Scientific Findings of the Neskak Gora Project on Second Generation Immigrant Girls and Young Women from North African and South Asian Families in Europe
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CONTENTS

The prevention of violence/discrimination against second generation adolescent girls and young women from families of North African and South Asian origin: An overview 2

Preventing violence and discrimination against second generation migrant girls and young women from North Africa and South Asia: the legal perspective 8

Second generation immigrant girls at school 22

Intersectional discrimination in the transition to work: the labour position of young second generation female immigrants 26

Interview with Noura M’Barki: integration counselor at Rådmandsgades school in Mølnerparken, Copenhagen, Denmark 32

Documentation 38
The prevention of violence/discrimination against second generation adolescent girls and young women from families of North African and South Asian origin: An overview

Initial approach

Several organisations involved in defending Human rights have come forward demonstrating that the 2GG is in a specifically vulnerable situation. The cases labelled as ‘honour crimes’ or ‘forced marriages’ (including the expatriation of the 2GG to their families countries of origin) the compulsory wearing of the veil and the restrictions (including the expatriation of the 2GG to their families countries of origin) the compulsory wearing of the veil and the restrictions on wearing the of the veil, doing sports and attending sex education classes, etc. were the most common when brought to light by the media but others are beginning to become noticed too. It is also felt that a polarized vision of certain crimes could obscure other parts of the violence/discrimination not always originating from the families and communities of origin. It is in short, avoiding a possible reductionist and homogenizing impression of the 2GG experiences of violence/discrimination. The main interest of the investigation was therefore to identify and draw attention to uncertain boundaries, at times hidden and in any case, complex.

The fields chosen for the study

In order to find a true picture of the situation, in the case of adolescents from the ages of 12 to 17 years old, we chose to focus on their situation in school, while in the case of young people from the age of 18 to 21 years of age, we decided to focus on their access to the labour market.

The analysis of data

The interpretation of data is never a risk-free operation. On the first reading from the data collected is that the problem of violence/discrimination in our target group is the result of crossing several axes. The analysis of data

In fact, giving voice to the 2GG has served to indicate that many of their problems stem from having to deal with stereotypes of all kinds, whose many forms converge and inter-relate in the European context, while life within their families and their communities of origin leads them to behave according to certain gender stereotypes which may not be their own, out of their families and communities of origin they perceive (and have) other stereotypes associated with Islam and with their immigrant families’ origin that they do not want to reinforce either. Stereotypes of two types also fed the violence/discrimination faced by young people while looking for their own home or a job.

The case of the veil results paradigmatic: while its use marks respect for Islamic religion and of all immigrants who come to Europe in search of a better life, they also involve nationality, religion, sexuality, etc. And these do not exist and are not divided in the same ways. The stereotypical representations of the 2GG, therefore, are constructed through the intersection of different axes and experience which produce a conflict of identities and loyalties: being a member of a community of origin versus being a European citizen, belonging to a religious community versus being a secular European, the labour market.

4 There are different ways of thinking about intersectionality. One is that which postulates the reconstruction of the categories that divide society by gender, race, class, sexual orientation, etc. and therefore, what can be called “intersectional” (that the categories are not separate in the workplace. Another approach (as adopted here) is that of which supports the need for a coherent intervention on normative stereotypes appears, therefore crucial, when preventing the problems addressed. However, this intervention should stay aware that these are the stereotypes that feed power systems (mainly sex-gender system, class and race, but which also involve nationality, religion, sexuality, etc.). And these do not exist and are not divided in the same ways. The stereotypical representations of the 2GG, therefore, are constructed through the intersection of different axes and experience which produce a conflict of identities and loyalties: being a member of a community of origin versus being a European citizen, belonging to a religious community versus being a secular European, the labour market.

1 In this section it shall be explained why these two terms are linked.

2 In other words, it is assumed that these young people suffer violence/discrimination as women or, more explicitly, what it means to be socially identified as such.

5 One can say that theorizing about patriarchy and the sex-gender system (second-wave femi-

nism) begins with the work of Simone de Beauvoir The Second Sex (1949). It shows that the tradition of patriarchy (i.e., the prevalent social ideas that women are “naturally” lesser beings, that they lack reason, inadequacy, frivolity and submission, etc.), is not natural but a social product that puts the women in a situation of dominance which always highlight its position in relation to the family (as daughter, wife, mother, sister, etc.).
4 And the second article of this publication presents the spectrum of acts (though not exclusive) exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or Nations in 1979 (CEDAW). According to the CEDAW (article 1), discrimination as it is made in the legal traditional usage.

5 Stereotypes and the binomial violence - discrimination in the legal conceptualization

One of the most relevant aspects of which it has served the investigation has to do with the separating violence discrimination as it is made in the legal traditional usage.

The concept of “discrimination against women” most globally widespread is the one referred to in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Article 1 of this text: “The term ‘violence against women’ means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

6 Thus, although it was necessary to take some time and solve some others (e.g., All-Parns to citizens, women, etc.), the significant difference in meaning between a discriminatory treatment against the term “discrimination” as it means today the “principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women.”

7 This directive, along with one from 2002 has been recast in Directive 2006/54/EC which aims to ensure that the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment applies to both for men and women.

8 It is the exception given to this concept is reflected in that has been involving violence without discrimination. They are so to speak, two sides of the coin. In so-called honour crimes, forced marriages or early marriages (both part of the same social practices that affect our target group), sets the emphasis on violence because it is a way of recourse against such acts, considered particularly "serious", a type of punishment of a criminal nature, but that does not also mean they are not discriminatory acts or, if you will, acts that not only affect women seriously but also acts as a form of oppression, but also acts as a form of exclusion.

In this context the occurrence of an attack on physical integrity enables you to talk about violence, in the same way as one cannot speak of sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

9 This is what allows that action to combat the phenomenon of intersectional perspective is that violence and discrimination of these girls can be addressed only questioning sex-gender system, but also that those who harbour or lead to classism, racism, xenophobia, etc.

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This is what allows that action to combat the phenomenon of intersectional perspective is that violence and discrimination of these girls can be addressed only questioning sex-gender system, but also that those who harbour or lead to classism, racism, xenophobia, etc.
In this sense, the EU resolution deviates from the approach adopted by the Council of Europe. While there is a Proposal for a Council Directive of 2 July 2008 on implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men in the access and supply of goods and services, which is intended to lay down a framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation, which is intended to lay down a general framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation, the Council Directive 2000/78/EC of the 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation is also regarded as a general framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation, and as a tool for implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men in the access to and supply of goods and services, which is intended to lay down a framework for combating discrimination based on sex in access to and supply of goods and services.

Nevertheless between these and Directive 76/207 there are at least two significant differences in relation to the points raised above. One is that in the Directives of the year 2000 harassment (plain and clear) is considered as a form of discrimination, which is also subject to the same legal remedies as other forms of discrimination. The other is that paragraph 14 of the 2000/43/EC recognizes that “often, but not always...”, the nature and scope of violence are different. In this light, the Violence against Women Directive 2000/127/EC, which is aimed at combating violence against women, and Directive 2000/127/EC, which is aimed at combating discrimination against women and discrimination against women and among those related to the second, the lack of a consistent policy towards the 2GG, with vulnerability to violence and discrimination so in determining both the existence of and the response to violence against women is determined by the interplay of factors such as gender, age, marital status, sex, sexual orientation, and the invisibility of the indivisible conceptual phenomenon of violence/ identity of the family and their community of origin, stereotyping and women's role as a repository of family honour and, moreover, the cultural and religious identity of the family and their community of origin, stereotyping and a rule that specifically affects 2GG and is also behind the violence exerted against the school by their brothers or younger members of their community. If the European Union is a Union that holds the engines of the Community to combat discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

However, the main shortcoming of these regulations and, in general, of the EU anti-discrimination policies is the lack of a systemic view of violence and sex/gender discrimination that has already been mentioned. The idea of a system, introduced by the feminism of the seventies, is determining to the extent of enabling one to read and interpret the violence/discrimination in all macrostructures or social spheres, including the family, cultural traditions, religion, sexuality, advertising, schools, etc. Attributable to the lack of recognition of sex/gender system is the lack of a specific development and cross-section of article 5 of the CEDAW mentioned above, in which the United Nations General Assembly requires States Parties to take action against pre-existing stereotypes or gender of which in the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy. Normative stereotypes are regulatory structures that feed off violence and discrimination, and which may affect the rules and against stereotypes of gender and in which the EU could promote as a common policy.
The legal positioning of these women is certainly affected by what they share with others. They are concerned by laws on naturalisation and citizenship increasingly seen as part and parcel of immigration control policies which make their status legally uncertain, bureaucratically steep and with cumbersome repercussions on family life, as Strasbourg and domestic case-law show. They are concerned by immigration laws and policies, ever more paradoxical, insisting on assimilation as a proof of or in order to access integration and, at the same time, pushing towards marginalisation and stigmatisation of immigrants. They are concerned by gender equality and anti-discrimination laws and policies, though the protection that these might afford is sometimes contradictory with and too often not mainstreamed into immigration or public security policies, as the European Women Lobby has lately recalled. They are concerned by solidarity, social integration and social inclusion questions and policies but, in the case of other groups, their dependence on these policies on immigration, education, labour market access and working conditions, access to social services; that is, by every other policy where their dependence on these policies is increased by public policies on immigration, education, labour market access and working conditions, access to social services; that is, by every other policy where their dependence on these policies is increased by public policies on immigration, etc.

During the last decade, political discourse and media alike have systematically depicted immigrants (and particularly immigrants with family or public security problems) as a source of social problems, their families as social services and social benefits parasites, their design that of reproducing their own (incompatible and unacceptable) lifestyles and social structures in Europe by outnumbering birth-rates and family reunification mechanisms. In the construction of these stereotypes, women and the role of women has played a fundamental role both as an argument and as a rhetorical mechanism. The legal positioning of second generation women has then been affected by these stereotypes, as a symbol of something else, as in the numerous norms and proposals in different European countries regarding the European Union, this bridge called my back is usually the place where issues of gender, race, ethnicity, religion and power intersect.

Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those not visible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those legal norms, even to those. Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those. Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those. Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those. Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those. Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those.

Thus the intersections that define the legal positioning of these women might produce multiple variations and have both practical and symbolic contexts. However, and notwithstanding its usefulness as a tool to describe and analyse the experience of groups that would otherwise remain unseen, intersectionality does not show clear benefits as a legal instrument. It might lead either to an endless fragmentation of or in order to access integration and, at the same time, pushing towards marginalisation and stigmatisation of immigrants. They are concerned by gender equality and anti-discrimination laws and policies, though the protection that these might afford is sometimes contradictory with and too often not mainstreamed into immigration or public security policies, as the European Women Lobby has lately recalled. They are concerned by solidarity, social integration and social inclusion questions and policies but, in the case of other groups, their dependence on these policies on immigration, education, labour market access and working conditions, access to social services; that is, by every other policy where their dependence on these policies is increased by public policies on immigration, etc.

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The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) adopted in 2005 the General Recommendation no. 30 on discrimination in education. This Recommendation requires States to consider avoiding segregated schooling and different standards of treatment. The Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is relevant because it establishes that all countries are bound to the principle of non-discrimination. The right of the State to establish differential treatment based on citizenship and immigration status «will constitute discrimination if the criteria for such differentiation, judged in the light of the objectives and purposes of the Convention, are not applied pursuant to a legitimate aim, and are not proportional to the achievement of this aim».

The CERD also recommends that States «pay greater attention to the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular concerning the children (...) of non-citizen workers» (par. 8) and encourages them to «take into consideration that in some cases denial of citizenship for long-term or permanent residents could result in creating disadvantage for them in access to employment and social benefits, in access to education, access to health care, access to human rights. The text clarifies that, under the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the right of the State to establish differential treatment based on citizenship and immigration status «will constitute discrimination if the criteria for such differentiation, judged in the light of the objectives and purposes of the Convention, are not applied pursuant to a legitimate aim, and are not proportional to the achievement of this aim».

In paragraphs 30 and 31, the CERD calls the States to ensure that the issue of facilitating access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant. Another significant issue is the precariousness of legal status since, even in countries with tightly controlled immigration flows, there is the possibility of losing the condition of legal resident. Obviously it is even more significant in countries with high numbers of undocumented immigrants or in countries where immigration law is so complex or so rigid that becoming irregular is a relatively easy and common experience (for example, in Italy). In this context, at the level of the EU, we have to draw our attention to the Directive 2003/109 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents. The Directive grants European resident status to Non-EU Member country nationals who have resided legally and continuously within the territory of the Member States for five years. The Directive also specifies national implementation concerning the terms for conferring resident status and lays down the conditions for residence in Member States other than the one which conferred resident status. Of the countries under assessment, Denmark and UK are not bound by this Directive. At the level of the Council of Europe we must note the Convention on Nationality (1997) and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights on the right to family life of aliens who are long-term residents. The Convention on Nationality is relevant because it establishes that «nationality shall be acquired by all persons born in the territory of a state, except such as the state may, in the exercise of a power of legislative character, provide in its constitution or laws» (Article 1). As per Article 5 «nationality by descent is to be enjoyed by all persons, except such as the state may, in the exercise of a power of legislative character, provide in its laws». Of the countries under assessment the situation is different in different countries in Europe. Even in countries with derogations, the right to acquire the nationality is not proportional to the achievement of this aim. In some countries, the right to acquire the nationality is not proportional to the achievement of this aim. In some countries, the right to acquire the nationality is not proportional to the achievement of this aim. In some countries, the right to acquire the nationality is not proportional to the achievement of this aim.

Gender violence
Two issues of gender violence affecting 2Gs in our target groups are acquiring growing importance and visibility in all countries under assessment, though public response is yet at different levels in each of them. One of them is the issue of honour-related violence (HRV). HRV, and in particular honour killings, were included already in the 2002 UN Platform for Action to Combat Honour Related Violence in Europe. The second issue, which is intertwined with the first one and could be considered a specific issue of HRV is forced marriage. Firstly because the motivation for many cases of HRV is to protect the honour of a family, and secondly because forcing a young woman to marry against her will is a very serious form of violence in itself, and generally accompanied by other forms of physical and psychological violence; and, secondly, because refusing to arrange marriage or trying to escape a forced marriage is very often the clincher for other forms of HRV, particularly honour killings. Admittedly marriages are forced on male children as well, however this «extreme» form of violence towards women is often the result of various reasons: the impact of traditional marriage on women (the imposition of gender roles and motherhood), the possibility – under modern conditions – of women choosing their mates, the lower rates among male children, higher rates of HRV in the case of bargaining over marriage. The Directive 2003/109 on Family Reunification has a provision for forced marriage. Art. 4(5) states that "in order to ensure better integration and to prevent forced marriages Member States may require the sponsor and his/her spouse to be of a minimum age, as long as the latter is 23 years old, before the spouse is able to join him/her". The success of this kind of rule, and similar rules used in Denmark or UK where this Directive does not apply, is highly dependent on the political will of the Member States. In 2005, the European Parliamentary Assembly devoted one Resolution (number 1446) and one Recommendation (number 1723) to the issue of "Forced Marriages: Children Marriages" addressing the situation where free consent is doubtful and authorising interviews by a register to both parties prior to the marriage. The EPA recommends that the issue be investigated and a strategy developed for the Member States to take action on the matter. Among the EU Member States under assessment, the United Kingdom has the most developed mechanisms for combating forced marriages. Other countries, however, have also developed mechanisms to prevent, detect, and of legal protection of victims and potential victims. The second issue, which is intervened with the first one and could be considered a specific issue of HRV is forced marriage. Firstly because the motivation for many cases of HRV is to protect the honour of a family, and secondly because forcing a young woman to marry against her will is a very serious form of violence in itself, and generally accompanied by other forms of physical and psychological violence; and, secondly, because refusing to arrange marriage or trying to escape a forced marriage is very often the clincher for other forms of HRV, particularly honour killings. Admittedly marriages are forced on male children as well, however this «extreme» form of violence towards women is often the result of various reasons: the impact of traditional marriage on women (the imposition of gender roles and motherhood), the possibility – under modern conditions – of women choosing their mates, the lower rates among male children, higher rates of HRV in the case of bargaining over marriage. The Directive 2003/109 on Family Reunification has a provision for forced marriage. Art. 4(5) states that "in order to ensure better integration and to prevent forced marriages Member States may require the sponsor and his/her spouse to be of a minimum age, as long as the latter is 23 years old, before the spouse is able to join him/her". The success of this kind of rule, and similar rules used in Denmark or UK where this Directive does not apply, is highly dependent on the political will of the Member States. In 2005, the European Parliamentary Assembly devoted one Resolution (number 1446) and one Recommendation (number 1723) to the issue of "Forced Marriages: Children Marriages" addressing the situation where free consent is doubtful and authorising interviews by a register to both parties prior to the marriage. The EPA recommends that the issue be investigated and a strategy developed for the Member States to take action on the matter. Among the EU Member States under assessment, the United Kingdom has the most developed mechanisms for combating forced marriages. Other countries, however, have also developed mechanisms to prevent, detect, and of legal protection of victims and potential victims.
Discrimination

Discrimination is a fundamental issue in the assessment of the (social and legal) condition of 2G girls in Europe. Discriminatory social practices, in their broadest meaning, are a fundamental mechanism in their exclusion, lack of integration, denial of rights and their enjoyment, and hindrance to personal autonomy.

As stated above, discrimination against 2G girls (in our research, mostly of Muslim background) may result from the interaction of different grounds of discrimination. Apart from the discrimination on the ground of nationality, which we have seen in the discussion on the legal status of 2Gs, the main grounds for discrimination at stake are sex, race and ethnic background, religion and social class.

At the EU level, antidiscrimination law is a well settled and developing legal framework. In EU law, the main instruments are legal or policy instruments that might have an effect on issues of discrimination and violence against 2G girls, such as equality policies, legislation and policies against gender violence or social policies.

On the other hand, EU antidiscrimination law does not cover all the different levels at which 2G girls might experience discrimination (i.e., discrimination: sex against girls in their family) and has limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called “intersectional discrimination”). In this research project, that is, systems where certain groups have power “over” other groups: an example would be the segregating mechanism in their exclusion, lack of integration, denial of rights and hindrance to personal autonomy.


The EU antidiscrimination framework nevertheless shows various gaps regarding discrimination suffered by our target group. Firstly, although Directive 2004/113 has extended sex antidiscrimination law to areas of social protection (i.e., a non-discrimination requirement of nine years and a conduct requirement that excludes aliens of citizenship has become an integral part. Besides a general residence requirement of time before the age of 18 (European Convention on Nationality)), the development in the last decade has been quite opposite. Whereas traditional grounds regarding citizenship, for example, is limited to employment and vocational training. Thirdly, multiple or intersectional discrimination is not currently envisaged by the EU antidiscrimination framework, nor is it clear how it could work when different grounds of discrimination allow for different degrees of protection and have unequal material scope.

2. Denmark

Legal status

In contrast to the European trend, Denmark has made the conditions for the acquisition of citizenship stricter during the last ten years. This can be explained, according to the EUDO country report, by the fact that criteria for naturalisation are negotiated by political parties in the Parliament and granting citizenship to aliens is in itself a discretionary Parliament decision. Even since 2001, coalition governments have had supportive policy towards the Danish People’s Party in exchange, among others, for stricter policies on immigration. So, the process of citizenship has become an integral part. Besides a general residence requirement of time before the age of 18 (European Convention on Nationality), Denmark has introduced, in 2009/2010) according to the statistical overview of the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs.

The rule has been amended lately this year, so that couples under 24 years can be married to each other in Denmark. Yet the effect of the rule is that they are not marrying (or being married by force). The rule has been criticised by human rights organisations as serving just anti-immigration purposes: girls can still be forced to move back to marry in their homeland or to marry someone from their own community. The rule has been amended lately this year, so that couples under 24 years must earn 120 points to live in Denmark (whereas couples over 24 years need 60 points).

Even more controversially, the “assumptions regulation” designed all available regarding honour-related violence. Besides, there is still little understanding of the contours of the phenomenon. The regulation has considered honour-related violence and violence against women in minority groups primarily as an immigration and integration issue (see Anja Bredal in PLUREQ project report). Political parties’ agendas and media emphasis on, particularly, honour killings have drawn attention to the higher rates of immigrant or ethnic background. Examples of the Danish “immigration/minority culture approach” to issues of violence against minority women are the so-called 24-year old rule, introduced in 2002, and the “assumption regulation” introduced in 2004. Envisaged by the Government’s Action Plan for 2003-2005 on violence against women, the rule has set an age for forced marriage among non-Western descent. However, the rule has been amended lately this year, so that couples under 24 years must earn 120 points to live in Denmark (whereas couples over 24 years need 60 points).

12
to the contrary. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a quite strict manner until 2008 (the number of rejections of family stay permits). Of all the countries under assessment, Italy stands out as the one that not only does not facilitate the access to citizenship to 2Gs; on the contrary, the process of becoming a citizen is even more difficult for children born in Italy. In any case there is no systematic information about the number of Italian children born in Italy who do not acquire Italian citizenship.
undocumented parents or arrived in Italy before the age of 10. Give the right to acquire citizenship at 18 to children born in Italy to which has had regular residence for at least one year. And it would citizenship to children born in Italy to immigrant parents, one of the moment, a people's legislative initiative that would give the awareness on the difficulties for their access to citizenship. There is, a common practice to include the citizenship requirements in the vacancies announcements.

2G organisations have been created in recent years and have raised awareness on the difficulties for their access to citizenship. There is, the moment, a people's legislative initiative that would give the right to acquire citizenship at 18 to children born in Italy to undocumented parents or arrived in Italy before the age of 10.

Gender violence

Gender violence in Italy is a highly mediatised and politicised issue. Notwithstanding support associations' years-long work on issues of gender – particularly domestic violence, public discourse (media and politicians) concentrate mainly on episodes of rape or gang rape committed by immigrants. The lack of a gender framework for approaching domestic violence puts a dramatic depart from the anti-HRV of the political discourse (even when it is allegedly women's rights based and not anti-immigration driven), is the choice of the subjective point of view in immigration driven), is the choice of the subjective point of view in discourse (even when it is allegedly women's rights based and not anti-immigration policies.

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5. The Netherlands

Legal status

The Netherlands is one of the countries generally taken as example of the political logics on and for liberalism. Since the publication of Het multiculturele drama by Paul Scheffer in 2000, the idea has grown that the "minority approach" that aimed at the equal participation of minorities is not ideal. The legal position and the promotion of naturalisation was too liberal, did not guarantee the individual integration of immigrants and had failed in the integration of minorities, creating self-reflexive ghettos instead. Laws and policies regarding immigration have accordingly been tightened, fixing the reform of the Nationality Act as part of the political agenda (2004). However, the political support given by the anti-immigration Lega Nord to the vote to the initiative, a people's legislative initiative that would give the right to acquire citizenship at 18 to children born in Italy to undocumented parents or arrived in Italy before the age of 10.

Gender violence

Combating violence against women has been seen as part of the gender equality project in the Netherlands since the end of the 1970s, according to the "Report: Legislation of the Member States of the Council of Europe in the field of violence against women" (from 1993) which violence against women is divided, together with domestic violence, sexual violence, genital mutilation and human trafficking.

In Dutch Criminal law, domestic violence is covered by the general provisions of violence against society. The Integration Act requires third country nationals to pass a basic exam on Dutch language and on their knowledge of Dutch society. The Integration Act requires third country nationals to pass a basic exam on Dutch language and on their knowledge of Dutch society. The Integration Act requires third country nationals to pass a basic exam on Dutch language and on their knowledge of Dutch society.

The projects involved different groups of actors, such as police, women's shelters, minority organisations, schools and municipalities. Three municipalities (Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Almelo/Deventer) formulated local programmes that combined measures to produce an integrated approach to honour-related violence. Actual data on the incidence of honour-related violence is scarce. According to the MOVISIE Factsheet 2010, two pilot care service projects assisted 172 girls and women in the period 2007-2009. In 2006, police data recorded 158 cases in the Amsterdam-Amstelland region, with similar figures for The Hague region. However, the real
6. Spain

The Spanish legal system for nationality recognises two distinct forms of citizenship based on residence and family ties. The legal framework is described as lenient, with a "may-clause" of the Law of Nationality of 1981 which allows for the acquisition of Spanish citizenship "under certain circumstances" (Articles 24.1 and 24.2). A key feature is the requirement of ten years of residence for non-Spanish citizens, though this can be reduced to five years in cases of "exceptional merits" or "necessity of residence for family reasons" (Articles 24.1.c and 24.2.b).

For foreign-born parents, the most significant change was the 2000 Law of Nationality, which introduced a new procedure for the recognition of foreign-born children of Spaniards. This law was seen as a significant step towards the recognition of inter-generational rights in Spain. However, the implementation of this law has been slow and inconsistent, with significant delays and difficulties in obtaining citizenship for the children of foreign-born parents.

Policy approach to forced marriage is based more on awareness-raising activities by NGOs (women's groups or minority initiatives (2005), under Article 242 of the code there is scope for facilitation to acquire Spanish citizenship. An exception would be the use of the “may-clause” of the European Directive 2003/86, regarding the minimum age for family reunification. The reasons given are to European Directive 2003/86, regarding the minimum age for family prosecution agencies. Legal status groups), especially in schools, than on legislative measures or raising activities by NGOs (women's groups or minority initiatives (2005), under Article 242 of the code there is scope for facilitation to acquire Spanish citizenship. What is to count as "legal" and as "uninterrupted" residence is the object of varying interpretations by different Courts and administrative authorities, as well as doctrinal contributors. A first position argues that legal residence requirement must be interpreted in line with the Immigration law, and thus only periods covered by temporary or residence permit would count as legal residence. A second position considers that the requirement of legal residence in the Civil Code is independent from immigration law, and thus the legal residence requirement would be fulfilled by residence in the country under any kind of permit, as long as it does not contravene the law. For two consecutive years admitted periods in the country with a visa to be taken into account.

The requirement of ten years of residence has been very much denounced by the victims organisations as a barrier to acquiring Spanish citizenship. Although it has been argued that the lost of ius soli was not caused by the abolition of ius soli and gave way to a new approach towards immigration and settlement in the UK aimed at controlling and limiting those who could claim legitimate residence in the country. This is partly due to the fact that the introduction of a specific criminal offence has been advised against.

7. United Kingdom

Traditionally, the UK followed the principle of ius soli, and the most important formal status was citizenship by birth. Yet, the 1981 British Nationality Act, which ended the ius soli and gave way to a new approach towards immigration and settlement in the UK aimed at controlling and limiting those who could claim legitimate residence in the country. Although it has been argued that the lost of ius soli was not caused by panic over mass immigration like in other countries and that even today's more restrictive citizenship policies are fairly generous (see, CUDW county report), there is a strong overlap between citizenship, residence and immigration in the UK. At present, 2G youngsters do not have a primary concern about residence rights and citizenship, but as the ius soli becomes the main principle under which new generations are born in the
UK, immigrants and their families will start to experience similar problems about residence, naturalisation and access to citizenship to those in non-immigrant countries, such as Denmark or the Netherlands, in our research. Recent government policy on this issue has grown more restrictive (particularly in relation to family migration and the acquisition of settlement and British citizenship). According to IOM Report on legal migration, this restrictive tendency has mainly resulted from the perceived lack of social integration of some persons from ethnic minorities, particularly in Muslim communities. This perception results, as in other European countries, in more assimilationist requirements for naturalisation (2005) and settlement (2007) which, as shown in other parts of our research, highlights shortcomings in integration policies and, in the long run, institutionalised discrimination.

Butler, Glenda Violence

The United Kingdom, is of the countries involved in our project, the one with the longest and most developed responses to issues of gender violence in ethnic minority communities, particularly so-called honour-related violence and forced marriages.

Honour-related violence and forced marriages are included in the definition of domestic violence, according to the explanatory text to the Domestic Violence Act (2004).

Although there are various sources for data regarding the incidence of honour-related violence (such as the Association of Chief Police Officers-ACPO, or various NGOs that have long experience on these issues), they all agree that the real figure might be much higher than their estimates. The ACPO, according to which up to 17,000 women in the UK, immigrants and their families will start to experience similar problems about residence, naturalisation and access to citizenship to those in non-immigrant countries, such as Denmark or the Netherlands, in our research. Recent government policy on this issue has grown more restrictive (particularly in relation to family migration and the acquisition of settlement and British citizenship). According to IOM Report on legal migration, this restrictive tendency has mainly resulted from the perceived lack of social integration of some persons from ethnic minorities, particularly in Muslim communities. This perception results, as in other European countries, in more assimilationist requirements for naturalisation (2005) and settlement (2007) which, as shown in other parts of our research, highlights shortcomings in integration policies and, in the long run, institutionalised discrimination.

The 2008 report “Forced marriage, family cohesion and community engagement”, raised the alarm that, notwithstanding the efforts and the work of the FMU, most of the phenomenon was unreported, and thus invisible, to state agencies and national-wide charities. The research based on qualitative research explains that, whereas there are many reasons for which victims and potential victims of forced marriages do not approach state agencies or the police, trust and familiarity are the reasons for which victims and potential victims of forced marriages do not approach state agencies or the police, trust and familiarity are the most important. In contrast, the research counted 300 forced marriage related contacts with self-support local organisations in one year only in Luton.

From the legislative point of view, two instruments have been introduced: the Forced marriage (Civil Protection) Act, and the 21-year old rule has been introduced in order to limit the age for obtaining a spouse residence permit. The provision has been highly criticised and, though it has not been struck down, it has been considered “arbitrary and discriminatory” by the Court of Appeal.

Forced marriage (Civil Protection) Act of 2007 came into force in 2008. The Act enshrines the courts to make Forced Marriage Protection Orders to someone from being forced to marry a woman of their age.

Action and information about gender violence among minority women has been much driven by the attention raised by forced marriages since the 2000 report “A choice by right”, that managed to clarify the issue, generally avoided by professionals on “cultural and religious sensitivities” grounds, and to establish a broad consensus within Britain.

In 2005, The Forced Marriage Unit, a joint Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Home Office Unit, was established. The FMU works with other government departments and voluntary organisations to develop effective policy in and, in the long run, institutionalised discrimination.

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Second generation immigrant girls at school

Vera R. Paris

The main goal of our sociological qualitative inquiry was to shed light on the mechanisms of discrimination as they are experienced at school and in the transition to work by girls (12-21 years old) from ethnic minority background, or “second generation”. With this aim, our project was informed at the outset by the theoretical tools provided by the theory of intersectionality in general, and the concept of “intersectional discrimination” in particular (Makkonen, 2002).

By means of secondary analysis of quantitative data, first we reconstructed a complete picture of the social conditions, numbers and “ethnic”/national origin. In the six countries under consideration there are organised in a way that only some of them can lead to higher education. If we turn our attention to the educational system qua institution, the problem of language mastery, in various ways, was addressed by the teaching staff of schools in general with the aim of making them effective tools, to build one’s confidence and self-esteem. Furthermore, the main language is the most important subject until secondary school. Problems in the language of the receiving country therefore have an impact upon many different aspect of a pupil’s experience (Moldenhawer, B., Miera, F., Kallstenius, J., Messing, V. and Schiff, C., 2008). On of our interviews for instance (Kaoutar from Italy, 21 years old, of Moroccan origin), describes this problem in very clear terms:

At the beginning I had some problems at the primary school because I could not speak Italian like the other pupils (something I learned at home) but I learned very quickly and I became quickly very good. I was always very attentive when teachers gave me higher grades for my homework or expressed greater surprise because I could speak and write well in Italian. It made me feel different and it always left me with the impression that I was not judged for my real abilities but on the basis of a prejudice. It was a surprise because I could speak and write well in Italian. It made me feel different and it always left me with the impression that I was not judged for my real abilities but on the basis of a prejudice.

Secondly, one of the effects of low socio-occupational status of migrant families in Europe is urban segregation and the formation of what some scholars call “educational ghettos”. Educational and residential segregation are in fact closely linked (Maurin, 2004; Portes and Haller, 2009). Immigrant families from North Africa and South Asia – as well as from other regions of the so-called Global South – reside at the periphery or in the poorer areas of European cities. It is here that those schools are concentrated which offer the poorest educational environment. These are the schools where teachers usually adopt the pedagogical practices that are supposed to help the poor initially adopted in the United States.

The families’ low socio-occupational status, their low educational conditions of disadvantage that migrants’ children face in the transition to work and the difficulty to have their degrees recognized, as well as the difficulties in mastering the language of the “receiving context” in second generation immigrant pupils language gaps.

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Second generation immigrant girls at school.

The situation described above, both constitutes a common strategy of emancipation and resistance and applies to most children of immigrants from our target groups, regardless of their sex and nationality. Yet, albeit in modest percentages and in still unclear forms, second generation young girls' school performances as compared to their male peers of the same nationality, appear much better. According to a recent OECD report, in all European OECD countries the ‘girls’ generation of children of immigrants, women fare somewhat better (both in absolute terms but also compared with their own native counterparts) than men. (OECD 2009, p. 15).

Why is this the case?

Those studies which have addressed the specific field of second generation migrant girls' educational achievements tend to emphasise their “greater desire for emancipation” (Guenif, 2001), and therefore their “bridging” role within the family, which invests them of major responsibilities in order to cope with the many obstacles it encounters in the receiving society; from the countless compliments they receive are shaped by the orientalist fantasy of the sensuous body of the colonised woman. These messages prove to be crucial to the ways young generations experience inter-cultural encounters and build their identity. Kaarst from Italy for example tells us that:

as a black woman (though I am not very black but it is obvious that I am) I am the object of male attention. However, they soon realise that the stereotype of the black girl for Italian men. I am not comfortable with the many obstacles it encounters in the receiving society; from the community which mirrors its failures and successes in them; and from society more in general which requires women to behave strictly according to definte gender role.

Gendered stereotypes at school.

Girls from an immigrant background are particularly vulnerable to these forms of pressure from the world around. As Nira Yuval-Davis puts it: "Women especially are often required to dress in a particular way in school because of intense peer pressure and fear of stereotyping.

...my parents are religious, but I am not, I don't believe in God and I have problems saying that I am a Muslim, because every time my mother asks me to make me change my mind. I think one of the reasons why they trust me so much is also because we have been always very good at school.

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Intersectional discrimination in the transition to work: The Labour Position of Young Second Generation Female Immigrants

Sara de Jong

Introduction

In all six countries considered in this research project, second generation immigrant girls performed on average better at school than their male counterparts as has been more thoroughly examined yet to their higher labour market status. This chapter will outline some different dimensions of disadvantaged access to the labour market in second generation immigrant girls and women in particular. It is important to realise at the outset that the disadvantaged position of second generation youth in education in comparison with those of second generation immigrant girls and women in particular.

Comparatively little attention is paid in the literature to the disadvantaged position of second generation youth in the labour force is separated from school achievement, rather than investigating the 'bridge' between school and the labour market. Moreover, combining the two sets of data, on education and employment, is made difficult since the data about the labour market is often made available for the entire age group 15-65, without differentiation by age group. An exception is of course the literature that focuses on youth unemployment. A further complication in the gathering of data is the fact that second generation youth is still a relatively young generation, and therefore there is not much data on this group yet, with research on second generation immigrant girls having been relatively small sample size. While vocational officers in school or job agencies would potentially be another interesting source of information, it turned out that capacity to track students' transition to the labour market after the completion of their studies. However, the semi-structured qualitative interviews that we conducted with these vocational officers did offer interesting insights, complementing the information gathered from the other interviews with the girls and young women themselves, ethnic community representatives, teachers and relevant NGO representatives.

Labour Position of Second Generation Immigrants

General comparative analyses between the first and second generation of immigrants have pointed to a rosy picture of the upward social mobility of second generation immigrants and their increased integration in the labour market of the host country. As many female spouses of the first generation of male guest workers did not participate in the labour market, the position of second generation immigrant women participate in relatively higher numbers. However, when the focus is shifted away from intergenerational mobility to documenting the position of second generation immigrants in relation to others of their age, several studies indicate that second generation immigrants are disadvantaged in the European OECD countries in many ways. They are not only disproportionally unemployed, but also more often placed in precarious jobs. Moreover, their waiting time before they attain their first job is longer. They are often overqualified for their jobs, or are forced to become self-employed due to lack of access to the mainstream labour market.

There is evidence that the economic crisis has had a stronger effect on the employment status of second generation immigrant youth than on 'national' youth. As is well-known, the recent economic crisis has led to an increase in youth unemployment generally. For example, during the second quarter of 2009, unemployment among Dutch youth between the ages of 15-25, at 1%, was twice as high as the average unemployment rate in the Netherlands, which was 0.5% at the same time, the unemployment rate for youth (which in the Netherlands largely coincides with the second and sometimes third generation) was 21%, four times as high as the average in the Netherlands.

One of the key underlying questions in many of those studies is whether other variables, rather than discrimination can account for by their disadvantaged educational level, social background, language skills, age and family composition or whether inequalities persist even among similarly positioned young 'nationals.' Or in other words, whether other variables, rather than discrimination can account for the unequal position in the labour market. Most conclusions, while recognising the explanatory value of some variables, also point to the remaining force of discriminatory mechanisms that influence the labour market perspectives for second generation immigrants.

When studying the moment of transition to the labour market (as well as labour market status), one of the aspects one has to pay attention to is the accessibility of internships for second generation immigrant youth. As immigrant youth specifically is overrepresented in lower-level education and therefore there is not much data on this group yet, with research on internships sometimes directly lead to job offers or can add valuable work experience to the curriculum vitae.

In a study on internships and discrimination, half of young immigrant students in the Netherlands who apply for an internship indicated that they have the impression that companies select interns on the basis of their ethnic origin. Muslim trainees in Denmark have been documented to experience racism and bullying, for example when their co-workers challenged them about the situation in the Arab world.

Also at the recruitment stage for regular jobs, there is evidence of discriminatory practices. For example, in a study that compared Dutch or French school education and employment history, only hinting at a difference in ethnic origin through the name of the applicant. This research showed that those whose different ethnic origin could be identified with their name had a smaller chance to be invited for an interview. This difference was larger for lower-level jobs, where non-Western immigrants are traditionally overrepresented in the first place. Another form of discrimination found was so-called 'customer discrimination,' i.e. non-Western immigrant applicants have lower chances of obtaining a job with contact.

There are also other aspects that are not directly discriminating, but that have indirect negative impacts on the employment chances of
second generation immigrants such as the fact that in many countries vacancies are communicated through networks, and people searching for a job consequently have to postulate social networks. As the recruitment of second generation immigrants is often marked by lower employment rates and less high status contacts, they are in a disadvantaged position to obtain a job.

These discriminatory mechanisms need to be further investigated in order to map out the complex web of obstacles that second generation immigrant youth encounters in the transition to the labour market and attention needs to be paid to the structural, institutional and discursive elements that maintain discrimination. Many of the previously mentioned studies are attentive to gender differences in the labour market and status of second generation immigrants, for example in relation to intergenerational mobility and levels of unemployment. However, more attention could still be given to how discriminatory mechanisms that play a role in the unemployment and for example offering aggregated statistics. However, more attention could still be given to how discriminatory mechanisms that play a role in the laboratory market and attention needs to be paid to the structural, institutional and discursive elements that maintain discrimination.

In the above stories as well as the other interview data retrieved through our qualitative research clearly indicate how discrimination against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market impacts on employment statistics, is that some girls, especially when they feel vulnerable, might choose to adapt their style according to the wishes of the employer. They would decide not to wear a headscarf due to employer's pressure even though they would want to wear it otherwise. Such decision would cover up the initial discriminatory response of the employer. Some girls from Moroccan parents, for example, consciously fact the fact that wearing a headscarf might be a disadvantage in the labour market. While she also indicates that she personally does not feel ready yet to wear the headscarf, when asked what would be a good moment to wear it, she replies: "When I have a permanent contract somewhere".

The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in deciding for the vocational training of their choice, as they receive little reputation to be 'easy'. The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in deciding for the vocational training of their choice, as they receive little education to be 'easy'. The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in deciding for the vocational training of their choice, as they receive little education to be 'easy'. The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in deciding for the vocational training of their choice, as they receive little education to be 'easy'.
Gender and Employment Norms

It has become evident that the labour market is marked by a range of (implicit) norms with discriminatory effects, similar to the educational field. As these norms take different shapes and forms, the effects also change. It can tentatively be suggested that while being the quiet girl, nice, obedient girl pays off in an educational context, this difference is more pronounced than in others. There is however also evidence that second generation young women increasingly postpone marriage in order to increase career chances. In the interviews, quite a few girls expressed their desire to work but indicated as well that when they would get children, they would plan to take over the main caring role is not conducive for obtaining a high status job. In the labour market, stereotypically ‘masculine’ traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness are more highly valued and rewarded.

Our interviews and other research also point to the fact that women dropped out of the labour market at a later stage, after initial successful recruitment, as they struggled to combine different expectations. Women in paid jobs, both from ethnic minority and majority backgrounds, often have to juggle the double burden of both domestic duties and professional work. Some of the ethnic minority women that we focussed on in this study use relatively young when they get married and have children, compared to their ‘national’ counterparts. In some countries this difference is more pronounced than in others. There is however also evidence that second generation young women increasingly postpone marriage in order to increase career chances. In the interviews, quite a few girls expressed their desire to work but indicated as well that when they would get children, they would plan to take over the main caring responsibilities and reduce their paid work. Other pressures included conflicting expectations from employers on the one side, and partners or family on the other side, for example regarding the attendance of staff meetings in the evenings.

Conclusion

Several studies indicate that second generation immigrants are disadvantaged as they are disproportionally unemployed, placed in precarious jobs, their waiting time before they attain their first job is higher, they are overqualified for their jobs, or are forced to become self-employed due to lack of access to the mainstream labour market. Furthermore, forms of ‘summate’ discrimination and lack of ‘social capital’ in particular seem to play a big role. Yet, despite the fact that the second generation youth in general finds more obstacles than ‘national’ youth in (the entry to) the labour market, there are specific forms of discrimination which are distinctively ‘gendered’. First, discrimination against women wearing a headscarf is very high, and it impacts on the career trajectories and personal decisions on religious expression beyond more exclusion from employment. Second, career advice offices and ethnic social networks tend to channel second generation girls towards those jobs which are reserved to immigrant women in Europe (cleaning, social work, care-domestic work), thereby reproducing gender-based social inequalities and segregated gendered and racialised labour markets. Moreover, when good career guidance is lacking, the girls and young women often find themselves in ‘feminised’ vocational tracks and have fewer courage and opportunities to ‘travel the road less travelled’. Finally, the labour market is marked by a range of often implicit norms with discriminatory effects particularly for women. While obedience and discipline are traits that can reward girls in their educational and social life, assertiveness or competitiveness are traits that can reward girls in their educational field. As these norms take different shapes and forms, the effects also change. It can tentatively be suggested that while being the quiet girl, nice, obedient girl pays off in an educational context, this difference is more pronounced than in others. There is however also evidence that second generation young women increasingly postpone marriage in order to increase career chances. In the interviews, quite a few girls expressed their desire to work but indicated as well that when they would get children, they would plan to take over the main caring responsibilities and reduce their paid work. Other pressures included conflicting expectations from employers on the one side, and partners or parents on the other side, for example regarding the attendance of staff meetings in the evenings.

Finally, the labour market is marked by a range of often implicit norms with discriminatory effects particularly for women. While obedience and discipline are traits that can reward girls in their educational and social life, assertiveness or competitiveness are traits that can reward girls in their educational field. As these norms take different shapes and forms, the effects also change. It can tentatively be suggested that while being the quiet girl, nice, obedient girl pays off in an educational context, this difference is more pronounced than in others. There is however also evidence that second generation young women increasingly postpone marriage in order to increase career chances. In the interviews, quite a few girls expressed their desire to work but indicated as well that when they would get children, they would plan to take over the main caring responsibilities and reduce their paid work. Other pressures included conflicting expectations from employers on the one side, and partners or parents on the other side, for example regarding the attendance of staff meetings in the evenings.

Hence, in order to address obstacles in the (transition to) the labour market, it is imperative to be attentive to the fact that discriminatory mechanisms materialise in different ways at different levels; the structural level, the institutional level and the discursive level. Labour segregation, which emerges from discursive and structural racism, requires a different response than the indirect discrimination of ethnicity through networks, which is situated at the institutional level. Whereas the latter could possibly be remedied through increased use of formal communication channels or targeted recruitment in alternative channels, the former requires tackling the question of racism, sexism and stereotyping in society. Other discriminatory mechanisms, which develop from the structural level and are exacerbated by policies at the institutional level ask for multi-level responses. For example, surname discrimination can be tackled institutionally by introducing anonymous application procedures, but requires a deeper level response in order to eradicate the phenomenon at a structural level.

The complexity of the mechanisms underlying exclusion and segregation cannot be sufficiently captured in quantitative research only and some manifestations even remain invisible in statistics. Further research can include a wide range of avenues: it needs to be further investigated what the costs are, in both the financial and in the social and psychological sense, of for example gender/ethnicity segregated labour, far-reaching adaptation such as not wearing the headscarf in spite of personal wishes, and multiple rejections in the recruitment process. Moreover, it is necessary to further explore the impact of the silence on racism in countries such as Denmark or the Netherlands, that have a positive self-image of tolerance, for the possibility of denouncing discriminatory mechanisms in the labour market. Finally, there needs to be constant reflection on which ‘reference group’ is most appropriate to reveal what constitutes achieved lower generation immigrant women, whether and in which cases that should be immigrant second generation men, first generation immigrant women, or national women of age.
Interview with Noura M’Barki: integration counselor at Rådmændsgades school in Melneparken, Copenhagen, Denmark

Interviewed by Søren de Jong, 23 March 2015

Noura was born in Denmark, her parents are from Morocco, she is 33 years old, married, has two children.

Interviewer: What is your work as integration officer here?

Noura: I keep contact with the families and the youth. I am not a teacher. I have a lot of contact with the families and children. If the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office whenever they have a problem with their families or with their school. And a lot of families take of course their own bag that have brought from their own countries, from all the things they have experienced, horrible things, so we have a lot of families, for whom one thing, like making food for the children is difficult. I have like this bill, I can't pay it, and they just leave it, so I just show them the way, so that something at least is easier for their lives. It is a lot of things that I am doing, but I have an area of specialty which is girls. Girls from different cultures and origins, a lot of Muslim girls, these girls come to my office whenever they have a problem with their families or with their boyfriends, or with their school.

[...] So now I have about 200 or 300 girls in and out of my office, asking about everything, not only bad problems, it is also about 'I get my menstruation, how should I deal with it?', or 'I had sex with a guy, how should I protect myself?', a lot of things.

Interviewer: Why do you think there are a lot more girls that are coming to talk to you?

Noura: I think the guys have a more open free life than the girls. The guys they don't have to hide themselves too much, the guys can go out with their friends, go out in the night, with their friends, they don't say to their parents what is happening, but the parents also don't always ask them. The girls are always hiding, also with their girlfriends, also they have to hide about their reputation. The girls in this state of confusion, always also they also have to be the nice, pretty girl at home that listens to their parents, and pretty clothes, nothing to show off. And when they go out, the society is like a new world, you have to decide by yourself, so a lot of these girls, they are very confused. In this state of confusion they sometimes do something bad for themselves, so sometimes they have to talk about it.

[...]

Interviewer: How about the school? What is the reputation of the school? Who goes to this school?

Noura: In this school, 70 or 80% belong to a minority group. When parents are asked, they say that this is a bad school, it is a black school and they are not doing anything, and all the crime, and all the problem girls and boys are here. But that is the image on the outside, it is not quite the same now, it is changing. But before there was a merger with another school and the school director has a good reputation, also with people from other countries, so when the parents come they are asking about the school, and the parents say 'ok, maybe things will change'. Things have also changed. This is a very beautiful school, it is a new school, now we get a tenth grade and they come from a different school and this is something new, so we got a lot of students from different schools, so now you see a lot of different students. So I think when you go inside here you can see, and that is why I think the reputation is getting better and also the work we are doing. Because the merger gave us also new students from the other school, so we are used to teach all different kinds of people. And as one of the students from the 10th grade said, 'it is unbelievable, when you are inside the school I do not see their color, I don't see anything, no headscarves, just see people'. And we have heard this before, also teachers, or people from the outside, when they visit us, it is not the same, not the colour, it is just people. So I think we are succeeding in opening the school a lot. We are trying to get the parents into the school, because we want them to help us, not just me helping them, and they give us some advice, how they work with their children at their homes. I think when the parents come to the school and we are open about that, 'we want your advice, you know your children better than we do', it is opening a lot of doors. We have a lot a lot more work that can be done here. We spend a lot of time developing ways of working with the parents.

[...]
Interviewer: Have you been involved with the support groups in the school?

Noura: Yes, I have been involved. I have also been involved in the other school building, so the boys and girls are involved in the other one as well. It is very important for them to have someone they can talk to, because they always have to show that they are somebody, "I am doing this, I am doing that." They want something out of the education, not have to do anything, because my sister is going to do it. They do not have the goals that the girls have and also when they are talking about it, it is a one way conversation, it needs to be more of a two way conversation, then it is very important for us.

Interviewer: Do the girls get less help than the boys at school?

Noura: Yes, they are doing better.

Interviewer: What kind aspirations do they have? What kind of professions do they want to pursue?

Noura: All the parents want their children to become doctors, lawyers or engineers, but we also have all these other professions that work for them. But a good thing about the school is that it is starting from the very early beginning we tell the parents not to pressure the children, because for a lot of them, it will be impossible to become a doctor. But we say to the parents, "It is very important that the children, or your girl get their own way and their own mind to get an education, and it is that they want to work in a kindergarten or whatever it is, it is very important to support your child." In the sixth grade, when they are like 13 years old, we make some tests with the children and tell the parents which level it is the children are, "so don't pressure them. It is not that we say, "he is never going to be a lawyer," but "you have to listen to him." Because a lot of them got a lot of things to think about, they are opening a lot of inner things. If you are not a doctor or something big. And the students get tired of hearing this all the time, so we are also educating parents, showing them that there are other paths, other ways to find happiness." […] Is it difficult to get parents from ethnic minorities involved with the support groups in the school?

Noura: It is always difficult to get them involved, not because they do not care, but because they have too many problems in their heads, because they have a lot of children and they have problems and they do not have the mind to come over. Mothers come more often, they always come, but the father it is a bit more difficult for us […] We have an open school, every day 4 hours we open the school. When we have father and mother day and daughter day we get someone from outside to talk about how to be confidential about sex, about many things, like a lot, how to behave, then there was a very good discussion, because the people who came out, it was the mother and the daughter talking to each other, so it was a very good discussion they had with each other. Because some would say "he, me, the woman, did you do that?" and the mother would say "ok, this is how you think," and the daughter can say something else that the boy and the fathers, but it is difficult because many of them are working or they send the mothers.

Interviewer: And all those projects, do you make them up yourself or are there training guides, or best practices that are shared in Denmark, or do you take courses?

Noura: I got guidelines and I got inspiration when I go to courses, they send me 2 or 3 weeks to a place for inspiration. But also we are very often invited in this school to tell these courses, to learn a lot of inner things. It is not that we say, "you have to listen to your children," it is important how, but I do not have the goals that the girls have and also when they are talking you can see it, that the girls are very strict, they want something, because they have so many things to think about, they do not have something with my life." And the girls, they do it, "I am going out, ok, when do you come back?, I am coming home when it is dark." And the girl also has a brother, she is a little bit older than her, he goes to the 7th grade and she goes to the 10th grade, and he came from the other side (of the street where the other school building is) and she was like, "oh, no this year, I do not have that," she is going to be in 9th grade, but she is in 7th grade, he would be in 9th, but 7th grade? But she said, she can not live life, when she sees me with a cigarette, see me talking with a guy." We are thinking new ways how to get them involved, because it is the most important thing that they feel we involve them with the children. They know also from us that they are experts of their own child. They know the door is open and we listen to them, because of lot of time is it a one way conversation, it needs to be a two way conversation, that is very important for us. […] Why do you think drop out rates are different for boys than for girls?

Noura: It is also a problem for the girls but not as big as it was. Why do you think that is the case? Maybe it is because they have something, they want to show something. They want something out of their lives because they feel that it is a key for them, that it is opening some doors. The boys like, they are spoiled by their parents, they have less responsibilities at home, they do not have to clean, they do not have to do anything, the girls want to do something, they want to show something. When they are talking with a guy, they say, "I am going out, where are you going?" I am going to see this, I am going to that, call me! You can also see it, because the girls also with their sisters, there is a girl there and she has a brother but she is older than him, he goes to the 7th grade and she goes to the 10th grade, and he came from the other side (of the street where the other school building is) and she was like, "oh, no this year, I do not have that," she is going to be in 9th grade, but she is in 7th grade, he would be in 9th, but 7th grade? But she said, she can not live life, when she sees me with a cigarette, see me talking with a guy. So she is looking forward to leaving, get a new life in another place.
Interviewer: Do you know if these girls with a Moroccan or Algerian or Pakistani, Indian backgrounds, are having problems finding a job afterwards or finding work placements or finding further education?

Noura: I haven’t heard a lot about that. My experience is that the girls with a headscarf, are having big problems. Also when they study, and they work next to it, it is a very big problem. But not for the girls without, it is depending what it is, but I don’t have the feeling that that is a big problem at all.

Interviewer: So, who makes a problem about headscarves?

Noura: A lot of them, say that when they want a job, when they see the scarf, they don’t call them, also when they got an education. So it is a problem.

Interviewer: And is that something you talk about at school?

Noura: They talk a lot about it, a lot of girls they take their scarf off when they get a job, because it is very important. [...] The girls who have an education, who want a job after, it is a problem, but it is not a major problem, it was 5 years ago, but I do not feel it is like, but I know the girls who study they come to me because we have a list of places where it is ok (to wear a headscarf) like Seven Eleven or IKEA, they also have commercials with people with a headscarf and they are proud of it. There are places where we sent them where they can go, but there are places where they cannot, like fashion shops. But I don’t say this is the major problem.

Interviewer: What do you think is Danish society expecting from them?

Noura: I would say that Danish society expects something which is making them confused. Because when they go to school, the teacher says ‘you have a responsibility, I have to hear your opinion’ and then the girl goes back and she just had a day where she talked with the teacher and the students and says ‘I have my opinion!’ and she is talking about everything, but then when she goes back she has to put another mask on. So a lot of these girls say that the society confuses them a lot, because they always have to take one step forward and one backwards. One of the girls says, ‘I’m so happy that the society gave me these tools because I have some rights as a girl and as a woman, and they are teaching me this, and I am happy about that because it is something that gives me something here inside, but it is also confusing me because I will always feel like I am a stranger, because I cannot decide 100% by myself, always 50% or 40% or 30%. And this is what makes it difficult for most of the girls because they feel they are not equal to the Danish girls.

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