education, vocational training is virtually essential for successful labour market entry in Germany and thus a major factor in the process of social integration. Despite increasing scholastic achievement in recent years, young non-Germans still have particular difficulties in finding an apprenticeship place. With economic difficulties in certain regions and sectors, both the selection criteria imposed by firms and applicants' occupational choices play important roles. Although demand for training places is higher than supply, there are still exceptions, for instance, in the caring professions.

There are two tracks for initial vocational training in Germany: the so-called dual apprenticeship, which takes place both "on the job" and at vocational schools, and full-time training at vocational schools or "Berufsfachschulen".[2]

Prior studies reveal a number of interesting findings regarding vocational training. For example, the participation rate of foreigners in the dual system is quite low compared to Germans. This is especially true for the young Turkish group. The "BiB Integration Survey" (Federal Institute of Population Research) found that half of Turkish respondents in the 18-30 age group did not have an educational or professional degree (see Below 2007). In 2004, only 25% of non-Germans in the 15-24 age group participated in vocational training courses within the dual system, compared to 50% of young Germans the same age (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2006: 125). Tight labour market conditions also lead to higher participation levels at subsidised vocational schools, which do not lead to specific occupational qualifications. Hence, employment chances in the primary labour market are low (see Damelang and Haas 2006). Recent years have also witnessed decreasing numbers of apprenticeship positions being offered.

Of specific relevance to the present study are recent studies dealing with young people's labour market integration, alongside explanations of the labour market situations of migrants. Seibert (2005) has analysed young migrants' labour market entry processes, focusing upon unequal educational endowments between foreigners and Germans via analysis of chances of finding an apprenticeship and labour market position of those who have completed an apprenticeship. The results were in line with signalling theory, which predicts that vocational training qualifications facilitate access to better labour market positions. Seibert also states that the apprenticeship system has a huge capacity for placing foreigners into skilled labour market positions. Nevertheless, migrants with a German apprenticeship still have a lower probability of entering the primary labour market than Germans (see Seibert and Solga 2005). This especially affects Turks, although unfortunately the present authors cannot explain this outcome. Recent evidence suggests that weaker German language skills and the ethnic structure of friendship ties seem to be significant (see Kalter 2006), in line with the argument of a lack of host-specific labour market capital rather than discrimination by employers (see Granato and Kalter 2001).

Generally, the education and training situation of foreign youth in Germany has improved in recent years. Yet the majority of Turks aged between 20 and 30 years old are still unskilled workers in much the same way as their fathers were,

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[2]   This study concentrates on the first track alone. For more background information on the education and training system in Germany, see Winkelmann (1996) and Euwals and Winkelmann (2002).

even though their chances of finding a more highly skilled job have improved as a result of vocational training and better school qualifications.

4   Data: Integrated Employment Biographies

Data for analysis was taken from the German Integrated Employment Biographies (IEB), a database generated at the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) from different individual data sources collected by the German Federal Employment Agency (FEA) for administrative purposes. This data ranges from life-course information on employment subject to social security contributions, unemployment benefits, participation in active labour market policy schemes and job searches. Although no information is available on employment not subject to social security contributions, e.g. civil servants or the self-employed, the IEB covers more than 80% of the labour force in Germany (see Jacobebbinghaus and Seth 2007).

For this analysis, all those aged under 30 who completed their apprenticeships in the year 2000 have been selected, further restricted to the western part of Germany (but including Berlin), as the number of non-Germans living and working in eastern regions is very small. The data also allows differentiation to be made between subsidised and non-subsidised training to be made. A total of 148 nationalities are represented, organised into five groups: "Germans", "migrants from EU15 countries", "Turks", "migrants from former Yugoslavia" and "other migrants" (anyone not in the other three migrant groups). Nationality, which defines subjects as being migrants or non-Germans, is measured at the beginning of the apprenticeship.[3]

5   Descriptive Results

The number of foreigners in Germany strongly differs between regions: rural areas have few foreigners while bigger cities have relatively high numbers, originating from a wide range of countries. Hence, there is a spatial concentration of foreign apprentices in cities. Regional distribution is also characterised by a high concentration of foreign apprentices in urban regions (Ruhr area) and the bigger cities (e.g. Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich); 20% of these foreign apprentices in fact undertook their training in only six cities,

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[3]   It is not possible to measure migration background or ethnicity so nationality is used as an indicator. Neither can we identify naturalised foreigners and ethnic German immigrants (Aussiedler) granted German citizenship upon arrival.

whereas 250 out of 327 regions, mainly rural areas, had in each case less than 101 foreign apprentices. There are also disparities between northern and southern parts of the country in terms of youth unemployment. Regions close to the New Laender also have highest proportions of unemployed youth. The necessity of accounting for the regional dimension when analysing migrants in the labour market thus becomes apparent.

Turning to the transition from successfully completed apprenticeship to the next occupational status, we can distinguished between young apprentices in the primary labour market, those undertaking further training in the labour market and those who are unemployed, in a "gap" situation or who have dropped out.[4]

Table 1: First State after (Unsubsidised) Apprenticeship 2000

	Germans		EU15		nationals of former Yugoslavia		Turks		other Migrants		Total	
	N	in %	N	in %	N	in %	N	in %	N	in %	N	in %
Primary Labour Market	239,604	71.47	4,299	70.94	3,877	72.67	7,434	65.19	2,608	62.30	257,822	71.17
Further training on the labour market	10,970	3.27	196	3.23	175	3.28	409	3.59	174	4.16	11,924	3.29
Unemployment	53,151	15.85	942	15.54	817	15.31	2,641	23.16	937	22.38	58,488	16.15
Gap	22,015	6.57	373	6.16	338	6.34	726	6.37	296	7.07	23,748	6.56
Drop out	9,520	2.84	250	4.13	128	2.40	194	1.70	171	4.09	10,263	2.83
Total	335,274	100.00	6,060	100.00	5,335	100.00	11,404	100.00	4,186	100.00	362,245	100.00

Source: own calculations from "Integrated Employment Biographies" (IEB).

As we can see, Germans, migrants from EU-15 states and from former Yugoslavia have similar patterns, whereas nearly one in four in the Turkish and "other migrant" groups are unemployed. These outcomes confirm findings of previously studies showing that compared to both the EU-15 group and migrants from the former Yugoslavia, Turks face special problems in the labour market (see Kalter 2005).

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[4] Integration into primary labour market is seen as a successful transition, while transition to further training includes interns, participants in active labour market programmes and young people beginning a second apprenticeship or work in marginal employment. "Gap" refers to cases where there is no information for more than 100 days while "drop-outs" are those who have completed apprenticeship but no longer recorded in the data. Both these categories are of lesser interest but are included for reasons of completeness.

6 Multivariate Analysis

To isolate the effect of nationality on labour market entry and analyse the influence of regional labour markets, a multivariate approach has been followed. Differentiating between the three states we are most interested in, a multinomial probit model has been utilised to analyse differences between those making transitions to the primary labour market, undertaking further qualifications and those unemployed. As "gap" and "drop-out" (see Table 1) were of lesser significance, they are excluded from this analysis. The influence of regional labour market situation is also discussed.

Two models have been calculated: the first includes, besides basic variables such as sex and nationality, the effect of subsidised apprenticeship training alongside age, human capital (lower secondary school, upper secondary school, university and first apprenticeship, switch of apprenticeship, second apprenticeship), occupation, employer characteristics and sector affiliation. The second model is concerned with the regional dimension of labour market integration. To best appreciate labour market situation, the youth unemployment rate (prop_unemployed<24) is examined, as it has been shown to be an adequate indicator of chances of entering the primary labour market after apprenticeship. Gross domestic product (GDP) per employee (GDP_empl) for different sizes of regional economies at district level is also taken into account. As regional development is continuous, nine-years of GDP per employee (GDP_develop (92-00)) is used to check for regional trends in economic development. Due to additional regional influences, such as population density and centrality, region type (core cities, agglomerated regions, rural districts) and a dummy variable covering border regions concerning neighbouring states, have been added.

Table 2: Determinants of the Transition Process

Variable		Primary labour market		Further training on the labour market	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
sex (male=Ref.)		0.205 ***	0.201 ***	0.040 *	0.036 *
Germans (Ref.)		-	-	-	-
EU15		0.041	-0.006	0.257	-0.026
Turks		-0.249 ***	-0.233 ***	-0.137 ***	-0.134 ***
nationals of former Yugoslavia		0.065	0.009	-0.009	-0.074
others		-0.254 ***	-0.267 ***	-0.104	-0.131 *
subsidized (0=Ref.)		-0.145 *	-0.243 ***	1.391 ***	1.347 ***
prop_unemployed<24	Regional character.		-6.600 ***		-5.191 ***
GDP_employee			-1.44e-06 *		3.25e-06 **
GDP_develop (92-00)			0.301 ***		-0.245
border region (0=Ref.)			0.022		0.022
core_cities			0.031 **		0.074 ***
agglomerated (Ref.)			-		-
rural_district			-0.090 ***		-0.148 ***
age		-0.010 ***	0.009 ***	-0.078 ***	-0.067 ***
ln_wage		0.991 ***	0.873 ***	-0.012	-0.099 ***
lower_sec_school (Ref.)	Human Capital	-	-	-	-
upper_sec_school		0.166 ***	0.179 ***	0.320 ***	0.328 ***
university		0.141 **	0.144 **	0.177 *	0.175 *
first_apprentice. (Ref.)		-	-	-	-
switch_apprentice.		-0.172 ***	-0.174 ***	-0.298 ***	-0.303 ***
second_apprentice.		0.046 *	0.015	-0.178 ***	-0.198 ***
_cons		-2.134 ***	-1.746 ***	-2.134 ***	0.857 ***
Log likelihood		-161,909.50	-160,075.39	-161,909.50	-160,075.39
N		300,125	300,125	300,125	300,125

legend: * $p<0.05$ ** $p<0.01$ *** $p<0.001$

Multinomial probit regression: unemployed vs primary labour market / further training on the labour market

With regard to integration into the primary labour market, Table 2 shows that for Turks and other migrants the probability of being employed after apprenticeship is significantly lower compared to "Germans". In contrast, outcomes for the EU-15 migrants and migrants from the former Yugoslavia do not differ significantly from that of German nationals completing apprenticeships when other variables are controlled for. Taking "Germans" as the reference point, these results suggest that the EU-15 and former Yugoslavia migrants are not disadvantaged, while Turks and other migrants are. The human capital variables show the expected picture, i.e. the better the educational qualification level, the higher the probability of becoming integrated into the labour market. However, a switch in apprenticeship place has a negative impact. Age also turns from being a negative to a positive influence, but the effect is very small. Young people who have com-

pleted a subsidised apprenticeship also have a lower probability of finding employment in the primary labour market.

Turning to the regional determinants in model 2, it is worth noting that factors at regional level matter for individual success in labour market integration. What is intuitively plausible is that high regional unemployment lowers the chance of integration and finding employment in rural areas is more difficult due to there being fewer job opportunities. Border regions do not differ significantly in model 2. Furthermore in an economically prosperous region, as demarcated by the variable GDP_develop, new job opportunities arise which can enhance integration chances for those finished their apprenticeships. In contrast, high GDP does not necessarily correlate with good job prospective. We can conclude that regional determinants such as labour market situation and type of region matter in determining individual labour market success. Regarding the state of "further training on the labour market" and nationality, other migrants do not differ significantly from "Germans" in terms of completing apprenticeships, whereas Turks have a lower risk of being in this state. To summarise, patterns for Turkish nationals completing apprenticeships imply that there is higher risk of being unemployed after apprenticeship for this group.

Looking at human capital variables, the better the education attainment, the lower the probability of being unemployed, although a switch of apprenticeship may lead to unemployment. Those who have finished a second apprenticeship are also less likely to participate in further training schemes. Rural districts again offer fewer opportunities for those finished apprenticeship and a growing economy (GDP_develop) has no significant impact as training offers in the labour market are, in the majority of cases, politically motivated.

7   Conclusions

With labour market participation widely recognised as playing a key role in the integration of migrants already living in Germany, the proceeding analysis shows that high regional unemployment rate significantly lowers the chances of integration and of doing an apprenticeship in a rural region. Furthermore in economically prosperous regions, where GDP is rising, chances for those finished apprenticeships are better, although a high level of GDP does not necessarily mean good job prospects. Therefore, regional determinants, in particular labour market situation and type of region, matter in individual labour market success.

These results provide a new and broader insight into the labour market integration non-German nationals. We can see that Turks and other young migrants have a significantly lower probability of being employed after apprentice-

ship compared to young Germans, while EU15 migrants and those from the former Yugoslavia do not differ significantly from German nationals if other variables are controlled for. Besides assumed reasons such as ethnic structure of friendship ties, limited language skills and labour market related capitals, future research should explore further the question of the poorer performance of Turks and non-EU migrants.

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Young Portuguese Researchers Abroad
Preliminary Results of a Survey[1]

Ana Delicado

1 Introduction

The international migration of scientists is a highly specific phenomenon within population flows. The scientific labour market is globalised to the extent that in contemporary academic careers the absence of international experience is almost unthinkable. Although such mobility may happen at any point, it generally occurs in the early stages of a scientific career, e.g. studying for a PhD at a foreign university. According to a broad range of studies (Baruch et al. 2007; Jalowiecki and Gorzelak 2004; Millard 2005; Avveduto 2001; Rizvi 2005; Diaz-Briquets and Cheney 2002; Mahroum 2000a), this can frequently be the first step in a permanent migration process: "Study abroad offers possible social and cultural integration, and provides the educational credits (recognised abroad) that make integration less difficult" (Ferro 2004: 383).

2 Mobility in Science

Science is by its nature "a universal culture that shares common norms, methods, philosophy, and language across political borders" (Casey et al. 2001: 12). Although it has always been a "nomadic" profession (Millard 2005: 345; Mahroum 2000a: 40), in the past few decades, international mobility has become increasingly important in scientific careers (Gill 2005: 319; Mahroum 2000a: 26-27; Mahroum 2000b: 516). A degree from a foreign university and work experience abroad are valued since they symbolise both merit (especially if a prestigious institution is involved) and the ability to build networks and participate in the global production and circulation of knowledge. Furthermore, transformations in academic institutions have made permanent positions increasingly hard find

(Henke 2000: 154; Casey et al. 2001: 30-32; Diaz-Briquets and Cheney 2002: 127). Being mobile is thus imperative for young researchers, as a means of acquiring not only professional expertise but also the contacts and "scientific capital" needed to access positions or rise through professional hierarchies.

International scientific mobility takes a variety of forms: short-term visits, sabbatical years spent abroad, fieldwork, graduate studies, internships, as well as more or less permanent job appointments. Scientific migrations are diverse not only in the length of stays but also in the directions of flows: from peripheral countries to the core of the world scientific system and, in some cases, movement in the reverse direction.

3   Characteristics of Young Portuguese Researchers Abroad

In the past two decades, Portugal has heavily invested in training at home and abroad. Combining European structural funds and governmental budgets, fellowships for masters, doctorate and post-doctorate research have been in place since 1990; 36% of PhD fellowships granted between 1990 and 2004 were for study abroad, 12% for mixed fellowships. Although these programmes do not have age limits, most of the beneficiaries are young researchers.[2]

This chapter draws on results from a survey of Portuguese researchers on geographical mobility experiences, which forms part of an ongoing research project into the international mobility of researchers into and out of the Portuguese scientific system. Data has been gathered via an online survey, conducted in June-July 2007, with 521 Portuguese researchers currently working or studying abroad, although this chapter is limited to the analysis of responses from researchers aged under 30 years old (N = 205).

Around 90% of the young Portuguese researchers abroad surveyed were over 25 years old, with the youngest being 23 years old. 55% were female, which might be considered unusual given that attracting women to science has been a European Policy concern in recent years (European Commission 1999). Portugal has in fact one of the highest rates of feminisation in science in Europe (see OCT 2001). 85% of those surveyed were also single and 98% without any children. These figures differ compared to the general Portuguese population but are typi-

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[2]   In the absence of comparative studies, it is hard to assess if young Portuguese researchers are more or less mobile than their European counterparts. However, taking the case of the Marie Curie Fellowships programme as an example, van de Sande et al. (2005: 85) claim that Portuguese outgoing fellows represent 0.0077% of the total number employed in S&T in the country in 2002, well above Switzerland (0.0002%), the UK (0.0022%) or Norway (0.0027%) but also well bellow Greece (0.0132%), Hungary (0.0127%) or Ireland (0.0124%).

cal of researchers and other globally mobile professionals, where a long period of training, job instability and international mobility delays marriage and parenthood. Only 7% of respondents already had a PhD, the majority still at a training stage, in line with the high average age of obtaining a doctorate in Portugal of 37-38 years old (OECD 2007: 11). The Portuguese organisation of higher education (ISCED 5 courses of 4 to 5 years in duration) and fellowship allocation rules which favour candidates with a Master degree and some research experience still holds sway over these "foreign" researchers. Out of 14 PhD holders in the sample, three were post-doctoral fellows but the majority (9) had fixed-term contracts. Only two held tenured positions.

Figure 1:   Young Portuguese Researchers Abroad by Scientific Area
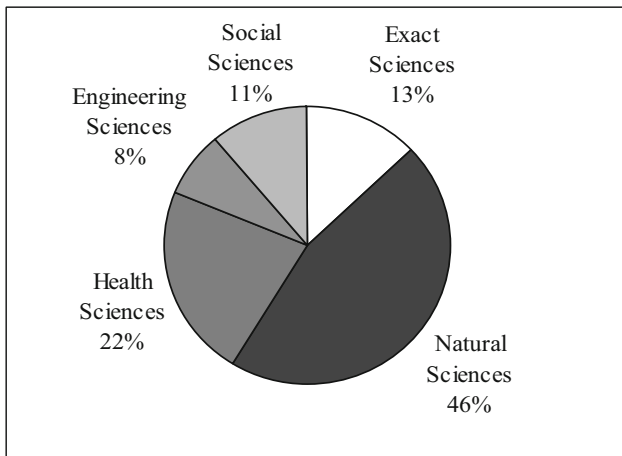

Regarding the distribution by scientific area (figure 1), Natural Sciences dominated, followed by Health Sciences, although this unbalanced picture may be more the result of sampling procedures than an accurate depiction of the make-up of Portuguese researchers abroad. Trends in international mobility by discipline are not representative either: the proportion of PhD respondents was considerably higher in Mathematics, Health Sciences, Biology, Economics, and Political Sciences than in Natural Sciences, which accounted for 24% of fellowships, and Health Sciences, with 13%. While this sample may be skewed, it may also be the case that international experience may be more necessary in the former disciplines, for instance, in using specific equipment unavailable in Portugal or researching particular subjects under-developed in Portugal, or more valued,

typically involving working in prestigious institutions or with eminent research-ers.

4   Trajectories of Young Portuguese Researchers Abroad

One means of studying the phenomena of scientific mobility is analysing the direction of researchers' trans-national trajectories, i.e. the countries they orien-tate themselves towards. With the world system of science organised into "core" and "periphery" regions, it is no surprise to learn that roughly half of all young Portuguese researchers abroad are located in only two countries: the UK and USA (figure 2).

Figure 2:   Young Portuguese Researchers Abroad by Host Country (%)
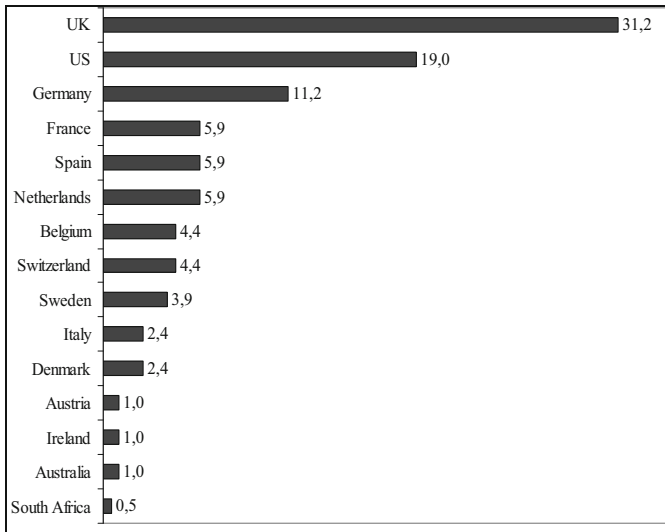
Several reasons explain this preference: the dominance of the English language, the strength of Science and Technology systems in these countries (world-renowned institutions, relatively high levels of Research and Development in-vestment and output, e.g. publications and patents) and an orientation towards the global market of postgraduate education. In both the UK and USA foreigners make up more than half of the postgraduate student population (see Baruch et al. 2007, Diaz-Briquets and Cheney 2002 and Universities UK 2007) and recruit-ment procedures are perceived to be more equitable (see Casey et al. 2001; Mah-

roum 2000a and 2000b; Millard 2005; Foadi 2006). Other popular destinations for young Portuguese researchers include the larger European Union countries (Germany, France and Spain) or those with strong academic and research systems (Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden). Switzerland also has the advantage of a large Portuguese immigrant community.

Almost all (98%) respondents obtained their initial higher education degree (ISCED 5) from a Portuguese institution located in Lisbon, Porto or Coimbra, i.e. the older university institutions. The newer universities, i.e. those created in the 1970s and 1980s, and/or those located in more peripheral areas, seem to be not only smaller but also less research-orientated, with less well-qualified academic staff. This picture is consistent with other studies (for example, Mahroum 2000) which have stated that the international circulation of researchers occurs between institutions acknowledging each others' merit, with flows highlighting differences in levels of prestige, i.e. from the "periphery" to the "core".

Out of a total of 14 PhD holders included in the sample, 11 of them had obtained their PhD abroad. This occurred mainly in the UK, but also to a lesser extent in Germany, France, Netherlands and Sweden, although it should be added that only in only four cases did a graduate remained in the country in which they conducted their postgraduate education. It has also been discovered that for most of these PhD students, leaving the country for postgraduate education was not a first international scientific experience. In fact, 81% had taken part in at least one of the activities detailed in Figure 3 which follows.

Figure 3: International Scientific Experiences before Leaving the country (%)
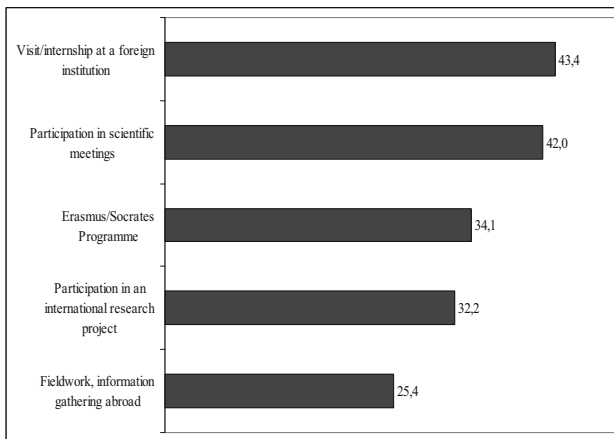
We can see that visits to foreign institutions and participation in international conferences were the most frequently cited experiences. A little over one third also mentioned participation in European higher education mobility programmes, e.g. Erasmus-Socrates.

5   Connections to Portugal

Going abroad may be the first step in entering a new national scientific system but it does not mean that young Portuguese researchers sever all ties between themselves and their country of origin. One of the most important dimensions of scientific mobility concerns the links researchers maintain with their home country; such ties not only increase the chances of a return but can also convert potential "brain drain" into "brain exchange".

In the present context, 26% of Portuguese PhD students abroad had enrolled at both a Portuguese and a foreign university (mixed doctorate), with shorter periods spent abroad, limited to specific stages of their research such as using specialist equipment or learning new techniques; again, the Portuguese institutions in these exchanges tended to be in Lisbon, Coimbra and Porto.

Figure 4:   Contacts with the Portuguese Scientific System (%)
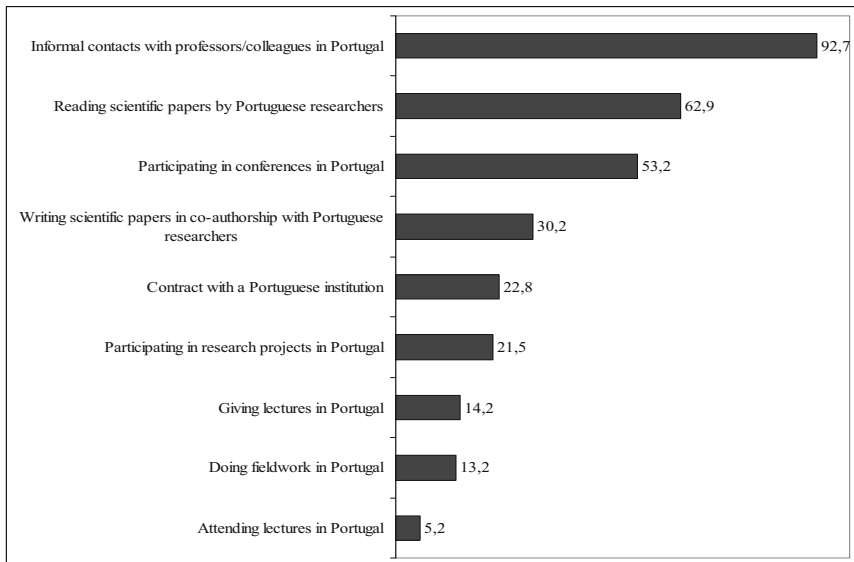
Only a small proportion of researchers (15%) were currently working on a research theme connected to Portugal, mainly in the Social Sciences (History, Sociology or Media Studies) or Natural Sciences, e.g. on Portuguese fauna and flora. Practically all (97%) respondents also maintained some contact with the Portuguese scientific system (Figure 4), largely in the form of informal contacts with professors and colleagues. Maintaining some sort of connection to one's country of origin's scientific system is generally considered an important way of guaranteeing return after international experience (Ackers 2001; Casey et al. 2001; Gill 2005). As to the means through which these links are maintained, email is by far the most frequently mentioned by respondents, although the high frequency of visits to Portugal should also be mentioned.

Figure 5:   Membership of Associations/Groups by Type (%)
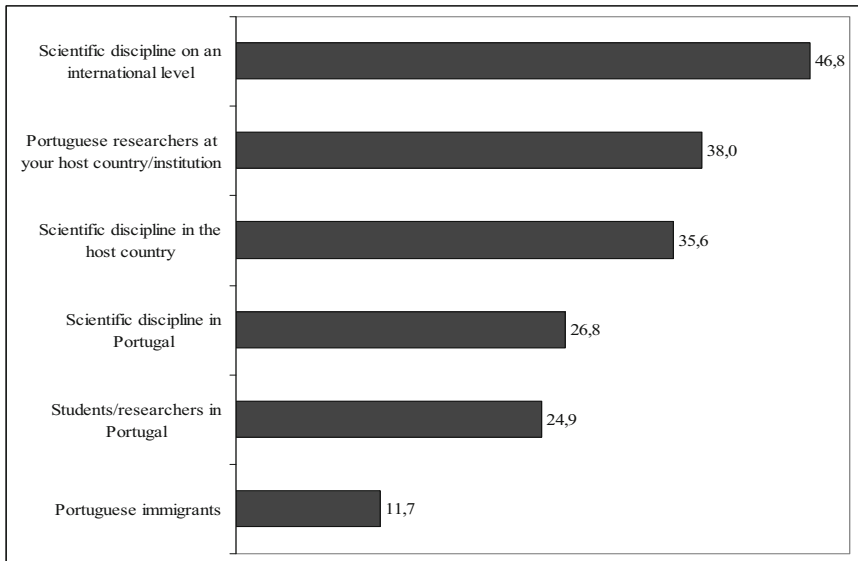
Another index of assessing the quality of home country connections among expatriate young researchers is membership of associations or organised groups (see Figure 5). Almost half of the young researchers surveyed were members of international associations in their own discipline. This illustrates the important role played by such formal groups, though for instance, organising conferences, publishing journals and books, fostering communication between scientists, promoting debate and generating a disciplinary identity (Henkel 2000).

More than a third of these young researchers were in contact with groups of Portuguese researchers in their host institution or country.[3] At a more quotidian level, maintaining contact with friends and family in Portugal is a daily practice, likewise keeping in touch with events via newspapers, both of which can be performed through electronic means.

6   Motivations for Leaving and Returning

Even though international mobility has come to be expected or even essential within successful scientific careers, it is still far from widespread, especially as peripheral national scientific systems develop, generating their own reproduction mechanisms; some researchers are evidently more mobile than others. It is thus important to understand motivations underlying the decision to study or work abroad (Figure 6).

Figure 6:   Motivations for Going Abroad (%)

Motivation	Value
To learn new techniques/methodologies/theories	4,39
It's important for the scientific CV	4,31
The possibility to establish scientific networks	4,23
To use equipment unavailable in Portugal	4,15
To work in an underdeveloped area in Portugal	4,08
To have the experience of living abroad	3,97
The quality of training programmes is higher	3,65
To increase chances of working abroad	3,50
To increase chances of working in Portugal	3,46
Difficulty getting a job or enrolling in a Phd programme in Portugal	2,88
Personal reasons (to be close to family and friends)	2,28

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[3]   It should however be mentioned that some of the respondents were sampled via their membership of associations such as the Portuguese Association of the University of Oxford, Cambridge University Portuguese Speakers Society, Portuguese American Postgraduate Society and MIT Portuguese Students Association.

Scientific reasons clearly predominate: researchers travel to learn new theories or methodologies, establish networks, utilise resources unavailable, and work in areas under-developed at home. However, the strategic dimension of this decision cannot be overlooked: many respondents gave high importance to strengthening their CV, thus increasing their chances of obtaining a job in Portugal or elsewhere. These findings are consistent with findings from similar studies in other countries (Ackers 2001; Casey et al. 2001; Todisco et al. 2003).

Less evident, but not entirely absent, are instances of researchers being "pushed out" of their country by the inability to find a job or start a PhD. One respondent stated:

> With my experience and my CV I would have never been allowed to enrol for a PhD in Portugal [incomplete first degree]. Here, they not only accepted me but also have praised me a lot and I started to publish right away in the first year and my project is much more advanced than what is usual. In Portugal, a strict observance of rules subtracts value to scientific merit. The parochial and nepotistic environment in institutions still has to change a lot (PhD student, UK, Social Sciences).

There is also a personal dimension to the migration decision: if family reasons are not frequent, the value of the experience of living abroad is rated highly (see also Ferro 2004; Avveduto 2001). Scientific migrations are however not necessarily definitive. A slight majority of respondents (54%) stated that they in fact intend to return to Portugal within five years.

Regarding reasons for returning, two justification stand out, namely family motives (such as wanting to being closer to a spouse, parents or even friends) and the wish to contribute to the development of the scientific system or Portugal in general (see also Fontes 2007). One respondent stated that "[I wish] to apply the knowledge I obtained to develop science in my area and to help train better students, more interested in science" (PhD student, USA, natural sciences), while another mentioned the quality of life in Portugal, "Missing the sun, the sea, and the food" (PhD holder, UK, exact sciences). Regarding reasons for not returning to Portugal, the state of the scientific labour market is the main deterrent (see also Baruch et al. 2007; Casey et al. 2001), specifically a lack of employment opportunities, difficulties in career progression and low salaries. As one respondent started:

> It's difficult to find a position in the business sector where the PhD won't be considered a hindrance [over-skilled] or would be properly valued on an intellectual and financial level (PhD student, UK, Health Sciences).

Better research conditions abroad also motivated the young scientists to delay returns; likewise, their quality of life, this time in the host country. Putting these outcomes into context is however difficult as there are no official statistics regarding the number of young researchers returning to Portugal after finishing PhDs or other research exercises.

7   Conclusion

The preceding discussion should be read as a brief preliminary analysis of a complex and multilayered phenomenon, but we can see that young scientists constitute a small but highly specific social group. Their mobility behaviour is influenced both by scientific/professional motivations (the need to acquire new skills, work in prestigious institutions and learn from top scientists) and more personal reasons, typical of many young migrants: the search for better paid jobs and the desire for new life experiences. These reasons may push them to go abroad, while family and friendship ties pull them towards returning (see, for example, Growiec in this volume).

These young scientists usually depart from research-strong national institutions and move towards countries with world renowned scientific records, which offer opportunities for postgraduate education and/or employment in research in a language they are familiar with. Almost all maintain personal and professional connections with Portugal, which may provide a return path or, alternatively, a stepping stone for building international networks.

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Recent Economic Performance and Changing Configurations of Workforce Mobility in Northwest Portugal: Social Consequences of Unemployment and the Rise of Youth Emigration[1]

João Queirós

1   Introduction

Factors influencing mobility decision-making processes are multiple and usually combine in complex ways. To declare that all Portuguese emigration is an outcome of uneven development would therefore be a simplistic way of understanding migration issues in this region, but this is nevertheless an important statement. It reminds us not only that Portugal, especially the North of the country, remains several steps behind the most developed European nations but also that the majority of Portuguese migrants are driven by a need and compulsion to escape economic marginalisation rather being inspired by post-materialistic values and demands, which are perhaps more applicable to those living in the major metropolitan centres (see for example, the chapters of Cairns and Smyth in this volume). Uneven development, measured via regional and/or national differences in domains such as economic growth, unemployment levels, wages and purchasing power and labour force qualifications, is still the background for Portuguese emigration, at least in the periphery amongst those less well endowed with social and educational capital.

At international level, a persisting development gap between Portugal and the more prosperous European or North American countries contributes to reproducing Portugal's status as workforce provider for the more "successful" economies. This feature comes into particularly sharp focus whenever there is rising unemployment and little or no growth in the Portuguese economy, and also when destination countries have fewer immigration restrictions. At national level, the persisting development gap between regions explains the peculiar distribution of emigration flows, with Northern and Central regions figuring as the main "emigration areas", whereas the Lisbon region is more of an "immigration destiny". This uneven development is responsible for Portugal being, since the 1990s, a country of simultaneous emigration and immigration.

Taking Portugal's recent economic performance as an analytic starting-point, this chapter seeks to discuss the evolution of Portuguese emigration in the last half decade, focusing upon the Vale do Sousa region, a group of six municipalities located in Northwest Portugal, adjacent to the Porto Metropolitan Area. Although emigration in this area has not been a historically significant phenomenon, the region has recently witnessed a rise in work-related international migration flows, frequently taking the form of international weekly or fortnightly commuting to Spain as a result of declining industrial dynamism and growing unemployment.

The specific aim of this chapter is to explore a number of hypotheses on the social consequences of growing unemployment and the rise of youth emigration flows in the Vale do Sousa region. The main idea underlying this investigation is that these flows provide a functional schemata favourable to the reproduction of the region's socio-economic structures, in this way contributing to the reproduction, or even aggravation, of the region's development problems, namely its "peripheral social condition" (Pinto and Queirós 2007).

2   Recent Economic Performance and Changing Configurations of Workforce Mobility in Northwest Portugal: the Case of Vale do Sousa

Demographically, Vale do Sousa has always been marked by strong population growth and, despite recent rises in the average age at time of marriage and a declining birth rate, the region still has a relatively young population, at least compared to the population of the Porto Metropolitan Area or the Portuguese population as a whole.[2] Despite having this youthful population, the region has very low educational attainment levels. The rise of investment in schooling, in

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[2]   In 2001, 0-14 year olds represented 21.5% of total population in the region, 5% higher than the Porto Metropolitan Area and national averages (INE 2001).

Portugal a relatively recent phenomenon, has not taken place to the same extent in Vale do Sousa. School dropout rates also remain high, at 5.9% more than twice the national average, and the proportion of people with post-secondary education credentials is very low, less than 5.8% of total population, a third lower than the Porto Metropolitan Area average and 40% of the national average (INE 2001).

Given this very poor level of educational attainment, which as we shall see, in the past has been linked to low educational demands in the region's economy, it is not surprising to find correspondingly low average incomes and very low per capita purchasing power, albeit while integrated into the "Porto Metropolitan Region" (Ferrão, 2002). In 2004, for instance, the average per capita purchase power in the Vale do Sousa Urban Community municipalities was around 60% of national and half the Porto Metropolitan Area averages, despite the contiguity of the two regions (Table 1).

Table 1: Per Capita Local Purchase Power

| | Per Capita Local Purchase Power Index | |
	2000	2004
Portugal	100.00	100.00
North	85.96	83.90
Porto Metropolitan Area	130.71	117.35
Tâmega	53.22	55.78
Vale do Sousa UC Municipalities:		
Castelo de Paiva	51.58	54.71
Felgueiras	69.22	63.65
Lousada	52.11	53.62
Paços de Ferreira	65.93	64.30
Paredes	50.71	53.27
Penafiel	56.13	59.81

Sources: INE (National Statistics Office) – Portugal, *Estudo Sobre o Poder de Compra Concelhio*, 2000 and 2004.

This breakdown creates the impression that the administrative boundary between the Porto Metropolitan Area and Vale do Sousa, separating Valongo from Paredes, is a sharp divide in economic terms, as figures of 98.8 and 93.7 in the first

municipality shift to 50.71 and 53.3 in the second in 2000 and 2004 respectively. It would be difficult to find a better exemplar of "periphery" and "interior" relations between the Portuguese "centre" and the "coast", and of how population centres of high economic and urban density fail to extend their development potential into bordering areas.

Low educational attainment levels can be seen as a reflection of a traditionally low level of socio-economic development, a fundamental characteristic of the region. Most of Vale do Sousa's economic activities have poor growth and little added value potential, and are based on the intensive use of low-skilled, low-cost labour. The region's industrial structure is basically comprised of small and medium-sized firms, mostly family owned. Labour is recruited locally, often informally, within workers' families and social networks. Atypical kinds of employment and poor working conditions are common, with local average wages below national standards. The prevailing organisational structure is fairly simple: authority relations are mostly vertical and coordination generally undertaken via direct supervision, a process facilitated by a short chain of command. In terms of strategic approach to markets, individualism tends to prevail over business cooperation. At production management level, there is however a significant network of interdependence between local firms, largely established by subcontracting. Traditional production methods also predominate.

These regional characteristics hardly favour the open recognition and validation of skills gained in the formal education system, hence leading to further restraints on young people's aspirations of social mobility based on educational credentials and discouraging schooling demand. In mitigation, it should also be said that this particular regional productive system, based as it is upon the intensive use of labour, made it possible for unemployment levels to be kept low throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Meanwhile, globalisation and the opening up of the Portuguese economy to the world have led to the decline of the region's main economic activities (textiles and clothing, footwear, furniture), which were clearly unprepared to face the fast rise of international competition. As a result, many factories went bankrupt and closed or moved to other countries, leading to a significant rise in unemployment.

Table 2: Unemployment Rate by Gender and Recent Evolution of Unemployment

	Unemployment Rate (%)									Unemployment Var. (%)		
	1981			1991			2001			2001-2006		
	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW
Portugal	4.1	11.8	6.8	4.2	8.9	6.1	5.2	8.7	6.8	36.0	35.0	35.4
North	5.1	12.0	7.7	3.8	6.5	5.0	5.2	8.6	6.7	66.2	82.0	75.1
Porto Metropolitan Area	4.8	11.9	7.6	4.7	7.7	6.0	6.8	9.4	8.0	54.2	60.2	57.4
Tâmega	4.5	15.0	7.8	2.9	6.1	4.1	3.2	8.0	5.1	122.8	132.2	128.6
Vale do Sousa UC	4.0	16.3	7.7	2.6	5.1	3.5	2.9	5.6	4.1	142.3	154.3	149.3
Castelo de Paiva	4.6	11.0	6.5	5.0	17.4	9.3	4.5	13.6	8.3	52.9	129.2	104.9
Felgueiras	3.9	9.7	6.1	2.3	3.1	2.6	3.2	4.3	3.7	272.7	369.2	323.2
Lousada	4.5	20.0	9.4	2.1	2.5	2.3	2.9	4.5	3.6	126.2	143.3	135.3
Paços de Ferreira	3.2	16.3	7.1	1.7	3.3	2.3	2.1	3.6	2.7	208.3	206.4	207.3
Paredes	3.8	19.8	7.8	2.4	7.0	4.0	2.8	6.1	4.2	115.7	109.8	112.1
Penafiel	4.3	19.6	8.7	3.3	6.0	4.2	3.0	7.0	4.6	67.5	70.7	69.5

Sources: INE (National Statistics Office) – Portugal, *Recenseamentos Gerais da População*, 1981, 1991 and 2001. IEFP (National Employment and Vocational Training Office), *Desemprego Mensal Concelhio 2006* (*online* information: www.iefp.pt)[3]

In the last half-decade, the number of unemployed workers living in Vale do Sousa has risen dramatically, by around 150%. Although the rise of unemployment is a national issue, its incidence is not equally distributed throughout the country. Table 2 shows that the rise of unemployment between 2001 and 2006 was more pronounced in the North – more than twice the national unemployment growth rate – and has affected primarily the more economically specialised areas such as municipalities with less employment diversity and job change possibilities, e.g. in Felgueiras, where the footwear industry is the main job supplier,

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[3]   The recent variation in the number of unemployed people was estimated according to two different sets of data. The 2001 figures are from INE's 2001 Census; the 2006 figures are from the IEFP's unemployment database. As the way these two national agencies define unemployment differs, the 2001-2006 unemployment variation figures are to be read as estimates.

Lousada, where textiles and clothing are the most important economic activities and Paços de Ferreira and Paredes, where the furniture industry predominates.

With it now being harder to find a job in the region's employment basin or in the Porto Metropolitan Area, low-skilled workers, especially younger workers more exposed to unemployment and job instability, feel compelled to consider migration. As a result, the region's workforce mobility patterns are changing, with commuting flows intensifying and more distended emigration flows rising, bringing back to public attention a debate which many thought belonged to the past. Recent statistics demonstrate rising emigration flows from, and simultaneously a decrease in the size of the foreign population living in, Portugal.

Table 3: Foreign Population Living in Portugal

	Foreign Population Living in Portugal (Thousands)									
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total	172.9	175.3	177.8	190.9	207.6	360.8	423.8	444.6	469.1	432.0

Source: OECD, International Migration Outlook, 2007.

This trend follows a period of strong immigration (see Table 3), suggesting that those who thought Portugal during the 1990s had shifted from being one of the group of "emigration countries" to become an "immigration destiny" failed to take into account the long-term evolution of the Portuguese economy and society. In fact, even when immigration flows were strongest between 1997 and 2003, Portuguese communities abroad continued to grow in size. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Portuguese population living abroad has increased by around 7% in the last ten years, from 4.63 million in 1997 to 4.95 million in 2007. Emigration flows have risen sharply since 2001, with the Portuguese population in the United Kingdom, for example, rising from 58,000 in 2001 to 85,000 in 2005, an increase of 47%. The growth of number of Portuguese immigrants throughout this four-year period was also strong in Spain (up 40% from 42,660 to 59,800), Switzerland (up 24% from 135,500 to 167,300) and Luxembourg (up 13% from 59,800 to 67,800). Other countries, such as the United States, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Ireland, Andorra and Angola, have also reported recent increases in numbers of Portuguese immigrants (OECD 2007).

We should also add that official emigration figures tend to under-represent the true extent of emigration flows, as they fail to take into account seasonal

emigration and international commuting, or "pendular" emigration, a form of international migration popular in Northwest Portugal. According to the Construction Workers Union, more than 70,000 Portuguese men work in the construction industry in Spain alone, with most commuting on a weekly or fortnightly basis. More than 10% of these workers are from Paredes and Penafiel, the two most populous municipalities within Vale do Sousa.

The sociographic portrait of these "new emigrants" is not very different from the equivalent profile from twenty or thirty years ago: young, low skilled males from Northern and Central regions of Portugal. According to the National Statistics Office, more than three quarters of the 2003 registered migrants were men and 45% were between 15 and 29 years old; only 30% were 45 or older. Regarding educational levels, official figures tell us that 90% of registered migrants had nine or less years of schooling; about 50% had, at most, four years of schooling. Most were from the North and Central regions (41% and 22%, respectively) and went abroad to work in construction or manufacturing industries, agriculture or in the less qualified tertiary activities, such as hotels, restaurants and cleaning services. If we compare the recent emigration flows with "traditional" Portuguese emigration, the main difference is that current emigration flows tend to be short-term rather than long-term. In 2003, 75% of registered migrants left the country for a period of less than one year. Europe was the main destiny, with 93.5% of the 2003 registered migrants going to other European countries, especially Switzerland, the UK, Luxembourg, Spain, France and Germany (INE 2003).

The fact that the socio-graphic characteristics of the "new" emigrant are not so different from the "old" emigrant suggests, in terms of causes of emigration and the role of Portuguese migrants in destination countries, that not only is Portugal failing to change its economic, social and political structures sufficiently in order to converge with EU average development levels but also that vast areas of the country are failing to break-out from their historically peripheral socio-economic conditions. The recent rise in emigration flows can be interpreted as a consequence of strong and persistent uneven development: uneven international development on one side affecting the balances and development asymmetries within Europe and between European nations (Portugal diverging from Europe's average development level) and inter-regional uneven development on the other affecting the balances and development asymmetries within Portuguese regions (the Northwest facing intense unemployment and seeming less able to cope with the economic crisis). If we add the low development standards of Vale do Sousa, low economic growth, low investment, declining industrial dynamism, growing unemployment and the constraints of a trans-national economic set-up which encourages international workforce mobility, increas-

ingly characterised by economic flexibility, job insecurity and labour market segmentation, we will inevitably conclude that the region's current socio-economic situation, and the context surrounding it, favours the generation of migration pre-dispositions, especially where there is job insecurity and unemployment, and few of the cultural and social resources which might help people cope with this situation.

3   Social Consequences of Unemployment and the Rise of Youth Emigration Flows

In theory, migration can act as a kind of "regulation mechanism", playing a decisive role in the structuring of contemporary economies through releasing pressure in local economies with high unemployment rates, representing a perhaps temporary solution for workers. In destination regions or countries, migrants can also provide a low-cost workforce for less qualified economic activities (agriculture, construction, manufacturing industries, cleaning services, restaurants, hotels); being temporary, they can adjust relatively easily to the economic conditions of these regions or countries, allowing them to be freed from some of the costs of social protection (unemployment, housing, etc.). Migrations can therefore be an important link in the chain of neoliberalism, since they answer the demands for economic flexibility and labour market segmentation and contribute to reducing corporate responsibility and the cost of public social protection.

Clearly functional from a strictly economic point of view, the rise of migration flows seems to have some important effects upon the social organisation of communities most affected by its incidence. Amongst these effects, we can find some of the usual general consequences. Regarding demography, for instance, family formation tends to occur later and the average marriage age increases; birth rates and average number of children per mother tend to decrease, leading to population ageing. Local economies are also affected by the rise of youth emigration flows and international commuting. And in reality, although emigration may release some pressure from local economies, as a remedy to unemployment it can also become a problem for local employers, who may lose part of their "industrial reserve armies" and face difficulties hiring young, low-paid workers. The attractiveness of emigration, especially in respect to wages, can also demobilise young workers' investment in "traditional" careers, thus increasing turnover rates in industry and construction. The "benefits" of emigration and international commuting are already being incorporated in the career strategies of some industrial workforce segments, as Monteiro (2007) pointed out in his study on the furniture industry in Paredes.

The rise of emigration flows will probably also contribute to gestating other important social changes. It is well established that in communities where emigration is stronger, the migrant's and the migrant family's social ties tend to weaken. Additionally, traditional gender roles can change as women become a more dominant social segment and new social protagonists appear, thus changing local power relations. However, the socio-economic background and main characteristics of Vale do Sousa's current migration pattern suggests that the social consequences of the rise of emigration flows and international commuting may go way beyond the aforementioned usual general effects.

Several authors have analysed the effects of neoliberalism and economic flexibility in career-related identity-formation processes. Focusing on the construction industry, the main economic activity of Vale do Sousa's young migrants, Pinto notices that:

> Under the threat of unemployment, whether short-term or long-term, […] and wage relation instability, the compulsive flexibility of productive processes and management strategies frequently leads to a decrease not only of the exigency levels (both objective and subjective) regarding working conditions and increasing production rhythms, but also of self-esteem and self-confidence levels within large segments of the working collectives, thus leading to the disruption of group solidarities, without which consciousness over labour issues and subsequent collective action are hardly attainable (Pinto 1999: 21).

Under neoliberalism and economic flexibility, the socialisation role of work is shaken and workplaces frequently become places of "identity de-structuring", rather than identity-formation (Pinto 1999: 21-22). Short-term emigration flows and international commuting can thus exacerbate the effects of economic flexibility on identity-formation processes and further expose workers to job instability and constant socio-geographic displacement, keeping them from building-up life projects based on long-term career investment. At the same time risks associated with economic flexibility and job instability (unemployment, loss of labour rights, social exclusion) can be aggravated. New risks may also emerge, ranging from having to face poor working conditions and exploitation to family disruption, accidents and even death. Through being a kind of contemporary "nomad" and having to cope with these risks, short-term migrants and international commuters may suffer more from what Michel Pialoux, referring to the effects of economic flexibility, calls "existential anxiety" (cited in Pinto 1999: 22).

With uncertainty as part of everyday life, the future is looked upon with low expectation levels and short-term projects prevail over long-term career investments. This perspective also helps explain why consumption is so important. Lacking some of the most important traditional points of reference, and with narrow future perspectives, young people build identities around non work-related references. Investment in lifestyle and conspicuous consumption often appears the answer to self-fulfilment, with the assertion of personal needs representing an important element in strategies to deny the "eternal present" in which young people appear to be trapped within.

The consequences of economic flexibility and the rise of uncertainty regarding the future can also impact upon long-term schooling investment-based life projects, especially in areas such as Vale do Sousa, where individuals and families have been traditionally disillusioned regarding formal education. Economic flexibility also tends to create the perception, especially within families who haven't experienced social mobility through investment in schooling, that local labour markets fail to properly utilise the skills and cultural resources provided by formal education, thus favouring the demobilisation of young people's investment in attaining qualifications. Furthermore, since unemployment is not interpreted in Vale do Sousa as a problem of low educational level or low vocational training but more as a temporary lack of jobs, a radical change in families' and individuals' dispositions towards schooling seems unlikely to happen. Short-term emigration and international commuting appears to be an easier solution to the problem.

Such strategies do not imply a need for significant changes in the way investment in schooling is generally perceived since, like local jobs, jobs outside the country are low-skilled. Being short-term and essentially driven by materialistic needs, this "new" emigration also fails to enable or create the motivation for the build-up of long-term social climbing projects based on schooling, something very common in traditional Portuguese emigrant families in the past after they settled and overcame initial socio-economic integration difficulties (Leandro 2004: 114-115). Additionally, we must also remember that the recent rise in Vale do Sousa's unemployment rates is primarily affecting older workers who may be less able to find new jobs. As a result, it is possible that the younger members of local families face more pressure to leave school and enter the labour market, in the region or abroad, to increase their families' incomes.

Traditionally, long-term Portuguese emigration frequently led to the constitution of what Rocha-Trindade (1976) terms "double-pole communities". In destination countries, Portuguese migrants usually rebuild family and social ties, this way creating strong relationship networks and increasing their social capital, an important means of coping not only with distance and identity de-structuring

but also problems relating to unemployment, social protection, language, leisure and the schooling of children. Simultaneously, a strengthening of the ties with communities of origin often took place. Migrants' identities, informal social protection and sense of security were hence reinforced and, at the same time, those who stayed in Portugal were benefited from emigration. Gonçalves (1986), who has also studied Portuguese emigration as a double-end process, has called this a "double-tie relation".

In contrast, movements such as short-term or seasonal emigration and international commuting tend to heighten the de-structuring effects of economic flexibility and job insecurity, and can be thus described as "double-pole de-structuring processes", rather than meaningful and durable processes through which communities and social ties are reconstructed and strengthened. In such cases, the migrant's and the international commuter's social ties tend to be weakened, as life and career trajectories become more uncertain and more individualised: in destination countries, there is little support and "no time" to build real communities and solid relationship networks; meanwhile, back in the communities of origin, life becomes atomised and increasingly family-centred.

4   Conclusion

The proceeding discussion illustrates how youth migration flows and international commuting as (temporary) solutions for unemployment can contribute to the reproduction of Vale do Sousa's "peripheral social condition" (Pinto and Queirós 2007), through the extension and even exacerbation of the effects of the region's socio-economic structures of economic flexibility and social instability. More precisely, this process occurs via increasing personal and family risks, disrupting identity and life project-formation processes, specifically those strategies based on schooling investment, promoting individualisation and fastening community breakdown.

If we wish to speculate further, we could extrapolate this analysis to the international level, and conclude that the recent rise of Portuguese emigration is somehow part of a complex process reproducing Portugal's peripheral social condition within Europe. More substantial conclusions will however have to wait until the results of further empirical tests on the hypotheses explored in this chapter are available.

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Across Difference: Portuguese Muslim Youth as Portuguese Youth? [1]

Nina Clara Tiesler and David Cairns

1   Introduction

For around 30 years, Muslims have represented the largest non-Christian religious minority in Portugal. This "New Islamic Presence" is largely the result of the post-colonial movement of Muslims of Indian/Mozambican and Guinean backgrounds to Portugal, and is estimated to be in the region of between 30,000 and 40,000 people in scale (Tiesler 2000; 2001; 2005). The discussion which follows focuses on studying Muslim youth, adopting the original perspective of exploring everyday issues, such as educational and occupational experiences, rather than exceptional matters: issues of security, religious extremism and violence, nevertheless presumed to be of over-riding importance to young Muslims. In this investigation, we also explore the experiences of Muslim youth in the city of Lisbon in juxtaposition with a further group of young people drawn from a broad range of social backgrounds in the same city. [2]

Studying Muslim youth in Portugal presents challenges in respect to what to study and indeed who to study. As Herrera (2005) has argued, youth in general and young Muslims in particular have long been treated as a social problem. Such research deficiencies can lead to a disproportionate "Islamisation" of the object of study (in this case, Muslim youth) and strengthening of the Islamicisation of public and academic discourses (Tiesler 2006). In short, nearly everything and anything these young Muslims do, think, affirm or negate, appears to derive from their "Muslimness", i.e. an Islamic particularity, rather than from other factors such as socio-economic class, gender or educational background, not to

[2]   For further discussion of this other group of Portuguese youth, see Cairns and Smyth in this volume.

mention the impact of living in a particular place at a specific moment in time. While it is valid to ask how young Muslims use their "Muslimness" as a social capital type resource, for example in attaining social mobility, to see such capital as an essentialist property is problematic, since at least in Portugal, there are these aforementioned other influences to consider, along with what could conceivably be termed "Portugueseness".

2   Methodology

The research which forms the foundation of this chapter surveyed young Muslims as much in terms of their Portuguese identities as their status as Muslims. This is an original approach, with few prior works having presented comparisons between Muslims from diverse backgrounds and other ethnic or national groups (see Abranches 2007; Bastos et al. 2005). Fieldwork consisted of a quantitative survey, conducted in Lisbon, of university students alongside a further survey of young Muslims associated with the Islamic Community of Lisbon (CIL). The majority of these Muslims take part in the life of the CIL, which while acting as an umbrella organisation in formal and informal matters for Sunni Muslims, by no means implies that Islamic community life in Lisbon is somehow a singular experience.

Regarding the make-up of the university-based sample, hereafter referred to as the initial sample, 45% were male 55% female and 95% were under 25 years old. The young Muslim sample was 55% male and 45% female, with 73% aged under 25, from a wider range of educational backgrounds compared to the initial sample. The same basic questionnaire was administered to both groups. The questions themselves, while diverse in scope, all related to various aspects of these young people's life experience, for instance, family and community attachments, work and study orientations, in addition to gathering information on future life plans. In total, 240 young people were included in the survey: 200 in the original sample alongside 40 young Muslims.

All of the young people surveyed were asked to provide information about their personal backgrounds, particularly in respect to self-perceived ethnic status and/or nationality. While the young people in the initial sample described themselves predominantly as Portuguese (84%), 9% were of African origin, mostly Cape Verdean, with 6% from other European countries. In relation to the national backgrounds of the young Muslims, almost all were Portuguese nationals/citizens born in Portugal to parents from Mozambique who were also Sunni Muslims of Indian origin. Regarding marital status, both groups of young people were overwhelmingly single: 94% of the initial sample and 80% of the young

Muslims. In respect to the remaining cases, the initial sample included seven married young people, two fiancées, two divorcees and one cohabiter. Out of the 40 young Muslims, four were married, three engaged and one divorced. Very few of these young people had children: five in the initial sample and three of the young Muslims.

3   Analysis

Out of a large body of data, a number of prominent themes have been chosen to illustrate the individual orientations of these young people to work and study and their experiences of family relationships and community attachments. The question of future geographical mobility has also been included, namely whether or not these young people see themselves living in Portugal in the future on a permanent basis. This latter issue is particularly important if we wish to assess how deeply grounded these individuals are in their communities despite, or perhaps because of, family histories of migration.

From existing literature on Portuguese youth, it is evident that the family is of paramount importance in the everyday lives of young people, with peer relationships also of major significance (see, for instance, Guerreiro and Abrantes 2004). We also know that the majority of the young people surveyed still live with their families: 76% in the initial sample and 85% of the young Muslims. These results are in line with recent European trends on youth home-staying implying that increasing numbers of young people are staying within the family home for longer periods (Bendit et al. 1999; Iacovou and Berthoud 2001). Furthermore, when questioned as to whether or not this housing arrangement was a satisfactory state of affairs, a clear majority agreed that it was "good to live with their parents", the young Muslims somewhat more so: 87% compared to 70% from the initial sample.

Family and peer relationships are explored in Table 1, which presents results of a series of binary linear regression analyses, with responses to various statements as the dependent variable in each case. While there are some interesting differences between the two samples, e.g. the young Muslims are more likely to feel "incomplete" without their families and live close to both their friends and family, and less likely to feel "incomplete" without their friends, with two notable exceptions these disparities are not significant to a meaningful level, implying that there is little difference between these two samples on most of these key indicators of family and peer relationships: these young people evidently share a high regard for both their families and their peer relationships.

Table 1: Family and Peer Relationships via binary logistic regression between samples

Statement	ß	Exp (ß)
I have many of the same friends today as I had when I was a child	1.439	4.217*
It's good to live at home with your parents	1.007	2.736*
I would feel incomplete without my family	.586	1.803
I see myself having many of the same friends in the future as I have today	.549	1.731
Most of my family lives near me	.466	1.594
Most of my friends live near me	.382	1.466
Having a good family life is more important than having a good job	.115	1.121
I would feel incomplete without my friends	-.322	.725
My family support me while I am studying	-.435	.648

* Pearson chi square level of significance less than .05

Similarly high frequencies of young people in both samples agreed with the statement, "Having a good family life is more important than having a good job", 76% of young Muslims and 74% in the initial sample. Furthermore, while friendships were durable across the board, this was an area in which another significant disparity emerged: the young Muslims were four times more likely to have the same friends today as they had in childhood, 89% of young Muslims compared to 66% in the initial sample; 90% of the former and 83% of the latter also see themselves having many of the same friends in the future as they have today. Therefore, while friendship is evidently strong across the board, peer relationships are more durable for the young Muslims.

In respect to study and work orientations, a number of indices on study and work were included in the questionnaire to explore the significance of both of these areas in the lives of the young people surveyed. It should be noted that with the majority of these young people still being in full-time education, their opinions on, for instance, the Portuguese education system, are very much first-hand accounts, while their opinions of work largely relate to their anticipated future careers.

Table 2:   Study and Work via logistic regression between samples

Statement	ß	Exp (ß)
Portugal has a good education system	.845	2.329*
Salaries are too low in Portugal	.178	1.195
My family support me while I am studying	.048	1.049
I have a fear of unemployment	.016	1.016
I have no career plans	-.069	.934
A person must have a job to feel a full member of society	-.386	.680
I don't like to study	-.386	.678

* Pearson chi square level of significance less than .05

As we can observe from the above table, significant difference between samples was present in responses to only one of these statements, namely, a much higher level of agreement being made to the statement "Portugal has a good education system" amongst the young Muslims, although those in disagreement with the statement were still in the majority in both camps: 72% of young Muslims compared to 86% of those in the initial sample. This is an interesting dichotomy in respect to the degrees of negativity on display, taking into account the fact that responses to other questions indicate that these young Muslims, via travel and family relationships outside of Europe, are more likely to be able to make informed comparison with other countries' educational systems.

Large majorities in both samples where in agreement with the statement on salaries being too low in Portugal: 84% of young Muslims and 81% of the initial sample. Significantly more young Muslim females agreed with this notion, 100% in fact, compared to 83% of the young Muslim men. Regarding other results, fear of unemployment is prominent amongst both groups, 76% in agreement with the statement, with women in both samples being more apprehensive: 84% of young women beside 60% of young men in the initial sample and 82% of young Muslim women compared to 68% of young Muslim men. Similarly high numbers, 78% of young Muslims and 70% of the initial sample, also felt that "A person must have a job to feel a full member of society".

Prior studies also tell us that the lives of these young people can be complicated, with a labyrinthine series of choices and dilemmas to be made as they move towards a delineated future of unpredictable outcomes (Pais 1998; 2003). One shared characteristic of Portuguese youth would seem to be a close attachment to home, meaning not only, as previously discovered, living in the actual parental home, but also being embedded within the communities within which these individuals reside, not to mention Portugal itself, with future life trajectories also imagined at or within close proximity to home.

A number of statements were included on the questionnaire in relation to attachments to the communities in Lisbon in which these young people reside,

alongside broader identifications with Portugal and Europe. We can observe from Table 3 that in regard to liking (or not liking) where they live, there is no significant difference; likewise being more European than Portuguese (in total only 23% of all young people agreed) and feeling "at home" in Portugal. On this latter issue, a total of 90% of all young people were in agreement: 92% of young Muslims and 90% in the initial sample.

Table 3: Community Attachments via logistic regression between samples

Statement	ß	Exp (ß)
I always want to live in my area	1.076	2.933*
I regularly socialise in my own area	.958	2.605*
I feel at home in Portugal	.229	1.257
I don't like the area I live in	.170	1.185
I think of myself first and foremost as an individual	-.318	.727
I feel more European than Portuguese	-.265	.767

* Pearson chi square level of significance less than .05

In respect to issues where significant difference did emerge: wanting to always live in present area of residence and socialising within one's own community, we can observe that almost three times as many young Muslims want to remain where they currently live and regularly socialise locally. There is also a suggestion that the young Muslims may be slightly less individualistic than their counterparts in the other sample, 75% of those in the initial sample agreeing with "I think of myself first and foremost as an individual" compared to 69% of young Muslims, although this difference is not statistically significant.

Regarding mobility aspirations within future working lives, the picture is largely one of consistency between the two samples, with equally high numbers of young people from both groups thinking that it would be good to work (77% overall) or study (82% overall) abroad. The one significant discrepancy to emerge out of Table 4 concerns working in Portugal but outside Lisbon: only 29% of the young Muslims would consider doing so in contrast to 57% in the initial sample. In respect to the question of always seeing oneself living in Portugal in the future, the difference between the two groups is pronounced but not quite statistically significant, with young Muslims over twice as likely to agree with this statement.

Table 4:   Mobility via logistic regression between samples

Statement	ß	Exp (ß)
I see myself always living in Portugal in the future	.852	2.344
It's easier to find a good job abroad than in Portugal	.488	1.630
I would move abroad if it meant having a better life	-.081	.923
I would like to work in another country in Europe	-.292	.745
It's good to study abroad	-.381	.683
It's good to work in another country	-.386	.680
I would like to work in another part of Portugal	-1.186	.306*

* Pearson chi square level of significance less than .05

4   Discussion

In discussing these results, it is perhaps wise to retain a certain amount of cau-
tion, particularly considering the relatively small sample sizes and the differ-
ences in terms of the backgrounds of these young people, i.e. those from the
initial sample being sourced from an educational context while the young Mus-
lims were drawn from a specific social context. Despite these limitations, the two
samples were comparable in terms of gender and age profile and, crucially,
shared the same geographical context.

What we can observe is a picture of youth concerned with everyday issues
relating to their educational experiences and career expectations. The young
Muslims surveyed share many of the same concerns as their non-Muslim coun-
terparts, for example, over how to initiate and maintain a career. These are com-
mon concerns in a national context of difficult economic circumstances. Within
such a situation, young people are at risk of marginalisation and potentially
placed in a position of dependency upon family. In both groups, we can observe
indications of strong family relationships, not to mention close friendship ties
and an attachment to their home city.

In putting these results into a broader context, as Portuguese youth, the so-
cial class origins of these young people should also be considered. The relatively
privileged lives of these young people may contribute to their strong feelings of
attachment to their families and their communities. It would be much more diffi-
cult to imagine them wanting to maintain strong ties to families and communities
unable or unwilling to sustain them. It is conceivable therefore that the class
origins of many of these young people is of more importance than other factors,
such as gender or ethnicity, pointing to a continuing salience of social class, in
line with other recent research findings (Jeffrey and McDowell 2004: 133).

In respect to community attachments, we can observe strong identification
with place and country of residence, particularly amongst the young Muslims.

This finding is allied to aversion towards trans-national mobility, at least in terms of actual intentions. A further important theme to emerge from these results hence relates to the dichotomy between what could be termed a "global vision" (see Bauer and Thompson 2004) and substantive global action, i.e. actual physical mobility or at least mobility intentions. Within these results, this dichotomy is most evident when juxtaposing attitudes towards abroad, i.e. while most feel it "good to work abroad", actual mobility intentions are less pronounced. While it is possible to discuss this dichotomy in terms of the sedentary nature of Portuguese identity, or "monolithic versions of Portuguese-ness" (Noivo 2004: 255), within our context, there is perhaps a more prosaic explanation: strong family relationships and deep community attachments are probably more salient in mobility decision-making than adherence to a national identity constructs.

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The Future of Youth Mobility in Europe
A Conclusion

David Cairns

This brief concluding chapter brings together the main research themes which have emerged in the proceeding chapters, concentrating upon three important and interrelated issues: firstly, how state-of-the-art research on the current practice of youth mobility in Europe helps us move towards a "realistic" as opposed to idealistic concept of youth on the move; secondly, the significance of both formal, perhaps officially mediated, movements and more informal and individually inspired actions; and thirdly, how the practice of youth mobility relates to present and future European Policy.

1   The Practice of Youth Mobility

Even from the assemblage of original research in this book, it is difficult to ascertain the true extent of youth mobility in Europe today. Likewise, it is not possible to say whether or not levels of youth migration are rising or falling without solid demographic evidence. As Hauvette notes in her discussion of mobility and European identity, levels of youth mobility between different European states are not recorded, essentially due to the fact that such travels are not perceived as migratory in the classical sense, at least amongst those responsible for collecting official European statistics. At national levels, statistics purporting to be "official" measures of migration do exist in practically all nations. However, as noted in Queiros' chapter, the reliability, and hence the utility, of such figures is highly questionable due to problems such as systematic under-recording. What we are hence left with is a murky demographic soup of vague, and perhaps misleading, impressions on the extent of youth mobility.

In regard to one key issue in the practice of youth mobility we can make a reasonable guess and state that young people with, or intending to have, transnational experiences in their education-to-work trajectories are likely to be in the minority within their respective European member states, at least in the national

and regional contexts covered by the various chapters in this book, e.g. Germany, Portugal and Northern Ireland. Other recent studies (for example, Ackers, 2005; King 2002; Baláž, and Williams 2004) do however confirm this general impression elsewhere.

We can be more confident about being able to make a more substantial contribution towards, or at least an empirically informed contribution to, understanding young people's subjective experiences of geographical movement, particularly in key areas of the transition to adulthood, including work and study and the planning of future life trajectories. This contribution can obviously in turn be of instrumental use in future research on youth mobility, which may include projects much more substantial in geographical scale and longer in timeframe.

2   Formal and Informal Youth Mobility

Within the various chapters of this book, we also have some valuable information pertaining to who is, or is intending to be, mobile. For instance, while no longer necessarily the sole preserve of the children of elite families, access to official youth mobility programmes such as Erasmus-Socrates is partial both in terms of access and financial support, not to mention short-term in duration (Teichler, 1996: 154). Other studies of Erasmus confirm the impression that the take-up of these programmes is limited and partial (see Schnitzer and Zemple-Gino, 2002; King and Ruis-Gelices, 2003; Morano-Foadi, 2005), and also indicate that Socrates-Erasmus may have reached its quantitative limits and be declining, which may actual lead to a decrease in language and inter-cultural skills (Maiworm 2002: 464; Findlay et al. 2006: 292). In turn, we may be witnessing a transformation in international higher education away from schemes for academic mobility and towards policies which encourage universities, towards internationalised teaching and research (Van der Wende 2001: 432).

Given this situation, it is necessary to consider the impact of individually-driven mobility actions. Cairns and Smyth provide an overview of the orientations towards more informal forms of trans-national youth movement in two different European regions, with particular emphasis upon what influences mobility decision-making. We can see that for young people in both Portugal and Northern Ireland, social conditions such as family and peer relationships outweigh the importance of gender, age and socio-economic background in terms of predicting possible future mobility. It is worth noting that such individually-driven forms of mobility are not generally supported by official European programmes. Erasmus, for instance, does not support "free movers" (Teichler, 1996: 156), despite such forms of movement being potentially more substantial in

terms of duration and/or depth of immersion in foreign work or study destinations.

The discussion provided by Growiec regarding social capital and migration makes clear the significance of social ties, most notably with family and friends. These relationships have power and ideas embedded within them to either enable young people to breakaway or to be held steadfastly in their place of origin. Understanding the role of the family, and to a perhaps lesser extent friendship networks, is hence another crucial aspect in conceptualising youth mobility and studying these relationships needs to become part of any future research agenda on this theme.

3 The Future of Youth Mobility and Youth Mobility Policy

[Mobility] has to make this transition from the exception to the general rule. (European Commission 2001: 55)

In respect to this issue, youth mobility does not take place in a Policy vacuum. As the above extract from the European Commission's (2001) "Lisbon" White Paper makes clear, encouraging youth mobility is a European Policy priority. Further exemplars of official European discourse, such as the European Youth Pact (European Commission 2005), incorporate "Education, training and mobility" as one of its three strands, via initiatives such as broadening access to the European Voluntary Service (EVS) and providing internet job search portals, e.g. EURES (European job mobility portal) and PLOTEUS (portal for learning opportunities in Europe). In higher education, the EU's programmes include language support (LINGUA), distance and e-learning (MINERVA), adult education (GRUNDTVIG) and external programmes with non-EU nations such as TEMPUS and Asia-link, with further proposals and integration of existing measures as part of a new "integrated programme" being proposed for the period 2007-2013 (Keeling 2006: 204).

Related developments such as the Bologna process seek to bring about Europeanisation of higher education systems (see Wächter 2004). According to Keeling, neither the Bologna process, nor the Lisbon strategy constitute "a comprehensive basis for EU action in higher education […]. In combination however, these European-level actions are supporting an emergent policy framework for the EU in higher education" (2006: 203). If we are being optimistic, we can at least say that at European level there is desire to promote mobility competence amongst youth. It is equally evident that there are structural deficiencies within official programmes, such as lack of connection to national policies, which limit

impact particularly in terms of stimulating "real" trans-national movements as opposed to providing limited leisure-like ersatz mobility experiences. In higher education, "internationalisation" policies tend to be marginal, short-term and temporary aimed at "pump-priming" or "project-based" rather than part of long-term coherent strategies (see Van der Wende 1997 and 2001).

One interesting finding to have emerged from the Cairns and Smyth study is the lack of youth involvement in officially-mediated mobility programmes and a preference for individually-inspired actions or sojourns organised by bodies such as churches and charities. This may be due a lack of awareness of what is on offer on the part of individual young people, but there may also be a collective failure of imagination among the policy makers, whose policies do not appeal to a broad enough youth audience.

Standardising education systems and removing bureaucratic barriers to movements are important first steps, but they are only first steps and not a fully developed action plan. Likewise, existing mobility programmes often neglect to adequately address many fears young people have regarding being mobile. This is particularly obvious in respect to the need they feel to avoid breaking family and friendship ties, particularly with parents. Perhaps future policy needs to take more account of young people as integrated family members and as part of peer networks as opposed to being isolated individuals. Furthermore, these relationships can become resources to aid rather than impediments against movement.

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