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

María Ángeles (Maggy) Barrère Unzueta

Preliminaries

This paper has been created with a two-fold purpose, in the sense that it is intended as an introductory reflection on and conclusion of the project. It is actually a kind of explanation that has been made on an individual basis, but also stems from the privileged position of those who have been involved as its coordinator.

Embarking from a brief reference of the issues in question to matters of its main hypothesis, the reasons for which are that it is intended as an introductory reflection on and conclusion of the project, this paper has been created with a two-fold purpose, in the sense that it is intended as an introductory reflection on and conclusion of the project. It is actually a kind of explanation that has been made on an individual basis, but also stems from the privileged position of those who have been involved as its coordinator.

Key terms

In a later section it shall be explained why these two terms are linked. There are different ways of thinking about intersectionality. One is that which postulates the deconstruction of the categories that divide society by gender, race, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, etc. Other people interviewed have acknowledged their problems through it. In this sense, there are many situations that young people live in a situation of dependence which always highlight its position in relation to the family (as in a later section it shall be explained why these two terms are linked). The intersectional perspective based on the sex-gender system

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, many of whose forms converge and inter-relate in the European context, making situations of violence/discrimination acquire specific overtones. The 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 operate in isolation, but interact with each other in complex ways. In this sense, there are many situations that young people live in a situation of dependence which always highlight its position in relation to the family (as in a later section it shall be explained why these two terms are linked). One can say that theorizing about patriarchy and the sex-gender system (second-wave feminism) begins with the work of Simone de Beauvoir The Second Sex (1949). It shows that the traditional characterization of what it means to be "woman" (natural aptitude for the care, coquetry, frivolity and submission, etc.) is not natural but a social product that puts the women who are already those who are already those who have already been born in Europe, thus not favoring integration. In our

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From here, the intersectional approach would operate as a kaleidoscope through which the sex-gender is combined with other systemic axes giving rise to a multitude of instantaneous snapshots of the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices, customary laws and all other forms of discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion or the like that may be associated with the sex-gender system or be a consequence of such an association.
collected in the most important anti-discrimination directives of the last decade, among which include the Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men irrespective racial or ethnic origin of which is intended to lay down a framework for combating discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin irrespective racial or ethnic origin of which is intended to lay down a framework for combating discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, Council Directive 2000/78/EC of the 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation, and Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 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 classified as discrimination and the same thing in 2006 (with harassment as a criminal) is not. Why is it that in the Directives of the year 2000 harassment (plain and clear) is classified as discrimination and the same thing in 2006 (with harassment as a criminal) is not? For something different to the type of penalty provided? The other is that paragraph 14 of the 2000/43/EC recognizes that "often women are victims of multiple discrimination," a recognition, however, that has not further conceptual development7.

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, 20118, 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 the same white men all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats or such acts as understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall men all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats or such acts, as well as sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women.

The combining of rules is often a sensitive issue especially whilst reflecting the visualization of power systems, or that is to the eradication of stereotypes according to which violence/discrimination is used, whether those related to family and community devaluation or to the violence against oneself and other targets (including those relating to immigration, skin colour, Islam, etc. in school and in civil society in general). The second has to do with the need to develop a new set of rules for combating violence/discrimination, that is, to bring all targets together into the weight of sex/gender system and the laws on rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, Approved by the European Parliament and Council of 21 March 2000 (2000/293/EC) and promulgated into force in 2003.

In this sense, the EU resolution delates to the framework adopted by the Council of the European Union in 2000 and ratified under the title of: "The Council of ten 11.24.2000 (2000/293/EC) and promulgated into force in 2003. 9

12 Nor are they included among potential multiple points of views on human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall not of a specific development and cross-section of article 5 of the Council of ten 11.24.2000 (2000/293/EC) and promulgated into force in 2003.

13 Article 19 specifically empowers the European Union to combat discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, age or sexual orientation that is in all areas, neither the school, nor the family or the community of origin can be left out. In fact, these are the areas most conducive to the cultivation and naturalization of stereotypes and prejudices and, in the same measure, in the greatest need of preventive measures.

14 In short, a policy of prevention of violence/discrimination against women and discrimination against women and among those related to the second, a lack of a consistent policy towards the ZGW, with vulnerability to violence/discrimination, the same thing in 2006 (with harassment as a criminal) is not. Why is it that in the Directives of the year 2000 harassment (plain and clear) is classified as discrimination and the same thing in 2006 (with harassment as a criminal) is not? For something different to the type of penalty provided? The other is that paragraph 14 of the 2000/43/EC recognizes that "often women are victims of multiple discrimination," a recognition, however, that has not further conceptual development7.

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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 it in order to access citizenship 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, immune to the pressure of national 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 ‘ethic background’ hinders equal opportunity or access. The duality 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 might lead either to an endless fragmentation of policies or even to the related hasty and partial 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, being, existing 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) and used against the background of normative stereotypes they will certainly not work under the same or racist premises (either those in European societies or brought with them by migrant communities). For these women, like for all women and many men in different oppressed groups, the law should offer both emancipation and protection, not weaken patriarchal or racist power structures (either not binding instruments or have not been ratified by the EU or the European States, notwithstanding the repeated calls to do so 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 against non-citizen children highlighting the States' obligation under the Convention to ensure that, although some rights might be confined to citizens "human rights, in principle, to be enjoyed by all persons." This 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 achievement of that 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 the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular concerning the children of non-citizen workers (par. 8) and not proportional to the achievement of this aim. This document reminds the States concerning the children (...) of non-citizen workers» (par. 8) and 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 concerning the children of non-citizen workers (par. 8) and not proportional to the achievement of this aim.

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In paragraphs 30 and 31, the CERD calls the States to ensure that public policies ensure access to citizenship to all persons. In this context, at the level of the EU, we have noted that, in becoming citizens, at least while their children are underage, the possibility of losing the condition of legal resident. Obviously it is a situation calling for intervention of social services, and lately as a phenomenon calling for community and grass-roots organisations to change attitudes and use regarding HRV within and outside the EU. In particular, there are two main issues: the lack of community instruments regarding this issue, the EC has funded two projects for developing knowledge, training and best practices in all these Member States, with longer experience on responding to HRV (such as the UK or Sweden) have standards and national legislation for raising awareness on the issue and circulating best practices, as for example in the Stockholm Platform for Action to Combat HonourRelated Violence in Europe.

In the literature and in our own field research interviews, different forms of HRV outside the domestic realm have emerged. These phenomena, denounced by the association ‘Nuits sans pouvoirs’ for example, show a link between cultural and collective norms, direct violence by authorities, and generalised violence (the "lover-boys" cases in the Netherlands, where shame, honour and fear of family HRV are played against girls to force them into prostitution). 3

The second issue, which is intertwined with the first one and could be considered a specific issue of HRV is forced marriage. Firstly because it is often linked with violence in itself, and generally accompanied by other forms of physical and psychological violence; and secondly, because refusing an arranged 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 is less common in our target groups. Among the reasons for this are various: the imposition of traditional marriage on women (the imposition of gender roles and motherhood), the possibility – under some specific conditions – for women to decide on the marriage rates among male children, higher rates of HRV in the case of children of foreign origin, etc.

Directive 2003/109 on Family Reunification has a provision on 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, e.g. 18 years, 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 a rather controversial issue. In the literature and in our own field research interviews, different forms of HRV outside the domestic realm have emerged. These phenomena, denounced by the association ‘Nuits sans pouvoirs’ for example, show a link between cultural and collective norms, direct violence by authorities, and generalised violence (the "lover-boys" cases in the Netherlands, where shame, honour and fear of family HRV are played against girls to force them into prostitution). 3

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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 2Gs (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 sex, we have seen in the discussion on the social 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 developed instrument, especially if compared with other legal or policy instruments that might have an effect on issues of discrimination and violence against 2Gs, 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 peers, and has limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called intersectional). Within the context of this research project, that is, systems where certain groups have power "over" other groups: an example would be the segregating social practices, in their broadest meaning, are a fundamental condition of 2G girls in Europe. Discriminatory legal status, in particular, has limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called intersectional discrimination). Apart from the discrimination on the basis of sex, we have seen in the discussion on the social status of 2Gs, the main grounds for discrimination at stake are sex, race and ethnic background, religion and social class.

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 Parliamentary decision. Ever since 2001, coalition governments have had parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party in exchange, among others, for more stringent language tests and a further condition of self-support (not having received social assistance or welfare payments). Consequently, the number of naturalisations has dropped noticeably since 2001 by more than two thirds (from 9,316 in 2001/2002 to 2,500 in 2009/2010) according to the statistical overview of the Ministry of Refuge, Immigration and Integration Affairs.

A remarkable element of this anti-immigration use of the law on citizenship has been the introduction of a requirement of absence of criminal record), in 2003 the requirement for the acquisition of citizenship (with the introduction, in the development in the last decade has been quite opposite. Whereas traditionally upbringing in Denmark was considered a sufficient condition to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship for persons who are born in Denmark, being a member of a minority group 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 of aggressors, so we cannot determine whether since the victim is immigrant or has an ethnic background, so does the aggressor. Besides, the higher socio-economic vulnerability and the higher lack of social capital among minority groups further increases the risk of discrimination and explains the higher rates of ethnic background of women in the shelters.

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 prevention of violence against women, this rule was designed to prevent non-resident spouses can be united to their spouses living in Denmark through marriage, whereas before the rule was in place, it was possible for non-resident spouses to marry in their country of origin but to immigrants (or descendents, thus contradicting the alleged aim of the government of "integration through competence in formal education, enter the labour market and resist family pressure to marry. Yet the effect of the rule has been that it has forced to move back to marry in their homeland or to marry someone (immigrant or descendant) within their own community in Denmark. The rule has been amended lately this year that couples under 24 years must earn 120 points to live in Denmark (whereas couples over 24 years need 65 points). Even more controversially, the "assumptions registration" designed all non-resident spouses to marry someone (immigrant or descendant) within their own community in Denmark. The rule has been amended lately this year that couples under 24 years must earn 120 points to live in Denmark (whereas couples over 24 years need 65 points).
to the contrary. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a strict manner: since 2004 (when the last child has lived in France since s/he was eight), the parents can claim French nationality for their child on her/his behalf at the age of thirteen. Although the legal framework for access to nationality is rather favourable to 2Gs, statistics are not clear about acquisition and naturalisation rates. For example, the establishment in the Immigration Law of 2007 of a "familial assimilation contract", to be signed by parents of children who have been born in France, aims at preventing forced marriages and protecting those in danger of forced marriage and HRV. Some organisations' estimates have been rebutted and there are no official figures. There isn't either relevant information that would have led, according to various studies, to low naturalisation rates for example, the establishment in the Immigration Law of 2007 of a "familial assimilation contract", to be signed by parents of children who have been born in France, aims at preventing forced marriages and protecting those in danger of forced marriage and HRV. Some organisations' estimates have been rebutted and there are no official figures. There isn't either relevant information that would have led, according to various studies, to low naturalisation rates.

3. France

France has long boasted a tradition of "inclusive republican citizenship" with a strong conception of national identity and an emphasis on the rights of all to be treated as equals. The criteria of acquisition of citizenship, the Civil Code establishes also a double ins procedure for the acquisition of French citizenship at the age of eighteen for those born in France to foreign parents, if they

Gender violence

Forced marriage and, to a lesser extent, honour related violence are considered part of gender violence in French policy documents. For example, violence against "migrant background women" (femmes issues d'immigration) appears mentioned in the Second Global Three-year Plan of Action against Violence against Women in February 2010. However, the issue of violence against women in France is still very much monopolized by marital violence (sexual coercion) and this influences also the issues assessed in relation to migrant women. Thus, non-marital violence experienced by girls and young women born and raised in France, (namely acts of violence, psychological, sexual or harassment perpetrated by a father, brother, uncle, or other female in the family) is little focused on. This has been denounced by some associations that there is consequently a remarkable lack of statistics regarding both forced marriage and HRV. Some organisations' estimates have been rebutted and there are no official figures. There isn't either relevant information that would have led, according to various studies, to low naturalisation rates.

In any case there is no systematic information about the number of 2Gs that acquire citizenship by these means. These cases are registered at the local register offices and there is no central survey.

The reform of the ius sanguinis principle has been at the centre of heated debates regarding immigration policy. A number of legislative
proposals have tried to favour long-term resident aliens and their Italy born or educated children. Most of the proposals also included also “integration” requirements such as language knowledge, the acceptance of shared civic values, an oath of loyalty, or income levels. However, the political support given by the Reformers to the proposals has been limited, especially in relation to 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, at 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. This initiative is a common practice to include the citizenship requirements in the vacancies announcements.

Gender violence in Italy is a highly mediatised and politicised issue. Lack or difficulties in the access to citizenship creates for Italian (1996), punished with imprisonment for one to three years to anyone who, by means of violence or threat, concealed or held an unmarried woman for purposes of marriage.

As evidenced by the country assessment in the CoE report on forced marriage has to be prosecuted under other, generic, offences, such as rape. There is also an offence particularly addressed to private moral violence that punishes those who, with force or threat, force another to do or not to do something. The lack of a gender framework for approaching domestic violence in public discourse, together with growing xenophobic trends, puts a high toll when dealing with HRV, in particular honour killings. These crimes are seen, not as gender issues, but as cultural markers of Italian citizenship. As a particularly misogynist regulation.

Data about these phenomena in Italy depends completely on local surveys or was observed to Italian citizens (also EU citizens). Even though this requirement has been turned down by the Courts in many instances (regarding teachers, for example), it is a common practice to include the citizenship requirements in the vacancies announcements.

Gender violence in Italy is a highly mediatised and politicised issue. Lack or difficulties in the access to citizenship creates for Italian women's shelters, minority organisations, schools and municipalities. These projects involved different groups of actors, such as police, women's shelters, minority organisations, schools and municipalities. Three municipalities (Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Almelo/Twente) 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 female figure almost doubled between 2004 and 2006 (from 1.217 to 2.114) and it is expected that option will become more important as access to Dutch nationality for 2G migrants in the Netherlands, of a crime.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands is one of the countries generally takes examples of the political backlash on multiculturalism. Since the publication of the Amsterdam-Amstelland region, with similar figures for The Hague region. However, the real
Spain insufficiently prepared to enter the labour market) and to increase the "family formation" in immigration rules. The reasons given are to reunification. The Netherlands has introduced a 21-year old rule for European Directive 2003/86, regarding the minimum age for family prosecution agencies.

at least one of which born in Spain (double ius soli). Those born in can be acquired at birth by those born in Spain to foreign parents, sanguinis. However, the Civil Code establishes that Spanish nationality Legal status 

raising activities by NGOs (women's groups or minority initiatives (2005), under Article 242 of the code there is scope for assessment in the CoE Comparative study of legislation and political specific provision for forced marriage. Yet, according to the country Gender violence 

in the Netherlands both the government and the NGOs have paid special attention also to the issue of honour-related violence in relation to sex (see MOVISIE Factsheet 2011 on Honour related violence and sexual diversity).

The Dutch Criminal Code does not contain a definition nor a specific provision for forced marriage. Yet, according to the country assessment in the CoE Comparative study of legislation and political initiatives (2005), it is considered as a standard scope for prosecution in cases of forced marriage of the basis of other offences such as rape.

If forced marriage is forced, the approach to forced marriage is based more on awareness-raising activities by NGOs (women's groups or minority groups), especially in schools, than on legislative measures or

One exception would be the use of the "may-clause" of the European Directive 2003/86, regarding the minimum age for family residence and immigration in the UK. Today's more restrictive citizenship policies are fairly generous (see, British Nationality Act of 1981, entered into force in 1983, abrogated important formal status was not citizenship but settlement. Yet, the

Traditionally, the UK followed the principle of ius soli, and the most important formal status was not citizenship but settlement. Yet, the law the UK and gave way to a new approach towards immigration and settlement in the UK aimed at controlling and limiting those who could claim legitimacy residence in the country. 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, British Nationality Act 1981).

Spanish nationality is generally acquired on the principle of ius sanguinis. However, the Civil Code establishes that Spanish nationality gender violence

Gender violence 

Gender violence issues have come high on the national political agenda in the last years. In 2004, the Gender Violence Law (Ley organica contra la violencia de género) was adopted. The persistence of a high numbers of casualties is blamed on an overall implementation failure. There are indicators that the law has had a positive effect. The FEWCIT Working Paper on the Spanish case), although the working of the judicial machinery is deemed to be working adequately (www.organaviolenciadegerino.org).

Honour related violence has almost no visibility in the media (apart from forced marriage, discussed below) nor in statistics. This is partly the result of the gender framing, the focus on garbage inter-generational honour and the Pakistani protocol for forced marriages – adopted following the example of the

only the Autonomous Police Force of Catalonia has an intervention attention in Spain and there is very little data on the issue also. Such experience coming from practitioners, this proposal of law has a strong anti-immigration flavour (more so if one takes into account that in countries with longer experience in dealing with forced marriages, the introduction of a specific criminal offence has been advised against).

gender violence 

rape. Intimate partners may contribute to this violence – of inter-generational gender violence, or HRV committed against women by members of the family that are not their husbands (fathers, brothers, female members of the family) or even the role played by non-members of the family (peers, community members, etc.). The 'only honour crime' that has made its way to the newspapers was an attempted murder in 2010 in a provincial town in Madrid. The father stashed his daughter twice actually because she was dating a non-Muslim man. Maybe the fact that he was drunken at the time of the attack or that he injured two of his sons who were trying to stop him does not help to match this case with common features of HRV, such as premeditation, collective authorship, share concept of honour within a community.

The issue of forced marriages has only very recently attracted attention in Spain. There is very little data on the issue so far. Only the Autonomous Police Force of Catalonia has an intervention protocol for forced marriages – adopted following the example of the English Forced Marriage Unit. They have intervened in 44 cases in the last years, 15 in 2010. Differently from honour related violence, forced marriages have emerged as a particular issue of gender violence and as closely linked to immigration communities, particularly with Muslims.

The 14% of Spaniards in 2006 claimed having a negative opinion of the Spanish law. Like in other European countries it can be prosecuted under other offences that are committed in forced marriages, such as sexual assault or rape, illegal detention, coercion and domestic violence. Recently, there has been a proposal by the Conservative Party (Partido Popular) – approved by the Parliament – so that a criminal offence for forced marriage be introduced. Other measures, such as the introduction of a specific criminal offence has been advised against.

6. Spain 

Legal status 

Spanish nationality is generally acquired on the principle of ius sanguinis. However, the Civil Code establishes that Spanish nationality can be acquired at birth by those born in Spain to foreign parents at least one of which born in Spain (double ius soli). Those born in Spain to foreign parents who were born abroad can acquire Spanish citizenship after one year of uninterrupted legal residence; in these cases the residence rights and citizenship, but as 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 legitimacy residence in the country. The persistence of a high numbers of casualties is blamed on an overall implementation failure. There are indicators that the law has had a positive effect. The FEWCIT Working Paper on the Spanish case), although the working of the judicial machinery is deemed to be working adequately (www.organaviolenciadegerino.org).

Gender violence 

Gender violence issues have come high on the national political agenda in the last years. In 2004, the Gender Violence Law (Ley
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). 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 Home Office Unit, was established in Luton.

The FMU works with other government departments and voluntary organisations to raise awareness of forced marriage in their communities. It also runs a public helpline to provide advice 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.

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The 2008 report “Forced marriage, family cohesion and community engagement”, raised the alarm that, notwithstanding the efforts and the success of the Preventive Violence Act (2004), there is still a need for further action.

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 are victims 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 are victims 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 are victims of honour-related violence. 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Forced marriage (Civil Protection) Act of 2007 came into force in 2008. The Act enables courts to make Forced Marriage Protection Orders (FMPOs), which can be attached to FMPOs allowing a police officer to arrest anyone 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 CIDEIL, INTERIGHTS, Karma Nirvana), the UK has lately resorted to family reunification provisions. A 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 disruptive” 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 advised against both by the House of Commons and the Law Commission. 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 possession of any documents and restraining 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 of 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 FMU works with other government departments and voluntary organisations to raise awareness of forced marriage in their communities. It also runs a public helpline to provide advice 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.

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The Statutory Guidance to the Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act was supplemented by Midl-agency practice guidelines “Handling cases of forced marriage” aimed at giving advice and support to front line 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 Muslims and 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 CIDEIL, INTERIGHTS, Karma Nirvana), the UK has lately resorted to family reunification provisions. A 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 disruptive” by the Court of Appeal.
Second generation immigrant girls at school

Sara R. Farris

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’ backgrounds in the six European contexts we focused on. Second generation immigrant youth in fact present very similar trends. First of all, educational inequalities take root very early and the path through primary school has a lasting impact on a student’s entire subsequent school career (cf. Brinbaum, Y. and Kieffer, A., 2009). For instance, the families’ low socio-occupational status, their low educational level or the difficulty to have their degrees recognized, as well as the structural/systemic, institutional and discursive levels of discrimination. If we turn our attention to the educational system qua institution, the school achievements of second generation immigrant youth in fact present very similar trends. 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Second generation immigrant girls at school.

The situation described above, both constitutes a common phenomenon in the immigration context 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 “among the native 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 specificity of second generation migrant girls’ educational achievements tend to emphasise their “greater desire for emancipation” (Guénif, 2001), and therefore generation migrant girls’ educational achievements tend to emphasise their “greater desire for emancipation” (Guénif, 2001), and therefore...
Intersectional discrimination in the transition to work: The Labour Position of Young Second Generation Female Immigrants

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 in the previous chapter. However, these higher achievements at school of second generation immigrants have not been clearly translated in the Netherlands. 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, at 11%, was twice as high at 11%, was twice as high as the average youth (which in the Netherlands largely coincides with the second and third generation) in the Netherlands. Moreover, combining the two sets of data, on education and employment, of immigrants have painted a rosy picture of the upward social mobility of immigrants. As many female spouses of the first generation of male guest workers did not participate 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 of the host country. Studies have also indicated that 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 multiple 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 immigrants 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 11%, was twice as high as the average unemployment rate among other youth (2%), and the situation concerning the employment status of second generation immigrants was even worse, since 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 multiple 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.

Comparatively little attention is paid in the literature to the transition from education to work. Often times, analysis of participation in the labour force is separated from school achievements, 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 on second generation immigrant girls performed on average better at school than their male counterparts as has been more thoroughly examined in the previous chapter. However, these higher achievements at school of second generation immigrant girls have not been clearly translated yet to their higher labour market status. This chapter will outline some different dimensions of disadvantaged access to the labour market for second generation youth in general, and for 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 without a migration background, has a detrimental effect on their later working life. However, the semi-structured qualitative interviews that we conducted with these vocational officers did offer some information, it was often indicated that they did not to have 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 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 of the host country. As many female spouses of the first generation of male guest workers did not participate in the labour market of the host country. Studies have also indicated that 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 multiple 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 immigrants 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 11%, was twice as high as the average unemployment rate among other youth (2%), and the situation concerning the employment status of second generation immigrants was even worse, since 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 multiple 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.

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One of the key underlying questions in many of those studies, whether relative inequalities between the employment status of second generation immigrants and their ‘national’ counterparts can be accounted 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 educational levels, and where a genuine element for completing the programme, it is necessary to investigate if problems occur specifically with that group of those work placements. Moreover, 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 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 discrimination. 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 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 discrimination. 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 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 discrimination.

There are also other aspects that are not directly discriminating, but that have indirect negative impacts on the employment chances of...
second generation immigrants or that in many countries young women are more educated than men. However, the female labor market position of second generation immigrant women is often marked by lower employment rates and less high status jobs, 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 women face in the transition to the labor market. The labor market and attention needs to be paid to the structural, institutional, and cultural factors that contribute to the unemployment of second generation young immigrant women who wear a headscarf has been documented. In some countries like France there are 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 women and girls is often seen as a ‘simple’ case of religious discrimination, the reality is more complex. The reason why second generation immigrant women who wear a headscarf face negative responses towards the headscarf are imbued with gendered connotations, for example perceptions of patriarchal oppression and women as submissive. 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 from the Netherlands suggest that such preferences are gendered. The reason is that the girls and young women who have faced rejections, tend to look for alternative vacancies. In some cases they do not want to work for an employer that they ever feel forced to change employment sector or they seek to avoid jobs with customer contacts. So, even though they might eventually find employment, this is only because they change direction or make long detours.

Uzma Ahmed Andreasen is a Danish NGO worker, who has Pakistani parents and was born in Denmark. She recalls that she asked a woman to give examples of discrimination she experienced. “One of the [examples] was her own experience when she phoned for a job and she was told to come down there, because they had a job opportunity but then, she came down and she was told that the job had been taken.” This example of vacancies ‘disappearing’ as soon as employers found out that the applicant wears a headscarf was commonly mentioned.

Another expression of discrimination at the recruitment stage is the reluctance to hire second generation immigrant women who wear a headscarf. The small number of studies 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 curb over the initial discriminatory response of the recruitment stage and might encourage the second generation Moroccan women, is for example conscious of the fact that wearing a headscarf will discourage employers from hiring her in the labor 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, she replies: “Ehm, when I have a permanent contract somewhere”.

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 labor market impacts second generation female immigrants who are overrepresented in for example educational sectors with vocational tracks experience difficulties in getting a job because of the career segregation of first generation Moroccan descent: “What struck me was that many girls did not make a motivated choice (for the field they were in). [...] Those girls really did not have any idea what they were doing. If you really asked them it was about choosing subjects so they would be together with their friends. In traditional Moroccan families the young girls making decisions based on ‘safety’, i.e. following the same professional direction or make long detours.

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 labor segregation of first generation immigrant women, which is characterized by 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 labor market position of second generation migrant women.

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 guidance and support from schools and family. This often results in young girls making decisions based on ‘safety’, i.e. following the same vocational training as most friends do or choosing courses that have a lower status.
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 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 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 offices and ethnic social networks tend to channel second generation girls towards those jobs which are reserved to immigrant women in Europe (cleaning/cleaning related work), thereby reproducing gender-based social inequalities and segregated gendered and racialised labour markets. Moreover, where 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 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, forms of ‘sume’ discrimination and lack of ‘social capital’ in particular seem to play a big role. Yet, despite the fact that 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 offices and ethnic social networks tend to channel second generation girls towards those jobs which are reserved to immigrant women in Europe (cleaning/cleaning related work), thereby reproducing gender-based social inequalities and segregated gendered and racialised labour markets. Moreover, where 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 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 segregation, which emerges from discursive and structural racism, requires a different response than the indirect discrimination of recruitment 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 a stronger 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 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 define the experiences of 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 Rådmandsgades school in Mølnerparken, Copenhagen, Denmark

Interview conducted by Sara de Jong, 23 March 2011

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

Interviewer: What is your work as an 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 youngsters or the family. Also that families come when they have problems. You can say that I am like a counselor. 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.

Interviewer: How do you deal with this?

Noura: In this area Mølnerparken, things have turned difficult in the last 10 years, we have had shootings and shootings. Right now the feeling for a lot of these families is that everything is very bad, because they are living in a ghetto, they are afraid, with gangs and shootings and it is depressing all the families.

Interviewer: And a lot of families have of course their own baggages 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. Like I have 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 do, but I have an area of speciality 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 anything, with their school.

Interviewer: 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 about everything, not only bad problems, it is also about ‘I got my boyfriend or anything, with their school.

Interviewer: How about the school? What is the reputation of the 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 the truth. It is not what it looks like. But when there is something changing, there was a merger with another school and the school director has a good reputation, also with people from other countries, so we didn’t have any problems about that. But when they are talking about what they say ‘ok, maybe things will change’. Things have also changed. This is a very beautiful school, it is a new school, now we have got a tenth grade that is beginning, people have a lot of contact with the families and children.

Interviewer: 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 the truth. It is not what it looks like. But when there is something changing, there was a merger with another school and the school director has a good reputation, also with people from other countries, so we didn’t have any problems about that. But when they are talking about what they say ‘ok, maybe things will change’. Things have also changed. This is a very beautiful school, it is a new school, now we have got 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 think when I 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 teaching staff from the other school. People are used to teach all different kinds of people, 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 and also parents, 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 this 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 for the parents. It is a lot. We spend a lot of time developing ways of working with the parents.

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

Noura: […] Well, when a girl from Palestine comes through that door telling me, like that girl that was raped, and he is from Turkey, and she told me that she is afraid of her family. I take it very 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 that girls are more independent. We 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, and also the parents. It is a different way of thinking. 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, it is an 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 also when you go to Morocco, the girls are very open. This is not only happening in Denmark, when you go to Lebanon, it is the same, in big cities, it is very open. This is influencing them, because when they go back home, they see this and they see the parents and they see this, they see it is the same almost (as in Denmark). But when a girl from Lebanon goes home and they say it is horrible, they feel it is not their own country, feel like they
Interviewer: How about the girls from Pakistan?
Noura: It is also difficult. The last 5-6 years, the way the girls dress it is changing because we see now much less Pakistani clothes, but because you are a girl, they will not wear jeans. It is also very strict. You can see with the Pakistani girls, also in this school, education, education, education. But the things that the Arabic, and the Moroccan girls are jealous about is that they are being raised at home, the guys and the girls, they have the same, it is not like in a Moroccan home, in an Arabic home where a guy can do whatever he wants to do, and the girl can get pregnant, and they feel that Pakistani boys and girls are raised the same, with the same kind of treatment. The parents treat them equally, you don’t have ‘you can’t go to a party because you are a girl’, it is also the boy, and that is the good thing about the Pakistani girls and boys.

Interviewer: You said before that Pakistani girls are required to concentrate on their education. Do they get better grades than the other girls?
Noura: Yes, but we can see that for the girls in Denmark, and in this area, the key to freedom is education. Because the girls say, ‘if I want to be something in my family, at the same plane or level as my brother, the only way my father is going to allow me to be in that place is because of the education, because then my father is proud’. When I get education, I can tell my parents that I am going to travel with the education, because then my father is proud. When I get education, I can say to my parents, ‘I want to do this or that’, and they say ‘yes, you can do this or that’. My parents respect me, and they talk about me. This is very important that the children, or your girl get their own way and it is very important that their children become somebody. It is always difficult to get them involved, not because they do not care, but because you are a girl, they want something out of something, they want to show something. They want something out of something, they want to show something. They want something out of something, they want to show something.

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, engineers, those are the only professions that work for them. But a good thing about the school is that the school that is that they start 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 if they want to work in a kindergarden 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 they should be at. They 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 pressure from their family, and they are opening up a lot in school, ‘I am 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 things that they can do to get their child to have freedom. [To Noura]…

Interviewer: 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 don’t 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 four days we open the school. When we have father and mother day, the mothers come very early in the morning and daughter day we got someone from outside to talk about how to be confused about sex, about many things, ‘how are you going?, when do you take courses?’ You said before that Pakistani girls are required to concentrate on their education. Do they get better grades than the other girls?

Interviewer: And all those projects, do you make them 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 have a lot of projects, and we know that we can do a lot of interesting things, and we always think about it, ‘how can we resolve this, how can we get rid of this, how can we involve them with the children. We know also from us that they are exporters of their own child. They know the door is open and we listen to them, because of lot of the time it is a one way conversation, it needs to be a two way conversation, that is very important for us. […]

Interviewer: 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. Maybe a boy, they are more spoiled by their parents, have more responsibilities at home, they don’t have to clean, they do not have the goals that the girls have and also when they are talking ‘he can rule my life, when he sees me with a cigarette, see me’, the girl, ‘but he is in 7th grade, if he would be in 9th, but 7th grade?’. But she said, ‘I am coming home when it is dark’. The girls have a lot more freedom, they can also see it, because the guys also with their sisters, there is a girl who is like, ‘I am going out’, ‘where are you going?, call me!’. You don’t have the goals that the girls have and also when they are talking ‘I am coming home when it is dark’. And the boys, they can also see it, ‘I am going out, ‘where are you going?, call me!’. You can also see it, because the girls also with their sisters, there is a girl here 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, oh, this last year and I don’t have to do anything, but he is in 7th grade, he would be in 9th, but 7th grade?’. But she said, ‘I am not really 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 of 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 nights 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.

“María-Angela (Maggy) Barrère Unzueta is the Coordinator of the Neska K Gora project and is Professor of Philosophy of Law, Faculty of Jurisprudence, University of the Basque Country in Donostia, Spain. Dolores Morondo Taramundi is the Legal Research Coordinator of the Neska K Gora project and is a legal researcher at the University of Deusto in Bilbao, Spain. Sara R. Farris is the Sociological Research Coordinator of the Neska K Gora project and is a researcher in Sociology at the University of Konstanz, Germany. Sara de Jong is a researcher with the NGO Aletta based in Amsterdam, The Netherlands.”
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