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 mutation, health repercussions, trafficking in human beings, rehabilitation of perpetrators etc.).

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CONTENTS

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

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

Second generation immigrant girls at school 22

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

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

Documentation 38
In identifying our target group this underlines the consideration of “second-generation immigrants.” Hereafter, this group shall be referred to by the acronym 2GG. The prevention of violence/discrimination against second generation adolescent girls and young women from families of North African and South Asian origin: An overview

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 having been involved as its coordinator. Embarking from a brief reference of the issues in question to matters of the project, this is the main objective lies in providing some proposals concerning the policies of the EU that will help to improve the protection of the rights of those in our target group.

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- ground of who we are even performing it. Based on these considerations, 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, both the young women interviewed have acknowledged their problems through it.

The fields chosen for the study

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

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. From this perspective, eliminate systemic categories would be the only way to remove the deconstruction of the categories that divide society by gender, race, sexual orientation, etc. From this perspective, eliminating systemic categories is the only way to remove the power systems. Another approach (as adopted here) is that of which supports the need for such categories, both to understand the social experience of subordination (other than racism, sexism, and homophobia) and to challenge it with the intervention project. However, this identification has been useful and, above all, has been legitimate in both the young women interviewed and the young women involved as its coordinator.

In a later section it shall be explained why these two terms are linked.

In this sense, there are many situations that young people live in and experience which produce a conflict of identities and loyalties: while life within their families and communities of origin leads them to behave according to certain gender stereotypes which may not be their own, out of their families and communities of origin they perceive (and have) other stereotypes associated with Islam and with their immigrant families’ origin that they do not want to reinforce either. Stereotypes of two types also find the violence/discrimination faced by young people while looking for their own home or a job.

The case of the veil results paradigmatic: while its use marks respect for traditions, it is equally true that within these experiences our target group perceives (and have) other stereotypes associated with Islam and with their immigrant families’ origin that they do not want to reinforce either. Stereotypes of two types also find the violence/discrimination faced by young people while looking for their own home or a job.

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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.).

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- ground of who we are even performing it. Based on these considerations, 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, whose many forms converge and inter-relate in the European context, making situations of violence/discrimination acquire specific overtones.
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 phenomenon of the lover-boys (to mention only some of the traditional practices that affect our target group), sets the emphasis on violence against women, violence against them, and violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms” (paragraph 4, emphasis added).

In addition the recommendation of this committee is reflected in the Declaration Elimination of Violence against women (1993). Under Article 1 of this text “the term violence against women means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

Thus, although it was necessary to take some time and solve some of the problems that concern, you have to understand that there is a difference in meaning between a discriminatory treatment against the term “discrimination” that is intended to mean the legal exclusion or reservation made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the public and in the private life.

This, according to Community legislation, is discriminatory. Is this not a common practice, based on the inferiority of women, which damages them? It is also known in Europe feminization of certain jobs such as a nurse (i.e., midwife) she was excluded from the selection for not agreeing to remove it, which results in her having been treated even worse than the girls to who the feminization of work is harming. Is this not "damaging" to 2GG? In short, the connection between discrimination against women, violence against women is necessary, not only at a philosophical level, but also at a pragmatic level. You cannot expect to achieve 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 elimination of violence against women. Specifically, Section 119 of the Treaty of Rome (1957), establishing the (then) European Economic Community, had the duty of every member State to implement 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 CEDAW Recommendation No. 19 (1993). Under the Council 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, and working conditions is outstanding, in which it is defined as "the obligation to provide its connection with the sex-gender system."8

The exception given to this concept is reflected in that has been

6 And the second article of this publication presents the spectrum of acts (though not exclusive) that form part of the concept, by specifying both the types of violence (physical, sexual and psychological) as well as the areas where they can be perpetrated (family, community and State).

7 Obligation to provide its connection with the sex-gender system.

8 The exception would be the admission of affirmative action as non-discriminatory.
In this sense, the EU resolution deviates from the approach adopted by the Council of Europe Which is not to say that the issue does not concern the European Commission. Vid. in this Proposal for a Council Directive of 2 July 2008 on implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men in the area of access to and supply of goods and services. While there is a lack of a consistent policy towards the 2GG, with vulnerability to discrimination against women and among those related to the second, the Commission to combat discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. The combining of rules is often a sensitive issue especially whilst addressing the visualization of power systems, or that is to the eradication of the stereotyping of gender-based violence to which women are subjected. In the EU nor its member States have ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted in 2003 and entered into force in 2004. Whereas women are victims of multiple discrimination, a recognition, however, that has not further conceptual development. In brief, Council Directives listed as the Parliament Resolution undoubtedly show the concern of the EU to design regulations and policies which may include the practices of violence/discrimination of our socio-cultural framework for combating violence against women, the violence from discrimination, as if they were a phenomena that requires equally spaced rules and policies; and 2) do not address multiple discrimination conceptually, which poses hypothetical demands of our target group based in such legislation requires artificially fragmenting, among the consequences associated with the first issue is the indivisibility of the conceptual phenomenon of violence/ discrimination against women and among those related to the second, the lack of a consistent policy towards the 2GG, with vulnerability to discrimination against women and among those related to the second, the EU nor its member States have ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted in 2003 and entered into force in 2004. Whereas women are victims of multiple discrimination, a recognition, however, that has not further conceptual development.
Preventing violence and discrimination against second generation migrants and young women from North Africa and South Asia: the legal perspective

Dolores Miranda Terranova

Introduction

Adolescent girls and young women belonging to the second generation of immigration flows to Europe are often depicted as a 'bridge' between their families and communities and the European societies and communities of origin, help sustain this image. However, as explained a long time ago now by Black feminists in the USA, "this bridge called my back" is usually the place where issues of gender, race, ethnicity, religion and power intersect.

Such intersection, such personal positioning, is more often than not invisible to the disembodied subject of legal norms, even to those gender, race, ethnicity, religion and power intersect. Legal status constitutes a distinct category when it comes to laws and policies. The legal status of second generation girls in Europe depends on domestic practices and stereotypes with a common goal of increasing personal autonomy and dismantling oppressing power structures.

Annex: Legal briefs on violence and discrimination against second generation migrants and young women in the countries under assessment

The expression "second generation" has become quite popular among social researchers and immigrants’ children associations. Yet, there is not necessarily a clear-cut standard for boundaries between migrants and citizens. It is growing awareness among policy-makers on the importance and the role of these groups in the integration of immigrants, they certainly do not constitute a distinct category of citizens and as such are not covered by the law, nor are they systematically depicted as a security problem and a source of social problems, their design that of reproducing the same (in)compatible and unacceptable lifestyles and social structures in Europe by outnumbering birth-rates and family reunification mechanisms. In the construction of these stereotypes, women and the role of women has played a fundamental role both as an argument and as a rhetorical mechanism. The legal positioning of second generation women has been affected by these stereotypes, which symbolized women as something else, as in the numerous norms and proposals in different European countries regarding the legal status of women.

Thus the intersections that define the legal positioning of these women might produce multiple variations and have both practical and symbolic contexts. However, and notwithstanding its usefulness as a tool to describe and analyse the experience of groups that otherwise remain unseen, intersectionality does not show clear benefits of protection against discriminatory and xenophobic practices and stereotypes with a common goal of increasing personal autonomy and dismantling oppressing power structures.
The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) adopted in 2005 the General Recommendation no. 30 on Discrimination on the Ground of Nationality or Ethnic Origin. It highlights the States’ responsibility to avoid segregated schooling and different standards of treatment in public educational institutions are open to non-citizen children and violation of the Convention’s anti-discrimination principles (par. 15). Citizenship for long-term or permanent residents could result in creating encouragement them to «take into consideration that in some cases denial of concerning the children (...) of non-citizen workers» (par. 8) and the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular not proportional to the achievement of this aim».

The CERD also recommends that States «pay greater attention to the issue of multiple discrimination faced by non-citizens, in particular concerning the children (...) of non-citizen workers» (par. 8) and encourages them to «take into consideration that in some cases denial of education to long-term or permanent residents could result in creating disadvantages 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 non-citizen children’s right to education is not avoided segregated schooling and different standards of treatment in elementary and secondary school and with respect to access to higher education.

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 a legal resident is a really difficult 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 and rights of long-term residents. The Directive grants European resident status to Non-EU Member country nationals who have resided legally and continuously within the territory of the Member States for five years. The Directive also specifies regulations regarding the terms for conferring resident status and lays down the conditions for residence in Member States other than the one which conferred resident status. Of the countries under assessment, Denmark and UK are not bound by this Directive.

At the level of the Council of Europe we must note the Convention on 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 «the Convention on Nationality (1997) guarantees the right of States to decide who shall be their nationals» (par. 8). So, the problem of naturalisation has not been a main issue with 2Gs (except in Italy): most 2Gs, in fact, become nationals as minors while their parents acquire the citizenship. Nevertheless, the trend for the last years has been to modify laws on nationality as part of immigration policy, 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 policy access to citizenship to 2Gs will become increasingly significant.

Gender violence

Two issues of gender violence affecting 2Gs in our target groups are acquiring growing importance and visibility in all countries under assessment, though public response is yet at different levels in each of them.

One of them is the issue of honour-related violence (HRV). HRV, and in particular honour killings, were included already in the 2002 UN General Assembly Resolution 57/139 on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for onward women in all countries of the world. The main driving force of this research project such as Pakistan, India, Egypt or Morocco), the report already pointed out that honour killings were also taking place in countries such as France, Germany, or the United Kingdom within migrant communities.

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

Honour related violence and forced marriages are also included in the recent Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (2011).

HRV has been handled at different levels in different countries in Europe with, at least, a triple approach: as a police/crime issue, as a situation calling for interventions of social services, and lately as a phenomenon calling for community and grass-root organisations to change attitudes and uses HRV within communities and the ways in which HRV is fought there. There are many countries, however, no Community instruments regarding this issue, the EC has funded projects for developing knowledge, training and best practices in all three areas, among which the Member States have started to organise seminars and networks for raising awareness on the phenomenon and circulating best practices, as for example in the Stockholm Platform for Action to Combat Honour Related 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 “Ni puits ni source” for example, show that HRV can present itself from familial to broader cultural identity and norms of social practice, differently classified under the term “honour”, and applied, for example, to so-called “honour killings” (the “lover-boys” cases in the Netherlands, where shame, honour and fear of family HRV are played against girls to force them into prostitution).

The second issue, which is intertwined with the first one and could be considered a specific issue of HRV is forced marriage. Fiyrstly because it is linked to the idea of “honour” and the “honour” 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 evidence is less documented because it is not as concerning to women (for example, in Italy). In this context, at the level of the EU, we have to draw our attention to the Directive 2003/86 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, at least 23 years old, before the spouse is able to join him/her”. The success of this kind of rule, and similar rules used in Denmark or UK where this Directive does not apply, is a rather controversial issue.

In 2005, the European Parliamentary Assembly devoted one Resolution (number 1468) and one Recommendation (number 1723) to the issue of “Forced Marriages: Child Marriages” addressing the situation where free consent is doubtful and authorising interviews by a register to both parties prior to the marriage. The EPA recommends that the issue be investigated and a strategy developed for the Member States to take on the matter. Among the EU Member States under assessment, the United Kingdom has the most developed mechanisms for combating forced marriages and have established best practices in awareness and detection, and of legal protection of victims and potential victims.
Discrimination

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

As stated above, discrimination against 2G girls (in our research, mostly of Muslim background) may result from the intersection of different grounds of discrimination. Apart from the discrimination on the grounds of sex, race and ethnic background, religion and social class, it may also be explained by the social practices, in their broadest meaning, as a fundamental condition of 2G girls in Europe. Discriminatory social practices are an integral part of contemporary women’s rights policy.

Legal status

In contrast to the European trend, Denmark has made the conditions of entitlement to Danish citizenship by declaration (a declaration made to the Person Registration Office, or Dannerhuset, there is no statistical information available on the ethnic background of aggressors, so we cannot determine whether since the ‘70s, two new Directives, Directive 2000/43 (Racial Equality Directive) and Directive 2000/78 (Employment Equality Directive) added in 2000, opened up EU antidiscrimination law to foreigners. Examples of the Danish "immigration/minority culture approach" to issues of violence against minority women are the so-called 24-year old rule, introduced in 2002, and the "assumptions regulation" introduced in 2004. Europewide, the "assumptions regulation" design all the 2G girls who marry under 18, or less than 24 years of age, must be registered with the local police, either under their original citizenship or at the age of 24 with the conditions for naturalisation.

Consequently, the number of naturalisations has dropped noticeably since 2001 to 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 Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs. 

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to the contrary. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a very strict manner until 2008 (the number of rejections of family reunifications based on this reason increased from 3000 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, where nine members of her family were found guilty of the murder of Ghazala Khan, an 18-year-old woman of Pakistani origin shot by her brother two days after her wedding feast. 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 involved in “punishing” the family daughter were incriminated.

In 2009, the Minister 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 that substantial difficulties are faced by women with immigrant backgrounds. In this sense, LOKK and the Ministry for Integration have organised a conference on the role of boys in “honour” and the parameters of intervention by practitioners. Religious groups have warned about 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 involved in “punishing” the family daughter were incriminated.

Although the French integration model is considered to be assimilationist since as early as 1945, nationality law has been increasingly lenient for foreigner descendants. French legislation foresees a number of civil law provisions that allows withdrawing citizenship to naturalised persons (who would not thereupon remain stateless) condemned for murdering a member of the family, and for forcing marriage. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint was forced. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint was forced. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint was forced. It is worth noting that the definition of constraint was forced. The Public prosecutor and not only by the spouses or the spouse whose officer should have any doubt about the spouses’ consent, the case is referred to an expert commission. In any case there is no systematic information about the number of forced marriages. The EUDO assessment list some of the relevant discussion that renders a marriage null and void includes, according to the art. 180 of the Civil Code, “reverend fear of an antecedent”. 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 de l’immigration) appears mentioned in the Second Global “three-years plan” for the implementation of the Convention on the rights of all women and girls against violence (CEDAW, art. 16bis) that, in 2007, the criteria of acquisition of citizenship, the Civil Code establishes also a double ius sanguinis. According to the Nationality Act 91/1992 (last amended by Act no. 124/2006), children born in Italy to foreign parents are given citizenship 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. Thus, non-marital violence experienced by girls and young women born and raised in France, (namely acts of violence, psychological harassment or harm perpetrated by a father, brother, uncle, or other female in the family) is little focused on. This has been denounced by some associations, 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 media coverage or academic research for these issues if compared for example with female genital mutilation. Most of the relevant discussion to be found in NGOs forums regards forced marriage in relation to refugee or immigrant status (access to refugee status or continuity of stay permits). The EUDO country report denounces a widespread lack of reliable statistics. Immigration authorities have been using this rule in a very strict manner until 2008 (the number of rejections of family reunifications based on this reason increased from 3000 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. Of all the countries under assessment, Italy stands out as the one that not only does not facilitate the access to citizenship to 2Gs, the most vulnerable. Italian nationality is family-modelled and thus firmly linked to ins singsanguinis. According to the Nationality Act 91/1992 (last amended by Act no. 124/2006), children born in Italy to foreign parents are given the right to acquire Italian citizenship at the age of eighteen but only if they can prove their uninterrupted legal residence in the country, whereas the period required for naturalisation is 10 years. The period of time with their grandparents in their family’s country of origin. Of all the countries under assessment, Italy stands out as the one that not only does not facilitate the access to citizenship to 2Gs, the most vulnerable. Italian nationality is family-modelled and thus firmly linked to insaegesi. According to the Nationality Act 91/1992 (last amended by Art. 16bis of the Civil Code), children born in Italy to foreign parents are given the right to acquire Italian citizenship at the age of fifteen. Although the French integration model is considered to be assimilationist since as early as 1945, nationality law has been increasingly lenient for foreigner descendants. Although the French integration model is considered to be assimilationist since as early as 1945, nationality law has been increasingly lenient for foreigner descendants.
proposals have tried to favour long-term resident aliens and their Italy born or educated children. Most of the proposals included also "integration" requirements (language, religion, knowledge of shared civic values, an oath of loyalty, or income levels). The lack of a clear political commitment given to these initiatives has hampered their successful implementation.

5. The Netherlands

Legal status

The Netherlands is one of the countries generally taken as an example of the political backlash on multiculturalism. Since the publication of the EMN Synthesis Report, the Dutch Nationality Act, which entered into force in 2003 after the Amsterdam-Amstelland project assisted 172 girls and women in the period 2007-2009. In 2007 the government, following a number of honour killings, formulated local programmes that combined measures to produce an integrated approach to honour-related violence.

Gender violence

In 2007 the government, following a number of honour killings, formulated local programmes that combined measures to produce an integrated approach to honour-related violence. The projects involved different groups of actors, such as police, women's shelters, minority organisations, schools and municipalities. Three municipalities (Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Almelo/Deventer) formulated local programmes that combined measures to produce an integrated approach to honour-related violence.

Actual data on the incidence of honour-related violence is scarce. According to the MOVISIE Factsheet 2010, two pilot care service projects assisted 172 girls and women in the period 2007-2009. In 2006, police data recorded 158 cases in the Amsterdam-Amstelland region, with similar figures for the Hague region. However, the real
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 (2008), the scope for prosecution in cases of forced marriage on the basis of other offences such as rape.

Policy 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 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.

One exception would be the use of the “may-clause” of the European Directive 2003/86, regarding the minimum age for family reunification. The Netherlands has introduced a 21-year old rule for prosecution agencies.

Minors born abroad but raised and educated in Spain do not have the same residence rights and citizenship, but as the ius soli and gave way to a new approach towards immigration and residence and immigration in the UK.

Traditionally, the UK followed the principle of ius soli, and the most important formal status was citizenship. But today’s more restrictive citizenship policies are fairly generous (see, CUDO country report), there is a new overlap between citizenship, residence and immigration in the UK.

At present, 2G youngsters do not have a primary concern about residence rights and citizenship, but as the ius soli becomes the main principle under which new generations are born in the
UK, immigrants and their families will start to experience similar problems about residence, naturalisation and access to citizenship to those experienced by continental countries, such as Denmark or the Netherlands, in our research. Recent government policy on this issue has grown more restrictive (particularly in relation to family reunification provisions. A 21-year old rule has been introduced in order to limit the age for obtaining a Permanent Residence Permit and allow 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 Permanent Residence Permit and allow 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 Permanent Residence Permit and allow 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 Permanent Residence Permit and allow

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 the ACPO, according to which up to 17,000 women are involved, and the figures given by the police and Home Office Unit, was established in 2006. The Forced Marriage Unit, a joint Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Home Office Unit, was established to work of the FMU, most of the phenomenon was unreported, and thus other European countries, in contrast to the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is, of the countries involved in our project, the one with the longest and most developed responses to issues of gender violence in ethnic minority communities, particularly so-called honour-related violence and forced marriages.

Honour-related violence and forced marriages are included in the definition of domestic violence, according to the explanatory text to the Domestic Violence Act (2004). The legislation includes harmful practices, such as forced marriage, honour violence, female genital mutilation, dowry-related violence and forced marriage. The 2008 report “Forced marriage, family cohesion and community engagement”, raised the alarm that, notwithstanding the efforts and work of the Emeonic Victims Centre, the phenomenon is still invisible, to state agencies and national-wide charities. The research based on qualitative research explains that, whereas there are many reasons for which victims and potential victims of forced marriages do not approach state agencies or the police, trust and familiarity are the most important. In contrast, the research counted 300 forced marriage-related contacts with local support organisations in the past year only in Luton. The FMU does extensive awareness-raising work and varies and very useful information can be found on its webpage, including a Guide to Forced Marriage for LGBT people and a Forced marriage survivor’s handbook. 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 Statutory Guidance for the Forced Marriage Unit (FMU).

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

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

The Forced Marriage Act (Civil Protection) Act was supplemented by multi-agency practice guidelines “Handling cases of forced marriage” advising and supporting 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 a Protection Order. This has created some concern among Muslim leaders that those given the new powers should receive proper training so that cultural norms and legitimate arranged marriages are safeguarded. Although the approach to honour-related violence and forced marriage in UK is highly characterised by joint efforts of the police, public services and NGOs in cooperation and sharing knowledge (such as cooperation projects by CEMEL, 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 dismissive” by the Court of Appeal. Also, the Government has recently announced its intention to make the breach of an FMPO a criminal offence and has asked for
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 communities, 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 characteristic of North African and South Asian 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 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 selection that are both common and in each country, 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 methodology in their daily work and where they work with the most serious issues for young people with an ethnic minority background. This is because mastering the language of a country means to be able to integrate into it, to understand its codes, to communicate with others in proper terms, to build one’s confidence and self-esteem. Furthermore, the main language is the most important subject until secondary school. Problems in the language of the receiving country therefore have an impact upon many different aspect of a pupil’s experience (Moldenhawer, B., Miera, F., Kallstenius, J., Messing, V. and Schiff, C., 2008). On of our interviews for instance (Koaistar from Italy, 21 years old, of Moroccan origin), describes this problem in very clear terms:

At the beginning I had some problems at the primary school because I could not speak Italian like the other children (since I spent most of 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 gave me higher grades for my homework or expressed greater surprise because I could speak and write well in Italian. It made me feel inferior. I was not judged by my real abilities but on the basis of a prejudice. It was as if she expected me to be bad because I was not of Italian origin; yet she was not by far the worst, it was a surprise, something that broke her stereotype.

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

Grounds and consequences of second generation immigrant pupils language gaps.

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 ‘ghettoes’”. Educational and residential segregation are in fact closely linked (Maurin, 2004; Portes and Haller, 2009). Immigrant families from North Africa and South Asia – as well as from other regions of the so-called Global South – reside at the periphery or in the poorer areas of European cities. This is here that those schools are concentrated which offer the poorest educational environment. These are the schools where teachers usually adopt the methodology in their daily work and where they work with the most serious issues for young people with an ethnic minority background.

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Second generation immigrant girls at school.

The situation described above, both constitutes a common "burden of representation" that second generation girls and women apply 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 "children of immigrants, women fare somewhat better (both in absolute terms but also compared with their male counterparts) 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 the "greater desire for emancipation" (Guenif, 2001), and therefore seems to play a crucial role in girls’ better school achievements: second generation immigrant girls often feel that it is their responsibility to "clear" the stereotypes of their community, and become a "role model for 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 friends are Muslims and they are shaping my life. I have to prove that I can make myself change my mind. I think one of the reasons why they trust me so much is also because we have been always very good at school. 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 don’t want to hurt my parents, and I don’t want to let them down. This is why I have decided to study. I am very proud 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 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 definitive gender role.

Gendered stereotypes at school.

Girls from an immigrant background are particularly vulnerable to forms of stereotype that target women generally. Stereotypes and prejudices include all those images and representations which reinforce structural and institutional discrimination, but which are also detectable at a more personal level. In other words, they can be identified as the traditional "tools" to which no institution is free of discrimination (for example, Moroccan young girls in Italy may feel compelled to dress in a particular way in school because of institutional pressure and fear of stigmatisation). Young women of immigrant backgrounds feel especially vulnerable in terms of the intersection of their own role 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 Germany are often depicted by their female counterparts and by the community which mirrors its failures and successes in them; and from 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 definitive gender role.
Discrimination in transition to work: The Labour Position of Young Second Generation Female Immigrants

Sara de Jong

Introduction

In all six countries considered in this research project, second generation immigrant girls performed on average better at school than their male counterparts as has been more thoroughly examined elsewhere. 

Second generation immigrant girls have not been clearly translated into higher labour market status. This chapter will outline some of the different dimensions of disadvantaged access to the labour market of second generation youth in comparison with those on which second generation immigrant girls have painted a rosy picture of the upward social mobility without a migration background, has a detrimental effect on their later position in the labour market. At the same time, on the basis of the interviews that we conducted with these vocational officers did offer an indication that they did not have the capacity to track students’ transition to the labour market after the completion of their studies. However, the semi-structured qualitative interviews with these vocational officers did offer interesting insights, complementing the information gathered from the other interviews with the girls and young women themselves, ethnic minority representatives, teachers and relevant NGO representatives.

Labour Position of Second Generation Immigrants

Comparatively little attention is paid in the literature to the disadvantaged position of second generation youth in education in comparison with those without a migration background, has a detrimental effect on their later position in the labour market. At the same time, on the basis of the semi-structured qualitative interviews with these vocational officers did offer an indication that they did not have the capacity to track students’ transition to the labour market after the completion of their studies. However, the semi-structured qualitative interviews with these vocational officers did offer interesting insights, complementing the information gathered from the other interviews with the girls and young women themselves, ethnic minority representatives, teachers and relevant NGO representatives.

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Intersectional discrimination in the transition to work:
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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% among adults. Moreover, unemployment is remarkably high among young second generation youth (which in the Netherlands largely coincides with the second and sometimes third generation) was 21%, four times as high as the average in the Netherlands.

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% among adults. Moreover, unemployment is remarkably high among young second generation youth (which in the Netherlands largely coincides with the second and sometimes third generation) was 21%, four times as high as the average in the Netherlands.

Discriminatory Tendencies in Different Stages of Employment

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 programmes where a compulsory element of the curriculum is the finding of those work placements. Moreover, internships 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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Headscarves in the Labour Market

In all of the six countries for our research, discrimination at the workplace affects women for whom the headscarf is an important part of the 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 who wear a headscarf may be seen as a 'simple' case of religious discrimination, the reality is more complex. The reason why women who wear a headscarf are more vulnerable to negative responses towards the headscarf are imbued with gendered connotations, for example perceptions of patriarchal oppression and religious orthodoxy. 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 indicate that such interactions are commonplace. In one free text, which reads "Women and ethnic minorities still find it harder to get a good job than other workers in OECD countries, and are more likely to be paid less [...]." begins the question how the situation is for ethnic minority women. This recalls the famous intervention of Gloria Hull, "What struck me was that many girls did not make a motivated choice (for their future the way they were). [...] These girls really did not have any idea what they were doing. If you really asked them it was about choosing subjects they would be together with their friends. They were not being challenged by the education system in vocational tracks that they are outside their field of interest: "Maybe because they are obviously better at something else." Another case is where some girls had no motivation to prepare for the career modelling interviews. They would have even served a purpose when the woman would eventually get married soon anyway. And I also see that there are just a few girls who are continuing their studies in the same field as their parents were. But then because they don't get stimulated, not at home. And that they got the reputation to be 'easy'.

Second generation immigrant girls 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 or choosing courses that have a lower reputation to be 'easy'.
Gender and Employment Norms

It has become evident that the labour market is marked by a range of (implicit) norms with discriminatory effects, similar to the educational field. As these norms take different shapes and forms, the effects also change. It can tentatively be suggested that while being the quiet girl, nice, obedient girl pays off in an educational context, this is different in the labour market, stereotypically 'masculine' traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness are more highly valued and rewarded.

Our interviews and other research also point to the fact that women dropped out of the labour market at a later stage, after initial successful recruitment, as they struggled to combine different expectations. Women in paid jobs, both from ethnic minority and majority backgrounds, often have to juggle the double burden of both domestic duties and professional work. Some of the ethnic minority women that we focused on in this study gave relatively young when they get married and have children, compared to their 'national' counterparts. In some countries this difference is more pronounced than in others. There is however also evidence that second generation young women increasingly postpone marriage in order to increase career chances. In the interviews, quite a few girls expressed their desire to work but indicated as well that when they would get children, they would plan to take over the main caring role is not conducive for obtaining a high status job. In the labour market, stereotypically 'masculine' traits such as assertiveness and competitiveness are more highly valued and rewarded.

Furthermore, forms of 'summate' 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 the '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 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/catering work), thereby reinforcing social and occupational segregation, which emerges from discursive and structural racism, 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 materialise in different ways at different levels; the structural level, the institutional level and the discursive level. Labour segregation cannot be sufficiently captured in quantitative research only and some manifestations even remain invisible in statistics. 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Whereas the latter could possibly be remedied through increased use of formal communication channels or targeted recruitment in alternative channels, the first requires an overarching critique of racism, sexism and stereotyping in society. Other discriminatory mechanisms, which develop from the structural level and are exacerbated by policies at the institutional level ask for multi-level responses. For example, surname discrimination can be tackled institutionally by introducing anonymous application procedures, but requires a deeper level response in order to eradicate the phenomenon at a structural level. The complexity of the mechanisms underlying exclusion and segregation cannot be sufficiently captured in quantitative research only and some manifestations even remain invisible in statistics. 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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, has two children.

Interviewer: What is your work as integration officer here?

Noura: I keep contact with the families and the youth. I am not a teacher. I have a lot of contact with the families and children. If the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family. Also the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family. Also the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family. Also the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family. Also the children or their families have a problem they can walk into my office and we talk about the problem, then I will find out what we should do to solve the problem, with the youngster or the family.

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

Noura: In this school 70 or 80 % belong to a minority group. When parents are asked, they say that this is a bad school, it is a black school and they are not doing anything, and all the crime, and all the problems and boys and girls are here. But that is the image on the outside, it is not what it is like inside. There was a merger with another school and the school director has a good reputation, also with people from other countries, so now you see a lot of people who are not afraid about their name, and say 'they are my friends', and ask them to call them the next day 'ok, how did it go?'. Because, especially in this area Mølneparken, things have turned difficult in the last 10 years, we have had vandalism 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. And a lot of families have of course their own bag that have brought from their own countries, from all the things they have experienced, horrible things, so we have a lot of families, for whom one thing, like making food for the children is difficult. I have like this bill, I can’t pay it, and they just leave it, so I just show them the way, so that something at least is easier for their lives. It is a lot of things that I do, but I have an area of specialty which is girls. Girls from different cultures and origins, a lot of Muslim girls, these girls come to my office, they tell me whatever they have a problem with their families or with their boyfriends or anything, with their school.

Interviewer: What is your work as integration officer here?

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

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these families it is very important, no matter where they come from, is the 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 to own freedom. I am planning on my freedom with my education’. A lot of the education, because then my father is proud. When I get education, I be something in my family, at the same plane or level as my brother, the area, the key to freedom is education. Because the girls say, ‘if I want to concentrate on their education. Do they get better grades than the other girls?, the Moroccan girls are jealous about is that they are being raised at ‘education, education, education’. But the things that the Arabic, and we can see right now they are wearing jeans, but the family rules are dress it is changing because we see now much less Pakistani clothes, when they come back, they are confused because they don’t feel it as a vacation, they feel that it is like a prison.

Interviewer: How about the girls from Pakistan?

Noura: Yes, they are doing better.

Interviewer: What kind inspirations 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 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 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 their children are, ‘so don’t pressure them. It is not that we say, he is never going to be a lawyer, but ‘you have to listen to him’. Because a lot of them got a lot of pressure from their family. They don’t want to hear anything, ‘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 many people that are just like them. 

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 day we open the school. When we have family meetings and mother and father together, 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 doorto 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 they are more afraid of the man saying ‘you are a girl, what do you want to do something, they want to show something, they want something out of their lives because they feel that it is a key for them, that it is opening something. The courses are open, arranged by the Integration Ministry, for all the children and think and think and then we try it.

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

Noura: I got guidelines and I got inspiration when I go to courses, they send me 2 or 3 weeks to a place for inspiration. But also we are a group of people, so we talk together, we make a lot of inner work 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 are they the refugees?

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 children have problems with their parents, what I have to say 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, and how you do it, and how you make it a lot, howstraight, then it 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 how to get the parents to listen and 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: 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, 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 lot of places where it is ok (to wear a headscarf) like Seven Eleven or Ikea, they also have commercials with people with a headscarf and they are proud of it. There are places where we sent them where they can go, but there are places where they cannot, like fashion shops. But I don’t say this is the major problem.

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

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