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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Scientific Findings of the Neskak Gora Project on Second Generation Immigrant Girls and Young Women from North African and South Asian Families in Europe
This publication has been co-financed by the European Commission under its DAPHNE III Programme, which supports actions to combat all types of violence against children, young people and women in Europe and all aspects of this phenomenon (violence in the family, violence in schools and other establishments, violence at work, commercial sexual exploitation, genital mutilation, health repercussions, trafficking in human beings, rehabilitation of perpetrators etc.).

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In identifying our target group this underlines the consideration of "second-generation" rights of those in our target group. The second choice was particularly important given that the supranational interests of the EU in matters of employment and tradition in these cases to promote equal treatment and non-discrimination in the workplace.

The analysis of data
The interpretation of data is never a risk-free operation. On the other hand, theoretical reconstruction inevitably emerges from the back-up of who so ever performs it. Based on these assumptions, 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.

Thus, although it is the key way in which the norms and stereotypes of sex-gender system are embedded in family, cultural and religious traditions, it is equally true that within these experiences our target group encounters no shortage of stereotypes concerning people of the African and South Asian origin, the compulsory wearing of the veil and the restrictions (including the expatriation of the 2GG to their families countries of origin), the discriminatory visions of 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.
From here, the intersectional approach would operate as a kaleidoscope through which the sex gender is combined with other categories of difference, leading to an understanding of all acts of violence and discrimination. Our target group is a subset (although heterogeneous in its composition) of women who are young, and are linked to the phenomenon of immigration (usually for economic reasons or class) and also with skin colour, culture, language and religion of origin that have nothing to do with the dominant country in which they live. In this way, if something makes it clear the intersectional perspective is that violence and discrimination against these girls can be addressed only questioning sex-gender system, but also those who harbour or lead to classism, racism, xenophobia, etc.

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 referred is the one referred to in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which is approved in The United Nations in 1979 (CEDAW). According to the CEDAW (article 1), “sex discrimination is conceptualized as a bilateral basis, i.e. as if it were a form of discrimination (though not exclusive) and exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the public or in private life.6

In this concept violence is not expressly mentioned however, the CEDAW Committee, in its Recommendation No. 19 (1992) expressly states that “Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:...”

As an example of the opposite sign, the statistics confirm that in Europe women earn less than men for equal work or work of equal value and this, according to Community legislation, is discrimination. Thus, although it was necessary to take some time and solve some of the reservations, according to international standards, there is no systematic phenomenon that affects both men and women and, therefore, without discrimination is conceptualized as a bilateral basis, i.e. as if it were a form of discrimination which seriously inhibits the enjoyment of rights and freedoms on an equal footing with men 1.

In addition the recommendation of this committee is reflected in the Declaration Elimination of Violence against women (1993). Under 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, including by women.” It also states that: “The Committee concluded its fourth periodic review that reservations made by States parties do not adequately reflect the close connection between discrimination against women, violence against them, and human rights.”

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In the seventies, coinciding with the rise of the mobilization of women around the world, in addition to the Convention of the United Nations, other initiatives were made, some of which feed it. So it is clear that those who have it are those who have the connection with the sex-gender system.8

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In this sense, the EU resolution deviates from the approach adopted by the Council of Europe. Which is not to say that the issue does not concern the European Commission. Vid. in this framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of religious belief, disability, age or sexual orientation as regards employment and occupation, the Council Directive 2004/113/EC implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of religious belief or sexual orientation of which is intended to lay down a framework for combating violence against women. 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 to the workplace and in 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 2000/43/EC on combating discrimination in employment and occupation, which is intended to lay down a general framework for combating discrimination based on sex in access to and supply of goods and services.

Nevertheless between these 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 classified as discrimination and the same thing in 2006 (with harassment in the workplace). The other is that paragraph 14 of the 2000/43/EC recognizes that “often, the women are victims of multiple discrimination,” a recognition, however, that has not further conceptual development.

In turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour to which in turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour to which in turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour to which in turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour to which in turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour to which in turn, the European Parliament has its particular battle for a new EU framework for combating violence against women. Among the latest regulations is the Resolution of April 5, 2011, in which specific reference is also made to behaviour found in our target group identified as “honour crimes” (section 3) and “honour killings” (section 18), but designating them as violence, that is, as criminal behaviour
During the last decade, political discourse and media alike have systematically depicted immigrants (and particularly immigrants with family background) 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 been then affected by these discourses and gender symbols which are ascribed to them elsewhere, as in the numerous norms and proposals in different European countries regarding the Legal status of second generation girls in Europe depends on domestic legislation and therefore it varies greatly in the different countries. In general terms, however, it should be noted that the legal status of second generations thought there are various international instruments that have close relevance. Yet, these are either not binding instruments or have not been ratified by the EU or the European States, notwithstanding the repeated calls to do so as in the case of the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990). 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 paralysing, insisting on assimilation as a proof of their right to access to 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 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 being immigrants or ‘ethnic background’ hinders equal opportunity or access. The duplicity of integration policies emerges in full in the open letter with which the winner of the Danish Ministry of Integration Affairs’ integration award, Nahid Yazdanyar, refused it. In her statement, she points out to the policy ideological weakness which otherwise remain unseen, intersectionality does not show clear benefits as a legal instrument. It might lead either to an endless fragmentation of all the problems related to the related hasty and difficult competition among discriminated groups, or to the selection of main axes, which will inevitably fail to identify the almost infinite variations of the intersections and create stereotypes instead. Differences and inequalities are not all the same, they do not work in the same way and different legal instruments might be called for. For the moment existing, being legal instruments, such as gender mainstreaming, have not been seriously applied. Legal mechanisms aimed at protection do not necessarily empower subjects (one can be an object of protection), but instead, as in the numerous norms and proposals in different European countries regarding the Legal status of second generation girls in Europe depends on domestic legislation and therefore it varies greatly in the different countries. In general terms, however, it should be noted that the legal status of second generations thought there are various international instruments that have close relevance. Yet, these are either not binding instruments or have not been ratified by the EU or the European States, notwithstanding the repeated calls to do so as in the case of the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990).
The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) adopted in 2005 the General Recommendation no. 30 on discrimination on the grounds of immigration status and nationality. The States are reminded that, although some rights might be confined to citizens “human rights in principle, to be enjoyed by all persons.” The text clarifies that, under the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the right of the State to establish differential treatment based on citizenship or 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 aim pursued.

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 the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular those of third-country nationals who are long-term residents. This 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 laws and regulations regarding 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 Human Rights on the right to family life of aliens who are long-term residents. The Convention on Nationality (1997) and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights play a crucial role in the issue of facilitating access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant.

So far, the problem of naturalisation has not been a main issue with 2Gs (except in Italy): most 2Gs, in fact, become nationals as minors either through their parents acquire the citizenship. Nevertheless, the trend for the last years has been to modify laws on nationality as part of the immigrant policies, making it more difficult for immigrants to acquire the nationality. As the parents will have increasing difficulty in becoming citizens, at least while their children are underage, the issue of public educational access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant.

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 report concerning cultural practices in the family that are violent towards women (E/CN.4/2002/83). Although figures are much more relevant in certain non-European countries (some of them included in the target of this research project such as Pakistan, India, Egypt or Morocco), the report already pointed out that honour killings were also taking place in countries such as France, Germany or the United Kingdom within migrant communities.

At the level of the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly has passed two Resolutions (Resolution 1327 in 2003 and Resolution 1681 in 2009) on the urgent need to combat so-called “honour crimes”. They call Member States to draw up and put into effect national action plans to combat violence against women, including violence committed in the name of “honour”, and to take all the necessary measures to prevent and combat such crimes.

Honour related violence and forced marriages are also included in the recent Convention on preventing and combating violence against women (also known as the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention). HRV has been handled at different levels in different countries in Europe with, at least, a triple approach: as a police/crime issue, as a situation calling for interventions of social services, and lately as a phenomenon calling for community and grass-root organisations to change attitudes and uses regarding HRV within and outside the family. There are many myths, though, and no Community Instruments regarding this issue, the EC has funded projects for developing knowledge, training and best practices in all these three areas and the Committee of Ministers has been involved in the experience on responding to HRV (such as the UK or Sweden) have started to draw up action plans to combat violence against women, including violence committed in the name of “honour”, and to take all the necessary measures to prevent and combat such crimes.

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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 intersection of different grounds of discrimination. Apart from the discrimination on the basis of gender, we have seen in the discussion on the legal status of 2G, 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 developed instrument that might have an effect on issues of discrimination and violence against 2G girls, such as equality policies, legislation and 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: in schools against girls, in their family) and has limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called intersectional discrimination). This means that discrimination is not a concern of the EU antidiscrimination framework, so that is a project, that is, systems where certain groups have limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called intersectional discrimination).

The EU antidiscrimination framework nevertheless shows various gaps regarding discrimination suffered by our target group. Firstly, although Directive 2004/113 has extended sex antidiscrimination (racism and xenophobia) to the public sector, it is limited to education and health services. Secondly, Directive 2000/78, which includes discrimination against persons on the grounds of sexual orientation, is limited to education 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 EUOJ 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 Parliamentary decision. Even since 2001, coalition governments have had supplementary power from the Danish People’s Party in exchange, among others, for their support in the immigration debates. The introduction of citizenship has been an integral part. Besides a general residence requirement of nine years and a conduct requirement that excludes aliens with a criminal record, in 2003 the Danish People’s Party managed to negotiate successfully the repeal of the obligation to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship for persons who have been absent from Denmark for seven or more years. The other important shortcomings, especially if we take our target group as a whole, are that the provisions to access to goods and services offered outside the area of private and family life, and the Directive explicitly excludes education from its scope. Secondly, Directive 2000/78, which includes discrimination against persons on the grounds of sexual orientation, 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.

In addition to the general conditions outlined above, the acquisition of citizenship particularly relates to 2Gs. Notwithstanding Denmark’s benz-instrument, especially if compared with other legal or policy instruments that might have an effect on issues of discrimination and violence against 2G girls, such as equality policies, legislation and 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.

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 “assumptions regulation” introduced in 2004. Envoyaged by the Government’s Action Plan for 2003-2005 on Integration and Immigration against forced marriage, the rule requires non-resident spouses to be united to their spouses living in Denmark within six months of marriage, otherwise the marriage is void. However, when both parties have reached the age of 24. Whereas the rule, together with contemporary requirements of ties to Denmark, financial means and education, that has had no legal effect, has considerably decreased the number of marriages involving a non-resident spouse, its effect on forced marriage among second generations is harder to establish. Even with the general information (not broken down by country of origin or sex) in the Statistical Overview of the Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs, we can see two combined developments: 20-24 continues to be the most common age for marrying among non-Western descendents, thus contradicting the alleged aim of the government of marriage before compulsory completion of higher education, enter the labour market and resist family pressure to marry. Yet the effect is that the integration of young Danish (2G and more) to non-resident persons in their country of origin but to immigrants from their own community. The rule has been criticised by human rights organizations as serving just anti-immigration purposes. In 2010, the rule has been amended so that the rule 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 cousin marriages as forced marriages unless there were special grounds.
to the contrary. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a quite strict manner until 2008 (the number of rejections of family reunification applications for undocumented residents, or they might not have registered the birth of the child immediately, children may happen to spend long periods of time with their grandparents in their family’s country of origin. To the contrary, it makes it harder than for first generation immigrants. Of all the countries under assessment, Italy stands out as the one

proposals have tried to favour long-term resident aliens and their
Italy born or educated children. Most of the proposals included also
"integration" requirements such as language knowledge, the
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Gender violence

Gender violence issues have come high on the national political agenda in the last years. In 2004, the Gender Violence Law (ley contra la violencia de género) was adopted. The persistence of a high numbers of casualties is blamed on an overall implementation failure. In 2018, the Council of Europe Framework Convention on Domestic Violence (CEDV) was signed. The Gender Violence Law of 2004 was also adopted by the Autonomous Regions of Catalonia and Andalusia. The application of the law is closely linked to immigrant communities, particularly with Muslims. Gender violence is closely linked to the phenomenon of forced marriage, discussed below.

Acquisition of citizenship

Residency in Spain can be acquired at birth by those born in Spain to foreign parents, or sanguinis. However, the Civil Code establishes that Spanish nationality is generally acquired on the principle of ius sanguinis. This means that the requirement of legal residence in Spain is the object of varying interpretations by different Courts and administrative authorities. A second position considers that the requirement of legal residence in the Civil Code is independent from immigration law, and thus the legal residence required would be fulfilled by residence in the country under any kind of permit, as long as it does not contravene the law. For years, some Courts have admitted periods in the country with a study visa to be taken into account.

The requirement of ten years of residence has been very much criticised and there have been several proposals to reduce it to 5 years; however, as argued in the EUDO country assessment, the reforms criticised and there have been several proposals to reduce it to 5 years; however, as argued in the EUDO country assessment, the reforms introduced. Other measures, such as protection orders or the establishment of specific shelters were also recommended. Some of these recommendations emerged from practical experience coming from practitioners, this proposal of law has a strong anti-immigration flavour (more so if one takes into account that in country and that even today's more restrictive citizenship policies are fairly generous (see, CEDV country report), there is a clear 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 issue sanguinis 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 already known to continental 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 severe assimilation 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.

Gender 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 and girls are estimated in Luton. The FMU works with other government departments and voluntary organisations to develop policies in this area. It also runs a public helpline to advise and support to victims and practitioners. The FMU can also assist British nationals facing forced marriage abroad by helping them to return to the UK.

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 most important. In contrast, the research counted 300 forced marriage-related contacts with self-support local organisations in one year only.

From the legislative point of view, two instruments have been introduced: the Forced marriage (Civil Protection) Act, and the 21-year rule in immigration regulations.

Forced marriage (Civil Protection) Act of 2007 came into force in 2008. The Act enables family courts to make Forced Marriage Protection Orders against someone from being forced to marry a person of the opposite gender (for example: to prevent a forced marriage from occurring, hand over passports, stop intimidation and violence, reveal the whereabouts of a person and stop someone from being taken abroad). A power of arrest can be attached to FMPOs allowing a police officer to arrest anyone they suspect to be in breach or contempt of the terms of the Order. The Court can deal with such an offender under its powers of contempt of court (which include sending them to prison up to 2 years).

The Statutory Guidance to the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act was supplemented by Multi-agency practice guidelines “Handling cases of forced marriage” aimed at giving advice and support to practitioners. The document sets out a multi-agency response, addressing specific areas where practitioners may inadvertently endanger a victim.

Third parties are allowed, under the Forced Marriage Act, to ask for FMPOs. This has created some concern among Muslim leaders that those given the new powers should receive proper training so that cultural norms and legitimate arranged marriages are safeguarded.

Although the approach to honour-related violence and forced marriage in UK is highly characterised by joint efforts of the police, public services and NGOs in cooperation and sharing knowledge (such as cooperation projects by CIMEI, INTERIGHTS, Karma Nirvana), the UK has lately resorted to family reunification provisions. A 21-year 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 dismissive” by the Court of Appeal.

Also, the Government has recently announced its intention to make the breach of an FMPO a criminal offence and has asked for consultations to be started. The possibility of introducing a new criminal offence of forced marriage was studied and advising against both by the same group of experts. Where the forced marriage has already taken place, the FMPO serves to help remove them from the situation. Each order will contain terms that are designed to protect the victims in their particular circumstances (for example: to prevent a forced marriage from occurring, hand over passports, stop intimidation and violence, reveal the whereabouts of a person and stop someone from being taken abroad). A power of arrest can be attached to FMPOs allowing a police officer to arrest anyone they suspect to be in breach or contempt of the terms of the Order.
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. In each country under investigation. Once we had a clearer idea, we reconstructed a complete picture of the social conditions, numbers and characteristics of ethnic communities, representatives of relevant NGOs and second generation immigrant girls at school and in the transition to work.

Yet, second generation immigrant pupils seem mostly to share common experiences regardless of the EU context and their sex-gender grounds and consequences of second generation immigrant pupils language gaps.

The problem of language mastery, in various ways, was addressed by all the interviewees. For the most part, it is one of the most serious issues for young people with an ethnic minority background. This is because mastering the language of a country means to be able to integrate into it, to understand its codes, to communicate with others in proper terms, 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 aspects 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 children (since I spend most of the time at home with my siblings) but I learned very quickly and I became quickly very good. I was always very anxious 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 confident and integrated. (…) I think I was not judged by my real abilities but on the basis of a prejudice. It was as if she expected me to be bad because I was not of Italian origin; yet she thought I was good it was a surprise, something that broke her stereotype.

fact are all elements which are likely to affect their children’s school experience in at least two ways: a) pupil language gaps and b) their attendance at schools with poor educational environments. In their turn, schools often respond to these disadvantages by reinforcing them, albeit often unwittingly, as when they advise students to undertake vocational/professional secondary school’s tracks which exclude them at the outset from higher education.

Grounds and consequences of second generation immigrant pupils language gaps. Second generation immigrant girls at school

Second generation immigrant girls at school

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” or “social educational segregation in fact is closely linked to (Alba and Water, 2011). This is one of the main elements reinforcing and perpetuating a situation of social inequality for second generation youth as well as one of the most important factors explaining subsequent educational disadvantages that migrant children face in the transition to work.
Second generation immigrant girls at school.

The situation described above, both constitutes a common form of discrimination 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, second generation migrant children of immigrants, women fare somewhat better (both in absolute terms but also compared with their male counterparts who have native parents) than men. (OECD 2009, p. 15).

Why is this the case?

Those studies which have addressed the specific second generation migrant girls’ educational achievements tend to emphasise in particular the “greater desire for emancipation” (Guenif, 2001). And some research has suggested that girls’ “bridging” role. According to definite gender role.

...my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and I don’t believe in anything. And I don’t want to become a model for the entire family. In the words of one of our interviewees, for instance: “...my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and I don’t believe in anything. And I don’t want to become a model for the entire family.” I was very stressed of being so good, as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though I think one of the reasons why they trust us so much is also because we have been always very good at school. This is the main reason why I wanted to leave my city and go to the university elsewhere. I was very stressed of being so good, as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though my parents are very open, there are limits. Girls’ better performances, thus, can be seen as in part the result of multiple pressures coming from different directions: from the family, which invests them of major responsibilities in order to cope 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 definite gender role.

Gendered stereotypes at school.

Girls from an immigrant background are particularly vulnerable to forms of stereotyping that target women generally. Stereotypes constitute an important social segment in most EU countries, including girls but the children of immigrants more generally report. Second generation migrant girls often feel that it is their responsibility to “clear” the stereotypes of their community, and sometimes adopt a role model for the whole community. In the words of one of our interviewees, for instance: “...my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and I don’t believe in anything. And I don’t want to become a model for the entire family.”

Furthermore, second generation migrant girls often feel that it is their responsibility to “clear” the stereotypes of their community, and sometimes adopt a role model for the whole community. In the words of one of our interviewees, for instance: “...my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and I don’t believe in anything. And I don’t want to become a model for the entire family.”

Girls of Moroccan or Indian origin, for instance, in Italy, France and UK often feel “positively” discriminated by their male peers in comparison with migrant boys. Their “exotic” appearance often makes them the object of male attention. However, they soon realise that the “exotic” girl is not a woman. They are used to be as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though my parents are very open, there are limits. Girls’ better performances, thus, can be seen as in part the result of multiple pressures coming from different directions: from the family, which invests them of major responsibilities in order to cope 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 definite gender role.

Foreign women and the ‘burden of representation’.

As Nira Yuris-Davis puts it: “Women especially are often required to carry this ‘burden of representation’, as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collectivity’s identity and honour, both personally and collectively” (Bradley and Ansell 1993). In Europe, in particular, women in European societies have become the “windows” from which the entire family, or the community, looks at the world and, in its turn, the window to which the world itself should look in order to shape the condition of the children of immigrant families comparatively. “Between two worlds” is what not only second generation immigrant girls but the children of immigrants more generally report. Second generation immigrant girls have to navigate that transition from school to work – as we shall see in the next chapter – and therefore, they have to perform well and become a role model for the whole family, or the community, looks at the world and, in its turn, the window to which the world itself should look in order to shape the condition of the children of immigrant families comparatively. “Between two worlds”. They are neither here, nor there. They inherit the past of their families – their culture, their languages, their traditions – and their future. They are condemned, as Kimberlé Crenshaw described as “intersectional subordination”, namely the situation for which one burden of discrimination “intersects with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of discrimination”. This condition for which one burden of discrimination “intersects with preexisting vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of discrimination”. Already in the context of education and particularly in the moment of transition from school to work – as we shall see in the next chapter of this report – young women of immigrant origin undergo a variety of forms of discrimination and exclusion. They face structural and institutional discrimination, which are also detectable at a more personal level. In other words, they can be penalised for their lack of social and economic resources (for example, Moroccan young girls in Italy may feel compelled to dress in a particular way in school because of institutional pressure and fear of stigmatisation).
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 of second generation immigrant girls have not been clearly translated of second generation immigrants and their increased integration in to work: The Labour Position of Young Second Generation Female Immigrants

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

Comparatively little attention is paid in the literature to the transition from education to work. Oftentimes, analysis of participation 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, has been 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 these second generation youth is still a relatively young generation, and therefore there is not much data on this group yet, with research of 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 is important to note the 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 other interviews with the girls and young women themselves, ethnic community representatives, teachers and relevant NGO representatives. 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 19%, was twice as high as the average unemployment among second generation 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. Moreover, combining the two sets of data, on education and employment, investigating the 'bridge' between school and the labour market. It is important to realise at the outset that the disadvantaged position of second generation youth in education in comparison with those without a migration background, has a detrimental effect on their later earnings, as has been more thoroughly examined during the second quarter of 2009, unemployment among Dutch youth between the ages of 15-25, at 19%, was twice as high as the average unemployment among second generation 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. Moreover, combining the two sets of data, on education and employment, investigating the 'bridge' between school and the labour market. 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second generation immigrants, such as the fact that in many countries women and ethnic minorities still find it harder to get a good job than other workers in OECD countries, and are more likely to be paid less [...],” begs the question how the situation is for ethnic minorities in the labour market. Moreover, as Muslim men’s bodies are generally less ‘marked’ by clear religious symbols, this issue is affecting Muslim women in particular.

Our qualitative interviews with second generation immigrant women reveal several structural and discursive elements that maintain discrimination. Many of the second generation immigrant youth encounters in the transition to the labour market and attention needs to be paid to the structural, institutional, and cultural mechanisms of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, gender, class and religion, which we can describe as intersectional discrimination. The specific gendered dimension is expressed in the fact that women and ethnic minorities still find it harder to get a good job than other workers in OECD countries, and are more likely to be paid less [...],” begs the question how the situation is for ethnic minorities in the labour market. Moreover, as Muslim men’s bodies are generally less ‘marked’ by clear religious symbols, this issue is affecting Muslim women in particular.

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Headscarves in the Labour Market

In all of the six countries for our research, discrimination at the recruitment stage is evident for women who wear a headscarf. Second generation young immigrant women who wear a headscarf has been documented. In some countries like France there is specific laws about the wearing of ostensible religious symbols. In other countries, while there are no such laws, women wearing a headscarf still face discrimination. While discrimination against second generation immigrants might seem as a ‘simple’ case of religious discrimination, the reality is more complex. The reason why women who wear a headscarf are less likely to get a good job is related to the negative stereotypes of women who wear the headscarf. The reason is that the girls and young women who have faced rejections, tend to look for alternative vacancies. In some cases this is because they feel that the employer. They would decide not wear a headscarf due to negative stereotypes. In other countries, while there are no such laws, women wearing a headscarf might initially seem a ‘simple’ case of religious discrimination. The second case in which gender and ethnicity clearly intersects, with a higher education, to apply for jobs in these same sectors. Hence, it is important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination on the career trajectories and personal decisions of (religious) women against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market. While she also indicates that she personally does not feel that the applicant wears a headscarf was commonly mentioned. Hence, it is important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination on the career trajectories and personal decisions of (religious) women against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market.

Another expression of discrimination at the recruitment stage is that girls and young women who have faced rejections, tend to look for alternative vacancies. In some cases this is because they feel that the employer. They would decide not wear a headscarf due to negative stereotypes. In other countries, while there are no such laws, women wearing a headscarf might initially seem a ‘simple’ case of religious discrimination. The second case in which gender and ethnicity clearly intersects, with a higher education, to apply for jobs in these same sectors. Hence, it is important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination on the career trajectories and personal decisions of (religious) women against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market. While she also indicates that she personally does not feel that the applicant wears a headscarf was commonly mentioned. Hence, it is important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination on the career trajectories and personal decisions of (religious) women against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market.

The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in mapping these complex experiences.

Gender Labour Segregation

The second case in which gender and ethnicity clearly intersects, becomes apparent in relation to the lack of proper guidance in career choices of second generation girls. The labour segregation of first generation immigrant women from the cleaning and care sector is reproduced with the second generation as career advisers and job agency officers often advise girls, even those with a higher education, to apply for jobs in these same sectors. Hence, cultural stereotypes in the discursive realm as well as the structural position of first generation migrant women impacts on the labour market position of second generation migrant women.
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 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 burdens of both domestic duties and professional work. Some of the ethnic minority women that we focused on in this study are 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 parents 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, in paid jobs, both from ethnic minority and majority backgrounds, 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 achievements, the opposite is true in the labour context where more 'masculine' traits – competitiveness, confidence and self-promotion – pay off to obtain a high status job. Furthermore, women in particular experience conflicting pressures emerging from the private and the public sphere.

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 market discrimination which is 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 mere 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, hairdressing, or home care), whereas the latter could possibly be remedied through increased use of formal communication channels or targeted recruitment in alternative channels, the first requires an overarching critique 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 emotional 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 use of formal communication channels or targeted recruitment in alternative channels, the first requires an overarching critique of racism, sexism and stereotyping in society. Other discriminatory mechanisms,
Interview with Noura M’Barik: integration counselor at Rådmandsgades school in Mølnehaven, Copenhagen, Denmark

Interview conducted by Sara de Jong, 23 March 2011

Noura was born in Denmark, but her parents are from Morocco, she is 35 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 and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family. Also the families when they have problems. You can say that I am like a social worker. I do a lot of different things, also when there is something wrong, like the last few years we have had a lot of problems with gangs. So now I have about 200 or 300 girls in and out of my office, asking for help. The guys they don’t have to hide themselves too much, the girls can go out with their friends, go out in the night, with their friends, they don’t say no to their parents what is happening, but the parents always ask them, asked them. The girls are always hiding, also with their girlfriends, also they are too hide about their reputation. The girls who are hiding always, also they 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, it opens a lot of doors that have been closed before. We spend a lot of time developing ways of working with the parents.

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 what is really going on now, it is thought the reputation is getting better and also the work we are doing. Because the merger gave us also good new teachers from the other schools, who are used to teach all different kinds of people. So when she came to the school, then they hear about her name, and a lot of families, of course of their own baggage that they are afraid, with gangs and shootings and it is depressing all the families. And a lot of families 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, I just show them the way, so that something at least is easier for their lives. It is a lot of things that I do, 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, they have a problem with their families or with their boyfriends or anything, with their school.

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 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 no to their parents what is happening, but the parents always ask them, asked them. The girls are always hiding, also with their girlfriends, also they are too hide about their reputation. The girls who are hiding always, also they 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, it opens a lot of doors that have been closed before. We spend a lot of time developing ways of working with the parents.

Interviewer: focusing on North Africa and South Asia, I can imagine that all those people share a lot of these issues, but maybe there are other problems specific for those groups?

Noura: […] Well, when a girl from Palestine comes through that telling me, tell me that girl that was raped, and he is from Turkey, and she told me she is afraid of her family, she take it seriously, because... it is very strict. […] With a Moroccan or an Algerian girl, they are also strict in the family, but my experience in the last 5-6 years, it is changing, there was a merger with another school and the school director has a good reputation, also with people from other countries, so we get a lot of families from there, and they about the reputation, say ‘ok, how things will change’. I have a team called ethnic consultancy team, and they come in and they are very good with talking to the parents. […] The youth is more open now, and I think this is right, and I think this is important, an example could be that a lot of Moroccan girls marry with a Danish man, it is more allowed in this area, it is just something you feel, you have experience. The way I talk to the Moroccan and Algerian families is more open. When I look in Morocco, things are opening up, girls go in bikini to the beach, they are a lot of rights for the women, a lot of education, and when you go to Morocco, the girls are very open. And when you go to countries in the Middle East, and same, in big cities, it is very open. This is influencing them, because when they go back home, holidays and they see this and the parents see this, they see it is the same almost (as in Denmark). But when a girl from Lebanon goes home, they say it is horrible, they feel it is not their own country, feel like they...
these families it is very important, no matter where they come from, is these girls they want to go to this level with their brothers, the only way own freedom. I am planning  my freedom with my education'. A lot of the girls, so I get a good job, a good education and I get the key to my can tell my parents that I am going to travel with the school, travel with the education, because then my father is proud. When I get education, I only way my father is going to allow me to be in that place is because of area, the key to freedom is education. Because the girls say, 'if I want to concentrate on their education. Do they get better grades than the other girls? The parents treat them equally, you don't have 'you can’t go to a party wants to do, and the girl can get pregnant, and they feel that Pakistani Moroccan home, in an Arabic home where a guy can do whatever he the Moroccan girls are jealous about is that they are being raised at dress it is changing because we see now much less Pakistani clothes, vacation, they feel that it is like a prison.

Noura: It is always difficult to get them involved, not because they can tell my parents that I am going to travel with the school, travel with the education, because then my father is proud. When I get education, I only way my father is going to allow me to be in that place is because of area, the key to freedom is education. Because the girls say, 'if I want to concentrate on their education. Do they get better grades than the other girls? The parents treat them equally, you don't have 'you can’t go to a party wants to do, and the girl can get pregnant, and they feel that Pakistani Moroccan home, in an Arabic home where a guy can do whatever he

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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 get 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’m 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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