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Executive Summary

This report presents earlier research about **past experiences and resilience of young vulnerable migrants and their integration trajectories** in Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Categorisations of "vulnerable groups"
In this earlier research, **certain groups of migrants are considered "vulnerable".** This report recollects a number of different categorisations of young migrants who are in some way identified or labelled as "vulnerable" in research to various extent.

These are the most extensively researched categorisations in the included countries:

- Asylum seekers
- Refugees/refugee youth
- Unaccompanied migrants/minors

These categorisations were also to some extent researched in the included countries:

- Third country nationals
- Young undocumented migrants
- Young stateless migrants

Additional categorisations that were discussed as experiencing variously vulnerable conditions in the reviewed research include:

- LGBTQIA+ refugees
- Victims of trafficking
- Women migrating alone
- Labour migrants, education migrants
- Family migrants
- Irregular migrants
- Rejected asylum seekers
- Beneficiaries of international protection
- Recently arrived migrants

This list is heterogenous and complex and is an indication of the large variation and range of different categorisations that potentially can be the focus of research within the MIMY project. The "vulnerable conditions" (that differently categorised young migrants experience) are very different and could arguably be understood as a continuum of vulnerabilities. However, it is important to remember that comparisons of the "severeness" of different vulnerabilities are often part of the governing of different groups categorised as vulnerable.

"Vulnerable conditions" in focus
In the earlier research reviewed in this report, **certain areas of concern, or "vulnerable conditions" are the main foci**.

These are the identified primary areas of concern in earlier research:

- Life course and impact of legal status
- Accommodation
- Language and education
- Labour markets
- Migrant health
- Identity and intergroup contact
- Support structures and local participation
- Trafficking
- Discrimination and racism

This list does not represent all contexts through which young migrants' vulnerabilities is likely to emerge/be produced, but it indicates key areas that is likely to emerge within the MIMY project. Below, the key findings of earlier research within each area is summarised.

Life course and impact of legal status
Some of the research discussing life course and impact of legal status speak more or less directly to the topic of this report of integration processes over time, resilience and vulnerability. It highlights different individual and structural aspects of how migrant youth trajectories in host countries are experienced. It both gives broad examples of "successful integration" of different groups over time and discuss the main problems

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young migrants encounter during their life courses in their host societies that in most cases relate to the other areas of concern identified in this report. The importance of legal status is a theme that runs through most of these other areas as well and a precarious legal status has detrimental effects on most aspects of migrant youth's "integration trajectories", one can conclude from the literature reviewed.

Accommodation

Accommodation is a key issue for young people in general and the reviewed literature both highlights the difficulties many migrants meet in initial accommodation centres but also the impact different housing regimes have for young migrants – especially as they transition from initial accommodation into more long-term arrangements within local communities. Accommodation is not only about physical locations but also about how a "sense of home" is established and negotiated, research shows.

Language acquisition and education

Language acquisition and education is the only area of concern that was discussed in all country reports from the MIMY members that this report is based on and lack of access to education was identified as a main source of migrant vulnerability overall. Schools are also identified as a key meeting point where young people can establish new contacts with other youth. The need for separate classes for newly arrived young people to enable effective language learning has an unfortunate side effect of increased school segregation. For some international students in Eastern Europe primarily, poverty and discrimination are sources of increased vulnerability, according to the literature reviewed.

Labour market

Labour market inclusion is another key issue in almost all of the reviewed literature. Young migrants are very often employed below their education levels in low wage jobs. Some of the literature point out young migrants as over-represented among young people not being in employment, education or training (NEET). Several studies discuss the multitude of experiences of discrimination from different actors on the labour market that young migrants have. In some countries, unaccompanied youth do better on the labour market than other categorisations of young migrants who have received protection.

Migrant health

Migrant health issues are prevalent in the literature, especially in relation to mental health such as PTSD and depression. Access to health is hindered by a multitude of reasons, but the resilience of young migrants who have experienced severe hardships is also a focus in much of the literature on migrant health. Precarious legal status is also highlighted as specifically detrimental to the mental health of young migrants across Europe.

Identity and intergroup contact

Identity and intergroup contact are highlighted as important for integration processes but different kinds of support are often necessary to enable young people from different backgrounds to meet and grow relationships, according to the literature. School and leisure activities are central for these processes, according to the reviewed studies – again highlighting the importance of education in young migrants' "integration trajectories".

Support structures and local participation

Support structures and local participation are discussed in much of the literature, especially in relation to unaccompanied minors. Much support was initiated after the 2015 events but was later reduced and researchers have highlighted the need for support structures to reflect on how it meets the actual needs of young migrants. Categorisations of "unaccompanied minors" or "newly arrived" etc. also risk being part of a stigmatization of young migrants in different contexts. Community involvement and activism are sources of well-being for migrants, research shows, and migrant associations are highlighted as a key context where young migrants are provided support and also labour market access to a certain extent.

Trafficking

Trafficking is a critical source of migrant vulnerability and irregular migrants are especially at risk of being victims of forced labour, according to the literature. However, research also discusses how representations of vulnerability in this context also risks masking structural factors of inequality and individualizing the persons instead of addressing structural issues such as unequal access to resources. Further, trafficking policies often primarily aims to reinforce state power through return and reintegration programs, rather than supporting individual migrants, research has argued.

Discrimination and racism

Discrimination and racism are recurrent problems that tamper young people's "integration trajectories" across Europe. Many different actors in society, also in "multicultural" contexts, can be sources of discrimination and racism. Research about unaccompanied minors especially show how derogatory understandings and representations of this migrant category in society have negative effects on young migrants. Unfortunately, these issues continue to influence the everyday lives of young migrants across their "integration trajectories" and throughout their life courses.

1 Introduction

This report provides an overview of recent research in the respective countries included in MIMY about young migrants in vulnerable conditions. It is part of MIMY Work Package 3, which aims to "comparatively examine integration policies (labour market, education, health, civil rights, social welfare, housing, family policies, etc.), and the role of transnational institutions and networks in shaping integration at a local scale" as well as to assess "an understanding of past and historical experiences of integrating migrant communities, and what these can tell us about current challenges" (see EU H2020 call MIGRATION-03-2019[3]).

In relation to this Work Package, the specific aim of this report is to review previous research about **"past experiences and resilience of young vulnerable migrants and their integration trajectories in different countries and integration areas"** (MIMY Grant Agreement). The literature reviews that this report draws upon have been compiled by project members from each of the countries included in MIMY (Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden and United Kingdom). These extensive country reports have then been summarized in one chapter each below and are discussed comparatively in the final two chapters of this report.

The following research questions have guided the work with this report to enable a study of the "past experiences and resilience" and "integration trajectories" of "young migrants in vulnerable conditions":

- What groups of young migrants are considered vulnerable?
- What areas of concern and "vulnerable conditions" are in focus?
- What are the empirical results?

These questions guided each partner when they selected relevant literature to review. They also form the backbone of the structure of this report.

As the report shows, the most difficult aspect of the overall aim to address is the issue of "integration *trajectories*", or how integration processes of different groups of young migrants have developed and changed over time. To be able to say something about this through a literature review, one has to either find literature that is longitudinal in its approach in itself, or find different literature from different points in time that studies similar issues and then analyse how these different research publications together can be interpreted to show "integration trajectories" of various groups. Unfortunately, very few examples of longitudinal research exist in the literature reviewed in this report – most of the literature focus on specific groups of migrants and discuss and measure their experiences at a certain point in time. In the last two chapters of this report, the different literature is compared and changes over time are identified to the extent it is possible.

In the next chapter, key concepts included in the stated aim for this report are discussed. Then the methodology of this literature review is explained, including the selection of material, in more detail. In the following chapters, each of the countries will be summarized in relation to the above three key questions. Lastly, the results from each national review are compared and the overall findings of this report are discussed.

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2   The research context of this report

To understand the research context of this literature review on "**past experiences and resilience of young vulnerable migrants and their integration trajectories in different countries and integration areas**" one has to consider how integration, resilience and vulnerability are understood in the MIMY-project.

The common perception of integration as a static, one-way, linear path is contrasted by the overall approach to integration in MIMY, which insists that "integration should instead be conceptualized as a never-ending, contingent process of change-stability dynamics, marked by an emergent process of individual as well as institutional adjustment over time" (Skrobanek et al., 2020, p. 4). MIMY calls this approach "liquid integration" and aims to create a "critical awareness of the multifaceted, fundamentally processual nature of integration dynamics, thereby promoting a radically situational approach to integration – a lens revealing micro-processes on the individual and institutional level, as well as the ecological interlinkage between these levels" (Skrobanek et al., 2020, p. 5). The MIMY approach to integration suggests that "there is no clear consensus as to how to theorize, conceptualize or define integration" in the literature, "it rather seems that the term 'integration' is used as a somewhat empty term which everyone is invited to fill with substance" (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020, p. 70). If definitions of integration are proposed, they rely on other empty or unspecified terms such as "society", "values", "becoming accepted", "becoming similar", "participation" etc. This characteristic of integration as empty makes it a very complex and difficult concept to use in empirical research.

An earlier MIMY report (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020) reviewed how vulnerability and resilience is understood in earlier literature on migrant youth integration. In most of the literature, vulnerability and resilience are "open and fuzzy concepts" (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020, p. 13). The definitions Dyer Ånensen et al. (2020) do find in the literature suggest that vulnerability involves the *threat* of "future loss of welfare below socially accepted norms caused by risky events'" (Alwang et al., 2001, p. 17-18). Resilience is then relatedly identified as involving characteristics and competencies that allow the maintenance of positive functioning and successful development (Wu et al., 2018), or the ability to "bounce back" (Camfield, 2012). In research on migrant resilience, the concept is often correlated to mental health (Wu et al., 2018). Overall, the literature shows that challenges of migrant vulnerability also promote the possibility of resiliency.

The MIMY-project proposes a broader concept of resilience, "which not only refers to individuals' psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources for coping with adversity but also to the individual, and collective capacities to find and negotiate adaptive pathways through adversity in line with the cultural context" (MIMY Consortium, 2019, p. 9, cited in Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020). Further, MIMY applies "a radical explorative approach seeking to assess and reconstruct existing understandings of both [resilience and vulnerability] in the scientific, governmental, NGO, and practitioner debate" (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020, p. 5). This radical explorative approach echoes MIMY's approach to integration, which is characterized by a "radical theoretical and methodological openness" that is "radically processual" (Skrobanek et al., 2020, p. 5). The concept of liquid integration is then not an exclusive and strict guiding framework for MIMY as a whole, but a starting point that will be developed throughout the different parts of the project. The same could be said about MIMY's approach to resilience and vulnerability.

2.1   How to read this report

This is a literature review of research published between 2008-2020 that in some way or the other discuss the "past experiences and resilience" and "integration trajectories" of "young migrants in vulnerable conditions". Being a literature review, this report focuses on the empirical findings in relation to specific areas of concern. However, empirical findings in social research can never be disconnected from the concepts through which the material is made sense of. The approach in this report has been

to review the literature without altering the language used in the presented publications themselves. A non-reflexive reader may interpret the fact that the literature in this report mostly reproduces mainstream understandings of integration as support for the validity and accuracy of these very understandings. Rather, the reader is invited to reflect upon the emptiness and conceptual vagueness of integration – as highlighted in MIMY's earlier literature review (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020) – that also shines through in the way the concept is used in the reviewed literature of this report.

The country chapters below are summaries of extended literature reviews provided by the MIMY partners. In this sense, the empirical material of this report has been produced by, and represent the efforts of, the MIMY partners as they have collected relevant recent research in the respective literature reviews. However, the comparative discussion in the last two chapters is primarily the responsibility of the author of this report. This distinction is important since a project including as many different partners as MIMY cannot, and should not, ever present consensual analysis on issues as vague, and at the same time hotly debated, as these. In this way, this report is part of the ongoing process MIMY has begun of developing the understanding of integration as "liquid" and radically processual (Skrobanek et al., 2020, p. 5). Overall, this report does not argue for any specific perspectives on how integration, resilience and vulnerability *should* be conceptualised *based on earlier research*. Rather, this report should primarily be read as a *summary* of how recent research in Europe *understand and represent* what issues are key to migrant youth resilience, vulnerability and their "integration trajectories". If anything, it can teach us how European-wide research on young migrants have applied these concepts *so far*.

3   Methodology

Every partner in MIMY submitted reports about their national context with relevant literature on young migrants in vulnerable conditions in relation to issues of integration. These were then summarized in the country chapters (4-12) below.

3.1   Selection of material

The extensive literature reviews provided by each partner include scientific research as well as reports from relevant organizations, but it does not include policy publications. The time frame of the search for literature stretches from the "economic crisis" of 2008 across the 2015 "crisis" until today. The search for literature were conducted in accordance to the following instructions:

Search string 1
(Young migrants age frame *15-17* (here only UAM)) **AND**
(*third country nationals* OR *received citizenship during stay in EU country*) **AND**
(*young stateless* OR *UAM* OR *refugees* OR *asylum seekers* OR *young born in a third country (non-EU)*)

Search string 2
(Young migrants age frame *18-29[1]*) **AND**
(*third country nationals* OR *received citizenship during stay in EU country*) **AND**
(*young stateless* OR *UAM* OR *refugees* OR *asylum seekers* OR *young born in a third country (non-EU)*)

Search string 3
(Migrant youth (in case there is no specific age or age span addressed)) **AND**
(*third country nationals* OR *received citizenship during stay in EU country*) **AND**
(*young stateless* OR *UAM* OR *refugees* OR *asylum seekers* OR *young born in a third country (non-EU)*)

When you have acquired your body of literature on young migrants in your national context, narrow it down further by looking for contributions that include "vulnerable conditions".

Each member then analysed and summarized the literature they found and structured it along the three key questions listed in the introduction. All of the partners highlighted the fact that a lot of the literature in some way (more or less (in)directly) addressed issues of integration and vulnerability but without separating young migrants specifically, or they addressed integration and young people but did not discuss vulnerability as a specific factor of the study. The texts that they included in their reports were the ones that they considered most relevant to the aim of this study. Thus, the representativeness of the literature included is the responsibility of each contributing partner.

Even though some texts have a broader scope than just integration, young migrants and vulnerability, they all provide empirical insights more or less relevant to the experiences of young migrants in vulnerable conditions and their "integration trajectories" in each respective country. Since the criteria for inclusion were relatively broad, this report cannot claim to provide a definitive and all-encompassing collection of the literature on the subject of study. However, it arguably goes a long way in summarizing the key literature in each country context on the issue of the "past experiences and resilience" and "integration trajectories" of "young migrants in vulnerable conditions".

3.2   Method of analysis

In the following nine chapters, the extensive reports provided by the MIMY members have been summarized in alphabetical country order and the analysis is structured in accordance with the guiding questions stated in the introduction. Some of the literature included in the extensive country reports that were deemed to be outside of the scope of this study have been emitted. Some sentences that

include very specific information have been copied verbatim from the country reports or have been partly abridged to include relevant detailed information that can enable a discussion that meets the aim of this report.

The method for analysis adapted in this report involved searching for common themes (areas of concern) in the partner's extensive literature reviews and highlighting what was unique for each case. A table has been constructed to give an overview of the different areas of concern the author of this report identified across the different country cases (see *Table 2*). All of these areas of concern were then compared across the country cases in chapter 13.

The focus in the country summaries is on the research present in the country reports and not so much on what kind of research is lacking. If a seemingly obvious issue is not covered, that points to the fact that current research in the respective country has not covered this subject to what could be considered a sufficient amount. Consequently, as the summaries below show, there are a number of important gaps in the research on migrant youth in vulnerable conditions and their integration processes that MIMY potentially can help cover.

4   Germany

The following literature was compiled by Swantje Penke, Leonie Wagner and Agnes Kriszan at Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaft und Kunst Hildesheim/Holzminden/Goettingen (HAWK) *and Jörg Plöger and Zeynep Aydar at* Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung (ILS), *both in Germany.*

In the German research literature, unaccompanied minors are the primary group of young migrants that are considered vulnerable. LGBTQIA+ refugees are also considered vulnerable, primarily in relation to their accommodation, but also in relation to their asylum procedures and how their reasons for asylum are assessed and recognised. Furthermore, women of all ages that are travelling alone are also covered in the literature as specifically vulnerable, whereas young people who are stateless or victims of human trafficking are only to a very limited extent addressed as such. Until 2015, unaccompanied minors in Germany came primarily from Afghanistan and Syria (a third of the total each), followed by Iraq and Eritrea (ca 8% each) (BAMF, 2016). Since 2015 there has been an increase in unaccompanied migrants arriving from other countries, but research still focus primarily on Syria, Afghanistan and African states even though other countries would also be very relevant for future research focussing on vulnerable groups.

The overall research reviewed by the partners in Germany primarily concerns accommodation, language acquisition, labour markets, migrant health and support structures for unaccompanied minors. These issues are discussed in more detail below.

4.1   Accommodation in Germany

Much research has highlighted the conditions at initial asylum reception centres where asylum seekers are accommodated in large communal facilities for the first six months after their arrival. Research shows that children are often not able to play freely there and young people do not have sufficient privacy. The confined space also increases the risk of conflicts and disputes (Rehklau, 2018, 184f) as well as harassments and sexual assaults on (mostly) women and girls, which can lead to retraumatisation (Hartwig, 2018, p. 391). LGBTQIA+ refugees can also risk violence and stress at these facilities and in some urban areas, small LGBTQ shelters, counselling centres and meeting places have been established (Özdemir, 2018). Accommodation for refugees is also considered a general problem but especially so for young single men who are discriminated against on the free housing market (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2016; Foroutan et al., 2017). However, unaccompanied minors are generally taken care of as they are placed in youth welfare institutions or with host families. Here they come into a rather well equipped and professional accommodation and support system and thus generally live under better conditions than accompanied minors or young adults.

4.2   Language acquisition and education in Germany

Language education is a central concern of research about young migrants and integration in Germany (Paiva Lareiro, 2019; Paiva Lareiro et al., 2020). Most of the refugees who have immigrated since 2013 have been able to significantly improve their initially low language levels (Brücker et al., 2016) but gender gaps persist, where especially women with small children to a lesser extent complete their language education. There is not enough differentiated data to analyse the language acquisition of different age groups, but young people who are subject to compulsory schooling or entitled to take part in an integration course tend to acquire German language skills more quickly than those who are denied such access as the German classes available outside this system are much less well resourced (cf. Will et al., 2019).

Refugee minors who have an uncontested right to education in Germany in some cases – if they are placed in reception centers – still have to wait for several months before their compulsory schooling starts and there is no regular education in the abovementioned preliminary reception centers (Vogel

& Stock, 2017, p. 33). The majority of young refugees have little contact with peers without a migration background in the first few years of their schooling because of special classes for newcomers and/or socio-spatial segregated environments especially in urban areas (SVR, 2018, p. 4). Young refugees attend secondary school (leading to university entrance qualification) less frequently and the country of origin of refugees affects educational success as young people from (Southern) Eastern Europe are disadvantaged while young people from Syria are on average more successful in education for example, and school segregation risks further exacerbating such inequalities (Fingerle, 2018, p. 135; Paiva Lareiro, 2019).

Schools are also crucial for social contact with young people with non-migrant background, but these interactions are not happening for a large number of refugees (Lechner & Huber, 2017; SVR, 2018; Thomas et al., 2018). Refugee pupils are also underrepresented in socially integrative extracurricular activities, and women even further so than men (Paiva Lareiro, 2019, p. 6). Unaccompanied minors are especially affected by this lack of interaction as their need of emotional support to handle experiences of trauma through social networks is not sufficient for many of them (Metzner et al., 2018). However, young migrants interact more with people without a migrant background than older people (Worbs, Bund, & Böhm, 2016, p. 192).

Refugees in Germany can also be severely disadvantaged in relation to accessing higher education due to their starting position. The following are the main challenges discussed: language barriers, their status under asylum and residence law, their socio-economic situation, the recognition of qualifications and competences, special counselling needs with regard to the foreign university system and experienced trauma and discrimination (Blumenthal, 2018; Lambert et al., 2018). Preparatory courses have been created in many universities to supplement the existing offers for international (prospective) students but the extent to which these are effective has not yet been sufficiently empirically researched (Berg et al., 2018, p. 81).

4.3   Labour markets in Germany

Compared to other migrant groups, the literature shows that it is more difficult for refugees to enter the labor market. They are disadvantaged because of insecurities in relation to residence rights and their sometimes precarious health status, but also since they are relatively less educated than other migrant groups when they arrive in Germany (a quarter of the refugees have attended universities, colleges or vocational training, compared to four fifths of German born residents) (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 4). However, refugees arriving since 2013 have entered the labor market faster than those arriving earlier. Only five years after their arrival, two thirds of men and one third of women are employed as the latter take more responsibility for childcare (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 8). A significant part of these refugees is employed below their informal or formal competence-level and their average wages are very low when they enter the labor market, but this increases over time. However, young refugees are closer to the average income of their age group (74% of the average salary) than older refugees (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 10-11).

Participation in integration courses organized by the Federal Office for *Migration* and *Refugees (BAMF)* increases one's chances of employment, but residence status also has a significant effect on the chances to gain employment. Compared to persons still in the asylum procedure, so-called tolerated persons – i.e., persons whose asylum applications have been rejected but their deportation suspended – are significantly less likely to be gainfully employed (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 13). In total, 60% of the refugees took up employment, attended an educational institution or participated in integration or labour market policy programmes in the second half of 2018. The majority of the remaining 40% were actively looking for work, on parental leave or maternity leave (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 1). This leaves 13% of the refugees who are classified as "inactive". This proportion is about 4 percentage points higher than for persons born in Germany (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 14). This is particularly relevant from

a vulnerability perspective, as these groups of people are not in contact with social institutions (employers, schools or other educational institutions) and are therefore very likely to be regarded as disconnected. Older people and women participate less in educational programmes (Brücker et al., 2020, p. 4).

Young migrants are the target of a large number of education and employment support programmes in Germany (Dionisius et al., 2018), but residence status affects their eligibility. Asylum seekers have limited access to the extensive language and skills preparation for vocational training, and young people from so-called "safe countries of origin" are in most cases completely excluded from this (BMAS, 2020). Among the young migrants eligible for vocational training, "soft hurdles" such as language difficulties, accommodation insecurities, complex bureaucracies and time pressure further hinder their educational integration (SVR, 2020). Unaccompanied minors are prioritised in integration efforts but a number of challenges exist that hinder them from taking part in school education and vocational training as well: lack of language skills, uncertainty for companies and trainees with regard to residence rights, hurdles due to the dependence of access to training and language courses on residence status and the prospect of staying in Germany (especially for people from so-called safe countries of origin), high performance pressure on the unaccompanied minors to be successful in training or to earn their own money quickly, the lack of recognition of foreign school-leaving certificates and the lack of knowledge about the German dual vocational training system (Tangermann & Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 2018, 66f.).

4.4   Migrant health in Germany

Refugee health is largely related in the research to traumatic experiences before, during or after their flight, and this is especially the case for unaccompanied minors (Gumbrecht, 2018, p. 209; Hargasser, 2016; Wieland, 2018; Zito, 2015, 2017). Studies show the prevalence of PTSD in both accompanied and unaccompanied minors ranging from 14% to 60% and depression from 6% to about 36%. Overall, it can be assumed that about 40% of children are significantly affected by the experiences before, during and after the flight, e.g. at school but also in interpersonal interactions (BAfF, 2018, p. 28). However, the children may not show signs of traumatisation early in the asylum process (Quindeau & Rauwald, 2017). For girls and young women who escape without their parents or family, fleeing "alone" can be both a risk and an opportunity as it can be an act of liberation from violent family relationships (Hartwig, 2018, p. 389). Marriages of (mainly female) minors are also perceived as a specifically complex issue regardless if the minor wants to break away from their marriage in Germany or not (Bär, 2018, p. 216).

Language barriers are a persistent problem in relation to the health of young migrants, as well as an extensive bureaucracy and (insufficient) consideration of gender-specific consequences (Aumann et al., 2018; Thomas et al., 2018). The specific intersecting health needs of young women relating to violence, rape, pregnancy and birth need special attention that are not always provided (Hartwig, 2018). Children who have been child soldiers have further specific needs and their traumatisation often continues in Germany as a result of insecurity in terms of residence rights and social exclusion (Zito, 2015). But importantly, in everyday life, the health of young refugees is above all affected by the insecure prospect of residence in Germany and the danger of socio-spatial exclusion, more so than the experiences caused by their flight (Thomas et al., 2018, p. 221). This is especially the case for unaccompanied minors who transition into maturity as they partly have to leave youth welfare institutions (Dannert & Rettenbach, 2017, 94f.).

4.5   Support structures and local participation in Germany

Welfare services for unaccompanied minors are specifically discussed in much research in Germany (Detemple, 2016; Fischer & Graßhofff, 2016; Gravelmann, 2016; Macsenaere et al., 2018; Müller et al., 2018; Nowacki & Remiorz, 2019; Stauf, 2012; Thomas et al., 2018). The support system for

unaccompanied minors was initally massively expanded in Germany in 2015/16, only to be reduced again sharply in the following years leading to a risk of a patchwork of standards and structures (Wiesinger, 2017, p. 34) that undermine the stability and reliability of the system that is needed to help unaccompanied minors to reorient themselves in Germany (Quindeau & Rauwald, 2017). Conflicts occur due to the simultaneous foci on child and youth welfare and well-being on the one hand and, on the other hand, migration law that is orientated towards the enforcement of resident regulations, including deportation. Insecurities in relation to residence status spills over on the young people's abilities to get involved in society and affects their motivation to study etc. (Tangermann & Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik, 2018, p. 73). Youth welfare measures for unaccompanied minors have been effective (Macsenaere & Hermann, 2018) and cooperation between different actors involved in the situation of these young migrants is of immense importance in order to meet especially the needs of the group of 19 to 25-year-olds in need of support as they transition from childhood into adulthood (Karpenstein & Schmidt, 2018, p. 97). The reductions and changes of this support risks leading to a second-class youth welfare system for unaccompanied minors, according to research.

5 Hungary

The following literature was compiled by Zsuzsanna Arendas at Közép Európai Egyetem *in Hungary.*

The project partners in Hungary emphasise the importance of understanding the Hungarian political context when reviewing research on the situation there. It is not a major receiving country of immigrants from outside the EU, but it is rather a transit country of East-West migration. Since 2010, when the far-right Fidesz party came into power, policies in relation to integration and immigration have regressed dramatically. The government announced that Hungary would be a country of "non-integration" in 2015, and as a result independent academic research on these issues were further limited. The government has since put out some publications through its "Migration research Institute" (*Migrációkutató Intézet*) concealed as research on issues of integration that primarily aims to legitimise current repressive immigration policies, and to counter the findings of independent research for political reasons. Critical research by international agencies/watchdogs has since 2015 highlighted the problems associated with the fact that it has become illegal to "aid immigrants", including primarily third country nationals and refugees. They have also focussed on how migrants (asylum seekers, families, unaccompanied minors etc.) have been stuck in the infamous "transit zones" on the Hungarian-Serbian border for several months or years in prisonlike conditions, often left with very limited medical help and under inhuman conditions (Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 2017; see also Haraszti & Weinbrenner, 2013; Iván, 2013; Kálmán, 2019). However, in 2020, the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg ordered Hungary to close its "transit stations" and transfer all asylum seekers waiting in them into open refugee centres. The court order was implemented by the Hungarian state immediately.

Migrants are typically discussed in very generic terms in the Hungarian literature and issues of vulnerability come into focus when discussing specific sub-groups only (most importantly unaccompanied children but also women and accompanied children) and these issues are discussed through an intersectional lens in some research (Messing et al., 2015; Messing & Arendas, 2014). The procedures of the state protection system for unaccompanied minors in Hungary has been much criticized (Haraszti & Weinbrenner, 2013; Iván, 2013) and three out of four unaccompanied minors disappear from the system within a year from their registration – most of them in the first two weeks. There are fears that some of them fall prey to human trafficking and organised prostitution (Vidra et al., 2015). Overall, third country national youth emerge "between the lines" in the generic (non-age specific) literature on immigrant integration in Hungary, primarily in relation to research on labour market opportunities, schooling, living conditions, language skills, well-being, discrimination, trust and identities, but the data is not broken down into age groups. Two anthropological case studies linked to third country national youth were identified in the review, one on Afghani teenagers and youth (Marton, 2012) and one on the African community in Budapest focusing on young African male immigrants settled in the city (Olomoofe, 2012).

Most of the immigration-related literature in Hungary discusses third country nationals' conditions and prospects for integration in generic terms, but in some cases country of origin/ethnicity, educational level, gender, etc. is accounted for (e.g. Kováts, 2013). Age is usually not a separate category of analysis, though some publications focus on children, schools or unaccompanied minors (Nyíri & Feischmidt, 2006). "Vulnerability" as a concept and category of analysis rarely emerges in these studies apart from some specific cases relating to the education of third country nationals (Nyíri & Feischmidt, 2006), unaccompanied minors (Haraszti & Weinbrenner, 2013; Iván, 2013; Kálmán, 2019) or women or children, and especially so those of Afghan origin who are seeking asylum and live under economic hardships (Messing & Árendás, 2014; Messing, Zentai & Árendás, 2015). The main areas of concern in the Hungarian literature are education, labour markets and social and legal exclusion. These topics will be discussed in more detail below.

5.1   Language acquisition and education in Hungary

Children who are third country nationals in Hungary often become vulnerable because of systemic problems in the education system (such as lack of funding and generic teaching methods) as their linguistic integration takes longer time and they fall behind in their studies, and sometimes ultimately drop out of school early. Educational success for this group relies primarily on local school efforts by principals and teachers rather than systemic approaches (Nyíri & Feischmidt, 2006) and these problems have been amplified since the 2015 change in policies (Arendas et al., 2020). A report by Nyíri and Feischmidt (2006) analysed the situation of third country national families in Hungary in relation to the education of their children and the integration strategies of the state, individual schools and teachers but since then no further extensive study has been performed on this issue. Sporadic reports, the general crisis of the public education system in Hungary and anti-immigration propaganda points to that the situation of third country nationals in schools has deteriorated since 2005 (see Arendas et al., 2019). Parents in immigrant families make strong efforts in helping their children with their schooling but linguistic barriers often make it difficult for them to succeed in this support (Barna et al., 2012).

5.2   Labour markets in Hungary

Immigrants of all ages are generally in a better position than the native population in relation to employability and economic activity (Hárs, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2013) and most of them are overqualified for the job they do in Hungary (Gödri & Tóth, 2005). Most literature on third country nationals state that they in general have a higher level of education than the average Hungarians (Hárs, 2005, 2013) and their prospects for labour market integration are very good (Várhalmi, 2013). Still, the number of immigrants staying in Hungary is relatively low – it could primarily be regarded a transit country – and the political and societal situation makes integration processes difficult. The visa rules for third country nationals with low educational or work qualifications are also very restrictive, although the increasing need for cheap labour in the last 5 years (pre-Covid) and the new, emerging practices of temporary workers recruited through agencies from Ukraine, Serbia, Mongolia, Vietnam, Bangladesh, etc. have changed this to a certain extent.

5.3   Discrimination and racism in Hungary

The literature on integration that does exist mostly focus on education, qualification, language skills etc. (Kováts, 2013; Sík, 2012), but some literature also discusses barriers for integration such as discrimination, xenophobia, lack of multicultural practices and lack of willingness of the host society to accept foreigners (Messing & Ságvári, 2019). When vulnerability of immigrants is discussed in reports or studies, the situational or contextual characteristic of vulnerability is being underlined (Messing, Zentai & Árendás, 2015). One of few who has studied the integration strategies of third country nationals in detail is Turai (2013) who shows how they navigate the traps of bureaucratic processes and try to maximize their contact with the host community.

A report by Messing, Zentai and Árendás (2015) focus specifically on vulnerability and the effectiveness of integration measures for three groups of migrants in vulnerable conditions: third country national women, children and victims of trafficking. The report aimed to review legal and policy provisions and construct integration indicators for these three groups using available data sources, but the small number of migrants in Hungary (2% of the total population – a significant share of third country nationals consists of ethnic Hungarians from Serbia and the Ukraine) made such statistical analysis difficult which further complicated the production of integration indicators. Instead, the report focussed on the personal stories of migrants about the discrepancies between legal and policy provisions on paper and their everyday life experiences.

6   Italy

The following literature was compiled by Eleonora Crapolicchio, Cristina Giuliani, Daniela Marzana and Camillo Regalia at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (UCSC) *in Italy.*

In the literature reviewed by the Italian partners, there was generally equal attention awarded to both women and men. However, the reasons for migrating and the legal status etc. of migrants were most often not discussed in the literature, apart from three studies where the focus was on asylum seekers and one study about unaccompanied minors. The country of origin of migrants covered in the 30 articles included in the originally submitted review varied broadly, but the most common regions (in descending order) were Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia and South America. In the reviewed articles, the main areas of concern were issues relating to education, the overall health of migrants, identity and intergroup contact and local participation of young migrants. These are discussed in more detail below.

6.1   Language acquisition and education in Italy

Lagomarsino and Castellani (2016) showed how teenage daughters carry on essential tasks in households at the same time as they are committed to school and have to negotiate the expectation of two different contexts and cultures, family and school, where the educational context can be an important resource of support for these girls. Some studies also stress the importance of school as a context that promotes contact and intergroup relationships (Vezzali et al., 2010, see below).

6.2   Migrant health in Italy

A substantial part of the literature focusses broadly on migrant health in Italy. One study found that a similar pattern of relationships was found between suicide risk and psychopathology among Italians and immigrants (Iliceto et al., 2013). Young people, immigrants and people living in the most socioeconomically deprived areas of Italy were more at risk of psychoses than other groups (Lasalvia et al., 2014). Unaccompanied refugee youth in Italy report high levels of emotional and behavioural problems. A study including social workers showed how especially unaccompanied adolescents are at risk of such problems compared to non-immigrant adolescents (Thommessen et al., 2013).

A study by Tarricone and colleagues (2012) of the health status of migrants attending primary care at community mental health centres in Italy showed that migrants' pathways to receive mental health support are complex and often include self-referral as a way to access psychiatric care. Rucci et al. (2014) showed that the quality of care for Italian patients with mental health issues was higher than the care migrants received, even though the probability of receiving any mental health intervention was similar for both groups. Another study showed that homeless migrants revisited the health system more often than Italian-born homeless people (Silvestrini et al., 2017). Furthermore, migrant's socioeconomic insecurity is a determining factor for access to health care (Santilli, 2018).

A study with asylum seekers from West Africa and the Horn of Africa found an especially high prevalence of HPV positive test results among young women (Chironna et al., 2012). (HPW is a sexually transferable infection that is a common cause of different kinds of cancer among women.) Another study, showed that the occurrence of work-related injuries is significantly higher among immigrant males compared to Italian male (Salvatore et al., 2013).

6.3   Identity and intergroup contact in Italy

Some studies in Italy focus on ethnic identity exploration and intergroup contact. A study of intercultural relationships (Mancini & Bottura, 2014) showed differences in migrants' and non-migrants' attitudes towards integration, where non-migrants preferred a higher degree of assimilation than what the migrants preferred. Vezzali et al. (2010) showed that intergroup relations in school were generally perceived as more positive by immigrants compared to Italians. More intergroup contact led to more positive attitudes to outgroups among both groups and schools are an important site for increased

intergroup contact. Specifically, both *quantity* and *quality* of contact at T1 increased outgroup evaluation at T2, meaning that contact had positive longitudinal effects on outgroup evaluation. In addition, both types of contact had significant indirect effects; Contact *quantity* led to positive outgroup stereotypes via reduced anxiety and contact *quality* led to improved outgroup evaluation via increased empathy. Another study (Di Bernardo et al., 2019) about intergroup relations found that among high-school students, intergroup contact between immigrant and non-immigrant students was positively associated with motivation for change, an effect mediated by decreased perceived legitimacy of status differences. Another study explored how leisure practices (capoeira and parkour) were used by groups of young men of migrant origin as means to negotiate processes of inclusion and exclusion. The practice of capoeira and parkour represent means for the young men to negotiate social identifications and processes of inclusion/exclusion in public spaces (De Martini Ugolotti, 2015).

6.4   Support structures and local participation in Italy

One study (Alfieri et al., 2019; see also Marzana et al., 2020) showed how community-engagement increased the wellbeing of young immigrants, irrespective of gender and educational level. Marzana et al. (2019) also showed that, on the individual level, activism practiced in national associations tends to expand social networks with natives and develop a sense of agency, bicultural competency, and a positive social identity. It also promotes the formation of political thinking and intercultural competence.

7   Luxembourg

The following literature was compiled by Jutta Bissinger, Amalia Gioldi, Birte Nienaber, José Oliveira and Greta Szendrei at the Université du Luxembourg*, in Luxembourg.*

None of the research included in the review by the partners in Luxembourg focussed specifically on young migrants (15-29 years old) in vulnerable conditions. The reason for this is most probably the generally low amount of research on migration in the country and the composition of its migrant population. Around half the residents do not have Luxembourgish nationality. European nationals are the main groups of immigrants and only 5,6% are citizens of a third country. However, much of general research about education, youth, labour force etc. also discusses issues of migration and in part issues of migrant youth vulnerability. The few studies that specifically focus on third country nationals seldom mention countries of origin, but those who do discuss migrants from China, Cape Verde, Ex-Yugoslavia, Syria and Iraq. The majority of this literature focuses on so-called forced-migrants and include asylum seekers, refugees and unaccompanied minors. In all, the body of literature published in the Luxembourgish context relevant for this report is very small. Some research discuss integration from a wider perspective, where Odero et al. (2015) for example broadly emphasize the role of language, work and social life, as well as individual, community and institutional efforts and support structures for integration in a Luxembourgish context (for a similar list, see Pina, 2017) and migrants are one of the groups most affected by inequality of disposable incomes and poverty (Fournier & Garcia 2013). The overall research reviewed by the partners in Luxembourg, that is more specifically relevant for this report, primarily concerns language acquisition, education, labour markets, health and local participation. These are discussed in more detail below.

7.1   Accommodation in Luxembourg

Housing has consistently remained a problem that more acutely affects young third-country nationals. Access to affordable housing may amount to a hurdle for young third-country nationals for various reasons: the high housing market prices, discrimination based on economic or work contractual conditions and even country of origin or racial discrimination. This situation results in the fact that third-country youths tend to present higher levels of housing cost overburden and overcrowding when compared to Luxembourgish nationals (Eurostat, n.d.).

7.2   Language acquisition and education in Luxembourg

Alieva et al. (2015) discuss that many migrant groups showed an increase in academic achievement between 2003 and the time of their study. The fact that Luxembourg has three official languages does not make language acquisition easier for non-EU migrants and Kalocsányiová (2017, 2018) have pointed out how central this complexity is for integration processes in a multilingual state such as Luxembourg. Integration programs for newly-arrived children mainly focus on language acquisition (Drivsholm, 2014). Children with non-EU background also tend to underperform in Luxembourgish schools (Pina, 2017).

7.3   Labour markets in Luxembourg

Young people in Luxembourg are unemployed to a lower extent than in most European countries and its easier for them to find a permanent job that matches their education (Heinen & Willems, 2017). However, young migrants are more likely to be unemployed and have poorer health outcomes than non-migrants. Those young migrants who succeed in a swift transitioning from school to work usually see their immigrant background as a positive factor that has helped them in their personal and professional development. Whereas young migrants whose transition into the labour market needed support and who had challenges in finding employment after finishing their studies, experienced that their migrant background was a disadvantage as it was the source of language problems and lack of integration (Weis & Joachim, 2017). Lack of social networks was also a disadvantage for young migrants

(Chauvel, 2016) and they are more likely to end up as not in education, employment or training (Hauret, 2017a, 2017b). Asylum seekers are not allowed to work, which complicates their integration processes and the approval process of the education qualifications of non-EU migrants is another hurdle (Pina, 2017).

7.4   Migrant health in Luxembourg

Migrants are more vulnerable to depression and overall health-problems than non-migrants in Luxembourg (Ruiz-Castell et al., 2017). Asylum seekers and refugees' health are negatively affected by the fear of repatriation and social isolation issues were linked to social, financial and acculturation difficulties, whereas social support, self-efficacy and multicultural attitudes helped migrants cope with psychological stress (Ndzebir, 2015).

7.5   Support structures and local participation in Luxembourg

A study of Chinese immigrants showed how social, cultural and capital resources were empowering and somewhat compensating for the lack of support and acknowledgement in the host country (Wu, 2019). Migrant associations often serve as a place of security and moral support for its members, particularly the most vulnerable (such as newcomers without a family) and they can provide important access to the labour market through informal networks (Gerstnerova, 2016). Migrant youth in Luxembourg show a low level of political participation (Heinen & Willems, 2017; see also Valentova et al., 2019).

8   Norway

The following literature was compiled by Rebecca Dyer Ånensen at Universitet i Bergen*, in Norway.*

In the Norwegian literature, much attention has been directed towards unaccompanied minors who have originated from primarily Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Syria and a review by Svendsen et al. (2018) shows the diversity and width of research that has been produced in Norway in the past century about this group. Irregular migration is also a relatively closely studied subject in Norway, and migrants in these studies originate from many different countries, primarily located in North Africa and Asia. Research about asylum seekers and refugees focus on similar countries, such as Eritrea, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Burma etc. One publication in the Norwegian review focus on labour migrants from primarily Asian and Eastern European countries (Abebe, 2017). Another publication focuses on female victims of trafficking from Nigeria who have applied for asylum in Norway (Paasche and Skilbrei, 2017). A number of publications studied young people born in Norway by parents from all around the world. Overall, young migrants in vulnerable conditions in Norwegian research originate from a vast number of countries around the world. The overall research reviewed by the partners in Norway primarily concerns life courses and legal status, accommodation, language acquisition and education, labour markets, migrant health, support structures for unaccompanied minors and trafficking. These are discussed in more detail below.

8.1   Life course and impact of legal status in Norway

Some of the literature in Norway speaks rather directly to the topic of this report, looking specifically at integration processes over time and the resilience of young migrants in vulnerable conditions. Stige et al. (2019), for example, studied how refugees in Norway "readjusted" to a new country. Most important was their own personal efforts, interpersonal encounters and structural measures by the host country that limited the time spent in reception centres, increased possibilities to learn the language and get employment, and facilitated genuine meetings between people. Another example is Valenta and Garvik (2019) who discuss the impact of asylum rejections, temporary residence permits and deportations on unaccompanied minors' lives and the coping strategies they develop to tackle this, including cognitive strategies of suppression, selective perceptions, changes in targets and changing perceptions of temporality. The action-oriented strategies include preparing for fleeing away from Norway and different kinds of disappearances from the reception centres (Valenta & Garvik, 2019).

In their literature review covering research about unaccompanied minors between 2007-2017[4], Svendsen et al. (2018) highlight that unaccompanied minors express frustration in research over all the hinders that are included in the integration processes and are missing contact with Norwegian youth (Garvik et al., 2016; Svendsen & Berg 2017; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). A holistic approach is also highlighted in research according to Svendsen et al. (2018), where the past, the present and the future needs to be bridged to enable successful integration processes (Berg, 2010; Berg & Tronstad, 2015; Lidén et al., 2013). Berg and Tronstad (2015) calls for research that follows up asylum seeking minors' life conditions to develop the asylum reception and care systems. The lives of asylum-seeking unaccompanied minors are described in research as a life "in waiting" (Berg, 2009; Berg & Tronstad, 2015; NOU, 2011; Valenta & Berg, 2012; Weiss et al., 2017). As policies have become stricter towards unaccompanied asylum seekers, several studies have focused on return work in the migration governing system and on the issue of unaccompanied minors disappearing from reception institutions (Aasen, Dyb & Lid, 2016; Espeland, 2013; Paulsen et al., 2011; Valenta et al., 2010; Wagner, 2014). Many of those who disappear (484 persons between 2013 and 2017 [Garvik & Valenta, 2018]) end up in other European countries (Espeland, 2013; Garvik & Valenta, 2018; Wagner, 2014).

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[4] The Svendsen et al. (2018) publication has been the main source for research about unaccompanied minors included in this report.

Svendsen et al. (2018) discuss how research have studied the process when unaccompanied migrants who arrived as minors transition into adulthood and highlight that they are in a specifically vulnerable situation as they often lack social support and networks. Those networks are central in the transition into adulthood (Barry, 2010). Many minors also have high demands on themselves to succeed since many other people depend on them which can affect their mental health (Bogen & Nadim, 2009). The child support system for unaccompanied minors varies very much in different municipalities (Garvik et al., 2016) and unaccompanied minors themselves have expressed in research that there is need for more transitioning and follow up support when they turn 18.

Additional aspects of integration processes discussed in Norwegian research include how the social media use of immigrants (Engebretsen, 2015; cf. Mainsah, 2011) can serve as a public arena where new voices and discourses on minorities and immigrants can be formed. Swe (2013) highlights a difficult issue by showing how Burmese refugees living in Norway suggest that mobility and poverty lie at the heart of refugees' existence. But this is also potentially a discussion that can be ground for divisiveness within the wider society in Norway and Swe (2013) argues that it is necessary to promote nuanced understandings of refugee mobilities for conceiving a multicultural society in Norway. Furthermore, Martiny et al. (2020) suggest that the more young immigrants in Norway endorse their "Norwegian" identity, the less they endorse their (in their case Kurdish) ethnic identity, which underscores that it is difficult to develop differential social identities endorsing both their ethnic and Norwegian identities. Positive contact between immigrants and members of the receiving society are important for integration according to Martiny et al. (2020) and the receiving society have an important role in the integration process.

8.2   Accommodation in Norway

Some of the research about unaccompanied minors have focused on the situation at arrival and care centres (Andrews et al., 2014; Brekke & Vevstad, 2007; Sønsterudbråten et al., 2018; Valenta & Berg, 2012; Weiss et al., 2017). The transitions from these centres to municipal housing is a very important part of the lives of unaccompanied minors (Eide & Broch, 2010). There are challenges both on an individual level as well as on a municipality level to find good accommodation solutions for unaccompanied minors where research has shown that municipalities use their discretion to establish working solutions (Berg & Tronstad, 2015; Garvik et al., 2016). Most unaccompanied minors live in communal housing but some are also placed in individual housing, such as in student corridors or similar (Garvik et al., 2016). There is a tension between independence and care in the housing situation of unaccompanied minors and those responsible for supporting unaccompanied minors need to be aware of the benefits and disadvantages with the different kinds of housing arrangements (Garvik et al., 2016; Oppedal et al., 2009).

8.3   Language acquisition and education in Norway

School is crucial in the lives of young asylum seekers (Berg & Tronstad, 2015; Lidén et al., 2011; Valenta, 2009). Eide and Broch (2010) argue that school is very important during the asylum-seeking process, as it can make it less of a waiting process and more of a time for possibilities. Unaccompanied minors themselves express that school is their most important arena for learning and socialising with peers (Svendsen & Berg, 2017). Thorshaug and Svendsen (2014) discuss the benefits and disadvantages with introductory classes where newly arrived migrants are separated from the rest of the school. These classes enable the teachers to support the migrants in their language learning, but they do not allow the minors to socialise as much with peers from the majority population and categorises their pupils as different and "outsiders", which can hinder integration processes Thorshaug and Svendsen (2014). Initial separation into introduction classes seems necessary to enable language acquisition and a safe starting framework, that then prepares the student for transferring into regular classes once they are ready. Unaccompanied minors and youth are generally very motivated to receive education and happy with the training they get (Svendsen & Berg, 2017; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014) but many are also frustrated about the slow pace and the long time they have to spend in school before they can start

applying for work (Garvik et al., 2016). It is also a problem for some youth that they have to go to adult education and spend most of their time with people older than themselves (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). Adult education centres are perceived as isolated from rest of society and this can add further to feelings of alienation (Garvik et al., 2016; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Pastoor (2017) shows the importance of combining learning in school for unaccompanied minors with the learning processes that take place outside of school in civil society.

8.4   Labour markets in Norway

Fangen an Paasche (2013) discuss the importance of labour market participation for integration but it does not guarantee experiences of inclusion nor exclusion. Through interviews with young adults of ethnic minority background in Norway, they show that being met with ethnic prejudice from employers as well customers are a common experience. Gabrielsen and Desjardin (2012) similarly show the importance of language for integration and, at the same time, how ethnic discrimination against immigrants on the labour market is also prevalent, hindering migrant integration. Widding-Havnerås (2016) show further that immigrants are at highest risk of not being in employment, education or training (NEET) and that this risk has increased over the last two decades. In 2015, 74% of all unaccompanied minors between the age of 18-29 were either working (57%), studying or partaking in an introduction program, and among those from Afghanistan the number was 90% – compared to the whole population in the same age range where the number is 85% (Dalgard et al., 2018). Employment rates increase with the time spent in Norway and the older the migrants are (Olsen, 2017).

8.5   Migrant health in Norway

Much of the research about unaccompanied minors have focused on their health and specifically so their mental health (Berg & Tronstad, 2015; Dittmann & Jensen, 2010; cf. Svendsen et al., 2018, p. 29) and highlight that unaccompanied minors are not just vulnerable victims but also resilient agents and suggest how they can be strengthened (Eide, 2012; Eide & Broch, 2010; Lønning, 2018; Michelsen & Berg, 2015; Oppedal et al., 2009; Tonheim et al., 2011) through for example art therapy (Hinsch, 2013; Schriever, 2011). Many publications emphasize the importance of social networks for the mental health of unaccompanied minors (Oppedal, 2013; Oppedal et al., 2008, 2011). Berg and Tronstad (2015) showed how children are in need of both emotional and practical care in their everyday lives, and Jensen et al. (2019) highlighted the need of continuous support to handle mental health problems and daily hassles after resettlement, all of which is important for the well-being and integration of these youth.

Kvamme and Ytrehus (2015) showed that undocumented migrants in Norway relate their health problems to their extremely difficult but varied living conditions, such as limited rights to health care, fear of being reported, financial difficulties and poor language skills as well as limited knowledge of their rights and availability of services in Norway. Myhrvold and Småstuen (2017, 2019) found that psychological distress was extremely high in this group for similar reasons combined with traumatic experience in their countries of origin. Relatedly, Abebe et al (2017) found that use of specialist mental health care is lower for immigrant children and adolescents than for ethnic Norwegians of the same age. Refugees had high utilization rates of specialist mental healthcare, while labour immigrants had low use. A study on suicide attempts and non-suicidal self-harm (NSSH) among students in higher education also found that this is more common among students with immigrant backgrounds (Sivertsen et al., 2019).

Two of the studies on young migrants' health looked specifically on Female genital mutilation or female circumcision (FGM/C). Gele et al. (2015) point out that FGM/C is still seen as a big threat to young girls in the Norwegian public discourse, even though the empirical evidence proves it to be an increasingly marginal problem among immigrants in Norway. This leads to a stigmatization of some immigrant communities which in turn can hinder integration (Gele, Sagbakken, & Kumar, 2015). Mbanya et al. (2018) found that only one-fifth of all women with FGM/C in their study sought health care for FGM/C related

health issues and identified that a lack of understanding or respect from health care workers have been an issue, as well as lack of information about access to health care and poor communication due to language issues (Mbanya et al., 2018).

8.6   Support structures and local participation in Norway

Svendsen et al. (2018) highlight how research has emphasised the impact of integration projects for unaccompanied minors, where the collaboration between local authorities and IGOs are important to support the youth as they arrive in a municipality. After school activities are very important places to create networks and meeting points (Haugen et al., 2015; Jæger & Berg, 2015). Svendsen et al. (2018) show that social networks and the building of relations are key for social integration, according to research (Raundalen & Mørch, 2016; Sønsterudbråten et al., 2018). Skårdalsmo and Harnischfeger (2017) asked unaccompanied minors what advice they had for adult caregivers and they said; "Be nice"; "Try to understand my perspective"; "Help me" and "Give meaning to the rules". They encourage support organisations to critically assess their own practices in accordance with this advice. Førde (2017) compared interviews conducted in 2005 with the situation of unaccompanied minors in recent years and found that the local context where they grow up have a big impact on where they end up in their lives; "it takes a village to raise a child" and the role of care and love must not be underestimated, Førde (2017) suggests. Førde also emphasized the importance of close collaboration between different actors supporting unaccompanied minors.

8.7   Trafficking in Norway

Brunovskis and Skilbrei (2018) discuss how victims of trafficking are defined as vulnerable, but this also risks masking structural factors of inequality and individualizing the persons instead of addressing structural issues such as unequal access to resources. Paasche and Skilbrei (2017) show how the governing of vulnerable groups such as victims of trafficking primarily aims to reinforce state power through return and reintegration programs. They point towards institutionalized hierarchies of vulnerabilities where the cateogory of "vulnerable migrants" in Norwegian migration policy is conflated with "victims of sex trafficking" at the expense of other vulnerabilities.

9   Poland

The following literature was compiled by Dominika Blachnicka-Ciacek, Izabela Grabowska, Magdalena Łużniak-Piecha, Agnieszka Trąbka and Dominika Winogrodzka at SWPS Uniwersytet Humanistyczno-społeczny, in Poland.

The body of literature on young migrants in Poland is relatively small and very few of these studies focus on vulnerability as well as youth. The lack of research on integration issues is related to the fact that Poland has no well-developed integration policies nationally. Due to the fact that Poland has been a typical sending country with a long history of emigration, the vast majority of research is dedicated to Polish migrants abroad. In recent years, youth immigration into Poland is primarily characterised by the large number of temporal foreign workers from Ukraine. Some young migrants also originate from Vietnam and Chechnya, where the latter most often have been provided refugee status or some other form of international protection. Poland and Vietnam had scholarship arrangements that started in the 1950s which has led to a relatively large Vietnamese diaspora in Poland (cf. Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2011, 2015, 2019). The literature review conducted by the Polish partners only included migrants from these three countries; Ukraine, Vietnam and Chechnya. Although the relative vulnerability of Ukrainian and Vietnamese young migrants in Poland is considerably lower than that of asylum seekers from Chechnya, I will discuss the literature about all three cases below. The main themes in the research reviewed by the Polish partners include education, identity and intergroup contact, and support structures. These are discussed in more detail below.

9.1   Language acquisition and education in Poland

A vast majority of foreign students in Poland come from Ukraine and other former USSR republics which has led some to talk about the "Ukrainization" of Polish universities. This has partly been the result of the universities actively recruiting Ukrainian students to survive the decline in numbers of students born in Poland (Gierko, 2015). Students from Ukraine are attracted by the higher quality of education in Poland and the combination of living in "Western" cities but still be close to home, among other things. Around half of the students from Ukraine plan to stay in Poland and a third plan to migrate further within the EU or to the USA (Andrejuk, 2016; Długosz, 2018; Gierko, 2015). This group of students are not discussed in the literature in direct relation to integration theories but it does engage with questions relating to social, economic and labour market integration.

Ukrainian students in Poland are economically vulnerable. One study showed that 45% of the students indicated that they have "economic issues", compared to 43% who had linguistic issues (Mucha & Pędziwiatr, 2019). Andrejuk and Korniychuk (2018) suggest that foreign students may experience difficulties when working as students in relation to language problems and discriminatory practices of employers, and are therefore prone to work in the secondary or informal labour market.

9.2   Identity and intergroup contact in Poland

Both students from Poland and Ukraine perceive the other group as being closed to intercultural contacts and researchers have highlighted that some kind of social support in the integration process between these groups is needed to increase intergroup contact (Bierówka 2016, Leśniak 2016; Mucha & Pędziwiatr 2019). Most of the studies about young Vietnamese in Poland relate to the issues second or 1.5 generation migrants are struggling with. Vietnamese high school students' strategies for "adaptation" (Majkut, 2011; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2015, 2019) focus on getting good grades as they graduate from high school, being admitted to and graduate from university. They also aim to build relationships with people in their educational setting through friendships and intimate relations with peer Poles as everyday practices of "adaptation", which are not always easy to achieve. The longer the young Vietnamese had been living in Poland, the easier it was to establish these kinds of relationships.

Research has pointed out sociocultural differences that can constrain the abilities of young people with a Polish and Vietnamese background to interconnect. Differences in (post-Confucian/Catholic) value systems, family models and intra-family relations can hinder minority Vietnamese youth to find a place in Polish majority society. High pressure from parents about their preferred educational paths for their children is one reason for why Vietnamese students perform relatively well in school, but this may also restrict the young people from developing their own interests and passions (Majkut, 2011; Rzewuska, 2013; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2015). Young Vietnamese have expressed in studies that they feel somehow suspended between two cultures: they are not enough Polish in Poland and not enough Vietnamese for Vietnam (Nowicka, 2011) and therefore they try to create and identity synthesising both cultures (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2011, 2015, 2019).

9.3   Support structures and local participation in Poland

Research in Poland about refugees are mainly focussed on the largest group of asylum seekers, Russian citizens primarily from Chechnya, but none of these studies included in the literature review performed by the Polish partners focus on youth specifically. Structural barriers to the integration process of refugees include ineffective governmental aid to asylum seekers and the locating of Refugee Reception Centres in remote and poor parts of Poland where unemployment is high, which makes it difficult to find employment for this group (Lukasiewicz, 2017). Many refugees who gain protection in Poland aim to migrate further west, which is understood as one reason for the limited interest in the integration programs offered by Polish institutions (Sipos, 2020). Among some of the Chechen asylum seekers, the asylum process led to transformation of family roles away from traditional gender structures as women started to represent the families in relation to public institutions and NGOs (Kość-Ryżko 2015). Refugees overcome structural constraints by finding jobs and accommodation outside refugee centres, by caring for their families and engaging in community life (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Sipos, 2020).

10 Romania

The following literature was compiled by Smaranda Cimpoeru, Ioana Manafi, Laura Mihaela Muresan, Dorel Mihai Paraschiv, Elena Prada, Monica Roman and Vlad I. Roșca at Academia de Studii Economice din Bucuresti*, in Romania.*

Romania is a country of emigration. Four million people have left Romania over the last three decades whereas an estimate of around 400,000 foreigners live in Romania. The literature in Romania predominantly focuses on the departure of Romanians to Western Europe. Most of the beneficiaries of international protection come from Syria (58,18 %), Iraq (20,57 %) and Afghanistan (3,85 %) and most third country nationals come from the Republic of Moldova (16,24%), Turkey (14,24%), Ukraine (1,77%) and Serbia (1,90%) (Coșciug et al., 2018). None of the research from Romania focus specifically on young migrants or vulnerable conditions. The *Romanian Immigrant Integration Index* (Coșciug et al., 2018) offers some indications that the relative vulnerability of young migrants in Romania is rather low since it reveals that three quarters of immigrants in Romania are there for studies (66%) and for work (9%), 90% of migrants reside in urban areas (compared to 53% of the domestic population) and the average monthly income of a migrant is nearly identical with that of Romanian citizens. The vulnerabilities that primarily do persist among migrants is a lack of access to medical services and most of the migrants have short term labour contracts (Coșciug et al., 2018). The main conditions considered a source for migrant vulnerability in Romanian research are the situations in the educational setting, labour and housing markets, discrimination and xenophobia leading to a lack of migrants' rights and issues of trafficking. These issues will be discussed in more detail below.

10.1 Language acquisition and education in Romania

Young pupils and students from Moldavia between 14-19 years old migrate alone to Romania to study so that they later will be eligible for university studies in Romania and Europe (Cojocaru, 2018; Gorobîc, 2012). Primarily coming from poor families, these children have little support from home and they are therefore to a large extent separated from their families, all of which puts them in vulnerable conditions. These teenagers have described their lives in boarding school as strict and boring and without much interaction with Romanian peers (Beale, 1999). Many also experience discrimination and abuse from teachers and classmates because of their ethnicity.

10.2 Labour markets in Romania

The migrants in Romania that work often have short contracts and they also have a difficult time finding secure housing. Them living in overcrowded and improper housing conditions can lead to escalation of family conflicts, which can impact children's socio-psychological development (Burean, 2018; Wu & Wang, 2002). Lack of access to information about immigrant rights are yet another source of vulnerability in Romania (Voicu et al., 2008). Cheianu-Andrei (2018) highlights the situation of Moldovan labour migrants in Romania and describe them as a vulnerable group since they often have precarious legal status because of their unsecure work situation, which also makes them more prone to labour exploitation and workplace abuse. They also face legal and practical barriers in Romania that prevent them from accessing basic care services such as health care, according to Cheianu-Andrei (2018). Labour migrants also arrive in Romania from former Soviet Republic states as well as from countries such as Libya, Marocco, Egypt and Turkey (Mărgărit, 2015).

10.3 Trafficking in Romania

Romania is described in the literature as a transit country through which young people are being clandestinely trafficked as forced labour, either in the form of sexual trafficking or for begging purposes. Unaccompanied minors are especially vulnerable to be exploited for these reasons as the Romanian asylum system in practice does not take up their cases for asylum and they are left in the hands of exploiters (Lăzăroiu & Alexandru, 2003; Lindstrom, 2004; Spataru-Negura & Papuc, 2006). Young, uneducated women from former Soviet states are also lured into migrating to Romania in search for a

better life, but they are instead forced into prostitution and conditions that are worse than the situation they migrated from. Young men are to a larger extent subject to forced petty crime and begging. The extent of this kind of youth migrant trafficking in Romania is unknown, but Silaşi and Simina (2008) believe that some limited progress has been made by the Romanian authorities in terms of trafficking prevention and protection of victims.

10.4 Discrimination and racism in Romania

Some researchers have pointed out that socio-psychological migrant vulnerabilities in Romania also occur from the fact that it is a rather unwelcoming environment for young migrants who may experience discrimination and xenophobia (Kiss et al., 2011) for example in the housing market (Burean, 2018). Voicu et al. (2008) suggest that the lack of information about migrants' rights is another important source of vulnerability. Unaware of their rights, migrants cannot or do not make proper use of the social and public services that they are entitled to. Civil servants may take especially advantage of migrants who have only spent a short time in Romania, or may ignore their needs and claims, knowing that they are in a position of power (Voicu et al., 2008).

11 Sweden

The following literature was compiled by Henrik Emilsson and Jacob Lind at Malmö University, *in Sweden.*

In 2015, 35,369 unaccompanied refugee minors applied for asylum in Sweden, making it the number one destination country for this group in Europe. Also, in the decades before 2015, the number of unaccompanied minors arriving in Sweden was relatively high. As a result, in Sweden, research about *unaccompanied minors* is extensive. Around 80 publications were identified in Swedish research relating to unaccompanied minors, although that number includes any research that discussed unaccompanied minors from many different perspectives. Since a large majority of the unaccompanied minors are male, they receive most attention. Some of those who are studying unaccompanied youths are pointing out that they who do not have any relatives in the Sweden, or who are not supported by their family in the sending country, are particularly vulnerable (for example Eriksson & von Greiff, 2015; Hessle, 2009). Recently, an edited collection in Swedish of research about unaccompanied migration was published, which includes contributions from several of the authors reviewed in this chapter (Darvishpour & Månsson, 2019), highlighting the broad approach researchers have taken on the issue. A second group that is a quite common in research is *newly arrived* young migrants. The ages differ, but usually the group studied is between 16–20 years. A third topic is young migrants living in so called *"vulnerable" or "segregated" housing areas*, and this kind of research also includes youths with a longer history in Sweden. A fourth group, who also can have a longer history in Sweden, is young women at risk of so-called *honour violence*. In all, research in Sweden primarily focus on life course and impact of legal status, accommodation, labour markets, migrant health, support structures, discrimination and racism, and honour related violence. These issues are discussed in more detail below.

11.1 Life course and impact of legal status in Sweden

In several of the studies included in the review, the focus is on the general integration or establishment of young migrants from a life course perspective. In particular, Hessle (2009) conducted a longitudinal study that looked at the "integration trajectories" of unaccompanied minors in Sweden. Hessle (2009) conducted an interview study in a clinical psychological setting 1996-97 with 100 unaccompanied minors and then followed up this study ten years later using register data of 68 people still in Sweden (and interviewed 20 of these people). In her longitudinal study, Hessle (2009) saw that none of the participants had reunited with their biological parents in Sweden after 10 years. Almost all of the 68 young people had applied and got citizenship. 51 out of 68 were studying or working after 10 years in Sweden. Women tended to work in care, while men owned their own businesses. The interviews showed that they all had a positive life situation after 10 years as residents in Sweden and were optimistic about their future. Hessle (2009) concludes that a majority were taken in by relatives in Sweden who were links to the family´s transnational network. The other children who had no family with which to reunite sought to establish transnational links on their own. These young adults have created crossnational networks and this appears to have been of decisive importance for their socialisation and favourable establishment in Sweden. The formal support and care systems of the majority society appear to have worked well for the informants, and especially for those who have been in great need of these efforts.

Bjerneld et al. (2018) conducted a longitudinal study as well, studying a group of unaccompanied asylum-seeking young women from Somalia. The women were interviewed in 1999 and then again in 2013. They found that unaccompanied young people need support from different groups of adults throughout their life courses. Staff at groups homes are important initially, but all actors in their support network need to better understand the young people's experiences of war. Former unaccompanied minors also play an important role for newly arrived migrants in their transition into the Swedish society. Other studies, however, gives a less positive picture of the experiences of unaccompanied minors highlighting the difficulties they have to tackle in relation to their migration histories, loss of

homes, difficulties in relating to new cultural norms in the host country and difficulties in getting proper support from the social services (Eriksson & von Greiff, 2015). Gustafsson et al. (2012) describe the feelings of unaccompanied minors in Sweden as "living a life on hold".

In her research, Wernesjö (2012) has highlighted the need for listening to unaccompanied minors' own voices. Wernesjö (2014) has analysed their understanding of belonging in relation to concepts such as home, place, racialization and "Swedishness". Furthermore, Wernesjö (2020) shows how issues of de-servingness come into play as they constitute themselves as responsible, hard-working youngsters to oppose discourses and figures of unaccompanied minors as threats or victims. Thus, negotiations of belonging and deservingness continues also after they have been granted protection. Relatedly, Djampour (2018) highlights the diversity in experiences of young people categorised as "unaccompanied minors" and contests the "single story" that reduces people to stereotypes. Djampour (2018) explores the complex way they negotiate time, love, intimacy and hope, resisting simplified understandings and representations of their everyday lives. In recent years, many of the unaccompanied minors who arrived around the turbulent summer and autumn of 2015 have had their asylum claims rejected – in an asylum system that has been criticised in research as overly sceptical towards their stories and making it difficult for the minors to have their stories heard (Hedlund, 2016, 2017; Keselman, 2009) – and have as a consequence left Sweden for other European countries (mainly France) in hope of gaining asylum there instead. Elsrud (2020) understands this "re-escaping" of young people as a way to meet "social death" in a way that restore belongingness, self-control and dignity. Also, during the asylum assessment, unaccompanied minors' existence is completely overshadowed by this process and their concerns for their future, Lundberg and Dahlquist (2012) showed.

11.2 Accommodation in Sweden

Åkerlund (2016) studied the institution as a social living environment for unaccompanied young people. There, the staff translate everyday care into their relationships with young people who then negotiate the standardized practical activities of the institutional setting aiming to activate them. Malmsten (2014) showed that unaccompanied minors were overall content with the transitional group homes they were placed in during the asylum process at the time. Further, Börjesson and Söderkvist Forkby (2020) discuss the different understandings between the young people and the staff about what the meaning of a "home" entails in this setting and highlights the importance of reflecting on how a feeling of home can be established. Similarly, Moberg Stephenson and Källström (2020) highlighted how a sense of home is created in different places by unaccompanied minors, including in the community of peers or in foster families etc., confirming the findings of Wernesjö (2015) that belonging is not fixed to one place for unaccompanied minors and youth.

11.3 Language acquisition and education in Sweden

Up to the age of 21, the vast majority of unaccompanied minors in Sweden are in some form of education. Many study at upper secondary level even after the age of 19 – at *Komvux* (Municipal adult education) or other forms of education. The results in upper secondary school are often unsatisfactory; few complete a three-year secondary education according to Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö (2018). Sundelin (2015) analysed the study and vocational counselling offered to young migrants in an introductory course for immigrants at the upper secondary level, between 17 and 19 years of age. Councillors indirectly support educational paths that lead to less qualified jobs than those following the individual's own ambition and risks having an excluding effect, Sundelin shows (2015). Also, Sharif (2017) showed how newly arrived young migrants are spatially and symbolically segregated from other pupils in introductory school programs and become marginalised. This marginalisation and stagnation in their educational development is then maintained further as they mostly engaged with people of the same background outside of school since they did not speak Swedish.

Sernhede (2011) analyses how young people in so called "vulnerable areas", big urban suburbs with a relatively poor population and a high number of migrants living there (cf. Dahlstedt, 2018), perceive

school and their future. He finds that many of them do not see school as a link into, or a road into society. Rather, as around half of the students finish 9th grade without passing more than half of the study subjects, they start identifying themselves as second rate citizens and risk becoming permanently marginalized.

11.4 Labour markets in Sweden

Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö (2018, 2019) studied how different factors affect the "establishment" of unaccompanied minors in Swedish society, such as age at the time of residence permit, country of origin, time in Sweden, educational level and country of residence. Unaccompanied persons with higher education than primary education are more often employed. At the age of 27, 66 percent of unaccompanied men and 56 percent of the women are employed, compared to 81 and 77 percent among Swedish-born. The lower employment rate among unaccompanied women is to some extent explained by more women studying at higher ages compared to men. The unaccompanied women who are employed also have significantly lower wages than men. Compared to Swedish-born youth with the same lower level of education, unaccompanied migrants have about the same rate of employment. In comparison with those who have immigrated with their parents, unaccompanied migrants are employed to a higher extent when factors such as age, education, and time in Sweden are taken into account. Unaccompanied persons who have been reunited with their parents work to a somewhat lesser extent than those who have not. Further, unaccompanied men from Afghanistan do better in the Swedish labour market than unaccompanied men from other countries (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2018, 2019). Manhica et al. (2019) conducted a register-based study on labour market participation, similarly comparing unaccompanied and accompanied refugees with "native" Swedes and intercountry adoptees. They saw that the refugees ran a higher risk of being in insecure work compared to "native" Swedes with comparable levels of education. Migrants who arrived in Sweden as children have also been shown to have lower educational returns and salary levels the employees with Sweden-born parents and lacked support during their school years (Katz & Österberg, 2013; Lindblad, 2016).

11.5 Migrant health in Sweden

Eide and Hjern (2013) show how unaccompanied minors have high rates of mental health problems, during the first years after resettlement. Despite this, many unaccompanied children are also resourceful and "arrive with a clear vision of a positive future in the new country" (Eide & Hjern, 2013). Having a psychiatric diagnosis is particularly common among unaccompanied youth with low education (Çelikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2018). Other research has discussed different factors affecting unaccompanied minors' health (Blom, 2008) such as their perspectives on relationships and their sexual health, which highlighted the need for appropriate and accessible information on these issues (Nordström & Agardh, 2020). Unaccompanied refugee minors are also overrepresented in inpatient psychiatric care (Ramel et al., 2015) and different treatments have discussed for treating PTSD symptoms among this group (Sarkadi et al., 2018). Mittendorfer-Rutz et al. (2020) have shown that the suicide rate among unaccompanied minors/youth seeking asylum in Sweden in 2017 is very high, 51.2 per 100,000 among unaccompanied minors/youth compared to 6.1 per 100,000 in the host population.

Kaunitz and Jakobsson (2016) also discuss the situation of unaccompanied young migrants placed in the care of the Swedish National Board of Institutional Care (SNBIC), where those are placed who have problems relating to substance abuse or criminality. However, Dahlberg (2020) shows that unaccompanied minors who begin outpatient treatment for substance abuse use alcohol and drugs to a lesser extent than other young people in Sweden who get the same treatment and care. It is therefore problematic to consider unaccompanied minors a particularly high-risk group as they often are perceived, Dahlberg (2020) argues. Similarly, Medi Ghazinour et al. (2020) show that unaccompanied youth are increasingly placed at SNBIC homes although the reasons for doing so are not always clear to all involved actors. In a large survey with 104 undocumented migrants in Sweden, Andersson et al. (2018) found that a large majority of them suffered from moderate or severe anxiety, depression and/or PTSD. Reasons mentioned for this was fear of deportation, unstable housing and food insecurity.

11.6 Support structures and local participation in Sweden

Several studies have showed the importance and impact as well as challenges of social networks and the support system in place for unaccompanied minors (Backlund et al., 2014; Cedlöf, 2019; Hedlund & Salmonsson, 2018; Herz & Lalander, 2019; Seidel & James, 2019) as well as the importance of understanding the role of religion in the lives of many of these young people (Ekström et al., 2020, Herz & Lalander, 2020) including for the thousands of them that have converted to Christianity in Sweden (Morgan, 2020). Holmlund (2020) further analyses social work with unaccompanied youth focusing on the collaboration between different actors and authorities and shows how care and policing of the youth are enmeshed into a co-operative regime of child deportation.

Some research study the unaccompanied migrants' own understanding of their belonging and positionality as they transition from childhood to adulthood. Kaukko and Wernesjö (2017) highlight how experiences of independence and need of care are flexible, allowing the children's movement within and between the categories. Agency and vulnerability occur at the same time and this dichotomy and fixed positionalities needs to be challenged in research, according to Kaukko and Wernesjö (2017). Wedin (2020) highlighted the importance of literacy for the expression of agency among unaccompanied minors. Furthermore, Herz and Lalander (2017) investigate the agency of unaccompanied minors in Sweden and how they experience loneliness as they experience lack of control, encounter "the system" and feel that no one grieves for them. They deal with this by creating new friendships and they resist the label of being an "unaccompanied" that also reinforces feelings of loneliness, shaping the young people's sense of self. Further, Lalander and Herz (2020) suggest that the transition from childhood to adulthood by unaccompanied young refugees is supported by stable social and economic structures and the position as young "unaccompanied minors" is fragile in relation to realizing future goals. Lalander and Raoof (2016) study how unaccompanied young people view the staff at the residential care units where they live, and they are provoked when the staff treat them as children and not being acknowledged as competent actors. The institutionalised system puts them in a position of being treated as children and "undeveloped immigrants" and this positionality is hard to contest since they do not want to be punished for resisting the care of the staff. Similarly, Jahanmahan and Bunar (2018) also analyse how unaccompanied minors talk about the social services and their legal guardians, highlighting the agency the minors express in relation to them.

Wimelius et al. (2017) ask if the Swedish reception system promotes integration. They saw that different systems lacked interconnections and the local system of reception was fraught with challenges. Different actors supporting unaccompanied minors felt isolated from each other. The vagueness of political conceptualisations of integration and the unspecified goals of societal integration efforts had a practical result in that actors involved lacked support and guidance on how to conduct their work supporting the integration of unaccompanied minors. A lack of systematic evaluations and long-term follow-ups also led to support workers "working in the blind", according to Wimelius (2017).

11.7 Discrimination and racism in Sweden

In a study about newly arrived migrants, Hagström (2018) discusses how the notion of Swedishness is sometimes seen as something that can be acquired, and sometimes connected to physical appearances. The experiences of being categorised as "newly arrived" can be understood as a limited and conditional position. Measures targeted at a particular group in society can have stigmatizing effects even if the measures are limited in time and directed to special needs, in this case connected to the status of "newly arrived". Some research has also studied how unaccompanied minors have been represented in public policy and media, where Frigyes (2018) shows that during the so called "refugee crisis" in 2015, it suddenly became more common for the media to publish news with young unaccompanied people described as fraudulent, violent and sexually threatening. Unaccompanied male youth themselves have described this as a "gendered situation of questioning" (Herz, 2019). Stretmo (2014) also analyzed how unaccompanied minors are governed as a specific group of refugees and portrayed

as problematic in the media and political debates. They are sometimes singled out as vulnerable and at risk and sometimes as strategic migrants, which justifies both care- and control-oriented governing of the group (cf. Holmlund, 2020). Similarly, Horning et al. (2020) suggest that unaccompanied minors in Sweden are perceived as both at being subjects "at risk" and being "risky" subjects while they mainly describe their own journey as being in search for safety. Horning et al. (2020) emphasize the need to demystify ideas of the "dangerous" refugee to improve policies that otherwise thwart the development of unaccompanied youth.

11.8 Honour related violence in Sweden

Two of the studies included in the review on the basis of the search criteria discuss the highly politicised issue of honour related violence against women. However, none of the studies clarify more closely the situation of the women studied than that they had "immigrant background". Wikström and Ghazinour (2010) studied the impact of shelter on the self-esteem of young migrant women, i.e., how it had strengthened their self-reliance, independence and ability to manage by themselves. The shelters may have been life saving for some of them. However, "a conflict appeared between the ideological holistic idea and legal responsibilities of social services to work towards reuniting the parents and the girl, and the shelters' separatist idea of isolating and liberating the girl from her parents" (Wikström & Ghazinour, 2010). The interviewed girls' experiences of staying at the shelters were ambivalent. Several of the girls reflected on the meaning of the shelter in terms of saving their lives, but making them sometimes even more isolated than before they fled from home, according to Wikström and Ghazinour (2010). Carbin (2014) also highlights the life-saving aspect of shelters but suggests that policy-makers have been faced with a dilemma: "to talk about 'honour killings' as such runs the risk of fuelling racist understandings. On the other hand, formulations of the problem in universalist terms as part of men's global violence against women risk missing the particularities of these crimes" (Carbin, 2014). Another conflict occurs between the responsibilities of social work towards reuniting the family, and the separatist idea of the shelter liberating the girl from her parents.

12 United Kingdom

The following literature was compiled by Thea Shahrokh and Majella Kilkey at The University of Shef-
field *and Louise Ryan at* London Metropolitan University, *both in the United Kingdom.*

In comparison to many other countries, the literature on the experience of young migrants in vulner-
able conditions in the UK is expansive. The review conducted by the UK partners primarily generated
literature on unaccompanied and asylum-seeking youth, but many other groups were also found to be
the subjects of earlier research. Much research highlights the many additional different legal statuses
and social positions that young migrants in vulnerable conditions can experience during their time in
the UK such as "resettled refugee", "refused asylum seeker", "discretionary leave to remain", "undoc-
umented" and "trafficked children and young people" etc. Young Muslims are also a particular group
that can find themselves in a vulnerable situation in the UK, regardless whether they consider them-
selves migrants or not.

Unaccompanied asylum seeking and refugee young people from the age of 17-25 studied in the liter-
ature were primarily young men from Afghanistan and Eritrea (Chase, 2016; Devenney, 2017, 2018),
and Albania (Chase, 2020), reflecting the dominance of young men in the UK asylum system. However,
the diverse population in the UK is also reflected in the literature as it covers young people of all gen-
ders with a background in countries from all over the world, with an emphasis on people from recently
war-torn countries as well as countries that were formerly under the rule of the British Empire.

In the UK research, certain conditions were linked to increased vulnerability; being underage (Lewis *et
al.*, 2014) and seeking asylum (Bradby *et al.*, 2019), having an insecure legal status (Allsopp, Chase &
Mitchell, 2015; Bloch, 2013; Devenney, 2017; Schweitzer, 2017), being trafficked (Pearce, Hynes &
Bovarnick, 2013; Hynes, 2015; Stanley *et al.*, 2016), and being a young Muslim (Mirza & Meetoo, 2018;
Ryan, 2014). Language barriers were also a source of vulnerability for different groups (Bloch, Sigona
& Zetterer, 2009; Nunn, 2018). Overall, there is little focus on the "integration trajectories" of the
young migrants in vulnerable conditions included in the review. But the research indicated the im-
portance of engaging with the structural conditions that produced precarity and vulnerability in young
migrants' lives, and how political contexts limited or facilitated the gaining of legal status. Transitioning
into adulthood was highlighted in the research as a source of vulnerability, even though the young
migrants are supposed to be adults rather than children, since becoming an "adult" can involve losing
access to education, social care, financial security, shelter and accommodation, and legal support
(Chase, 2020). In all, the research included in this review primarily discuss life courses and impact of
legal status, language acquisition and education, migrant health, support structures and local partici-
pation, discrimination and racism, and the impact of place and transnationality. These issues are dis-
cussed in more detail below.

12.1 Life course and impact of legal status in the United Kingdom

In the UK system, there are an abundance of legal statuses young migrants can attain at different times
and the threat of deportation is more or less immanent until you have indefinite leave to remain. Un-
accompanied young people who legally transition from childhood to adulthood when they turn 18 are
affected by the impact this has on their institutional status of arriving as a child with access to specific
rights and support, and then turning into adults subject to immigration control (Allsopp, Chase &
Mitchell, 2015). Where unaccompanied young people were granted some security in their immigration
status, this better enabled the ability to build a coherent sense of self, involving the capacity of young
people to build a narrative that integrates the past, present and future (Devenney, 2017). For young
unaccompanied asylum seekers, being granted indefinite leave to remain can be transformative, cre-
ating both a secure basis for wellbeing and the possibilities to fulfil the sorts of futures that young
people aspire to for themselves and other family members (Chase, 2020). The governance system
around trafficked children and young people's lives has also been critiqued for amplifying vulnerability,

including in relation to their involvement in criminal justice processes, and a prioritisation of immigration policies over child protection (Hynes, 2015).

Being in an undocumented position severely limits young people's abilities to plan for the future and some young migrants in this situation expressed life as unfulfilling and feeling trapped (Bloch, 2013; Bloch, Sigona & Zetterer, 2009). Young asylum seekers and refugees were not willing to contemplate return to their country of origin, and as such contested policy frameworks that encourage young migrants to plan for multiple pathways and prioritise return to their assigned country of origin (Allsopp, Chase & Mitchell, 2015). Getting legal status supported young people to unlock access to social and economic rights such as education and housing, required to pursue their dreams (Allsopp, Chase & Mitchell, 2015).

12.2 Language acquisition and education in the United Kingdom

Education is very important for young migrants as a way to build relationships with local peers and skills and competencies for the future (Nunn, 2018). Undocumented migrants had difficulties accessing higher education even after they had passed through the school system up until that point. This provoked anxiety, including the impact on young people who were parents and considering the education of their children (Bloch, Sigona & Zetterer, 2009). This impacted the aspirations of undocumented young people who talked about being trapped, unfulfilled and unable to make plans (Bloch, Sigona & Zetter, 2014; Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick, 2013; Schweitzer, 2017). Relatedly, Chase (2020) found that there is a continuous process of compromise and trade-off between what unaccompanied young people feel that they need to forego in the present in order to secure the futures they are striving for.

Recognised refugee young people are eligible for higher education, but face multiple socio-economic barriers in accessing appropriate educational programmes (including issues related to poverty and meeting basic needs, isolation and lack of support), and difficulties in navigating the system, including complex criteria/guidelines, and access to student finance (Gateley, 2015). Young Muslim women are doing well in school in terms of educational outcomes, but the structural conditions creating barriers in access to higher education and employment for them were not seen to be shifting (Mirza & Meetoo, 2018).

12.3 Migrant health in the United Kingdom

In the UK research, lack of integration is shown to influence unaccompanied young people's health and well-being as, for example, their access to mental health services is affected which drives a negative cycle of isolation (Bradby et al., 2019). Many have also experienced insensitivity by professionals and service providers taking on the role of border guards, which can further reduce unaccompanied young people's contact with health, education and social service providers and thus increase their vulnerability (Chase, 2016; Nunn, 2018). Other issues affecting the health and well-being of young migrants include institutional barriers of everyday bordering (Chase, 2020), religious racism and racialized sexist bullying from peers (Mirza & Meetoo, 2018). Lack of status among migrants were also an all-encompassing experience producing different kinds of vulnerabilities and ill health (Bloch, Sigona & Zetterer, 2009). Trafficked young migrants have specific needs to enable them to trust health care workers and other professionals, such as seeing a professional of the same gender, reassurances of confidentiality, not being asked to repeat their stories, and continuity in staff providing support (Stanley *et al.*, 2016).

12.4 Support structures and local participation in the United Kingdom

Support structures have a large impact on the resilience, wellbeing and health of young migrants in the UK. Unaccompanied minors are affected by the facilitative role of social anchors and wider support networks but also by cultures of suspicion within institutional settings – all of which affect their integration processes (Bradby et al., 2019). Feeling a sense of connectedness with others – both in their immediate lives and beyond – was also very important for this (Chase, 2020). Young people with refugee status or humanitarian protection are also supported by the voluntary sector as they access rights

and entitlements. Furthermore, they are supported when they make education choices (Gateley, 2015) and construct futures whilst subject to immigration control during their transition to "adulthood" (Allsopp, Chase & Mitchell, 2015; Chase, 2016, 2020; Chase et al., 2020). Time is a key tactic for control by the migration authorities, but young migrants respond to these tactics in different ways as they create their own narratives of their biographical trajectories in relation to chronological age markers and time-limited legal statuses etc. (Adams, 2009; Allsopp, Chase & Mitchell, 2015; Devenney, 2017). Age assessments were also experienced by both young people seeking asylum (Crawley, 2010, 2011), and trafficked young people (Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick, 2013; Hynes, 2015) as deeply problematic by young people and as being positioned within a culture of suspicion.

Young Muslims with migrant backgrounds have a complex and dynamic sense of self in relation to religion (Ryan, 2014), and young Muslim women are being policed by being perceived as lacking agency as they are both positioned as subordinate and neoliberal "good students", since the racialised structural barriers to employment and higher education for them are ignored (Mirza & Meetoo, 2018). Young undocumented migrants also express agency as they navigate the labour market and hostile policies with the help of social networks (Bloch, 2013; Bloch, Sigona & Zetterer, 2009) and as they navigate policy frameworks of regularisation, deportation and control (Schweitzer, 2017). Trafficked young migrants have complex physical, sexual and mental health needs and face barriers to service provision (Stanley et al., 2016) and research mainly focus on how child care practitioners identify, understand and work with the problems faced by people who have been trafficked (Hynes, 2015; Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick, 2013). Overall, the agency and everyday negotiations of belonging of young migrants has been discussed at some length in research (see also Clayton, 2012; Devenney, 2018; Lewis, 2015).

Connections within co-ethnic networks are important for undocumented migrants as a source of informal employment but they can also be exploitative (Bloch, 2013). Language limitations and the reluctance to trust or disclose information about legal status also limited undocumented migrants' networks to other undocumented migrants from the same country of origin group (Bloch, Sigona & Zetterer, 2009; Bloch, 2013). In Schweitzer's (2017) undocumented migrants either focused on self-integrating into the system, moving towards regularisation or "blending into society" so as to avoid immigration enforcement, and relieve themselves of their representation as "illegally present" and marginalised, isolated and deprived of rights, power and opportunities. Being amongst and talking with others was an essential kind of social capital provided by informal support networks that help migrants in irregular situations to sustain their livelihoods and prolong their stay in the country. The response of government policies to increasingly target everybody, was seen as a way of trying to induce hostility into these relationships which has the potential to impact social cohesion and race relations. For asylum seeking and refugee young people, family, both local and diasporic, was integrally important as a source of safety and comfort (Nunn, 2018). Research with newly dispersed (Lewis, 2015) and resettled (Nunn, 2018) communities found that being able to engage with and celebrate ethnic communities, and cultural expression was an important marker of local belonging. In contrast, young people trafficked to the UK were unlikely to have any knowledge of a local peer group or care network, nor little understanding of UK formal and informal support systems. Feelings of disorientation alongside violence and abuse can therefore leave them isolated (Pearce, Hynes & Bovarnick, 2013).

12.5 Discrimination and racism in the United Kingdom

Racialization and othering affect the creation of migrant vulnerability differently for different groups of young migrants. Non-white appearance, limited economic resources, the practice of Islam and those who have more recently arrived in the city, including those who are, or are perceived to be asylum seekers and/or refugees were seen as "unassimilated" and "too different" even in a "multicultural" context (Clayton, 2012). Many young migrants hide their immigration identities as a tactic to maintain friendships by appearing the same as others who were not subject to immigration control and were able to move on with their lives (Allsopp, Chase & Mitchell, 2015).

12.6 Impact of place and transnationality in the United Kingdom

Clayton (2012) emphasised the importance of localised contexts. His research depicts how young peo-
ple move through spaces in terms of inter-ethnic negotiation and how, despite conceptualisations of
fluid and multiple identities in young migrants lives they often meet fixed, ethnically based construc-
tions within their local context, for example racially demarcated spaces (neighbourhoods, pubs). Ref-
ugees were found to be initially located in neighbourhoods facing extreme disadvantage, often where
social housing is low cost and available, alongside white working-class communities navigating the dif-
ficulties of these contexts, which can be linked to conflict. The racial coding of areas reinforces the
significance of the divisions young people are navigating at the local level, including in relation to sports
and music facilities, and youth-clubs (Clayton, 2012).

For migrant young people in Clayton's (2012) study, the maintenance of a transnational sense of be-
longing was also important, which was made possible in specific local contexts through walking, talk-
ing, eating and cultural activities. Devenney's (2018) research also explored the impact of family reu-
nification, including building lives with siblings in new contexts as an important marker of creating a
sense of home. When building a relationship between their identity and the place they were living in,
some migrant young people highlighted the significance of being able to practice Islam publicly and
related this to the importance of having a strong national/ethnic community. For others, it was the
presence of a visible pan-ethnic Muslim community that was relevant (Clayton, 2012). In line with
Ryan's (2014) research cited above, this emphasises the importance of recognising the heterogeneity
of young migrants' experiences, even within specific young migrant identities, such as relating to reli-
gion.

Transnationality was also important in terms of retaining connections to a sense of "home", "family"
and community (Devenney, 2018; Nunn, 2018). In Bloch, Sigona and Zetterer's (2009) research, for
some undocumented migrants the pressure to work and send remittances affected their everyday
lives, while for others it is part of their own personal migration objective, with migration seen as a
short-term way of making better money before returning home. Allsopp, Chase and Mitchell (2015)
emphasised that young asylum seekers and refugees arrive in the UK with a combination of their own
aspirations and the expectations of others. Challenging the perception that the focus of unaccompa-
nied young people is on individual needs and entitlements, Devenney (2018) found that they were
engaged in reciprocal caregiving relationships with family, and often saw themselves as primary pro-
viders of care and support. Although this role was constrained by uncertain immigration status, fi-
nances and positioning within the family, young people found ways to remain connected, including
through digital technologies, and manage their obligations, including by imagining future reciprocity
(Devenney, 2018; Nunn, 2018). However, the importance of transnational relationships also impacted
young people's ability to build a local sense of belonging, in particular were family members remained
in precarious situations in country of origin (Devenney, 2018; Nunn, 2018). It was argued by Pearce,
Hynes and Bovarnick (2013) that understanding trafficked young people's local and transnational con-
struction of "home" is an important area of future research, including as they transition to adulthood
and build "home" in destination countries.

13 Comparative discussion across Europe

In this section, I compare and contrast the results from each national review and discuss the overall findings of this report. By comparing the above country chapters, I attempt to answer the research questions of this report.

- What groups of young migrants are considered vulnerable?
- What topics/areas of concern, or "vulnerable conditions", are in focus?
- What are the empirical results?

The first question is answered in the next subchapter (in reference to *Table 1* below) and the second and third questions are answered simultaneously in the remaining subchapters that focus on the different areas of concern that are summarised in *Table 2* below. The areas of concern in *Table 2* represent the subchapters of the country chapters above, and the current chapter is also organised in accordance with these themes.

After an initial discussion about who the young migrants considered vulnerable in the literature are understood to be, I continue by comparatively discussing all the different areas of concern I identified in the literature reviews. In this conclusive, comparative discussion I try to more clearly interpret how the earlier research speaks to the overall aim of this report of understanding **"past experiences and resilience of young vulnerable migrants and their integration trajectories in different countries and integration areas".**

13.1 Young migrants considered vulnerable across Europe

In *Table 1* below (compiled by Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020, and slightly amended by me), the different groups of migrants discussed in each of the country reports are listed. The literature reviews of each partner country show how the target group of MIMY (young migrants in vulnerable conditions) is heterogenous and complex and this implies "complexity and heterogeneity regarding the national origin of the young migrants, their social, cultural, and economic background, which directly or indirectly impact the integration, vulnerability, and resilience patterns of young migrants in vulnerable conditions" (Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020). The reviewed literature primarily categorises their research subjects – who are potentially caught in vulnerable conditions – as asylum seekers, refugees, unaccompanied minors/youth, or young undocumented migrants. Other more specific categorisations include LGBTQIA+ refugees, trafficked migrants, labour migrants, education migrants, newly arrived migrants and third country nationals, where the last concept also represent the delimitation of MIMY's target group of migrants coming from outside of Europe.

In the reviewed literature, these categories of migrants are in some way identified or labelled as "vulnerable", but the conditions that render them vulnerable varies vastly. At the direst end of a spectrum of perceived vulnerabilities one arguably finds migrants who are victims of trafficking or other forms of forced labour. At the other end, where not all individuals within a category may even usefully be considered vulnerable, one arguably finds people who migrate for regular work or studies. The other categorisations included in *Table 1* below would usually fall somewhere in between these on such a "vulnerability-continuum". Schwarz et al. (2019) suggest that also experiences of trafficking need to be understood as a continuum:

> *We propose a model that reconceives of trafficking as a continuum that includes a range of vulnerabilities, violence, and traumas. In order to address human trafficking, policy makers and advocates need to focus on upstream prevention factors to address vulnerabilities that can lead to sex and labor exploitation. (Schwarz et al., 2019)*

Partner country[1]	MIMY target group concepts						
	Asylum seekers	Refugees/ refugee youth	Unaccompanied young migrants/ minors	Third country nationality	Young undocumented	Young stateless	Other concepts named regarding target group
Germany	*	*	*			*	LGBTQIA+ refugee, trafficking, women migrating alone
Hungary	*	*	*	*			Labour migrants, trafficked
Italy	*	*[2]	*				Education migrants
Luxembourg	*	*	*		*		
Norway	*	*	*		*		Labour migrants, family migrant, trafficked (sex work), irregular migrants, rejected asylum seekers
Poland		*					Education migrants, labour migrants, family migrants
Romania			*	*			Beneficiary of international protection (BPN), labour migrants, education migrants, trafficked
Sweden		*	*				
United Kingdom	*	*	*		*		Young female migrants. Trafficked, recent arrival
[1] In alphabetical order [2] This star has been added from the original version by Dyer and Ånensen							

Table 1. Target group concept by partner country (based on Dyer Ånensen et al., 2020, slightly modified).

Partner country[1]	Areas of concern									
	Life course and impact of legal status	Accom-modation	Language and edu-cation	Labour markets	Migrant health	Identity and in-tergroup con-tact	Support struc-tures and local participation	Trafficking	Discrimination and racism	Additional areas of concern
Germany		*	*	*	*		*			
Hungary			*	*					*	
Italy			*		*	*	*			
Luxem-bourg		*	*	*	*		*			
Norway	*	*	*	*	*		*	*		
Poland			*			*	*			
Romania			*	*				*	*	
Sweden	*	*	*	*	*		*		*	Honour related vio-lence
United Kingdom	*		*		*		*			Impact of place and transnationality
[1] In alphabetical order　[2] Unaccompanied minors										

Table 2. Areas of concern in the literature on young migrants in vulnerable conditions.

A perspective of a "vulnerability-continuum" must be attentive to the always changing situation of individuals and also the power dynamics that are at play as different categories of "vulnerable migrants" are compared with each other and deemed more or less "deserving" (see Brown, 2015). However, the literature reviewed highlight that MIMY's defined focus on "young migrants in vulnerable conditions" allows for a wide range of experiences and situations. Importantly, research and policy that focus on migrant youth vulnerabilities must be attentive to the shifting and (super)diverse experiences of individuals within the same and between different migrant categories.

13.2 Life course and impact of legal status across Europe

In Norway and Sweden, some of the research speak more or less directly to the topic of this report as it looks specifically at integration processes over time and the resilience of young migrants in vulnerable conditions. In Norway, research showed that integration processes were strengthened by personal efforts, interpersonal encounters and structural measures by the host country that limited the time spent in reception centres, increased possibilities to learn the language and get employment, and facilitated genuine meetings between people. The everyday lives of asylum-seeking unaccompanied minors in Norway and the UK are described as a time of waiting. When they turn 18 and transition into adulthood they lose much of the support from authorities, and this often-abrupt change can be difficult to handle, and as such a source of vulnerability, when established social networks are lacking. Research shows that this transition is a key hurdle in the "integration trajectories" of unaccompanied minors across Western European welfare states.

A Swedish longitudinal study with unaccompanied minors who received protection showed that all included participants who had migrated to Sweden alone had a positive life situation after 10 years as residents in Sweden. Upholding transnational ties among the youth, supported by family networks in Sweden, were key to their continuing success. Those who needed to take advantage of resources provided by the formal support and care systems also seemed to do so. Peer support among unaccompanied minors has also been shown in research to be central for newly arrived migrants' integration processes. However, other Swedish research gives a less positive picture, highlighting the difficulties unaccompanied minors have to tackle in relation to their migration histories, loss of homes, difficulties in relating to new cultural norms in the host country and difficulties in getting proper support from the social services. Furthermore, negotiations of belonging and deservingness continues also after they have been granted protection and unaccompanied minors continuously have to tackle negative stereotypes.

In the Norwegian literature, complex issues are also discussed of how to form constructive discourses and understandings of the situation of migrants in vulnerable conditions that tackle derogatory and xenophobic views on (different categorisations of) immigrants that make integration processes more difficult. This research highlights the importance of the receiving society in the integration process.

The impact of legal status runs as a common theme in the literature in many of the countries. It has an overall impact on most of the other areas of concern discussed in this report. In many countries precarious legal status is identified specifically as a source of ill health (see discussion on migrant health below). In the German literature, lack of legal status is identified as a main source of vulnerability in different areas such as accommodation and education etc. For unaccompanied minors in Norway and Sweden, research shows how insecure legal status and the threat of deportation impacts all aspects of their lives and how they develop coping strategies to tackle these (arguably expressing resilience in the process). This includes exit strategies such as leaving reception centres and fleeing to other European states where they might have a higher chance of receiving refugee protection. These findings echo the suggestion made by American migration scholar Gonzales (2016), who argues that uncertain or irregular legal status becomes a "master status" affecting all other areas in life. In this sense, precarious legal status may be understood as the most important vulnerable condition of all for young migrants. The assigning of legal status is a key privilege of sovereign states, and the centrality of legal

status for migrant vulnerability points towards the role of the state in creating the conditions that create experiences of vulnerability (see Lind, 2020). In the following sections, we will see more examples of how the structural conditions established primarily by state actors or local government representatives and agencies, are key to the creation of vulnerable conditions.

13.3 Accommodation across Europe

In Germany, much of the debate on accommodation for migrants focus on the situation at reception centres for asylum seekers. These centres are often cramped and especially children, young people, women and LGBTQIA+ refugees are at risk of violence and stress when living there, which then become a source of vulnerability. In Norway, much research has focussed on the transition from arrival and care centres to municipal housing, which is a very important part of unaccompanied minors' "integration trajectories" and municipalities differ much in how they approach this issue. Research on the living conditions of unaccompanied minors and youth in Sweden further emphasise that the meaning of "home" in institutional accommodation settings differentiate. In this way, a sense of home is not fixed to one place. Moving into institutional accommodation settings for asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors and then transitioning into housing arrangements organised on a more local, often municipal level, is a key part of the "integration trajectories" of young migrants in vulnerable conditions. How different accommodation is arranged for these groups arguably provides a key insight into how integration policies are experienced on an everyday level, and is arguably an important part of understanding different migration welfare regimes.

13.4 Language acquisition and education across Europe

The one area of concern that was discussed in research from all countries was language acquisition and education. Lack of access to education was identified as a main source of migrant vulnerability in most of the literature. In Germany, language acquisition is a central concern in the literature, and young people subject to compulsory schooling are comparatively quicker at learning the language than other age groups. However, many young migrants still have to wait for a long time before they are allowed in school. In Hungary, the systemic problems in the education system, that are unequally distributed on a local level, are a major source of vulnerability for third country nationals as this delays their language acquisition. According to Italian research, the educational context is an important resource of support in integration processes, especially for young migrant girls who have to navigate differing expectations from family and school. The fact that Luxembourg has three official languages makes language acquisition and integration processes more complicated for young migrants there.

Migrant students' need for intensive language training is most often solved by segregating them from other students born in the host country. Much of the literature highlights that this is an unfortunate side effect of introductory education for newly arrived migrants. When migrants do start school in Germany, they are often segregated for the first few years from peers without a migration background and such contact is described as crucial for integration. Refugees in Germany are also severely restricted in relation to accessing higher education. Italian research further highlight how schools are an important arena for intergroup contact, which in turn is integral for integration processes. Similarly, in the UK, education is highlighted as very important for young migrants to build social networks with local peers, but refugees eligible for higher education often face multiple barriers in accessing and navigating the system.

In Norwegian research, school is highlighted as crucial during the asylum-seeking process to make it less of a waiting period and more of a time for possibilities. Unaccompanied minors themselves express that school is their most important arena for learning and socialising with peers. Introductory classes are discussed as both beneficial, at least initially as they support language learning, but also problematic as they segregate migrants from their peers in the long term. Learning also takes place outside school and free time activities can help in their "integration trajectories", counteracting feelings of alienation. In Sweden, the vast majority of unaccompanied minors are in some kind of education up

until the age of 21, and just like in Norway their educational settings are often segregated from the rest of society, which makes their "integration trajectories" more complicated. School segregation is a broader problem in Sweden however, and many young people with immigrant backgrounds in so called "vulnerable areas", big urban suburbs with a relatively poor population and a high number of migrants living there, risk becoming permanently marginalized because of this.

Apart from issues of access to, quality of and segregation through education, poverty is a problem facing many international students in Poland and Romania. In Poland, research has primarily focussed on the situation of Ukrainian students at Polish universities whose main source of vulnerability is economic issues and they are therefore prone to work in the secondary or informal labour market. In Romanian research, 14-19-year-old Moldavian students studying in Romania have been highlighted as a vulnerable group since they are poor, often have little support from home and encounter discrimination and abuse from teachers and classmates because of their ethnicity.

In all, schools are the first major institution most young migrants enter soon after arriving in the host country and where the first few years of their "integration trajectories" take place. Therefore, issues of educational access and segregation are key to understand the vulnerabilities that young migrants experience during their first years in their new countries. Schools can arguably be said to both cultivate resilience through language training and the overall learning experience, but also be a source of new challenges and vulnerabilities as school segregation is something that many young migrants across Europe highlight as a problem.

13.5 Labour markets across Europe

Another area of concern that was discussed in a majority of the countries in this report was labour market inclusion. In most countries, there is a variation of hurdles for young migrants who attempt to enter the labour market. In Germany, refugees are disadvantaged on the labour market. They are employed below their informal or formal competence-level and their average wages are very low. 13% of the refugees who have migrated since 2013 were inactive on the labour market (4% higher compared to persons born in Germany) and this group is considered especially vulnerable in the literature since they are likely less connected to social institutions. Unaccompanied minors are prioritised in integration efforts but German research has shown (just like in Sweden and Norway) that they are under much pressure, from themselves and others, to succeed, which leads to stress and a tendency to try and own money quickly rather than fulfil educational goals. In Luxembourg, the complex situation with three official languages makes accessing the labour market difficult for many young migrants. It is also difficult for non-EU migrants to have their education qualifications approved there. In the Norwegian literature, young migrants express how ethnic prejudice from customers and employers are a common experience, and this is effectively hindering integration processes. The risk of not being in employment, education or training (NEET) for immigrants has also increased over the last two decades.

In Sweden, 66 percent of unaccompanied men were employed at the age of 27, compared to 81% among Swedish born men at the same age. Women are less employed but are to a larger extent studying at higher ages. However, compared to Swedish born youth with the same educational level, unaccompanied youth are employed at the same rate. Compared to those who migrate with their parents, unaccompanied minors are employed to at a higher rate and especially so those from Afghanistan. Refugee youth are more likely to be in insecure work than Swedish born youth and migrants arriving during childhood have lower salaries than Sweden born employees.

Precarity on the labour market is a recurrent issue in the research. In Hungary, many of the third country nationals have a higher education level than the average Hungarian and are generally more employable, still most migrants do not stay permanently in Hungary because of the social and political situation there. In Romania, migrant workers often have short term contracts and live in improper housing conditions. Moldavian workers have been shown in research to be particularly vulnerable as

they often have precarious legal status and therefore are prone to exploitation and abuse in their workplaces. Migrant workers also often lack access to basic services and rights such as health care. Again, unclear legal status further amplifies young migrants' vulnerabilities on the labour markets.

13.6 Migrant health across Europe

Across Europe, the mental health of young migrants in vulnerable conditions is an issue of concern, although the resilience of migrants and their agency in tackling their health issues are also emphasised. In the German literature, it is assumed that about 40% of refugee children are significantly restricted by mental health issues such as PTSD and depression. Health support barriers include low language skills, extensive bureaucracies and gender specific issues. In Italy, unaccompanied minors report high levels of emotional and behavioural problems. Young migrants often have problems attending primary and mental health care and the care they receive are of lower quality than the one provided to Italian patients. In Norway, much research has discussed unaccompanied minors' health and highlighted how they are not just vulnerable victims but also resilient agents and the same research also suggests how they can be continuously strengthened through therapy and the growing of social networks. In Sweden, unaccompanied minors have high rates of mental health problems but they are also still resourceful and have a clear vision of a positive future in the new country. Research has shown that unaccompanied minors are not a specific high-risk group in relation to substance abuse compared to Swedish born youth, in contrast to how they often are perceived in public discourse. However, the suicide rate among unaccompanied minors in Sweden is almost 9 times higher than among Swedish born persons. Lastly, in the UK, unaccompanied minors have experienced insensitivity by professionals and services providers taking the role of border guards, which can further reduce unaccompanied young people's contact with health, education and social service providers and thus increase their vulnerability.

Again, in many of the countries, uncertainty in relation to legal status and the threat of deportation are highlighted in research as badly affecting the health of asylum seekers, undocumented migrants or other migrants with precarious legal status such as unaccompanied minors with temporary leave to remain. Unfortunately, not much research focusses on changes in health over time, but it seems safe to conclude that migrant youth health issues at least do not seem to have decreased in general over the last two decades.

13.7 Identity and intergroup contact across Europe

In Polish research, intergroup contact has been highlighted as difficult to achieve between majority Poles and minority Ukrainians and Vietnamese because of cultural differences and research has suggested that some kind of social support in the integration process is needed to increase contact. In Italy, research showed differences in migrants' and non-migrants' attitudes towards integration where non-migrants preferred a higher degree of assimilation than what the migrants preferred. Intergroup contact in school were also generally perceived as more positive by immigrants compared to Italians and schools are an important site for increased intergroup contact, according to Italian research, together with leisure practices where young migrants can negotiate social identifications and processes of inclusion/exclusion in public spaces. No other country reports than those from the Polish and Italian partners included identity and intergroup contact specifically, although, as the section on education above shows, schools are identified as perhaps the main arena of intergroup contact for young migrants. This highlights yet again the importance of school for the young migrants' "integration trajectories".

13.8 Support structures and local participation across Europe

In much of the literature across Europe, the support structures for unaccompanied minors are in focus. In the German, Norwegian, and UK literature, cooperation between agencies and municipalities as well as other social actors are of immense importance in order to meet especially the needs of the group of 19 to 25-year-olds in need of support as they transition from childhood into adulthood. Much of the

literature across Europe also highlight the importance of social networks that support structures provide for the "integration trajectories" of young migrants in vulnerable conditions. However, as Norwegian research has shown, local support organisations also need to continuously critically assess their work so that they are in tune with the needs and requests of the young people they are meant to assist. In Germany, the support to unaccompanied minors was massively expanded after the 2015 influx of migrants but then again rapidly reduced in the following years, leading to a patchwork of standards and structures that undermine the stability and reliability of the system.

In Sweden, support structures for unaccompanied minors are much researched. The minors' simultaneous agency and vulnerability have been highlighted as they transition into adulthood. Literacy is important for expressions of agency and many unaccompanied minors resist the category of "unaccompanied" as it reinforces feelings of loneliness shaping the young migrants' sense of self. Similarly, "newly arrived" youth is another categorisation that young migrants have to navigate and experience the effects of in their everyday lives for some time after arriving in Sweden. Research in Sweden has also showed how the ambiguity of the concept of integration in Swedish policies lead to support workers "working in the blind" as they lacked guidance on how integration goals were supposed to be achieved in practice.

In the Italian literature, community-engagement and activism has been shown to increase the wellbeing of young immigrants and expand their social networks and their intercultural competence, both of which are key to integration processes. In Luxembourg, migrant associations have been shown to be an important place to feel secure and get moral support for young migrants in vulnerable conditions and can sometimes provide access to the labour market. In Polish research, support for refugees has been shown to be ineffective. However, since many refugees who gain protection intend to move further west there is limited interest in integration programs by Polish institutions. In the UK, support structures are important as young migrants transition into adulthood while experiencing a culture of suspicion from institutional settings. Much UK research has focussed on expressions of agency among young migrants as they navigate a hostile policy environment supported by different agencies and actors. Co-ethnic networks have been shown to be important for undocumented migrants as a source of informal employment but they can also be exploitative. Overall, all the research reviewed for this report discussing support networks agrees that they are key for young migrants during all stages of their "integration trajectories".

13.9 Trafficking across Europe

In Romanian research, young people who migrate clandestinely are described as being at risk of trafficking for forced labour, either in the form of sexual trafficking or for begging purposes. Some young, uneducated women from former Soviet states are lured into migrating to Romania in search for a better life, but they are instead forced into prostitution and conditions that are worse than the situation they migrated from. The extent of this kind of youth migrant trafficking is however unknown. Similarly, in the Norwegian literature, victims of trafficking are defined as especially vulnerable in what is described as institutionalized hierarchies of vulnerabilities. But the label of vulnerability also risks masking structural factors of inequality and individualizing the persons instead of addressing structural issues such as unequal access to resources. Research in both Norway and the UK has also highlighted how the governing of these groups primarily aims to reinforce state power through return and reintegration programs. This research resonates with earlier studies highlighting how vulnerability is not only a bodily experience but also utilised to govern specific groups of migrants (Brown, 2014, 2015). One could argue that trafficking is a "critical case" (Flyvbjerg, 2001) that should remind us of how vulnerability is never a fixed category, but something that can be appropriated by different actors to push different agendas (see Schwarz et al., 2019).

13.10 Discrimination and racism across Europe

Young migrants are generally at risk of becoming victims of discrimination and racism across Europe, research shows. In Hungary, the literature discusses discrimination, xenophobia, lack of multicultural practices and lack of willingness of the host society to accept foreigners as a barrier for integration. Traps and discrepancies in the bureaucratic and legal systems further increase the social exclusion of migrants in Hungary. In Romania, majority population xenophobia often leads to discrimination against young migrants in the housing market for example, and creates barriers for migrants to understand and access their rights. This risk is especially prevalent for unaccompanied minors whose asylum applications are practically ignored in Romania and they are left in the hands of exploiters. In Sweden after 2015, unaccompanied minors were increasingly represented in media as fraudulent, violent and sexually threatening, which has been described by the youth themselves as a "gendered situation of questioning". They are perceived as both subjects "at risk" and "risky" subjects and mystified perceptions of the "dangerous refugee" thwart the development of unaccompanied youth. According to UK research, discrimination against migrants in vulnerable conditions is expressed also in "multicultural" contexts as they can be perceived to be "unassimilated" and "too different" also by other migrants. In diverse areas, young migrants still have to navigate place specific local divisions based on racial or ethnic coding. In all, discrimination, racism and stigmatization are sources of vulnerabilities for young migrants for a long time after entering the host country. Unfortunately, racism and discrimination are issues that migrants continue to experience along their life courses.

14 Conclusion

This report has asked: What are the "**past experiences and resilience of young vulnerable migrants and their integration trajectories in different countries and integration areas**" according to the earlier literature across the countries involved in the MIMY-project? Parts of this question are difficult to answer since almost none of the literature are longitudinal and the changes over time in "integration trajectories" are hard to identify. Most of the literature points at difficulties and hinders that created conditions of vulnerability, but only limited parts of the literature highlight young migrants' efforts and strategies to be resilient in these conditions. Also, very few of all the hundreds of studies included in this report connect their empirical findings with a conceptual discussion about what the meaning or different understandings of "integration" has for the suggested integration, highlighting the emptiness and conceptual vagueness of "integration" in research (see chapter 2).

Research from the MIMY-member countries (Germany, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden and the United Kingdom) in the last decade or so (published between 2008 and today) has considered a number of migrant categories as more or less vulnerable. These include **asylum seekers, refugees, unaccompanied minors and youth, undocumented migrants and similar categorisations, stateless migrants,** and **trafficked persons**. Additionally, **young people migrating for regular work** and **studies** can also in some situations be considered vulnerable (see *Table 1* above). The "vulnerable conditions" (that differently categorised young migrants experience) are very different and could arguably be understood as a continuum of vulnerabilities. However, it is important to remember that comparisons of the "severeness" of different vulnerabilities are often part of the governing of different groups categorised as vulnerable.

Primarily, the report identifies certain "areas of concern" where migrant youth vulnerability is likely to emerge/be produced, according to the literature reviewed. These include: **life course and impact of legal status, accommodation, language acquisition and education, labour markets, migrant health, identity and intergroup contact, support structures and local participation, trafficking,** and **discrimination and racism** (see *Table 2* above).

Some of the research discussing **life course and impact of legal status** speak more or less directly to the topic of this report of integration processes over time, resilience and vulnerability. It highlights different individual and structural aspects of how migrant youth trajectories in host countries are experienced. It both gives broad examples of "successful integration" of different groups over time and discuss the main problems young migrants encounter during their life courses in their host societies that in most cases relate to the other areas of concern identified in this report. The importance of legal status is a theme that runs through most of these other areas as well and a precarious legal status has detrimental effects on most aspects of migrant youth's "integration trajectories", one can conclude from the literature reviewed.

Accommodation is a key issue for young people in general and the reviewed literature both highlights the difficulties many migrants meet in initial accommodation centres but also the impact different housing regimes have for young migrants – especially as they transition from initial accommodation into more long-term arrangements within local communities. Accommodation is not only about physical locations but also about how a "sense of home" is established and negotiated, research shows.

Language acquisition and education is the only area of concern that was discussed in all country reports and lack of access to education was identified as a main source of migrant vulnerability overall. Schools are also identified as a key meeting point where young people can establish new contacts with other youth. The need for separate classes for newly arrived young people to enable effective language

learning has an unfortunate side effect of increased school segregation. For some international students in Eastern Europe primarily, poverty and discrimination are sources of increased vulnerability, according to the literature reviewed.

Labour market inclusion is another key issue in almost all of the reviewed literature. Young migrants are very often employed below their education levels in low wage jobs. Some of the literature point out young migrants as over-represented among young people not being in employment, education or training (NEET). Several studies discuss the multitude of experiences of discrimination from different actors on the labour market that young migrants have. In some countries, unaccompanied youth do better on the labour market than other categorisations of young migrants who have received protection.

Migrant health issues are prevalent in the literature, especially in relation to mental health such as PTSD and depression. Access to health is hindered by a multitude of reasons, but the resilience of young migrants who have experienced severe hardships is also a focus in much of the literature on migrant health. Precarious legal status is also highlighted as specifically detrimental to the mental health of young migrants across Europe.

Identity and intergroup contact are highlighted as important for integration processes but different kinds of support are often necessary to enable young people from different backgrounds to meet and grow relationships, according to the literature. School and leisure activities are central for these processes, according to the reviewed studies – again highlighting the importance of education in young migrants' "integration trajectories".

Support structures and local participation are discussed in much of the literature, especially in relation to unaccompanied minors. Much support was initiated after the 2015 events but was later reduced and researchers have highlighted the need for support structures to reflect on how it meets the actual needs of young migrants. Categorisations of "unaccompanied minors" or "newly arrived" etc. also risk being part of a stigmatization of young migrants in different contexts. Community involvement and activism are sources of well-being for migrants, research shows, and migrant associations are highlighted as a key context where young migrants are provided support and also labour market access to a certain extent.

Trafficking is a critical source of migrant vulnerability and irregular migrants are especially at risk of being victims of forced labour, according to the literature. However, research also discusses how representations of vulnerability in this context also risks masking structural factors of inequality and individualizing the persons instead of addressing structural issues such as unequal access to resources. Further, trafficking policies often primarily aims to reinforce state power through return and reintegration programs, rather than supporting individual migrants, research has argued.

Discrimination and racism are recurrent problems that tamper young people's "integration trajectories" across Europe. Many different actors in society, also in "multicultural" contexts, can be sources of discrimination and racism. Research about unaccompanied minors especially show how derogatory understandings and representations of this migrant category in society have negative effects on young migrants. Unfortunately, these issues continue to influence the everyday lives of young migrants across their "integration trajectories" and throughout their life courses.

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1 Introduction

2 Integration, resilience and vulnerability

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14 Conclusion