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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Documentation
In identifying our target group this underlines the consideration of “second-generation immigration” policies of the EU that will help to improve the protection of its main objective lies in providing some proposals concerning the reconstruction of the data which have been supplying the investigation, justifying the cases which have been chosen for analysis, or the general hypotheses of the subject being dealt with, the having been involved as its coordinator.

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 up of an individual basis, but also stems from the privileged position of having been involved as its coordinator.

Embarking from a brief reference of the issues in question to matters including the main objectives of the subject being dealt with, the justification of the cases which have been chosen for analysis, or the general hypotheses of the subject being dealt with, the having been involved as its coordinator.

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

The first choice had the advantage of providing access to target groups and to sources of information such as peers, teachers and policy-makers, while the second was also an ideal location for the outcome of our project, prevention.

The second choice was particularly important given that the superannuated interests of the EU in matters of employment and their 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 and forth of who we even perform it. Based on these premises, 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.

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, their problems stem from having to deal with stereotypes of all kinds, of whose many forms converge and inter-relate in the European context, whose many forms converge and inter-relate in the European context, as the case of the veil results paradigmatic: while its use marks respect of sex-gender system are embedded in family, cultural and religious traditions, it is equally true that within these experiences our target group attach an individual meaning to the veil which leads them to promote equal treatment and non-discrimination in the workplace.

The fields chosen for the study

The intersectional perspective based on the sex-gender system

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 are not constructed in isolation, but intersect with each other in complex ways. Still, by focusing on the research project the problem of our target group is already a fact that affects them socially and individually and is part of the determinant: the sex-gender system [4]. In other words, it is assumed that these young people suffer violence/discrimination as women or, more explicitly, what it means to be socially identified as such.

4 There are different ways of thinking about intersectionality. One is that which postulates the deconstruction of the categories that divide society by gender, race, sexual orientation, etc., and which support the idea that these categories (other than the sex-gender system) are part of the determinant: the sex-gender system. In other words, it is assumed that these young people suffer violence/discrimination as women or, more explicitly, what it means to be socially identified as such.
From here, the intersectional approach would operate as a kaleidoscope through which the sex gender is combined with other systems in order to generate multidimensional problems of violence and discrimination. Our target group is a subset (although heterogeneous) of women who are young, and are linked to the phenomenon of immigration (usually for economic reasons or class) and also with a skin colour, culture, language and religion of origins 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 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. In this context the occurrence of an attack on physical integrity enables you can talk about violence, in the same way as one cannot speak 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 practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.

**The EU policy in the case of violence/ discrimination of 2GG**

In 1957 it was approved, on the source of what is now the European Union law, the first decree regarding the comparison between men and women. Specifically, Section 119 of the Treaty of Rome (1957), establishing the (then) European Economic Community, had the duty of every member States to ensure the principle of equal pay between male and female workers for equal work.

In the seventies, coinciding with the rise of the mobilization of women around the world, in addition to the fact that an international level, a number of directives were approved in Europe aimed at ensuring equal treatment of women and the improvement their situation in the labour market (Council Directive 75/189/EEC of 16 March 1975, and later on, the Directive 76/207/EEC of 9 February 1976 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion to any level of work. Following the Directive 76/207/EEC, a new directive was approved for the first time the concept of discrimination, which, in general, has been identified with the absence of direct or indirect discrimination, but the discrimination is conceptualized as a bilateral basis, i.e. as if it were a phenomenon that affects both men and women and, therefore, without providing its connection with the sex-gender system.

The importance given to this concept is reflected in that has been identified with the absence of direct or indirect discrimination, but the discrimination is conceptualized as a bilateral basis, i.e. as if it were a phenomenon that affects both men and women and, therefore, without providing its connection with the sex-gender system.

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6 And the second article of this publication presents the spectrum of acts (though not exclusive) that part from the concept, by operationally: physical, sexual and psychological) as well as the areas where they will be (family, community and State).

6.1 Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

(b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including intimate partners, sexual assault, sexual harassment, hate speech and work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, bribing in women and forced prostitution.

(c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.

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

8 The exception would be the admission of affirmative action as non-discriminatory.
in the most important anti-discrimination directives of the Community to combat discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. The challenge is to conceptualize intersectional discrimination normative and theoretically, in elucidating the visualization of power systems, or that is to the eradication of stereotypes according to which violence/discrimination is used, whether this be violence or skin colour, Islam, etc. (in fact, skin colour and Islam most conducive to the cultivation and naturalization of stereotypes and prejudices and, in the same measure, in the greatest need of preventive measures.

In short, a policy of prevention of violence/discrimination against EC-Gender (2G) must go in two directions. The first direction must lead to the eradication of stereotypes according to which violence/discrimination is used, whether this be violence or skin colour, Islam, etc. (in fact, skin colour and Islam most conducive to the cultivation and naturalization of stereotypes and prejudices and, in the same measure, in the greatest need of preventive measures.

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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 or in order to access integration and, at the same time, pushing towards marginalisation and stigmatisation of immigrants. They are concerned by gender equality and anti-discrimination laws and policies, though the protection that these might afford is sometimes contradictory with and too often not mainstreamed into immigration or public security policies, as the European Women Lobby has lately recalled. They are concerned by solidarity, social integration and social inclusion questions and policies but, in the case of other groups, their dependence on European 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 even 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, Nadil Yasdanyar, refused it. In her statement, she points out to the policy ideological weakness that hampers integration at its very foundations: immigrants are branded as a group of useless people whose sole purpose is to defraud society. They should therefore be punished and kicked out of the country.

During the last decade, political discourse and media alike have systematically depicted immigrants (and particularly immigrants with family in Europe, including second generation migrants) as a source of or in order to access social services; that is, by every other policy where their being immigrants or "ethic background" hinders equal opportunity or even 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, Nadil Yasdanyar, refused it. In her statement, she points out to the policy ideological weakness that hampers integration at its very foundations: immigrants are branded as a group of useless people whose sole purpose is to defraud society. They should therefore be punished and kicked out of the country.

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The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) adopted in 2005 the General Recommendation no. 30 on discrimination in access to education. The Recommendation gives States the guidelines 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 achievement of such aim.

The CERD also recommends that States “pay greater attention to the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular concerning education, in the light of the General Recommendation no.15,” and encourages them to “take into consideration in what cases denial of citizenship for long-term permanent residents could result in creating disadvantage for them in access to employment and social benefits, in violation of the Convention’s anti-discrimination principles” (par.15).

In paragraphs 30 and 31, the CERD calls the States to ensure that the issue of public education access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant.

Another significant issue is the precariousness of legal status since, even in countries with tightly controlled immigration flows, there is the possibility of losing the condition of legal resident. Obviously it is even more significant in countries with high numbers of undocumented immigrants or in countries where immigration law is so complex or so rigid that becoming irregular is a relatively easy and common experience (for example, in Italy). In this context, at the level of the EU, we have to draw our attention to the Directive 2003/109 concerning the status of third-country nationals. The text of the Directive grants European resident status to Non-EU Member country nationals who have resided legally and continuously within the territory of the Member States for five years. The Directive also specifies national mechanisms 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 Nationality (1997) and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights on the right to family life of aliens who are long term residents.

The Convention on Nationality is relevant because it establishes that some states do not allow the transmission of citizenship to children of immigrants or in countries where immigration law is so complex or so rigid that becoming irregular is a relatively easy and common experience. 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 or until their parents acquire the citizenship. Nevertheless, the trend for the last years has been to modify laws on nationality as part of (harder) immigration 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 education access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant.

Gender violence

Two issues of gender violence affecting 2G girls 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 already a fairly common and very relevant issue. (for example, in Italy). In this context, at the level of the EU, we have to draw our attention to the Directive 2003/109 concerning the status of third-country nationals. The text of the Directive grants European resident status to Non-EU Member country nationals who have resided legally and continuously within the territory of the Member States for five years. The Directive also specifies national mechanisms 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, 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 so-called “honour”.

Honour related violence and forced marriages are also included in the recent Convention on preventing and combating violence against women, adopted in 2011 by the United Nations (where countries do not apply domestic law to the same extent the Convention on preventing and combating violence against women, adopted in 2011 by the United Nations (where countries do not apply domestic law to the same extent).

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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 social practices, in their broadest meaning, are a fundamental mechanism in their exclusion, lack of integration, denial of rights and hindrance to personal autonomy.

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 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: crimes against 2G girls within their family) and has limited structural impact on discriminatory systems (what we have called intersectional discrimination), in any of the research projects, that is, systems where certain groups have power over “other” groups: an example would be the segregating effect of school systems in relation to lower classes and, particularly, this research project, that is, systems where certain groups have called “subordiscrimination” in the conceptual framework of (i.e., discriminatory practices against girls in their own family) and developed 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 policies against gender violence or social policies.

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to the contrary. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a strict manner until 2008 (the number of rejections of family reunification for reasons of forced marriage passed from 7 in 2004 to 95 in 2007), despite widespread criticism by human rights organisations and the fact that eight out of nine cases were overturned by the courts.

On the other side, more complex approaches to the multiple aspects of violence against minority adolescent girls and women can also be observed. There is a remarkable judgement from 2006, when nine members of her family were found guilty of the murder of Ghulam Khan, a 14-year-old boy of Pakistani origin shot by her brother two days after his wedding to a girl from a different social background. Contrary to the practice of treating honour killings as a common murder and having just the actual killer convicted, in this case we see an approach whereby all the members of the "family" who participated in "punishing" the family's daughter were incarcerated.

In 2009, the Ministry for Gender Equality launched a national rights campaign for women with immigrant background. They concluded that further knowledge was needed about social control of minority women by spouses, brothers or other family members. Particularly, they indicated the need for comparisons with other countries with immigrant backgrounds. In this sense, LOKK and the Ministry for Integration forecasted that "honour" cases are quite rare in France since the late 80s. French legislation on nationality and immigration has historically targeted the "immigrant families" considered a burden to the national and cultural integration, and consequently has tightened the conditions for access to French nationality for migrant spouses. Hence, for example, the establishment in the Immigration Law of 2007 of a four-year residence period before a nationalisation application can be submitted. The consent was required for marriage or integration contract, to be signed by parents of children who have it in mind to marry a French citizen. This new legal framework for access to nationality is rather favourable to unauthorised migrants, whereas the period required for naturalisation is 10 years. The country has long boasted a tradition of "inclusive republican assimilationist since as early as 1945, nationality law has been favourable to those born in France. However, women aren't considered part of gender violence in French policy documents. For example, violence against "migrant background women" (femmes issues de l'immigration) appears mentioned in the Second Global Three-year Plan (2008-2010) "Douze objectifs pour combattre les violences faites aux femmes". However, the issue of violence against women in France is still very much monopolized by marital violence (violence conjugale) and this influenced also the issues assessed in relation to migration women. Thus, non-marital violence experienced by girls and young women born and raised in France, (namely acts of violence, psychological harassment 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 and organisations, such as Ni putes ni soumises.

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 associations, such as Ni putes ni soumises.

According to the country assessment in the CoE report on Forced Marriage, French legislation foresees a number of civil law provisions aimed at preventing forced marriages and protecting those in danger of being forced into marriage. For example, the hearing of the future spouses by an officer of the Civil Register; if after this interview the officer should have any doubt about the spouses' consent, the case is deferred to the Public prosecutor (Procureur de la République), who could authorise, suspend or even forbid the marriage. Moreover, in case of forced marriage legal action to annulment might be taken by the Public prosecutor, which is only allowed if the spouse has submitted his or her consent was forced. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint renders a marriage null and void, included, according to the art. 180 of the Civil Code, "reserver est reconnu d'un consentement.

From the point of view of relevant policies, although the Ministry for Immigration and Employment has created a helpline, the number of professionals in the school or youth work environment.

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" aimed at preventing forced marriages and protecting those in danger of being forced into marriage. For example, the hearing of the future spouses by an officer of the Civil Register; if after this interview the officer should have any doubt about the spouses' consent, the case is deferred to the Public prosecutor (Procureur de la République), who could authorise, suspend or even forbid the marriage. Moreover, in case of forced marriage legal action to annulment might be taken by the Public prosecutor, which is only allowed if the spouse has submitted his or her consent was forced. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint renders a marriage null and void, included, according to the art. 180 of the Civil Code, "reserver est reconnu d'un consentement.

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proposals have tried to favour long-term resident aliens and their Italy or educated to Italian citizens (more also EU27 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.

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 citizenship to children born in Italy to immigrant parents, one of the parallels that constitutes a dramatic departure from the anti-HRV of the political discourse (even when it is allegedly women’s rights based and not anti-immigration). The report ‘Legislative Initiative’ (2010), proposes that the right to option for Dutch nationality if they are born in the Netherlands or if they have been lawfully residing in the country since 1975. The projects involved different groups of actors, such as police, women’s shelters, minority organisations, schools and municipalities. These municipalities (Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Almelo/Twente) formulated local programmes that combined measures to produce an integrated approach to honour-related violence.

5. The Netherlands

Legal status

The Netherlands is one of the countries generally taken as an example of the political lack of stance on women’s rights. Since the publication of the report ‘Legislative Initiative’ (2010), there is an expected option will become more important as access to naturalisation will become more difficult due to the integration exams.

Gender violence

Combating violence against women has been seen as part of the gender equality project in the Netherlands since the late 1970s, according to the report ‘Legislative Initiative’ (2010). It has indeed been acknowledged in the report ‘Legislative Initiative’ (2010) that since the 1970s.

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Spain

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), there is a broad scope for prosecution in cases of forced marriage on the basis of other offences such as rape.

A adoption process 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 raising activities by NGOs (women’s groups or minority groups), especially in schools, than on legislative measures or initiatives (2005), under Article 242 of the code there is scope for prosecution in cases of forced marriage on the basis of other offences such as rape.

Spain

Spanish nationality is generally acquired on the principle of 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, as for all minors under 14, the procedure for the acquisition of citizenship can be initiated by the parents or legal representatives. Minor children born abroad but raised and educated in Spain do not have Spanish nationality and do not have the right to claim to be Spanish citizens. Spanish nationality can be acquired on the principle of 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, as for all minors under 14, the procedure for the acquisition of citizenship can be initiated by the parents or legal representatives. Acquisitions of citizenship by residence for foreigners requires 10 years of uninterrupted legal residence, good civil conduct and sufficient level of integration.

7. United Kingdom

Legal status

Traditionally, the UK followed the principle of ius soli, and the most important formal status was not citizenship but settlement. Yet, the British Nationality Act of 1981, entered into force in 1983, abrogated the ius soli and gave way to a new approach towards immigration and settlement in the UK aimed at controlling and limiting those who could claim legitimate residence in the country.

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, CUDO country report). But there is an overlap between citizenship, residence and immigration in the UK.

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UK, immigrants and their families will start to experience similar problems about residence, naturalisation and access to citizenship to those suffered by 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 assimilative requirements for naturalisation (2005) and settlement (2007) which, as shown in other parts of our research, highlights shortcomings in immigration policies and, in the long run, institutionalised discrimination.

Glittering 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, Crime & Proceedings 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), the United Kingdom 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 assimilative requirements for naturalisation (2005) and settlement (2007) which, as shown in other parts of our research, highlights shortcomings in immigration policies and, in the long run, institutionalised discrimination.

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Second generation immigrant girls at school

Vera P. Feres

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 main characteristics of second generation immigrant communities in each country under investigation. Once we had a clearer idea, we then selected thirty-six “key-respondents” – six for each country – who could provide us with precious information regarding the experiences of second generation immigrant girls at school and in the transition to work. Interviewees included teachers, vocational officers, representatives of relevant NGOs and girls themselves.

As a central institution of every society and individuals’ lives from a very young age, the mechanisms of intersectional discrimination that work in the educational context lie at the very junction between structural/systemic, institutional and discursive levels of disadvantage. If we turn our attention to the educational system qua institution, the school presents various mechanisms of intersectional discrimination between gender and race, between home and school, and between various countries. Each of these mechanisms are specific to each gender and racial group. As a result, it is not possible to make generalizations regarding the experiences of girls themselves, but it is useful to note that in general, the mechanisms of intersectional discrimination being experienced by girls. For instance, girls belonging to an ethnic/racial minority are often segregated into lower-track secondary schooling, while girls from migrant families are often assigned to lower-track secondary schools. In addition, girls from migrant families may face additional challenges due to language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination in the school environment.

The tendency by teachers to reinforce educational and broad social discrimination and perpetuating a situation of social inequality for second generation immigrant youth as well as one of the most important factors explaining subsequent social background, urban segregation and educational “ghettos”.

Secondly, one of the effects of low-socio-occupational status of migrant families in Europe is urban segregation and the formation of what some scholars call “educational ghettos”. Educational and residential segregation are in fact closely linked (Mau, 2004; Portes and Haller, 2009). Immigrant families from North Africa and South Asia – as well as from other regions of the so-called Global South – reside at the periphery or in the poorer areas of European cities. It is here that those schools are concentrated which offer the poorest educational environment. These are the schools where teachers usually adopt the methods that could not be adopted in the initial stages of their careers. Furthermore, these are the schools where the state and the city councils do not invest or do not invest enough. It is not hard thus, to find infrastructures that are in very bad conditions, without basic services and equipment. Farah, one of our interviewees who teaches in a college in one of Marseille ex ZEPs (Zone d’education Prioritaire) – and herself of Algerian origin – comments on this problem in vivid terms:

In my school I think the 80% of students are from Algerian and Tunisian families (…) The school has many problems (…) The city council thinks they are hopeless, just leftovers of society. They have no chance to do anything, even education in another language. What is more, they want us to speak French only, but I prefer to stay. What happens to these children if everybody abandon them?

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The families’ low socio-occupational status, their low educational level or the difficulty to have their degrees recognized, as well as the difficulties in mastering the language of the “receiving context” in 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 attitude toward school and school environments. In their turn, schools often respond to these disadvantages by reinforcing them, often the fact that they are of certain ethnic background. If we turn our attention to the educational system qua institution, the school presents various mechanisms of intersectional discrimination. As a result, it is not possible to make generalizations regarding the experiences of girls themselves, but it is useful to note that in general, the mechanisms of intersectional discrimination being experienced by girls. For instance, girls belonging to an ethnic/racial minority are often segregated into lower-track secondary schooling, while girls from migrant families are often assigned to lower-track secondary schools. In addition, girls from migrant families may face additional challenges due to language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination in the school environment.

The problem of language mastery, in various ways, was addressed by all our interviewees as one of the most serious issues common to 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 aspect of a pupil’s experience (Moldenhawer, B., Miera, F., Kallstenius, J., Messing, V. and Schiff, C., 2008). On our interviews for instance (Kaostar from Italy, 21 years old, of Moroccan origin), describes this problem in very clear terms:

At the beginning I had some problems at the primary school because I could not speak Italian like the other pupils (…) Since I was not able to do it at the time at home with my siblings) but I learned very quickly and I became quickly very good. I was always very annoyed when teachers made me adhere higher grades for my homework or expressed greater surprise because I could speak and write well in Italian. It made me feel better about myself and gave me the expression that I was not judged for 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, when I was very good I was surprised, something that broke her stereotype.
Second generation immigrant girls at school.

The situation described above, both constitutes a common denominator and a paradox that is defined and applied 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 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 their “greater desire for emancipation” (Guerin, 2003), and therefore, girls’ consideration of education as a tool for self-improvement and social mobility. While girls’ emancipatory ambitions certainly can be regarded as being made stronger by the affirmative action programmes that have been put in place, the forms of stereotyping that target women generally. Stereotypes and prejudices include all those images and representations which constitute an important social segment in most EU countries, including the UK, that prove to be crucial for academic achievements, as Bourdieu had shown in his study of working class children (Bourdieu, 1987).

Girls from an immigrant background are particularly vulnerable to certain assumptions regarding the role of women in society and their physical appearance as passive and extremely sexualised objects. Young girls of Moroccan or Indian origin, for instance, in Italy, France and Spain, are frequently treated in this manner by their male peers, and even by their comparison with migrant boys. “Their ‘exotic’ appearance often makes them the object of male attention. However, they soon realise that the stereotype of the black girl for Italian men. I am not confortable with my skin colour, as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and I am always so good, as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though my parents are very open, there are limits. We were also a model for other Moroccan families. This was good but also very demanding. This is the main reason why I wanted to leave my city and go to the university elsewhere. I was very stressed of being alone in the streets, particularly at night. If I was walking on the streets, I did not go anywhere. I was afraid of being stopped. The man in the car showed me his wallet with money, as if I was a drug dealer or something. My parents know that. They don’t like it, but they don’t do anything to prove to be crucial to the ways young generations experience inter-cultural encounters and build their identity. Kaoutar from Italy for example tells us that: as a black woman (though I am not very black but it is obvious that I am not like a white girl, like a blond girl), girls but the children of immigrants more generally report. Second generation immigrant girls often feel that it is their responsibility to “clean” the stereotypes of their community, and function as a role model for 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 its own image. Thus, girls’ educational achievements as a crucial component of families’ upward mobility strategies, girls are often treated as the agents who can realise the family’s dreams of social climbing. Several interviewees have highlighted how parents invest in their education and make them feel responsible for the good functioning of the whole community. In the words of one of our interviees, for instance: … my parents are religious, but I am not, I don’t believe in God and my parents are always so good, as if I could not fail or make mistakes. Also, though my parents are very open, there are limits. We were also a model for other Moroccan families. This was good but also very demanding. This is the main reason why I wanted to leave my city and go to the university elsewhere. I was very stressed of being always 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 being 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. 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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 immigrant girls have not been clearly translated in 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 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 11%, was twice as high as the average unemployment rate of 5.5% for the working population as a whole. However, the unemployment rate among the ethnic minority youth (which in the Netherlands largely coincides with the second and sometimes even third generation) was 21%, four times as high as the average in the Netherlands.

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Discriminatory Tendencies in Different Stages of Employment

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second generation immigrants such as the fact that in many countries girls and young women also showed that the extent of the effect of employers refusing to recruit women who wear a headscarf might be underestimated. The nationality of the employer was a decisive factor. The reason is that the girls and young women who have faced rejections, tend to look for alternative vacancies. In some cases they have decided to take on a different role. For some it is even an advantage to decrease the probability of rejection. The interviews also revealed that girls that come from the lower educational sectors in vocational tracks experience difficulties in finding a motivated choice [for vocational track they were in]. [...] Those girls 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 might be that women are more often asked questions related to 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 the employer’s pressure even though they would want to wear it otherwise. Such decision would cover up the initial discriminatory response of the employer and lead might lead to the same negative consequences for women who wear a headscarf in the labour market. In particular, it is important to complement qualitative literature on discrimination with rich narratives from qualitative research, which can map 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 female immigrants and their children, and the low participation of girls and women in the labour market, especially at the recruitment stage, against women wearing a headscarf in the labour market, impacts girls and young women also. Our qualitative interviews with second generation immigrant youth and the results of our study confirmed that the role of girls’ socialization processes is important. The interviews clearly indicate how discrimination becomes apparent in relation to the lack of proper guidance in career choices and the challenges associated with combining schooling with family responsibilities. Moreover, as Muslim men’s bodies and discursive elements that maintain discrimination. Many of the previously mentioned studies are attentive to gender differences in the labour market and attention needs to be paid to the structural, institutional 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 commitment to education and choosing a career track of interest is seen as important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination in the labour market, specifically focusing on the intersection of ethnicity and religion with gender. The specific gendered dimension is expressed in the fact that commitment to education and choosing a career track of interest is seen as important to complement quantitative literature on discrimination in the labour market, specifically focusing on the intersection of ethnicity and religion with gender. 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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 quiet girl, nice, obedient girl pays off in an educational context, this role is not conducive for obtaining a high status job. In the labour market, stereotypically ‘masculine’ traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness are more highlyvalued and rewarded.

Our interviews and other research also point to the fact that women dropped out of the labour market at a later stage, after initial successful recruitment, as they struggled to combine different expectations. Women in paid jobs, both from ethnic minority and majority backgrounds, often have to juggle the double burden of both domestic duties and professional work. Some of the ethnic minority women that we focussed on in this study were relatively young when they got married and have children, compared to their ‘national’ counterparts. In some countries this difference is even 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, their waiting time before they attain their first job is disadvantaged as they are disproportionally unemployed, placed in precarious jobs, their waiting time before they attain their first job is disproportionately long. 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, 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 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, nursing, care work). Third, ethnic social networks tend to channel second generation girls towards occupations 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.

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, 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 selfimage 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’Barki: integration counselor at Rådmandsgades school in Mølneparken, 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 and has three children. She has been working for 10 years at Rådmandsgades school.

Interviewer: What is your work as integration officer here?

Noura: I keep contact with the families and the youth. I am not a teacher. I have a lot of contact with the families and children. If the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office whenever they have a problem with their families or with their school. They can come 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. 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 problems girls and boys are here. But that is the image on the outside, it is not the truth. You see it when you go into the school. But when they bring from their own countries, from all the things they have experienced, horrible things, so we have a lot of families, for whom one thing, like making food for the children is difficult. I have like this bill, I can’t pay it, and they just leave it, so I just show them the way, so that something at least is easier for their lives. It is a lot of things that I 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 whenever they have a problem with their families or with their boyfriends, or with their school. [...] So now I have about 200 or 300 girls in and out of my office, asking about everything, not only bad problems, it is also about ‘I get 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. I think it is because they say it is horrible, they feel it is not their own country, feel like they are inside the school I do not see their color, I don’t see anything, as one of the students from the 10th grade said, ‘it is unbelievable, when you are inside the school I do not see their color, I don’t see anything, no headscarves, just see people’. And we have heard this before, also teachers, or people from the outside, when they visit us, it is not the same, not the colour, it is just people. So I think we are succeeding in opening a lot of doors, that have been closed before, 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 home. I think when the parents come to this school and we are open about that, we say to the parents, you know your children better than we do, it is something that we have been here before. We spend a lot of time developing ways of working with the parents.

Interviewer: What is your work as integration officer here?

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. You see it when you go into the school. But when they bring from their own countries, from all the things they have experienced, horrible things, so we have a lot of families, for whom one thing, like making food for the children is difficult. I have like this bill, I can’t pay it, and they just leave it, so I just show them the way, so that something at least is easier for their lives. It is a lot of things that I 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 whenever they have a problem with their families or with their boyfriends, or with their school. [...] So now I have about 200 or 300 girls in and out of my office, asking about everything, not only bad problems, it is also about ‘I get 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.
Interviewer: How about the girls from Pakistan?
Noura: It is also a problem for the girls but not as big as it was. In the Moroccan home, in an Arabic home where a guy can do whatever he wants, the girls are expected to stay at home, the 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 education, because then they get respect from the father. For all these girls they want to go to this level with their brothers, the only way is through education. I am planning my freedom with my education. A lot of them can tell my parents that I am going to travel with the school, travel with them, I want to show something to them. And the girls say, ‘if I want to be a doctor, 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 kindergarten or whatever it is, it is very important to support your child’. In the sixth grade, when they are like 13 years old, we make some tests with the children and tell the parents which level is appropriate for his children are, ‘so don’t pressure them. It is not that we say, ‘he is never going to be a doctor’, because you are a girl’, it is also the boy, and that is the good thing about the Moroccan girl and boys.

Interviewer: Do the girls do better than the boys at school?
Noura: Always, because when the teachers test with the children and tell the parents which level their children are, ‘so don’t pressure them. It is not that we say, ‘he is never going to be a doctor’, it is also the boy, and that is the good thing about...’

Interviewer: What kind aspirations do they have? what kind of professions do they want to pursue?
Noura: All the parents want them to become lawyers, doctors or engineers, those are the only professions that work for them. But a good thing about the school is that they start from the very early beginning we tell parents not to pressure the children, because for a lot of them, it would 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 kindergarten or whatever it is, it is very important to support your child’. In the sixth grade, when they are like 13 years old, we make some tests with the children and tell the parents which level is appropriate for his children are, ‘so don’t pressure them. It is not that we say, ‘he is never going to be a lawyer, but because you are a girl’, it is also the boy, and that is the good thing about the Moroccan girl and boys.

Interviewer: It is 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 14 days we open the school. When we have fathers and mothers talking, we say ‘it is the most important thing that they feel we involve them with the children. They know also from us that they are experts of their own child. They know the door is open and we listen to them, because of lot of 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 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 14 days we open the school. When we have fathers and mothers talking, we say ‘it is the most important thing that they feel we involve them with the children. They know also from us that they are experts of their own child. They know the door is open and we listen to them, because of lot of the time it is a one way conversation, it needs to be a two way conversation, that is very important for us. [...]

Interviewer: Do the girls do better than the boys at school?
Noura: Yes, they are doing better.

Interviewer: What kind inspirations do they have? what kind of professions do they want to pursue?
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Interviewer: All those projects, do you make them up yourself, or are there training guides, or best practices that are shared in Denmark, or do you take courses?
Noura: I got guidelines and I got inspiration when I go to courses, they send me 2 or 3 weeks to a place for inspiration. But also we use our own ideas, you need a lot of input, people in the meetings want to know what is the problem, how can we resolve that, and then we think and think and then we try it.

Interviewer: And the courses are offered by the government? Or do these courses?
Noura: The courses are open, arranged by the Integration Ministry, they offer a lot of courses. There are courses home and school, about how to speak with parents and how to involve them. Because a lot of times the parents don’t come, they won’t talk about it, what I am talking about, not only because of the language but also how the meeting works. So we talk about how the meeting should be when they are a lot of people involved, when they are not a lot of people, how should it be, затем differently, maybe we should put them in groups, it differently than we used to do it, change a little bit the Danish traditional way of someone talking and the rest listening. We are thinking new ways now how to get the parents to talk and then the most important thing that they feel we involve them with the children. They know also from us that they are experts of their own child. They know the door is open and we listen to them, because of lot of the time it is a one way conversation, it needs to be a two way conversation, that is very important for us. [...]

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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 got an education. So it is a problem.

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

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

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

Noura: I would say that Danish society expects something which is making them confused. Because when they go to school, the teacher says 'you have a responsibility, I have to hear your opinion' and then the girl goes back and she just had a day where she talked with the teacher and the students and says 'I have my opinion' and she is talking about everything, but then when she goes back she has to put another mask on. So a lot of these girls say that the society confuses them a lot, because they always have to take one step forward and one backwards. One of the girls says, I'm so happy that the society gave me these tools because I have some rights as a girl and as a woman, and they are teaching me this, and I am happy about that because it is something that gives me something here inside, but it is also confusing me because I will always feel like I'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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