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Literature Review on Identity and Social Inclusion of Young Migrants and People of Migrant Background - Evidence on causalities and policy implications

FIRST PART – Setting the framework. An overview of the international literature

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SECOND PART – National focus studies

COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT AND POLICY BRIEF

Tiziana Caponio

FIRST PART – Setting the framework. An overview of the international literature

Introduction

The issue of immigrants' integration, especially of migrant women and second generations, is deemed to be crucial in future debates and policy actions regarding immigration in the European Union member states. These are categories that actually run the risk of being doubly marginalised, on the basis of gender and ethnic origin in the case of migrant women, and due to foreign background and lack of education and language proficiency in that of second generations. A comprehensive literature review, including in-depth country reports (Second Part), may enrich our knowledge of how issues of acculturation, integration and access to the labour market are framed in different national contexts. Moreover, it is of the utmost relevance in order to avoid overlapping and duplications, as well as to better refine research questions and concentrate efforts on under-researched areas.

This first part of the Report intends to offer a basis for a debate on migrant women and second generations in migration studies by providing a general reconstruction of the field, through the identification of the main theoretical contributions, and the most prominent approaches in empirical research, as well as the most relevant findings both in Europe and outside Europe. Particular attention will be paid to North American literature: since the 1920s an increasing body of theoretical and empirical studies on immigrants' identity and social integration has developed. In this context, the dimensions of gender and generations have played a crucial role, setting the course of subsequent European debates and research.

In the first paragraph, the main US and European approaches to the study of immigrant acculturation and social integration are briefly reviewed. The classic contraposition between US assimilationist perspectives and European structuralist/institutionalist ones appears to be at least in part challenged by elements of convergence, especially in more recent social capital and transnational approaches, as well as in mainstream social psychology.

This tension between contraposition and convergence can be found also in the more specific fields of gender and second generation studies. These are tackled in the second and in the third paragraphs respectively. After a short discussion of the main methodological problems encountered by researchers in dealing with these two categories of immigrants (problems of definition, of data collection and interpretation etc.), the main theoretical contributions and pieces of research linked to the different European and US schools of thought have been reviewed and analysed.

The result of this extensive work to reconstruct the field is a complex picture which highlights the different standpoints and assumptions regarding the relation between identity and social integration of migrant women and youths from ethnic minorities. Three points can be identified:

1. the relevance of immigrants' social networks and social capital, i.e., in the terms of Putnam (2007), *bonding social capital*. Immigrant communities and traditional identities may represent precious resources in the processes of identity building both for foreign women and second generations, whose economic position in the host society is particularly vulnerable (see above);
2. the crucial role assigned by scholars to host society institutions in combating discrimination and providing the basis for establishing positive interactions with the host society, i.e. of the so called *bridging social capital*. Institutions have been at the centre of European approaches to immigrants' integration, and are gaining relevance in US recent studies too;
3. the complex nature of immigrants' social identities, characterised by the disconnection between processes of acculturation and processes of economic integration in the labour market. Traditional and transnational identities may well coexist with paths of social mobility integration into the economic sphere (this is the case of successful and innovative ethnic entrepreneurs).

1. Identity, social inclusion and access to the labour market in the study of immigration. A missing link?

The relation between the identity and social inclusion of immigrants has long been conceptualised, both in classical American and early European literature on immigrants' integration, essentially in terms of *assimilation*. On their arrival, foreign immigrants have their distinct, specific cultural backgrounds and identities, yet continuous everyday interactions with the host society, especially in the economic sphere and in the workplace, lead to the gradual erosion and fading of "imported" identities and to acculturation into the host society's values and habits.

Such a process was first described in the early 1920s by the sociologists of the Chicago School, who focused their attention on how different waves of immigrants from the European continent adapted to the American lifestyle and became increasingly included in society as a whole. For the pioneers of the assimilationist approach, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (1924), assimilation entails both acculturation and economic inclusion: the more immigrants absorb the goals and values of the host society, the more they will improve their social condition and economic position. Assimilation, i.e. losing the salient traits of original ethnic and cultural identities and becoming part of the middle class – WASP – mainstream, was seen as a normative and moral imperative, the responsibility for which fell mainly to the migrant themselves.

In the European context, the concept of assimilation was resumed in varying degrees in the first studies which addressed the growing stabilisation of immigrants throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Böning 1984; Bastenier and Dassetto 1990). Until then, immigrants were regarded essentially as *guest workers*[1]: social inclusion was considered as temporary and essentially limited to participation – always presumed to be on a temporary basis – in economic production. Issues of social and cultural identity were not relevant in this context: immigrants were not called upon to share or assimilate the predominant value and cultural system, since it was generally accepted that they were deemed to return home. Such an assumption became more and more unrealistic after the first Oil crisis in 1974: with the stop to new entries and the onset of family reunions, the challenge of integration became apparent for the first time. According to Bastenier and Dassetto (1990), family reunions and new births heralded a new set of needs, such as access to health care and education, thus eliciting increasing contact with the host society's key institutions. As a consequence, an ongoing process of *nationalization* of immigrants got under way, intended as "a process leading the immigrant to become a member and a subject of a city, in the widest sense" (Bastenier and Dassetto 1990: 17).

As is clear, in the European context integration, a notion preferred to that of assimilation, is not just an individual level process of acculturation and social mobility. A crucial role is assigned to the State in forging the sense of a binding national identity and in leading immigrants to be part of it. The immigrant has to *become a member and a subject*, or a "new citizen" according to others. The acceptance of and the identification with the body of rules and norms shaping different national identities requires State institutions to play an active role in defining specific citizenship and integration policies, as well as in removing sources of discrimination hindering equal access to social opportunities and resources.

Hence, the link between identity, social inclusion and access to the labour market has been framed differently in first US and European attempts to make sense of the challenges of immigration for host societies – firstly in America and then in Europe. Whereas in the US, an individual and group-level process of acculturation into the American way of life was assumed to lead to progressive social mobility, and thus to *straight line assimilation* (Warner and Srole 1945), in Europe more emphasis has been assigned to the role of the State in addressing possible causes of unequal distribution of social resources and in building a common citizenship identity.

[1] A partial exception is represented by immigration from colonial and ex-colonial territories; France, Great Britain and the Netherlands have always recognised the right to settle of colonial immigrants.

We will start by analysing US approaches in greater depth. It has to be said that the Chicago School did not completely neglect immigrants' cultural identities, and while considering assimilation as inevitable, according to Park (1925), this would have proceeded more smoothly if immigrants were able to proceed at their own pace and build upon their attitudes and memories. Warner and Srole (1945) believed that the level of cultural distance from the Anglosaxon mainstream and racial categorisation accounted for differences in the speed of the adaptation process.

Despite these contradictions, the assimilation perspective remained the dominant paradigm in sociological literature on immigrants' inclusion, although a confusion among the various definitions of assimilation is often noted (Gordon 1964; Hirschman 1983). Such a problem has been explicitly discussed in Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life* (1964). Gordon conceived of seven dimensions in the process of immigrants' assimilation into mainstream society. The innovative aspect of his conceptual scheme was the distinction between acculturation, that is the change of cultural patterns to those of host society, and what he termed 'structural' assimilation, by which he meant the entrance of minority groups into the cliques and institutions of the host society. "Once structural assimilation has occurred", he claimed "all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Gordon 1964: 80-81). This means in particular that a sense of peoplehood based on the host society will develop, intermarriage will increase and prejudice and discrimination will decline, if not disappear. As is clear, the theory of assimilation could not but encounter serious limits in explaining the so-called "American dilemma" (Myrdal 1944), i.e. the non assimilation of the black, Afro-American population. A contradiction that became even more apparent in the 1970s, with the emerging of the Civil Rights Movement.

Actually, in their criticism of the assimilation theory, Glazer and Moynihan (1970) note that immigrant groups have not melted together into the mainstream. On the contrary: in the political context of the city of New York, all groups seem to have some interest in keeping, developing and claiming their ethnic origin. The building of groups' identities is a political process, favoured by events and policies started off at an institutional level, supported by collective interests and guided by relations of power.

Another line of criticism is Gans' (1979) questioning of the positive relationship between acculturation and social mobility. As we shall see below, this applies particularly to second generations: their acculturation into the values and goals of the majority society is often frustrated by the perception of discrimination and being denied upward mobility.

In other words, immigrants' social identities are regarded by these authors as multidimensional and socially constructed through the complex and non linear interaction between processes of (partial) acculturation, economic integration (or marginalisation) and/or civic-political mobilisation/ activation. The need for new theoretical frameworks, which could explain the coexistence of ethnic minority cultures with adjustments to the host society, has emerged. Among these, the most popular one is the model proposed by Berry (Berry 1992, 1997). He conceptualises four distinct acculturation strategies – assimilation, integration, marginalization, segregation – derived from yes or no answers to two fundamental questions: "Is it of value to maintain one's own heritage culture?" and "Is it of value to have contacts with the larger society?". Whereas many studies have analysed the impact of acculturation strategies on psychological adaptation (mental and physical well-being) (Donà and Berry 1994), only recently has attention turned to the relation between acculturation strategies and social inclusion of immigrants into the host society.

Actually, in following such an approach, different paths of assimilation of immigrants and their offspring have been identified by contemporary US literature, highlighted by the notion of segmented assimilation advanced by Portes and Zhou (1993). The idea is that immigrants can be incorporated in different strata of the host society, either middle class or underclass, or alternatively, create their own self-supporting communities and networks, and develop their own economic niches.

As a consequence, cultural identities and community networks may represent precious resources in order to resist structural disadvantage and risks of exclusion from the labour market. According to Kwok Bun and Jin Hui (1995), ethnicity is not a given transplanted from the outside, but rather is constructed and reconstructed by immigrant groups in their continuous interaction with the host society, and is activated in order to counteract structural problems in adaptation and economic integration. In a similar vein, the hypothesis of "blocked social mobility" predicts that the greater the disadvantage and frustration perceived in terms of accessing opportunities to mainstream social mobility, the more immigrant groups will mobilise their own identity resources. Raijman and Tienda (2000) for instance, in their analysis of trajectories of adaptation of Korean and Hispanic immigrants in Chicago, point to a higher level of ethnic entrepreneurial activity in the first group, which was also the more educated one, and thus experienced greater frustration in not having access to the host country's opportunities of social mobility.

However, according to Portes and colleagues (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Stepick 1985; Portes and Manning 1986), immigrants' mobilisation of ethnicity is not just a reactive move. In the case of immigrant groups where the majority is composed of people who were already engaged in business in their country of origin, the building of an *ethnic enclave* may be a deliberate strategy of economic insertion. The Cuban minority in Miami (Portes and Jensen 1989) is a case in point: essentially composed of the professional and commercial middle class fleeing from the communist regime, this group has managed to build up a flourishing ethnic enclave not only catering to the demands of their co-nationals, as was the case in the beginning, but also answering to the demand for ethnic products from the population of Miami in general.

However, along with individual capital, social capital and network resources are also crucial in order to establish successful ethnic business activities. In the case of Cuban migration to the US, this is clearly pointed out by the second wave of refugees who arrived in the 1980 Mariel exodus and later. They were not received as warmly as their predecessors by the US Federal government, which treated them as "another Third World impoverished minority seeking to crash the doors of the nation" (Portes and Shafer 2006). And even the old-middle class Cuban population of Miami rejected them, due to the decline of Cuban's public image in the United States, which was attributed to them. Although the Cubans who arrived later also followed the entrepreneurial route, they were not successful, since they did not benefit from the opportunities and resources provided by the networks with the older exile community.

Hence, as these examples show, social mobility and economic integration do not automatically imply acculturation. On the contrary, the construction of distinct ethnic identities, supported by the action of ethnic networks, can represent an alternative strategy of insertion into the host society, either in a reactive or in a pro-active way. Taken to an extreme, immigrants living in these almost separate communities may experience internal social mobility, going from being employees to owning their own shop or firm, without the need for fluency in the language of the host country.

While agencies and immigrants' group and individual strategies appear at to be the focus of US literature, European ethnic and migration studies focus on different forms of immigrants' exclusion from the host society and on the external forces that hinder their integration (Morawska forthcoming). The British approach to ethnic business is revealing in this respect: according to the studies carried out by Jones and McEvoy (1992) and Jones and Ram (2003), Asian entrepreneurship in the UK is the product of processes of de-industrialisation and expulsion from the ranks of unskilled workers. Ethnic business and, as a consequence, the mobilisation of a distinct ethnic identity, represents a reaction to conditions of discrimination in access to the labour market and unemployment. Moreover, European researchers (Kloosterman and Rath 2001) have also stressed the role of host country institutions in favouring or, on the contrary, holding back the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurship. Along with social networks (immigrants' social capital) and structural opportunities or lack thereof, normative regulations – on a national and local level – which establish the formal conditions of access to the commercial sector also have to be taken into account. As a consequence, the relation between immigrants' social identity and access to the labour market takes

place in a context of rules and constraints which is likely to influence the degree of mobilisation of ethnic resources in entrepreneurial activities.

As mentioned above, the role of national/local institutions in shaping immigrants' identities and relations with the host society has been particularly emphasised by European academics studying migration. Many of the studies on immigrants' integration are actually studies on integration policies and on how state institutions in different countries have intervened in order to shape processes of integration and acculturation[2]. In this context, ethnicity and immigrants' ethnic identities, usually understood to be synonymous with "difference", are regarded as a challenge for the nation-state and its – imperfectly – homogeneous citizenship culture. The emphasis is on how identities are socially constructed by the majority, host country institutions, rather than on how immigrants themselves contribute to forging them.

A mediation between the different US and European approaches can be found in Putnam's (2007) recent conceptualisation of ethnic identities as the result of the interaction between 1) internal community networks and relations, the so-called *bonding social capital*, and 2) external relations with different groups in the host society, i.e. "ties with people who are unlike you in some important way" (Putnam 2007: 143), known as *bridging social capital*. According to the results of the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey carried out in the US in 2000, diversity, and by implication immigration, negatively affects social capital. Internally diverse communities such as districts in large metropolitan areas, show lower levels of both bonding and bridging social capital when compared to more homogeneous ones (rural communities and districts in small towns). In other terms, in "ethnically diverse neighbourhoods residents of all races tend to 'hunker down'" (Putnam 2007: 137). It follows that policies aimed at favouring meaningful interactions across group and ethnic lines are needed, and institutions cannot but play a crucial role in shaping a sense of shared citizenship. Yet, by looking at the experience of the integration of past waves of immigrants in the US, the relevance of ethnically defined social groups is also argued: these represent important initial steps toward immigrants' civic involvement.

Thus, immigrant communities and organisations, including religious ones, may represent the first cells of socialisation and identification in the host society, and thus be a prelude to bridging social capital rather than precluding it. Immigrant identities take shape as a mixture of both: as a consequence, public policies can play a crucial role in counteracting segregation and favouring participation in the host society.

However, this formulation is also partial at least in so far as it refers to the host country alone, neglecting the fact that immigrants' identities are also forged in relation to the other end of the migratory process, i.e. the country of origin. Transnational approaches to the study of migration have recently emphasised the need to take into account civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks, and cultural identities of immigrants extending across state/national boundaries[3]. According to Faist (2000), the intensification of globalisation offers a plurality of avenues for migrants to negotiate their identities and ways of life. As we shall see, such a perspective opens new challenging research questions, especially as far as migrant women and young people from an ethnic minority background are concerned.

2. Equality and gender. Studying the economic and social inclusion of migrant women

[2] On this point see: Morawska forthcoming.

[3] Transnationalism represents one of the most recent developments in the field of migration research in the last decade. Vertovec defines transnationalism as "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec 1999: 447), where the dynamic ties, linkages or networks can be of an economic, socio-cultural and political nature.

2.1. Preliminary methodological remarks

"The invisibility of women in international migration scholarship does not correspond to the reality of international migration. Women migrate across international boundaries at approximately the same rate as men" (DeLaet 1999: 13). Women currently represent about half of the world's migrants[4] (OECD 2001; UNRISD 2005). The INSTRAW (1994) report offers a number of reasons for the fact that women are neglected in research on international migration: the emphasis placed on human capital in migration theory, thus considering migration as motivated essentially by economic opportunity; an underestimation of women's economic activity and participation in the workforce; a general neglect of women in academic social science research; the fact that most research on migration has been carried out by men[5]; and the inadequacies in existing data on women's migration. At present there are few statistics on international migration by gender. Most sources of data from population registers and border statistics as well as population censuses (the most widely available source of data on international migration thanks to their data on births abroad) often fail to publish data on the sex of international migrants (INSTRAW 1994). Moreover, the data is uneven across countries (Zlotnick 2003) and surveys inevitably underestimate those entering in an undocumented manner or working irregularly, as well as the transient circulation patterns that women are often involved in, as we shall see below (UNRISD 2005). According to the INSTRAW report, there has been an administrative tendency to automatically classify women as dependents rather than as first migrants, and to assume that as spouses or daughters they have primarily non-economic roles. Furthermore, analyses of the motivation for and consequences of women's migration are still underdeveloped. Household surveys and longitudinal data collections can contribute to this (INSTRAW 1994).

Another methodological issue concerns the meaning of gender, which is not synonymous with sex. Sex is a static attribute and a dichotomous variable: male *versus* female. The sex role framework looks at men and women as complementary, underemphasizing and often ignoring issues of power relations and social change (Connell 1987; Stacey and Thorne 1985; Chant 1992b). On the contrary gender is not a natural but a human construction. It refers to the ways in which cultures imbue the biological difference between men and women with different social meanings shaping demarcations between male and female domains of activity, spaces, ways of dressing and so on. Gender analysis assumes that maleness and femaleness are defined in relation to each other, thus gender has a dynamic nature. Applied to the study of migration, the gender approach looks at processes and discourses involving both women and men and their relations to one another (Pessar and Mahler 2003; Erel et al. 2003; Donato et al. 2006).

The view of gender as a relational and contextual concept clearly causes problems in terms of operationalisation in quantitative sociology. Thus the gender approach in the study of migration has coalesced around qualitative, relational and eclectic methods, which has led to it being marginalized in mainstream migration studies. The disciplines currently most receptive to gender analysis are anthropology and qualitative sociology. The result is that nowadays there is a sort of distinction between scholars who analyse gender as a dichotomous (male and female) variable that can be easily included in quantitative models, and those who consider that the situational and relational character of gender is difficult to capture without qualitative methods. One of the greatest challenges of further analysis of gender in migration studies is to find ways to challenge this

[4] While many studies underline the feminilization of international migration, others assert that this is not a *new* tendency (Phizacklea 1983). However, some authors challenge this last assumption, affirming that "the fact remains that the majority of women who migrate internationally do not do so for work purposes" (Zlotnik 1995: 230) But, while this is correct on the basis of official entry data, the analysis of the gender composition of regularisation programmes shows that women constitute a significant proportion (DeLaet 1999).

[5] Repeatedly, across the 20th century, the work of female researchers who studied immigrant women and carried out gender analysis has remained separate from the sites that defined theory and value in academic studies of migration (Donato *et al.* 2006).

methodological tension and to benefit from both quantitative and qualitative methods (Donato et al. 2006).

The invisibility of women in research on international migration and/or their consideration merely as dependents (which emerges in the expressions "migrant workers and their families" or "women and children") (Boyd 1975; Morokvasic 1984; Pessar 1986; Brettell and Berjeois 1992; Erel et al. 2003), started to be challenged in the 1970s by scholars who adopted a feminist approach. Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, chapters of books, special journal issues (International Migration 1981; International Migration Review 1986 and 1984), edited volumes (e.g. Gabaccia 1992; Simon and Brettell 1986; Buijs 1993; Chant 1992b; Phizacklea 1983), and review essays (e.g. Pedraza 1991; Tienda and Booth 1991), gave a crucial contribution to the appreciation of the role played by women in international migration flows and integration processes. However, at the beginning a so-called "compensatory" (Prodolliet 1999) or "add and stir approach" prevailed, simply aimed at addressing the male bias by adding women or looking solely at women migrants and female migrations. In this context, gender was simply understood as sex (Pessar and Mahler 2003; Catarino and Morokvasic 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford 2006). Only recently has social research started to move beyond the compensatory phase.

2.2. Gender, migration and social identity. US and European approaches

Comparing American and European research, the greater number of studies specifically devoted to gender and migration in the US is evident. The reason could be that immigration studies are more institutionalized in the US than in Europe, and that they have already developed a subfield of specialized gender research. Nevertheless, as we said before, both in the US and in Europe investigations on the role of gender in migration are usually informed by the ill-conceived understanding of gender as a domain of research on women rather than on the relationships between men and women (Morawska forthcoming). Given this situation, here we shall looks at studies which regard both gender and women. As we shall see, North American and European scholars adopt approaches which rather than being contrasting, represent different versions of similar approaches. A particular attention will be devoted here below to issues of identity and social inclusion.

From a macro-sociological and structural point of view, both in Europe and the US classical theoretical approaches to the study of migrations such as the "World system theory" (Wallerstein 1974) and the "Dual labour market theory" (Piore 1979), have completely overlooked migrant women. In these perspectives, "the observed patterns of migration are not seen to be merely the result of the aggregation of individual decisions and actions but the product of objective social and spatial structures which produce the necessary conditions for labour migration" (Gos and Lindquist 1995: 324). According to the "World system theory", for instance, the push factors are identified with the consequences of the penetration of capital economy in "periphery" countries. Dissenting from this literature that treats the major trends in capitalist development as gender-neutral, Sassen (1984, 2002, 2003) argues that the growing presence of women in a variety of cross-border circuits is for the most part a consequence of broader structural conditions linked to global capitalism. In her view, globalization has impacted on gender-linked migration, putting pressure on women and their families and, at the same time, creating conditions for the emergence of alternative migration circuits. In developing countries, the closure of a large number of firms in traditional sectors oriented towards the local and national markets, the increasing role of foreign firms and export industries, the diminishing opportunities for male employment and the decreasing revenues from the government, are dealt with by the families in terms of alternative survival strategies, that see migrant women as key actors. On the other hand, the growth of the service industry in developed countries and the "global cities", which are strategic sites for specialized services, financing and management of global economy processes, produce an increasing demand for female labour in segments of core economies which are de-skilled, subcontracted and frequently non-unionised, attracting female migratory inflows (Fernandez-Kelly 1985; Ong 1993; Sassen 2002, 2003).

According to the dual labour market theory, on the other hand, women in developed countries now have better paid, steady and more prestigious occupations, and are leaving low-qualified segments of the labour market which are then occupied by migrant women coming from less developed countries.

As a consequence of the global restructuring of social reproduction functions, the structuralist approach has gained momentum. Most recent (British and North American) research underlines a new international division of labour according to which housework and care-giving are performed by migrant women (Andall 2000; Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Parrenas 2001; Truong 1996; Friese 1995). According to these authors, the growing demand for domestic workers, care workers and child-minders is due to the increasing participation of women in the labour market and to the lack of a review of traditional gender roles in the family. The employment of migrant women for household duties is seen as a new form of "submission" - since domestic and care work is traditionally seen as servile work – (Ehrenreich 2003) and of "expropriation" of affective resources, withdrawn from parents and children left in the country of origin in favour of babies and elderly people in developed countries, representing a new form of imperialism (Hochschild 2003).

From this a perspective, some academics, especially in the English-speaking world, have analysed the interactions between class, race and gender, and assert that these three variables contribute to form a triple disadvantage for female migrants (Phizacklea 1983; Andall 2000; Anderson 2000). A fundamental contribution to this shift in the debate came from the interventions of black and ethnic minority feminists in the US and UK in the 1980s, who protested against the tendency of feminist theory to universalise the experiences of white women living in developed countries (Phizacklea 1983; Andall 2003b).

While the structuralist approach helps to place female migration in a wider political and economical framework, it also has its limits, especially as far as the conceptualisation of the social identity of women involved in international migration processes is concerned. The macro-structuralist perspectives have neglected individual women and their "agency", reducing their social status and identity to the position held in the labour market. In other words, social identity is forged by the position of subalternity that migrant women experience in the labour market. Race and ethnicity are regarded as social markers that may exacerbate their already disadvantaged position. The actions of the women themselves, as well as the role played by community/group relations in forging different identities, are completely neglected.

The structuralist approach is currently being challenged by another perspective, developed both in the US and in Europe from the 1980s, thanks mainly to female academics of ethnic origin. The focus of migration studies began to shift to the role of intermediary institutions: social networks including households, friends and community ties are highlighted as crucial to understanding migrant women's complex social identities, patterns of settlement and access to the labour market, as well as relations with their home countries. This perspective assumes that migrant women's roles in the private and informal spheres, such as the household and the ethnic community, may be more important to them than the ones played in the labour market as underpaid workers (Werbner 1993). In other words, this approach tries to point out the actual criteria these women refer to in order to evaluate their social position and looks at social networks and circuits that transmit material and symbolic resources, including the ones established between the sending and receiving countries. This approach may however neglect context constraints. Nevertheless, academics who focus on individuals and networks are now increasingly looking the structural context, while scholars who adopt mainly a structuralist approach are devoting increasing attention to individual actions.

Adopting this meso-level approach, a number of research studies have focused on exchanges within ethnic communities. Boulahbel-Villac (1990), for instance, pointed out that the unemployment rate among Algerian women does not represent their real economic position and status. If men are supposed to provide for the basic needs of the family, women are traditionally involved in informal trade exchanges within the community, thus contributing to the overall well being of the family and to the acquisition of luxury goods. Some of these women take advantage of

female social networks between France and Algeria in order to bring home commodities which symbolise the French lifestyle (clothes, perfume, etc.). Werbner (1993) showed that Pakistani women in Manchester play the role of agent of social prestige, transmitting the honour and the reputation of their own family group through the control of gift exchanges on the occasion of ceremonies and relevant family events. Thus, the social role of migrant women cannot be identified just by looking at their position in the labour market, since traditional cultural identities and community social relations can play an important role in shaping the social role of migrant women and their status in the immigration context.

Other studies have focused on family relations. These studies show that the household "has its own political economy, in which access to power and other valued resources is distributed along gender and generational lines" (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991: 202; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Some authors, for instance, underline the fact that the participation of Mexican and Central American women in the labour market in the United States has a relevant impact on marital roles, transforming patriarchal household relations: men lose some of their authority while wives gain power in household decisions and activities[6] (Pedraza 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). This relative change in power after migration accounts for women's preference for permanent settlement in the host country and men's desire for return migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Pessar 1986). On the other hand, migrant women can "surrender" gained autonomy and resources to preserve traditional, patriarchal notions of men and women: increased family economic power may strengthen their allegiance to family patriarchy. For instance, Fernàndez-Kelly and Garcia (1990) investigated Mexican and Cuban women's evaluation of their participation in the labour market. Though Mexican women, often single mothers after being abandoned by their husbands, work for subsistence reasons, while Cuban women work in order to increase the family's upward mobility, both Mexican and Cuban women attribute the same meaning to work and gender roles. Work represents a way to improve the family's financial condition, but gender division of roles is not challenged and the option of being a housewife, and leaving the husband in the role of breadwinner is something which is viewed in a positive light. Then, while migration and participation in the labour market usually allow women to gain power inside the household, they do not necessarily change gender roles and identities, and do not modify their position inside the family.

However, according to some scholars, migrant families have not been adequately studied and investigated, at least in Europe. Kofman (2004) points out four different reasons for this lack of evaluation: the influence of economic theory; the assumption that the transactions concerning migration process occur mainly between the individual and the host state; the dichotomy between economic and social aspects, according to which the reasons for migration are economic; the perception of family migration as a secondary type of immigration.

Another approach in studying contemporary female migration is the transnational perspective, mainly developed by American scholars (Glick Schiller et al. 1992, 1994, 1995; Kyle 2001; Portes 1996, 1997, 1999, 2001; Smith and Guanizo 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 2000; Vertovec 1999). Transnationalism is "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Glick Schiller et al. 1994: 6). Roberts, Frank and Lozano-Ascensio (1999) argue that the transnational approach emerged prevalently as a critique of the structural approach, with the attempt to introduce the actor back into theoretical migration discussions.

With regards to gender, although the literature underlines the relevance of transnational social networks, since they provide important resources and connections, most research ignores the gender-based origins and character of these networks (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003). Transnationalism has also been criticised for focussing on the dimension of national belonging and glossing over other affiliations and differentiations, such as gender and class (Morokvasic 2003; Pessar and Mahler 2003).

[6] However, according to Tienda and Booth (1991), participation in the workforce does not automatically ensure lesser in-family inequality; for some women it may increase the burden they must carry (Simon and Brettell 1986).

Pessar and Mahler (2003), reviewing the US literature on the negotiation of gender roles across international borders, identified four recurring research themes. Firstly, cross-border communications, particularly between spouses, by means of phone calls or courier services and recorded cassettes (Mahler 2001; Richman 2002). Second, negotiating gender-based division of work between migrants and non-migrants (Mahler 1999; Kyle 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Ong 1993). Third, negotiating whether to stay abroad or return home[7]. Fourth, gender-based division of work when migrants return home, highlighting the recurring theme of the reimposition or reinforcement of patriarchy (Bernal 1997; Goldring 1996; Guarnizo 1997; Mahler 1999; Pessar 2001). According to these studies, through transnational relations, women's identities and roles can change even if they do not migrate but remain in their home country, while relatives, especially husbands, go abroad. On the other hand, migrant women's level of involvement in transnational networks can influence their sense of belonging to the host country: since they usually have a more marginal position than men in these networks, they tend to prefer permanent resettlement abroad and tend to invest more in the host country.

Furthermore, several studies have focused on mothers who cross borders, leaving their children in the country of origin, so-called "transnational motherhood" and "transnational families", underlining the limits and the social costs of transnational practices. For instance, many women from Central America migrate to the United States leaving their children in their country of origin, in the care of grandmothers, other female kin or paid caregivers (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). This phenomenon seems to be occasioned by the live-in domestic work undertaken in the host country, which is not easy to match with the daily care needs of the migrant woman's own family (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). However, this care does not totally disappear: transnational mothers organise caring circuits to manage separation across time and space (Man 1997; Waters 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Parrenas 2001). Moreover, they do not interpret the role of breadwinner as being in opposition to that of mother; rather, they tend to incorporate their new role of breadwinner working abroad into their definition of good motherhood (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Cranford 2006). So the identity of women as mothers can also be affected by migration.

Leaving the North American context, and adapting the transnational perspective to the different contexts on the other side of Atlantic, European scholars have produced several related conceptualizations (Morokvasic 2003; Catarino and Morokvasic 2005). Especially in France, academics have introduced the notions of circulation, a-topia and extraterritory (Badie 1996; Diminescu and Lagrave 2000; Kastoryano 1997, 2000; Ma Mung 1996, 1999; Tarrius 1992). According to Morokvasic (2003), these concepts attempt to underline a phenomenon that the transnational approach often neglects: "in the most often used conceptualisation of transnational migration the focus has indeed been on immigrants *settled* in countries other than their country of origin, but who for different reasons lead transnational lives" (Morokvasic 2003: 117; Kivisto 2001). In other words, the empirical work deals with immigrants who settled in destination countries and, from there, developed transnational networks and spaces[8]. This tendency to focus on settled immigrants leads us to neglect those who "settle within the mobility" and who "migrate in order to remain in their place of residence" (Morokvasic 1992, 1999).

Relating to female migrants, European research has focused mainly on circular cross-border mobility, studied especially with qualitative methods. This type of mobility is not always classified as migration in official statistics (Morokvasic 2003). Nevertheless, the number of people who live

[7] With regards to this issue, several studies (Chavez 1994; Goldring 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Kibria 1993; Pessar 2001) underline that women are more likely to develop strategies consistent with long-term or permanent resettlement abroad, while men pursue transnational strategies that link them more closely to their homelands and to a permanent return; for instance, women have a more marginal role than men in transnational political activities and, as a consequence of this exclusion, tend to pursue political rights within institutions of the United States and prefer to stay there, while men wish to return to their home country (Goldring 2001).

[8] Kivisto (2001) asserts that transnationalism is a complement, a subset of assimilation theory, rather than an alternative to it.

in a state of "permanent mobility" is increasing, leading some scholars to speak of a "culture of mobility" or a "culture of migration" (Simon 1995; Tarrius 1992)[9]. In Europe, the shuttle movement of women increased greatly after 1989. Morokvasic (2003) investigated "shuttle migrants" who move from and within Central Eastern Europe for the purposes of work and trade: the high percentage of women is typical of post-communist movements because they were the first ones to lose their jobs in the process of post-communist economic restructuring. Hess and Lenz (2001) show that many of them are able to work in Germany as domestic and care workers by moving back and forth using the legal tourist visa for three months. In this way they try to optimise the opportunities and minimise the obstacles attached to their reproductive and productive work. It is interesting to notice that, while in the case of men commuting is determined by the seasonal nature of the jobs in construction and agriculture and by the needs of their employers, while for women commuting is a way of coping with care needs of family members left behind in the country of origin[10] (Morokvasic 2003). Then, similar types of migration can be determined by different reasons and assume different meanings according to different gender-related identities and roles inside the household.

Suitcase trading is another activity where "shuttle migrant" women predominate (Iglicka 1999; Irek 1998; Karamustafa 2001; Peraldi 2001; Schmoll 2005). As Irek (1998) pointed out, it is believed that women are more successful than men in deflecting attention at border controls, and that customers officers are more lenient with women than with men. This migration also (and above all) concerns women from North Africa and is not in response to any labour demand in Europe. Rather, these women capitalise on migration opportunities by investing in or establishing their own businesses in the country of origin (Catarino and Morokvasic 2005). Once again, our perception of women's social roles and identities can change if we look at the informal activities they undertake, especially as far as women from Muslim countries are concerned, whose rate of participation in the formal labour market is usually low compared to that of women from other geographical areas.

Finally, shuttle movements may also involve occasional prostitution (Morokvasic 2003; Peraldi 2001). For some women week-end prostitution enables them to keep their jobs at home and double or triple their salaries in just one trip (Morawska 2000). Prostitution can be also considered a quick way of accumulating seed capital for a project at home (Karamustafa 2001) or a survival strategy for the household (Sidén 2002). Of course this "circular prostitution" may involve also trafficked women: rotation schemes across European borders and the three month stay permitted on a tourist visa imply a period of stay short enough to prevent exploited women from establishing and keeping long term connections with the outside world (Morokvasic 2003; Sidén 2002).

3. The case of second generations. Integration?

3.1. Preliminary methodological remarks

The children of international migrants are often called "second generation" migrants, although they are not migrants themselves. It is clear that the definition of "immigrant", in its traditional meaning of "person in movement, seeking work, in one or other country" is not fully applicable either to minors joining their parents or children born in the host country. This is why, especially in the French context, the expression '*jeunes issus de l'immigration*' is preferred. In the UK, on the other hand, scholars prefer the label "ethnic minority youth", which emphasises the settlement in the country of different cultural and ethnic groups such as Indian, Pakistani, Caribbean etc.

[9] The pioneering research by Tarrius (1992) in France inspired several researchers in francophone world and in Europe, but has a limited impact on Anglo-Saxon scholarship because of the language his work was published in.

[10] This difference is confirmed also by Guida Man (1997) and Janet Salaf (2000) in their observation of Hong Kong-Canada transnational mobility.

Figure 1. Second generation youth: Rumbaut (1994) classification

	Age at migration			
Birthplace	14-18	Age 6-14	Age 3 - 6	< 3
Abroad	Generation 1.25	Generation 1.5	Generation 1.75	Generation 2.0
Immigration country	Generation 2.0			

Figure 1 outlines the definitions used in literature to identify the various generations of minors. Two dimensions are crucial: the place of birth and the age of arrival in the host country. Generally, the distinction between the first and the second generation is given by birthplace: those born in the new adopted country belong to the second generation. Those who left their home country before the age of 3 are also currently included in this category.

Considering the context of the recent new European receiving countries (Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal), we can rarely speak about a second generation, but we need to focus the attention on what Rumbaut (1994) calls generation «1.5». The majority of foreign minors in these countries actually arrived for family reunion, either *de facto* or *de jure*. The discriminating variable is the age of migration. Minors who experience primary socialisation in the former country and migrate before reaching school age are presumably comparable to the second generation. Actually, they are often defined as such (Manco 1999). Those who arrive while of school-age, and who have been already socialised, at least in part, in the country of origin, can be regarded as being in the middle of a path – neither linear nor impervious – that leads from parents to peers, either native or from the same country of origin, but born in the adopted country (Zhou 1997).

The differences in the ways countries collect data on the immigrant population clearly also affects the data available on second generations and youth of a migrant background. These differences are linked to the different legislative frameworks that regulate access to host country citizenship. In France, for example, the greater ease with which immigrants can acquire citizenship implies that data on regular foreigners does not reflect the current size of the total population with a foreign background living in the country. In Germany, on the other hand, where citizenship is more difficult to obtain, even second and third generations born in the country are likely to be included in foreign population statistics. Given these differences in the statistical significance of second generations in different European countries, only a rough estimate of their number is possible. The first indicator is the share of foreign nationals born in EU countries in relation to all residents of a particular nationality, as most second generation migrants still hold their parents' citizenship. A second indicator is the quota of 15-year-old school pupils who were born abroad, a number which, especially in European countries which are only recently experiencing immigration, is high. However, according to the Eurydice (2004) survey report, data on the age structure of the foreign population cannot but be of the utmost relevance in order "to provide some insight into the challenges that international migration may represent for education systems in the countries affected by it" (Eurydice 2004: 26).

3.2. The study of second generations. US and European perspectives

The study of second generations is a crucial issue both in contemporary US and European research on immigrants' integration. Obviously, as already pointed out in the first paragraph, the history of the US as a country of immigration accounts for a far earlier development and consolidation of literature on the social inclusion and adjustment of the children of various immigration waves. Approaches and concepts elaborated in the American context have clearly influenced the later European debate. Below we will highlight similarities and differences in the contemporary debate on both sides of the Atlantic. Particular attention will be paid to how different research traditions have framed and treated the complex relation between the identity and social inclusion of young immigrants.

As mentioned above, the assimilation theory elaborated in the 1920s by the Chicago School, was based on the assumption that with the passing of the generations, immigrants would melt into the host society and lose their original cultural and ethnic identities. However, the presumed straight-line assimilation of second generations, i.e. the positive relationship between acculturation and social inclusion, is questioned by Gans' (1992, 1996) analysis of the situation of post-1965 second generations of immigrants[11]. He points out that the achievement of a high level of acculturation to the host society does not necessarily entail social mobility. On the contrary: the identification with native youngsters, and thus the sharing of similar attitudes and aspirations in terms of careers and social status, is often frustrated by discrimination in access to much sought-after professions and social positions. Moreover, second generations do not share the same goals as their parents, i.e. to save as much money as possible to send back home, and they are not keen to take up the same unqualified and socially depreciated jobs. Identification with illegal and marginal groups may provide an alternative source of social recognition, especially for adolescents looking for acceptance into their peer groups.

Hence, according to Gans (1992, 1996), the social identity of second generations is likely to be negatively affected by structural conditions of economic disadvantage (lower social status of their families, urban segregation etc.) and discrimination (in access to schools, jobs etc.). As we shall see below, the relevance of structural variables in accounting for migrant youths' social identities has been particularly emphasised in the European debate, while in the US greater attention has been devoted to individual *agency* in shaping different patterns and strategies of integration.

In actual fact, according to Portes, McLeod and Parker (1978), the failure of the assimilationist paradigm suggests that "immigrants are a too distinct social category to be entirely subsumed under that of native-born ethnic Americans. The problems, situations and orientations of newly arrived immigrants represent a unique area of concern, in contrast to the case of ethnic minorities, they are decisively influenced not only by events in the US" (Portes *et al.* 1978: 242). Building on this assumption, Portes and Zhou (1993) have argued that the children of post-1965 immigrants are assimilating into different segments of society, with diverging attitudes towards schooling and different socioeconomic outcomes. They identify three groups:

1) those, who assimilate into the white middle class as per *straight-line assimilation*;
2) those, who are able to draw upon strong ethnic communities and develop strong ethnic attachments along with a positive attitude toward schooling and integration in the host society, the so called *segmented assimilation*;
3) those who settle among discriminated native-born minority groups in deprived neighbourhoods and experience processes of *downward assimilation*.

The first two categories are able to achieve upward mobility while the third one tends to adopt a negative attitude towards schooling and remain trapped in urban poverty. This last group brings to mind the theory of ethnic competition. According to this theory, individuals choose to resist acculturation, and instead maintain their separate ethnic identities, behaviours, beliefs, practices and values. This theory is also used by Portes and his collaborators (Portes and Bach 1985; Suarez Orozco and Suarez Orozco 1995; Lopez and Stanton Salazar 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) in their studies on Latinos. In fact, empirical research (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993) carried out on this group suggests that Latinos do not acculturate in the same manner as previous European immigrant groups (Rumbaut 1994). Latinos of all generations feel that they are perceived as "different" from mainstream White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. They generally live in ethnic neighbourhoods, where everybody speaks Spanish, share the same values and cultural norms and maintain strong ties with their home countries. In this context, the second generations are forced to be "Latinos" with few options to build their identities in a different ways.

On the other hand, a number of studies[12] has confirmed the hypothesis of the segmented assimilation theory across various immigrant groups: according to this theory, rapid integration and

[11] While in the period 1880-1920 immigrants in the US were mostly white and European, after the legislative reforms of 1965 the majority of newcomers were Asians and Latin-Americans.

acceptance into the American mainstream represent just one possible alternative. Alternative paths of adaptation are possible, depending on numerous factors. The most decisive of these are: 1) the history of the first generation of the considered group; 2) the level of acculturation among parents and children; 3) the difficulties, both economic and cultural, faced by second generation youth in their quest for successful adaptation; 4) the family and community resources available for tackling these difficulties. However, in European literature on immigrants' integration, comparative studies offer only weak support of segmented assimilation into European host societies (Vermeulen and Perlmann 2000).

Hence, family networks and social capital are among the factors to be considered when analysing second generations' identity (Zhou 1997, 2001). The development and experiences of immigrant children can not be understood without considering the family. Family structures and dynamics are key factors that are likely to have an impact on children's well-being and include such considerations as whether the family unit is headed by one parent or two, how many members of the family work, the role of older siblings in helping younger children, children's roles in serving as a useful link between their parents and the host society (especially as translators).

According to some studies on migrant families in the American context (Schuck 1998; Fix et al. 2001), families from diverse backgrounds value and support their children's education differently. Variables such as social class, time of immigration, English and native language proficiency, level of education and area of residence are likely to have an important influence on the family's attitudes toward their children's education and acculturation. Family social capital is another crucial variable. The embeddedness in ethnic communities can have positive effects on the academic performance of migrant children. On the other hand, ethnic communities can also have a negative impact, for example when families or the ethnic group expect that children will help in family business activities instead of completing higher education. The role of the family social capital can be ambiguous, in the latter case favouring a process of "downward assimilation" (Portes 1996).

Research into assimilation of second generations has also been carried out by Farley and Alba (2002), who undertook a survey on a sample of 16,000 second generation youngsters. The results point out significant differences among various ethnic groups: while Asians show a high level of assimilation, on the contrary Mexicans and Porto Ricans lag behind. According to their analysis, the crucial variable is represented by parents' level of education, which is considerably higher among Asians than Latin Americans. In other words, the family background culture does not have a positive impact as such, and the quality of the cultural background also has to be taken into account (Portes and McLeod 1996; Schuck 1998).

As mentioned above, the relevance of structural factors in accounting for second generations' social integration and acculturation has been particularly emphasised in Europe, where researchers have been particularly concerned with the role played by host country institutions, such as the school system and the labour market (Gilborn and Gipps 1996; Gilborn and Safia Mirza 2000). According to Rea, Wrench and Ouali (1999), the perception of being discriminated against accounts for the negative attitudes of second and third generations towards education and schooling in many European countries. According to French researchers like Touraine (1991) and Roy (1991), the dissociation between acculturation in the French value system and socio-economic exclusion is at the basis of foreign youths' re-discovery or re-invention of religious and ethnic identities. By defining themselves "Muslims" or "Arabs", young Algerians living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods create an alternative, positively evaluated identity, opposing the host society that excludes them from equal participation and access to social mobility.

In a similar fashion, in the UK the emergence of groups or individuals fascinated by religious ideologies has been regarded as a reaction to prejudices, discriminations and differential treatment that the society in which they were born and grown up reserves for them: lower-paid jobs, poor housing in suburban areas, discrimination in schooling and the labour market (Modood 2004;

[12] See Portes 1984, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993 and the study carried out by Portes and Rumbaut (2001), based on data drawn from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS).

Leiken 2005). In this context, young people react to unequal treatment and, in many cases, also to the challenge of pluralism and secularism in Europe, by organising themselves around a common religious identity and reinforcing their ethnic identities.

Similarly, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (2000) in their study on the psychological acculturation and adaptation of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland found that the less the adolescents perceived discrimination, the more they were oriented toward integration and the better Finnish language skills they had.

The role played by institutions in integrating or in excluding second generations has been analysed in-depth by the EFFNATIS project. This considered the three traditional countries of immigration in Europe, i.e. France, Germany and the UK, pointing out different institutional mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of the children of international immigrants (CIM), as pointed out in the table below.

Table 1. Results of the study on the integration of the children of international migrants (CIM). Comparison between three countries.

France has comparative strengths in the expansion of education, in acculturation and in identification, but shows weaknesses in vocational training and access to employment. This means that the assimilationist, universalist French mode of integration with open citizenship policies seems to have produced structural integration in the education system with rather strong acculturative and identificational effects on CIM. Problems in vocational training and employment of CIM in France are apparently a function of general system properties rather than of a specific mode of immigrant integration. Housing segregation on the other hand – probably the most serious problem of structural integration – concerns only the immigrants and their descendants.	**Germany** has comparative strengths in vocational training and access to employment of CIM, but weaknesses in legal and identificational integration. An ambiguous policy seems to have produced ambiguous results. The German mode of integration that has affected the CIM in the sample was characterised on the one hand by open policies in relation to the core institutions of the modern welfare state but on the other hand by the restrictive measures of an "Ausländerpolitik" that did not want to recognize the realities of an immigration situation and did not invite the "foreigners" to naturalize and to identify with their country of residence.	In **Great Britain** there are tendencies of ethnic preferences of CIM in the areas of social integration (friendships, marriage partners) and in cultural integration (values, tastes). Patterns of ethnic inequality can be identified in access to vocational training and employment of CIM. Housing segregation of ethnic minorities is quite distinct. At the same time, ethnic minorities display a high degree of identification with Britain. The British ethnic minority integration policy seems to have reproduced ethnic minority structures.

Source: Quotation from the Executive Summary of the EFFNATIS final report. Online at: http://web.uni-bamberg.de/projekte/effnatis/pgitps.htm.

However, these institutional level studies do not directly investigate how institutional variables influence processes of identity building of second generations and ethnic minority youth. On the other hand, other researchers have attempted to explore discrimination and racial/ethnic prejudice in greater depth.

As already mentioned above, assertion of ethnicity can often represent a reactive move to tackle discrimination. Yet, according to Berry's studies on acculturation (1994, 1999), the experience of exclusion is just one side of the story. In-group relations also have to be taken into account. By considering both the out-group and in-group side, and following an approach focused on individual agency at least in part similar to that prevailing in the US context, Berry (1999) points out four acculturation strategies that can be adopted by the children of immigrants in order to answer two crucial questions in their identity building process: 1) is it worth enforcing one's cultural identity? and 2) is it worth developing relationships with other groups?

Figure 2. Berry's strategies of acculturation

		Maintain cultural identity

Maintain relationship with other group		+	-
	+	Integration	Assimilation
	-	Separation	Marginalisation

Source: Berry 1994, 1999.

This model identifies four specific attitudes towards acculturation, from separation (preference for maintaining one's own ethnic identity) to integration (identification with the majority group). These are flexible, non-preset attitudes, that can be identified by various indicators: i.e. presence of a strong ethnic community, the family's socio-economic background, the migratory biography. In other terms, the individual is likely to switch from one identity to the other, according to the different contexts he or she faces, and the different roles he/she is required to perform. Social psychologists call this kind of process "alternating biculturalism" (Phinney and Devich-Navarro 1997).

Across-culture integration was found to be the preferred strategy of acculturation and was more often associated with high levels of psychological adjustment and achievements (e.g. Phalet and Hagendorn 1996; Van de Vijver et al. 1999). The bidimensional model of acculturation allows for a distinction between private and communal or public contexts of acculturation, a distinction that was not present in the classical, segmented models of acculturation. Phalet, Lotringen and Entzinger (2000) found that Dutch migrant youths preferred strategies that favoured cultural maintenance in the private domain (at home), and privileged contacts with Dutch cultures outside the home. Similarly, Turkish-Dutch people chose integration in the public domain and separation in private domains (Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver 2003). Yet, since second generation immigrants have not experienced heritage culture directly but through their parents and others, the process of acculturation may affect parents and children in a different way. The discrepancies between parents and children in their attitudes toward the host culture and their acceptance of the host culture's values can be a source of potential conflict within immigrant families (Pfafferott and Brown 2006) and might affect adolescents' psychological well-being. Pawliuk and colleagues (1996) found that the majority of immigrant children in their sample were classified as integrated and, though in a lower percentage, assimilated, whereas their parents were much more likely to be separated.

As is clear, both US and European approaches to the study of second generations and ethnic minority youth appear at least in part to concur in a positive evaluation of maintaining – at least in part – some features of the culture of origin. In Putnam's terms (2007), this may represent a *bonding social capital* upon which to build more secure and positive relations with the host society, i.e. the crucial *bridging social capital*. However, such an approach has the limit of taking only the host society as the reference point for second generations' processes of identity building. Community relations are regarded as relevant insofar as they sustain and reinforce processes of acculturation and social mobility into the country of residence. Yet, immigrants and their children may have multiple societal frames of reference sustaining their identities and attitudes towards integration.

In this sense, the literature on transnationalism (see the first paragraph) puts other important elements into the debate on the social identity of second generations. As mentioned in the first paragraph, transnationalism challenges the traditional host/home country opposition. For migrants working and living in transnational spaces, the social world extends well beyond the national borders in which old forms of adaptation were expected to take place. As for second generations, a key research theme is that of understanding if and to what extent the maintenance of ties with the country of origin may provide an alternative to cope with the marginalisation and exclusion that their community experiences in the host society (Kasinitz et al. 2002; Vickerman 2002). In actual fact, in a transnational perspective, young people are not forced to assimilate into the new national context, but they might well become bilingual and maintain interactions with the parental homeland to engage in transnational practices (Portes 2003; Schiller et al. 1992).

Research findings (Beale-Spencer and Harpalani 2001; Hernandez and Torre Saillant 1996) show that while the second generation usually grows up in a transnational family context, yet this does not necessarily imply that they will adopt a transnational identity. In this regard, data from two large-scale studies, CILS and the Immigrant Second Generation in Metropolitan New York, suggest that members of the second generation from Spanish-speaking countries are more likely than Asians to be fluently bilingual (Kasinitz et al. 2002). Transnational attitudes are likely to assume different meanings (from strong ties to just emotional or symbolic reference to the homeland), depending on the socioeconomic status of the ethnic group, on its level of integration in the host society and internal cohesiveness.

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SECOND PART – National focus studies

1 – FRANCE

1.1. Introduction. Basic data on the development of the immigrant population and ethnic minorities in the country

France is the oldest immigration country in Europe and has been concerned with mass immigration since the mid-1850's (Noiriel 1988, see also tab.1). Different migratory waves have succeeded one another: first Germans, then Belgians and Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, then Italians. In the first half of the 20th century, Italian immigration continued and Polish immigration increased. After World War 2, the demands of the reconstruction, as well as the economic boom, occasioned a considerable labour force. This led to the development of shantytowns (*bidonvilles*) in the suburbs. Spain and North Africa became the most important sending countries. Then, from the 1960's onwards, immigrants' countries of origin diversified: Spain, Algeria and Morocco, but also Portugal, Tunisia, Southern Eastern Asia, Turkey, Western Africa and China became the most important sending regions. As observed by Pierre Milza, only part of these different migratory flows settled in France. The turn-over of the immigrant population was high and most of the migrants returned to their place of origin after having spent a certain amount of time in France (Milza 1985). During the last 30 years, the increase of immigrant population (see tab. 2) in France has been low as a result of the high restrictions on entries of migrant workers that have been imposed since 1973. France had 4 million immigrants in the 1982 census and 4,310,000 in 1999. This growth is mainly due to family reunions, though new groups also arrived in these years.

The long history of immigrant settlement in France explains why the issue of social and economic integration of immigrants and their descendents is not recent, as it is for instance in the so-called "new immigration countries" (i.e. Southern European countries). Indeed immigration flows have not only contributed to population increase but also transformed the economic, political and cultural structures of society (Simon 2003).

However, unlike the United States, France has problems seeing itself as an immigration country (Noiriel 1988; Rea and Tripier 2003). This results from the influence of the universalistic political and normative pattern of integration - the so-called "modèle républicain d'intégration" - which is based on the idea that the individual and not the group must be included into the nation (Schnapper 2003). The "code de la nationalité", for instance, reflects French assimilation policy by encouraging naturalization and automatically granting the citizenship to children of foreigners born in France when they reach the age of 18 (Simon 2003). This leads to a number of taboos regarding immigrants' experience and causes problems in terms of approaching both sexual and ethnic minorities and in recognising cultural diversity (Wievorka 1996).

As regards French research agenda and policies on identity and social inclusion, the consequences of the French republican model are the following:

- difficulties in dealing with minorities (sexual, ethnic, religious…) in public debate and policies (Vieworka 1996; Schiff 2003). In France, any identity claim in the public sphere is object of condemnation (Amiraux and Simon 2006). The whole debate that has developed around the veil issue is illustrative of this situation (Kastoryano, 2006). Identity is considered as part of the private realm. Later we shall look at the consequences of this refusal to take minorities into consideration from the perspective of housing, education and labour access policies.

- the difficulty of integrating minorities into statistics and thus of studying their integration. Until recently France had no data about the second generation of immigrants. National data refers only to country of birth (tab.2) and nationality (tab.3). Thus, people from a foreign background are not taken into consideration.

Table 1.1. French and Foreign Population (1921-1999)

Year of the census	Population (thousands)	French by birth (%)	French by acquisition (%)	Foreigners (%)
1921	38,798	95.4	0.7	3.9
1926	40,228	93.4	0.6	6.0
1931	41,228	92.5	0.9	6.6
1936	41,183	93.4	1.3	5.3
1946	39,848	93.5	2.1	4.4
1954	42,781	93.4	2.5	4.1
1962	46,459	92.6	2.8	4.7
1968	49,655	92.1	2.7	5.3
1975	52,599	90.8	2.6	6.5
1982	54,296	90.5	2.6	6.8
1990	56,652	90.5	3.1	6.3
1999	58,521	90.4	4.0	5.6

Source : Population Censuses

Table 1.2. Immigrants in France per country of birth

	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1999	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	Total
Europe	*78.7*	*76.4*	*67.2*	*57.3*	*50.4*	*44.9*	*1,934,144*
Spain	18.0	21.0	15.2	11.7	9.5	7.3	316,232
Italy	31.8	23.9	17.2	14.1	11.6	8.8	378,649
Portugal	2.0	8.8	16.9	15.8	14.4	13.3	571,874
Poland	9.5	6.7	4.8	3.9	3.4	2.3	98,571
Other Europe	17.5	16.1	13.1	11.7	11.4	13.2	568,818
Africa	*14.9*	*19.9*	*28.0*	*33.2*	*35.9*	*39.3*	*1,691,562*
Algeria	11.6	11.7	14.3	14.8	13.3	13.3	574,208
Morocco	1.1	3.3	6.6	9.1	11.0	12.1	522,504
Tunisia	1.5	3.5	4.7	5.0	5.0	4.7	201,561
Other Africa	0.7	1.4	2.4	4.3	6.6	9.1	393,289
Asia	*2.4*	*2.5*	*3.6*	*8.0*	*11.4*	*12.8*	*549,994*
Turkey	1.4	1.3	1.9	3.0	4.0	4.0	174,160
Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam	0.4	0.6	0.7	3.0	3.7	3.7	159,750
Other Asia	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.9	3.6	5.0	216,084
America, Oceania	*3.2*	*1.1*	*1.3*	*1.6*	*2.3*	*3.0*	*130,394*
Unknown	*0.8*	*0.1*	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Population Censuses, 1962-1999

Table 1.3. Population per Nationality

French by birth	52,902,209
French by acquisition	2,355,293
Spanish	161,762
Italian	201,670
Portuguese	553,663
Other EU	278,403
Algeria	477,482
Morocco	504,096
Tunisia	154,356
Turkey	208,049
Other	723,705
Total	58,520,688

*Source:*Population Census, 1999

Note: One has to observe that, due to the relative ease in obtaining French citizenship the composition of the foreign population in France changes very quickly, so that the most significant foreign group often corresponds to the most recent immigration wave (in this case the Portuguese and Moroccan population is numerically more important than the Algerian one because they correspond to much more recent waves of immigration).

Main studies on immigration flows and the situation of immigrants in France

- Bernard, P. (1998) *Immigration. Les Enjeux de l'Intégration*. Paris: Le monde Marabout.
- Dewitte, P. (ed.) (1999) *Immigration et Intégration. L'Etat des Savoirs*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Noiriel, G. (1988) *Le Creuset Français. Histoire de l'Immigration XIX-XX Siècle.* Paris : Seuil.
- Tribalat, M. (1995) *Faire France. Une Grande Enquête sur les Immigrés et Leurs Enfants.* Paris: La découverte.
- Wievorka, M. (1996) *Une Société Fragmentée? Le Multiculturalisme en Débats.* Paris: La Découverte

Main data sources on the migrant and foreign population in France

- **INSEE** (National Statistics Institute) that is in charge of the **census** and of producing data on population and employment in France and **INED** (National Demographic Institute) that produces **surveys** on the situation of migrants/persons of migrant origins in France.
- INED is at present realising a survey based on a large sample (around 20,000 people) in order to investigate the impact of the origin of people in access to a variety of social resources (employment, leisure, language and education, housing, public services, citizenship…).
- One of the major sources for studying second generations of immigrants in France is the INED survey "Enquête Histoire Familiale" (family history survey) conducted in 1999 and based on 380 000 individuals which analyses the position of second generations of Turkish, Moroccan and Portuguese origin.
- Another important source for studying women's social mobility is INED "Enquête Mobilité Géographique et Insertion Sociale des Immigrées" (MGSI), conducted with the help of INSEE.

Other important national sources are:

- the Annual Report of the "Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les discriminations" (www.halde.fr)

- "Enquête TIES": The Integration of the European Second generation research project (starting now, conducted by INED)
- Report of the "Observatoire National des zones urbaines sensibles" (www.ville.gouv.fr/pdf/editions/observatoire-ZUS-rapport-2006.pdf)
- French data sets-Génération 1998 and 2001 (CEREQ, centre d'études et de recherche sur les qualifications). The two Génération data sets are based on large samples of individuals who left the school system in the initial years of the survey. In the case of the 1998 sample, school leavers were interviewed 3, 5 and 7 years afterwards and a considerable amount of data about labour-market experiences since leaving school was collected; for the 2001 sample, only the data for the first 3 post-school years is now available. These data sets will enable us to link labour-market-experience variables such as the length of time taken to find a job, unemployment and underemployment, to educational certificates. This data also contains information on how individuals view their future prospects on the labour market and perceive the appropriateness of their employment in terms of their educational attainments.
- The French Educational Panel Survey (Ministère de l'Education Nationale), started in 1995, is a longitudinal survey that begins with students in secondary school (in this case, students entering the first year of *collège*, lower secondary school, in 1995). It contains ample information about the aspirations and knowledge of the system on the part of the students and their parents. It tracks the educational progress of the students with both administrative and subsequent survey data. For students who leave the school system relatively early, the latest wave of the survey gives information about entry into the labour market.

Other important international data:
- OECD Pisa Survey
- ILO Report on discrimination in the labour market

1.2. Issues of integration and access to the labour market in mainstream research and studies

Research dealing with integration and access of immigrants and foreign communities to the labour market started to develop during the 1970's. Three trends, which follow international debate, may be distinguished within this field of research in France:

- Integration or exclusion of immigrants from the salaried workforce
- Immigrants' self-employment and ethnic businesses
- Migrants transnational economic circuits

1.2.1. From the "OS" to the flexible worker: research focusing on integration into/exclusion from the salaried workforce

This research stream includes most of the studies carried out on integration and access of immigrants to the labour market. The issues raised by this literature have followed the evolution of the labour market, from the fordist to the post-fordist period. Hence, the focus has shifted from the social figure of the factory worker – and more particularly the so-called OS (*ouvrier 30erritorie*: skilled factory worker) during the 1970s – to the social figure of the flexible worker, on the one side, and of the unemployed on the other, from the 1990s on. During the post-war period and throughout the thirty years of economic growth (the so-called *trentes glorieuses*) immigrants were essentially employed in big factories and in the building sector. This latter experienced a huge expansion due to the destruction caused by World War 2, the baby boom and, last but not least, the settlement of foreign immigrants in this period.

However, research on immigration only started to develop during the 1970's. The first scholars were mostly influenced by structuralist approaches. More specifically, they focused on the figure of the OS and his integration into the working context. From this point of view, as later feminist critics have shown, literature on immigration focused excessively on the production side and on the masculine component of immigration, thus neglecting other aspects of the flows.

The precursor of the sociology of immigration in France was the Algerian scholar Abdelmalek Sayad, a research assistant of Pierre Bourdieu at EHESS (Sayad 1999). Sayad's analysis was based on qualitative empirical material, more particularly on discourse analysis and life stories. Drawing on this empirical data, Sayad evidenced the crucial role of the state in perpetuating immigrants' twofold situation of exclusion, both "here" and "there". He defines this specific situation *la double absence* (the double absence). By feeding the myth of return – which he calls the "water wheel myth" – both home and host countries capitalise on immigrant workforce and remittances without having to care about their integration into society. Another field of qualitative research focused on the role of the trade unions in the integration of immigrants and their participation in/exclusion from the forging of a working class consciousness (Tripier 1990; Noiriel 1986).

The situation of immigrants in France radically altered in 1974, due to two major changes: the economic recession, on the one hand, and the subsequent stop on labour-related immigration policies, on the other hand. This was also when family reunions began to be regulated. During the 1980s, research started to focus on the consequences of the breakdown of the working class on immigrant's social identities. Exclusion from the labour market (social relegation, unemployment) and residential segregation in the suburbs of the main cities started to overlap (Delarue 1989). Another strand of research focused on the discrimination migrants and ethnic minorities have to face on the labour market (De Rudder et al. 2000).

Along with the emergence of the social figure of the "unemployed" (*le chômeur*) in social research, another important social figure started to emerge: the "undocumented" (*le sans-papiers*) who finds work in the lower segments of the labour market, and more particularly in the underground economy. Literature focusing on the situation of the *sans papiers* has evidenced the multiple forms of exclusion that illegal migrants have to face (economic, social, legal and so on: Marie 1996; Fassin et al. 1997; Moulier and Boutang 1998). Following Saskia Sassen's thesis on the contemporary city in the world economy (Sassen 1992), some scholars have focused on the segmentation of the labour market as a result of global processes and on the specific position of immigrants in the lower segments. In this context, a new research stream on the role of female migrants in the sexually and ethnically segmented labour market has finally started to develop (see section 1.3).

1.2. 2. Immigrants' self-employment and ethnic business

The growing importance of the presence of international migrants in independent economic activities has generated several studies, especially in English-speaking countries. Following the main hypothesis in international literature, the development of immigrant entrepreneurship in France is generally interpreted as a corollary of the post-fordist economy and a consequence of the growth of unemployment during the 1970s. A lot of small business owners indeed are ex-factory workers who managed to use their severance pay as capital to start a new activity.

The number of businesses owned by foreigners rose considerably during the 1980's (Guillon and Taboada-Leonetti 1986; Ma Mung and Guillon 1986; Ma Mung and Simon 1990; Marie 1992). Emmanuel Ma Mung, for instance, looked at several thousand announcements of commercial property transfers in order to investigate ethnic commerce. He showed that during the first half of 1989, 20% of the shops for sale in Paris and in the surrounding provinces were bought by Asians and North Africans. This result highlighted the significance of these two groups in the commercial sector. Other studies have focused on in-depth investigation in specific areas as in the case of Guillon and Taboada's research on the Paris Chinatown, the so-called *Triangle de Choisy* (Guillon and Taboada-Leonetti 1986).

Rather than focusing on the structural features of the labour market and unlike the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph, research on ethnic business generally places the emphasis on immigrants' abilities to capitalise on social networks and to create their own social mobility strategies. Research on Chinese small entrepreneurs for instance, has pointed out the crucial role of the so-called *tontine* (rotating credit system) for the start of a business (Guillon and Taboada-Leonetti 1986; Ma Mung and Simon, 1990). Research on North-African entrepreneurs has also evidenced the existence of specific forms of communitarian credit (Boubakri 1985). More recently, the same kind of research has been carried out on more recent groups, such as Senegalese street traders (Hily and Rinaudo 2004; Sall 2004). At the same time, some scholars have evidenced the role of small businesses run by immigrants in the changes in specific urban areas and particularly in processes of urban gentrification (Patrick 1994, on the Belleville area, Raulin 2000, on the Triangle de Choisy area).

1.2.3. Migrants' transnational economic circuits

Another strand of research developed during the 1990's in parallel to the development of the international debate on transnationalism. This strand of literature draws on qualitative – generally multi-site ethnographic – research in order to investigate the emergence of transnational networks that allow immigrants to gather and circulate economic resources.

Part of this literature has focused on the role of ethnic identity in shaping transnational economic ties. For instance, Emmanuel Ma Mung's research on Chinese economic ties showed how the principle of autonomy guides the Chinese diasporic identity, thus encouraging the development of entrepreneurship within the Chinese community in France (Ma Mung 1992). According to Ma Mung, the Chinese diaspora maintains a special relation with the territory (that he calls "exterritoriality"), that enables members of the community to gather dispersed social resources on an international scale and to capitalise on these resources by means of exchanges of money, labour and commodities (Ma Mung 1999).

Another important direction of research was taken by Alain Tarrius, Lamia Missaoui and Michel Péraldi in the harbour city of Marseille (Tarrius 1992, 2002; Tarrius and Missaoui 1995; Péraldi 2001). These scholars, basing their observations on multi-site ethnographic research regarding North African entrepreneurs, demonstrates the existence of "entrepreneurial chains" (Peraldi 1999) that connect the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. Tarrius and Missaoui claim that there is a new form of migration, typically different from the diaspora type migrations, that they define as "nomadic". They put forward the notion of "circulation territories" (*32erritories circulatoires*) to describe the specific relationship that circular migrants develop with the area they travel through. According to these authors, the issues traditionally raised in literature on immigration, such as the paradigm of national integration, are no longer applicable to these movements. This type of circulation enables people to develop multiple cosmopolitan identities that go beyond a traditional local form of identity.

1.3. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of migrant women

There is data that testifies to the significant presence of women in migratory flows as far back as the 19th century (Noiriel 2002; Perrot 2006). However the representation of women in migratory flows has increased in recent decades. In particular, the importance of family reunion flows has balanced the presence of migrant women in France, so that the actual proportion of migrant women is 50% (1999 census, compared to 46% in 1982). The distribution of women's countries of origin is as follows in tab.4:

Table 1.4. French Population by sex

	Total	Female	Male
French by birth	52,902,209	27,303,447	25,598,762
French by acquisition	2,355,293	1,266,924	1,088,369
Spanish	161,762	80,609	81,153
Italian	201,670	87,271	114,399
Portuguese	553,663	258,917	294,746
Other EU	278,403	145,675	132,728
Algeria	477,482	204,571	272,911
Morocco	504,096	229,197	274,899
Tunisia	154,356	63,805	90,551
Turkey	208,049	98,259	109,790
Other	723,705	362,594	361,111
Total	5,8520,688	30,101,269	28,419,419

Source: Census (1999)

However, women's and gender issues have not yet been explored sufficiently in French research on migration (Goldberg-Salinas 1996; Gaspard 1996; Green 2002; Guenif-Souilamas 2005). Although recent interest from government officials and the French public in the integration of the second generation has led to a rise in the number of studies regarding girls born in France, the first generation remains seriously neglected (Guenif-Souilamas 2003, 2005; Killian 2006).

It can be observed that in France migrant women are mainly viewed as part of a broader collective, mainly household, strategy. Thus, the contradictions that may exist between the desires of these women, their individual projects and external pressures are generally ignored. As the veil debate demonstrates, women are often seen as victims, as part of a family strategy and tools of cultural reproduction (or as the "heroines of emancipation", which is somehow equivalent: Guenif-Souilamas 2000). Thus there is excessive focus on identity/social emancipation issues and on the reproductive sphere, as evidenced by Chaib's review of the summaries of the two main journals *Hommes et Migrations* and *Migrations Société* (Chaib 2001). Neither women's participation in the productive sphere, nor the way this participation can influence the organisation of reproductive roles, have been explored sufficiently in general literature (Kofman 2003). In particular, female North African and Western African immigrants do generate attention in France but almost always around controversial and stereotypical issues that are sensationalized, such as female circumcision, polygamy and veiling. Feminist debate also focuses excessively on the veil and prostitution (Cahiers du CREDEF 2003).

1.3.1. Studies with a focus on the labour market

The mass access of women to paid work, and the growing individualisation of society mean that women's integration, in spheres other than the family, is assuming growing importance, especially where employment is concerned.

Quantitative research

There are two main indicators to take into account when analysing migrant women's inclusion in the labour market: the participation of women in the labour market, and the sectors in which women are employed.

- French women are generally much more active in the labour market than migrant women, though the mechanisms – sexual segmentation and discrimination - that lead to the selection of migrant women and non migrant women in the labour market tend to converge (Maruani 1999).

- In France, women's participation in the labour market is divided into skilled positions, mainly occupied by native women, and low-skilled jobs, an area where foreign women are over-represented (Zaidman 2003). While French women are indeed gaining increasingly high level positions in French society, migrant women are concentrated in the lower levels (mainly care work: Mozère 2002; Ouali 2003; Miranda 2003; Scrinzi 2003; INED, Enquête Mobilité Géographique et Insertion Sociale des Immigrées MGIS 1992). As observed by Hersent, migrant women face triple discrimination based on social, cultural and sexual characteristics (Hersent 2003).
- There are however important differences according to group: INED surveys have shown that Portuguese women are more active than the French average, for instance (Condon, 2000), while rates of unemployment among women in the Moroccan and Turkish groups are high (Simon, 2003).

Qualitative research

There is a specific strand of research focusing on female entrepreneurship. Adelina Miranda, for instance, studied the careers of Italian female entrepreneurs in France (Miranda 2001). Emmanuelle Santelli (2006) looked at the difficulties that women of Algerian origin encounter, compared to their male counterparts, in becoming entrepreneurs. Other studies have focused on informal self-employment and the economic independence that it creates in women's lives(Tarrius and Missaoui 1995; Boulahbel-Villac 1996; Sengel 2000; Manry 2005). This is a very interesting strand in literature because it overturns the conventional view of women as victims and submissive to their male counterparts. Yeza Boulahbel-Villac has shown how Algerian immigrant women develop strategies based on their own resources as well as they can: instead of brutally breaking with tradition, they actually manage to negotiate, bending and divert it to serve their own interests, and as a consequence their integration projects are progressing. They implement paradoxical strategies of integration: under the cover and the norms of tradition they are in fact pursuing different designs, using a specific type of employment, of the informal variety, mainly based on small trade and handicraft activities. This specific type of employment is misinterpreted in all the statistics, though it is very frequent among North African immigrant women. This enables them (through ways other than salaried employment) to achieve a certain level of financial independence.

Another strand of research has focuses on domestic and care workers. Francesca Scrinzi (2003) compared the situation of domestic workers in France and Italy in order to find out whether, and to what extent, domestic service relations are constructed differently according to/in different national cultural contexts. She highlighted the ethnicisation of working relations in both countries, and the framework of ethnic and sexual segmentation of the labour market in which they take place. Other scholars have focused on domestic workers' social mobility strategies. Liane Mozère (2002), for instance, studied Philippino domestic workers' strategies. Theses workers are usually urban, educated, English speaking women, who were already in the labour market in their country of origin. Yet, they prefer to migrate because they earn more as domestic workers than as clerks, nurses or teachers. Moreover, Mozère claims that migrating empowers Philippino women in the sense that they experience a freer, more independent lifestyle and a rise in their social and gender status through their contact with metropolitan, cosmopolitan life and becoming breadwinners. Laura Oso Casas (2005) investigated the migration of Spanish women who arrived in Paris in the sixties and the seventies to be employed as domestic workers and *concierges*. Her fieldwork is based on in-depth interviews and life histories. She shows that social mobility is far removed from the perspective of the rational migrant who calculates his/her social promotion within the framework of an open society. Instead, social mobility is determined by structural factors and often by contradictory strategies used by other social actors. Laura Oso Casas underlines one paradoxical aspect: on the one hand, the individual and family mobility strategies of migrant women were a key factor in Spanish economic development during the sixties: these workers contributed to improving

the collective social mobility of Spanish society. On the other hand, on an individual level, their own personal upward mobility stagnated in the meantime.

Another economic niche that is yet to be sufficiently investigated is sex work. The important research programme conducted and directed by Mossuz-Lavau and Handman in the Paris area is a significant exception (Handman and Mossuz-Lavau 2005). By investigating different places and populations participating in the prostitution market, this research team evidences the huge complexity and diversity of prostitution (without forgetting male and transgender prostitution). For example, they highlight the variety of origins of prostitutes (Italian, Spanish, French, Cameroonians, Algerians, and now Eastern Europe, Africa and China). They also investigated the negative effects of the new law on prostitution on the daily life of prostitutes (*loi pour la sécurité intérieure*, the so-called *Loi Sarkozy*, March 2003, which prohibited prostitutes from working on the street).

1.3.2. Studies with a focus on ethnicity and gender identities

Research shows how integration into society is less and less the product of the acceptance and transmission of pre-established norms than of participation in and elaboration of these norms.
For immigrant women, family strategies play a central part in their process of integration into French society, in particular investing in the education of children. Moreover, the observation of family decisions highlights women's progressive emancipation and the daily negotiation of *contre-pouvoirs* ("counter-powers": Mounir 2003). In a research study addressing issues of cultural choice and identity negotiation of women from North African countries in France, Killian shows that North African women take on new roles, including dealing with French administration and often engaging in paid work, thus gaining better independence. She also shows how they engage with processes of selective acculturation, by relying on multiple identities (Killian 2006).

1.3.3. Studies with a focus on social, civic and political participation

Another strand of research has focused on the participation of women in associations, political organisations and social movements, and on the way it enabled them to gain "agency" (Quiminal et al. 1995; Hersent 2003; Timera 1997; Hommes et Migrations 2004). During the 1980's the participation of immigrants in associations increased, as a consequence of the October 1981 law which allowed foreigners to set up associations (Leveau and Withol de Wenden 2001). Recently, an important part of the literature/debate has focused on the so-called "Ni Putes Ni Soumises" ("neither prostitutes, not submissive") movement, which reveals their ambivalent relationship with politics, the feminist movement, and their groups of origin (Benabdessadok 2004; Macé and Guenif-Souilamas 2004).

1.4. A review of existing research on second generations' social inclusion and identity

The lengthy history of immigration in France explains why the issue of the second generation (as well as the third generation, the fourth generation and so forth…) is not recent at all. According to the demographer Michèle Tribalat (2004), the French population of immigrant origin (for whom at least one parent/grand-parent is an immigrant) can be estimated at around 14 million - that is, around 25% of the French population - though we lack data about the phenomenon.

However, scholarly interest in second generation immigrants is relatively recent (Simon 2000; Blanc-Chaleard 2001; with the notable exception of Sayad 1999). The resistance to studying the second generations can be connected to the French model of assimilation, which tends to ignore the possibility for descendents of immigrants to maintain certain cultural or social specificities. The French model has indeed been characterised by a "resistance to even considering the existence of minority groups, or the possible influence of ethnic factors on the academic and economic progress

of immigrants and their children in French society" (Schiff 2003). This means that only a few studies account for differences between ethnic groups or minorities. The survey carried out by Michèle Tribalat raised a very heated debate because it distinguished between French-born youths of immigrant parents and immigrant youths (Tribalat 1995). The on-going debate between scholars on the use of ethnic statistics for the study of immigrants and their offspring is thus much more driven by ideological and normative positions than by scientific concerns.

The growing interest in the future of descendents of immigrants is connected with the emergence of the second generation as a collective protagonist in a number of social events. From this point of view, the 1980's can be seen as a crucial period for research on descendents of immigrants, as this was when second generations began to emerge in the public sphere (Beaud and Pialoux 2003; Kastoryano 2006). This took different forms:

- violent protests, with the first riots in the *banlieues* in 1979, 1980 and 1981
- political mobilization (the anti-racist movement, starting with the 1983 *Marche des beurs*[13] and the foundation of the association *SOS Racisme*).
- public controversy in particular with the "veil affair" (which first example of which occurred in 1989 in Creil)

As a consequence, research on the situation of second generations has developed since the mid 1980s. Studies have focused on foreign youth identity claims, and their educational achievements, as well as on issues of discrimination and social mobility.

1.4.1. Social mobility and inclusion in the labour market of descendents of immigrants

The high unemployment rate among descendents of immigrants entering the labour market (the level of education being equal) confirms the high level of discrimination they face (Richard 1997; Frickey 2005; Silbermann 2006).

The qualitative research study conducted by Beaud and Pialoux in a working class suburb showed how this discrimination, along with the effects of unemployment, racism and segregation generates the conditions of social desolation that may lead to the start of urban riots (Beaud and Pialoux 2003; see also Beaud 2003).

Similarly, the sociologist Alain Touraine accounted for the suburban riots as a reaction to a situation of cultural assimilation coupled with economic exclusion, similar to what Alejandro Portes calls "downward assimilation" (Touraine 1991). Claire Schiff observes, by highlighting this discrepancy, what the consequences can be for young women of foreign origin:

> The main problem for these young adults is the discrepancy between the experiences and expectations developed in school and the reality they face upon entering the job market. It is quite possible however, that for those presently still of secondary school age, increasing awareness of the existence of a job ceiling will become an incentive for them to develop anti-school sentiments and more entrenched forms of oppositional ethnic identities than one finds among their elders. Indeed those who have recently come of age often experience a form of blocked mobility which prolongs their adolescent status, making it difficult for them to leave the parental household. For instance, young women of Algerian descent experience particularly high rates of celibacy[14], since they tend to reject the traditional immigrant practice of arranged marriages with men living in their country of origin, yet find few economically independent partners among their male peers (Schiff 2003)

The *Enquête Histoire familiale*, coupled with census data, has shown that though the types of employment held have changed substantially from one generation to the next, the « second generations » are still severely disadvantaged on the labour market, facing overexposure to unemployment, job insecurity and heavy reliance on subsidized jobs. On the other hand, the strong

[13] *Beur* (short for the word *Arabe*) is the slang name for descendents of North-African immigrants.
[14] 38% of young women of Algerian descent aged 25 to 29 are married, compared to a national norm of 48%, (Tribalat 1995).

occupational segregation observed for immigrants decreases with the next generation, indicating a process of diffusion across the labour market.

However, the persistent gap between second generations and native French people contradicts the hypothesis of intergenerational mobility between immigrants and their descendants as a result of schooling and socialization in France. Discrimination weighs most heavily on the trajectories of sub-Saharan African, North African and Turkish immigrants, but also on those of their descendants (Simon 2003; Meurs et al. 2006).

Another strand of research focuses on the emergence of an economic and political elite within the second generation of the immigrant population (Leveau and Withol de Wenden 2001; Santelli 2006). In particular Leveau and Withol de Wenden insisted on the role of associations and civic movements, rather than the representative political system, in attracting the energy of second generation youth.

1.4.2. School and education

The data produced by the French ministry of education (*Education Nationale*) gives little information about the number of children of immigrants and their educational performance. However, children of immigrant parents are estimated to be around 15% of the student population in French schools (Lorcerie 2006).

Important results were achieved in a panel study (1989 Longitudinal Study) used by Vallet and Caille (1996). This study made a detailed analysed of the school achievements and careers of students of migrant origin. It showed that under similar socio-economic conditions and like family situations, the school performance of children from a migrant background in elementary school was slightly below or comparable to that of students of non-immigrant origin. In junior high school, the effect of having an immigrant background is even rather positive given equal social and family position (Vallet Caille 1996; Simon 2003). The survey concludes that while immigrant ancestry is not detrimental to students as such, social-demographic variables such as larger families and parents in lower social positions explain why children of foreign origin are usually less successful. Many of the studies on immigrant children draw the same kind of conclusions (Vallet and Caille 1996; see also Tribalat 1996; Caille 2000; Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005). The age of arrival also appears to be a discriminating factor in school success, especially among non-French speaking groups such as the Turkish, Southeast Asians and Portuguese. Those arriving after the age of twelve are more likely to leave school without obtaining a high-school diploma (Brinbaum 2004, quoted by Schiff 2003).

However, as pointed out by Françoise Lorcerie (2006), there is an important gap between the conclusions of these studies and the feelings of children of immigrants as being victims of injustice (Lorcerie 2006; Caille 2000). Lorcerie insists on this feeling of injustice by taking the example of discrimination that children of immigrants have to face when starting vocational training ("centre de formation des apprentis") or looking for a work placement[15] (Lorcerie 2006; see also Schiff on a similar topic 2003).

1.4.3. Identity issues

Other scholars have pointed out the emergence of forms of cultural expression specific to the second generations of immigrants. This strand of research, which is mainly qualitative, focuses either on the production of an adolescent subculture (Lepoutre 1997) or on the emergence of diversified and highly individualized form of religiosity (Khosrokhavar 1998; Césari 1999; Saint-Blancat 2004). In this context, Islam has often been seen as a cultural tool enabling teenagers to interpret in a positive way a social reality that is often hostile to them and to emancipate themselves from their family context, especially in the case of young women (Saint-Blancat 2004).

[15] A ruling was introduced by the government to control this type of discrimination after the banlieues riots of 2005 (loi « pour l'égalité des chances », March 2006)

1.5. Policy focused research

There are two main characteristics in French policies towards migrant women and second generation of immigrants:

- Policies are predominantly formulated on a national level
- They are influenced by the French assimilation model, so that every kind of affirmative action measure concentrates on specific disadvantaged areas rather than on national/ethnic specific groups.

Scholars have questioned these policies by showing the importance of discrimination against immigrants and their offspring. This critical strand of research, along with the pressures of political and social organizations (such as ONGs, the EU and so on), has finally generated a debate on the issue.

1.5.1. Discrimination

Some measures, though often timid, have been adopted to prevent discrimination. In 1999, the "Commission d'Accès à la Citoyenneté", supervised by the prefect, was set up by the government, enabling the victims to report discrimination using a national freephone number. At the same time, the GELD (Groupe d'Etude et de Lutte contre les Discriminations) was appointed to inform and advise the state on issues of discrimination. However, as pointed out by Philippe Bernard (2002), the lack of independence and the juridical incapacity of these organisations, as well the government's refusal to create an independent juridical authority (which exists in Great Britain since 1976!) has led to several problems and delays (Bernard 2002). The recent creation of the Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations in 2003 (HALDE) should lead to a better understanding of discrimination regarding migrant and persons of immigrant origins, but it contains the same flaws as the previous commission from the operational point of view.

1.5.2. Affirmative action

In 1997 the Conseil d'Etat recognized the principle of positive discrimination (*discrimination justifiée*): namely the idea that, in some specific cases, the respect of the egalitarian model and the need to offer genuine equal opportunities had to be by means of juridical inequality (Conseil d'Etat 1997). However, few affirmative action measures have yet been adopted and France is still very reluctant to implement this kind of measures (Bernard 2002), although scholars have asserted the need for this kind of policies (see, for instance the position of Piketti and Weil in the next section on Education).

Researchers have also given recommendations to policy makers on three specific areas:

1.5.3. Education

In France school is one of the most significant areas of segregation. Some studies have shown how socially privileged families tend to avoid schools with a bad reputation, giving rise to segregation dynamics (Felouzis et al. 2005). This has to be considered as the negative and paradoxical effect of so-called "school mapping policies", which in theory oblige children to attend school in the area they live in, but in reality only restrict the lower classes. The middle class indeed gets round these policies by putting their children into private schools or by adopting a "fake" address (the address of a family member living in a better area for example). Another way to avoid a specific school is to claim that the school does not offer a specific educational option. In the Paris area, such practices have had a considerable impact on the social structure of suburban areas (François 2004; Rhein and François 2007).

Françoise Lorcerie (2000) shows how the fact that French public discourse does not consider difference or the specific needs of children of migrant origins has paradoxically led to processes of ethnic categorisation and segregation. The policy of ZEP ("zones d'éducation prioritaires") in

particular has led to an increase in ethnic segregation and a huge disparity in local situations. According to Lorcerie, the problems arising in French education are connected to:

- Problems within the school system, from the reform of the1980's and on.
- Ethnic categorisation, which is encouraged by school policies (for example as a consequence of the turnover of teaching staff in particularly stigmatized areas).
- The general crisis in the welfare state

She calls for a review of school management (Lorcerie 2006).

As regards access to higher education, only a few prestigious, high-level research institutes such as Lycée Henry 4 (since 2006) or Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (2001) have adopted a policy of affirmative action with quotas of students from disadvantaged areas.

However, as pointed out by different scholars, these policies are not sufficient. The sociologist Patrick Weil has proposed to admit 7 to 8 % of the best pupils from every secondary school to « classes préparatoires » (high level higher education), in particular those from the ZEPs. This could have a positive effect on social mix, since many parents would then leave their children in schools in disadvantaged areas, instead of trying to get round the school 'mapping' system. As a consequence this could counterbalance the usually adverse effects of school mapping policies.

The economists Thomas Piketty and Mathieu Valdenaire (2006) have proposed limiting the number of children per class in elementary school in the most disadvantaged areas since they argue that many of the inequalities in education are constructed during the primary school years.

1.5.4. Segregation and urban policies

The issue of urban segregation is not new, though it is periodically presented as an emergency in public debate, the last event being the urban riots following the death of two teenagers by electrocution on 28th October 2005.

Thirty years of *politique de la ville* have not resolved this urban crisis. 30% of immigrant households live in social housing in France (Boeldieu and Thave 2000). In 2000, the law on Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain (SRU: solidarity and urban renewal) obliged municipalities to allocate social housing more effectively. It ordered every municipality with more than 1500 inhabitants, in an urban area of more than 50,000 inhabitants, to set aside at least 20% of its "housing stock" to social housing.

However a study carried out by the GELD (Groupe d'étude et de lutte contre les discriminations, 2001) has shown that the *principe de mixité* (diversity principle) and *saupoudrage* policies (sprinkling policies) applied by the organisations appointed to manage social housing (with the agreement of the prefects) paradoxically encouraged some forms of discrimination. The GELD therefore argues in favour of introducing practices of affirmative action into social housing procedures. These are yet to be implemented.

A *plan national de rénovation urbaine* (national urban renewal programme) was adopted in 2003, with the aim of renovating 200,000 housing units, demolishing 200,000 units and rebuilding a further 200,000 by 2008. However, as observed by two reports compiled by the *Conseil general des Ponts et Chaussées* (*Le Monde, supplément Economie*, 09-05-2007) and the *Observatoire National des Zones Urbaines Sensibles* (2006), these measures do not respond sufficiently to the real needs and requests of the population, especially with regards to employment, education and economic development issues.

1.5.5. Discrimination on the labour market

In 2006, ILO carried out a study based on tests during the recruitment process in different labour sectors. It showed that only 11% of firms applied equal treatment to applicants of French origin and those of North-African or African origin (*Le Monde, supplément Economie*, 09-05-2007).

According to the complaints received by the HALDE in 2006, employment is the primary sector for discrimination (43% of complaints). Moreover, the first criterion mentioned by the victims of

discrimination is ethnic or racial origin (Halde 2006). The ADIA barometer on discrimination on the labour market also shows an increase in discrimination since 2004 (http://cergors.univ-paris1.fr/docsatelecharger/Barometre2006resultats.pdf).

The first national agreement on the issue of diversity was signed in 2006. A "diversity charter" was signed by 1200 firms, but it is too early to evaluate the possible impact of this on the labour market.

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Appendix. Examples of *best practices* towards migrant women and ethnic minority youth

Project: **CEP (Conventions d'Education Prioritaire)**
Promoters: Sciences Po (Institut d'Etudes Politiques), Paris.

Description of the project: Each year, a CEP agreement is signed between the highly selective Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris and some high schools that are located in specific disadvantaged areas (ZEP, Zones d'Education Prioritaire, which are disadvantaged areas that benefit from specific support from the French state). Admittance to Sciences Po is extremely competitive. Before 2000, 80% of the students admitted were from more advantaged social classes. The purpose of the project is to enable the best pupils from disadvantaged areas to attend Sciences Po. More broadly, the project is part of an growing intent in France to make schools of excellence more accessible to pupils from disadvantaged social groups. In 2000, seven high schools were involved in the initiative. The number of schools participating in the project increases every year (48 in October 2006). The project entails running a admittance procedure for young people from ZEPs, which includes special training courses to enable them to overcome their difficulties. The project also provides a special grant. Until now, 2/3 of students admitted to Sciences Po through this project have at least one parent born outside France.

Project: **ESPERE (Engagement du Service Public de l'Emploi pour Restaurer l'Egalité)**
Promoters: French Government, the towns of Dijon, Dreux, Châtellerault and Grenoble, the Seine Saint Denis department.

Description of the project: Espere started in 2002. It is a French government project which involves a number of institutional partners, and was developed in the framework of the EQUAL European initiative. Espere addresses various intermediaries acting in the employment sector and depending on the French state public agency for employment, the so-called "Service Public de l'Emploi". Those intermediaries are ANPE (the national agency for employment), AFPA (national association for adults' professional training) and the local missions acting for the state in the employment sector. The goals of the project are 1) to make intermediaries acting for the state more active in preventing and combating discrimination, by means of training programmes 2) to give those intermediaries some tools to enable them to tackle the issue of discrimination in their ordinary practices and in particular in their relationships with employers and managers. Up till now 1000 people have received training, in various pilot schemes run in the towns of Dijon, Dreux, Châtellerault, Grenoble and the Seine Saint Denis department.

Project: **AFIP (Association pour Favoriser l'Intégration Professionnelle)**
Promoters: AFIP

Description of the project: AFIP was set up following the observation that the unemployment rate is higher among young people of immigrant origins than others (education and skills being equal). The association is funded by a number of local institutions (city of Paris, Region, Paris prefecture). The goal of AFIP is to foster the access of educated young people from "visible minorities" to the labour market. It is open to people up to the age of 35 with at least 2 years of post-high school education. It aims to help them find a job by supporting and capitalising on their cultural heritage. The goal is to make cultural diversity an advantage rather than something to be ashamed of or conceal. Up till now, 40% of those involved in the project have found a long term job (with a contract of more than 6 months).

SECOND PART – National focus studies

2 – The UK

2.1. Introduction. Basic data on the development of the immigrant population and ethnic minorities in the country

Since World War II British immigration history has been characterised by continuous government attempts to control inflows from the Commonwealth countries, as in the 1948 British Nationality Act, 800 million people were made Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies and Citizens of Independent Commonwealth Countries, which endowed them with the unconditional right to settle in mainland Britain (Hansen 2000). From the early 1960s onwards, as numbers of newcomers rose, racial tensions and public pressure contributed to the introduction of a series of Immigration Acts (in 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1981) that sharpened the definitions of citizenship and tightened the rules for entry and right of abode.

As the British Isles were losing large numbers of citizens to North America, Australia, and other Commonwealth countries, successive governments introduced labour recruitment schemes to fill the gaps in the domestic labour market. This encouraged immigration from Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s and later on from the English-speaking Caribbean and from the Indian subcontinent (Layton-Henry 2004). Indians and Pakistanis began to settle in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s. The composition and origin of migration flows to the UK visibly changed over the past few decades as the British government encouraged certain types of immigrants while simultaneously keeping others out. With the exception of the European Volunteer Workers Program of 1945, since the end of World War II the UK has historically recruited labour mostly from Commonwealth countries. However, the UK's recent labour migration policies reveal clear shifts in preferences: several legislative acts have restricted immigration from the New Commonwealth, especially for lower–skilled workers, while Europe has now become the favourite labour source for Britain (Ensor and Shah 2005). Since the emergence of labour market shortages in the mid-1990s, the UK has also begun to recruit non-EU foreign workers. Another major change in the composition and origin of migration flows occurred with the first round of EU enlargements in 2004. Many recent immigrants come from the new EU countries in Eastern and Central Europe; in 2005 the number from the first set of EU countries was estimated to be 64,000, compared to 49,000 in 2004. The number of A8[16] immigrant citizens who came to the UK for long-term purposes has increased by over 50 per cent from 52,000 in 2004 to 80,000 in 2005. In the same year, Polish citizens constituted the largest immigrant group with an estimated 49,000 people (National Statistics 2006). This dramatic increase has been made possible by not restricting the British labour market: the UK was the only country besides Ireland and Sweden that opened its labour market to workers from the new EU countries.

Thus, from the 1940s-70s, immigrants to the UK came mainly from the New Commonwealth, Ireland and Europe, while from the 1990s onwards, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East were the major areas of origin. Immigration policy over the past 50 years has shaped the composition of today's ethnic minority population in the UK so that today, the main (visible) ethnic minority groups are Black Caribbeans, Black Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Chinese. At the time the 2001 Census was taken, 8.1% of the UK population (4.6 million) were non-White ethnic minorities. Of these, 2.4 million were Asian, more than 1.1 million Black, and almost 0.25 million

[16] A8 countries are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Chinese.[17] At least one third of all ethnic minorities live in London (except Pakistanis). Exactly half the ethnic minority population resident in Britain today was born in the UK (Simpson et al. 2006). Significantly, since British official statistics rarely distinguish between 'ethnic minorities' and 'immigrants', it is very difficult to make statements that only apply to settled minorities and exclude recent arrivals.

The number of people from ethnic minorities in the UK who are actually immigrants varies greatly between different ethnic groups and also between age groups. Across all ethnic groups, younger people are more likely to be UK-born than older people, and in almost all ethnic groups more than 90% of those aged 45 and over were born outside the UK (Lindley et al. 2004, qtd. in Brittain et al. 2005). In almost all age groups, those identifying themselves as 'Other Black' and Black Caribbean are far more likely to be born in the UK than those who are Black African, Pakistani or Bangladeshi. When the two factors of age and ethnicity are combined, the extent of the variation in UK-born populations is such that over 90% of people aged 19-24 who identify themselves as Black Caribbean are UK-born, compared to less than 1% of Bangladeshi people aged 45 or over (Brittain et al. 2005).

Britain boasts a long tradition of race relations and anti-discrimination legislation which demands statutory ethnic monitoring and pro-active equality policies. This is why (in contrast to the situation in continental Europe) much of the research into the situation of ethnic minorities has been and continues to be commissioned by the British government. Thus, from the 1960s onwards, the independent charity Policy Studies Institute (PSI, formerly Political and Economic Planning, PEP) has published a series of surveys of ethnic minorities at intervals of about 10 years. These surveys have been highly influential in shaping government policy (e.g. the Race Relations Acts) and were subsequently published as monographs (see box below).

Main studies on immigration flows and the situation of immigrants in UK

PEP and PSI Surveys and important government reports:

- Daniel, W.W. (1968) *Racial Discrimination in England*. London: Penguin.
- Smith, D.J. (1976) *Racial Disadvantage in Britain*. London: Penguin.
- Brown, C. (1984) *Black and White Britain*. London:Heinemann.
- Modood, T., Berthoud, R., Lakey, J., Nazroo, J., Smith, P., Virdee, S. and Beishon, S. (1997) *Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantage*. London: Policy Studies Institute.
- The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999) *MacPherson Report*. HMSO.
- Scarman, L.L. (1981) *Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981:Rreport of an Inquiry by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Scarman, O.B.E.* (Scarman Report). London: HMSO.

Other important studies on immigration, citizenship and integration in the UK:

- Anwar, M. (1998) *Between Cultures: Continuity and Changes in the Lives of Young Asians*. London: Routledge.
- Favell, A. (1998) *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. London: Macmillan.
- Hansen, R. (2000) *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation.* OUP.
- Parekh, B. (2000) *The Future of Multi-ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*. *The Runnymede Trust*. London: Profile Books.

[17] The Census distinguishes between the categories White, Black Carribean, Black African, Other Black, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other Asian Chinese, Other Ethnic Minority population, and Mixed.

The most recent of the aforementioned surveys, the 4th National Survey entitled *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, used a sample of about 8000 respondents, including a white comparison group, to establish the current position of minorities in fields such as employment, housing and health, and questions on specific issues such as English language proficiency, racial harrassment, identity and culture. Another important source is the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (LFS), a continuous household survey conducted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), which provides a wide range of data on labour market statistics and related topics such as training, qualifications, income and disability. The Survey has 59,000 addresses, with about 138,000 respondents as its base. The interviews cover household, family structure, basic housing information and demographics. Finally, the 1991 and 2001 censuses, the Samples of Anonymized Records (SARS) in particular, provide comprehensive data on demographics such as birthplace, ethnicity and religion, employment status, housing and more.

Main data sources on migrant population and ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom

- General Household Survey (GHS), 1973 onwards, Office for National Statistics (ONS)
- Labour Force Survey (LFS) 1981 onwards; for income from 1992 onwards, ONS.
- Family Resources Survey (FRS), Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) 1st PEP survey, 1966; 2nd PEP survey, 1974, 3rd PSI survey, 1982, and 4th National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (NSEM), 1994.
- Youth Cohort Studies (YCS), from 1992 onwards, National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) and Department for Education and Skills (DfES).
- Samples of Anonymized Records (SARS) from the 1991 and 2001 Census, ONS.

Census 1991, 2001, 2007 onwards, ONS.

- Family and Working Lives Survey of 1994/5, DfES.
  British Household Panel Study (BHPS), 1991 onwards, UK Longitudinal Studies Centre (ULSC), part of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) at the University of Essex.
- The 2001 Home Office survey of Citizenship, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate of the Home Office.
- National Pupil Database, 2002, 2003, DfES.

To conclude,

- while Britain has increasingly restricted immigration by tightening her citizenship and immigration laws, integration has been high on the political agenda from the beginning. As early as 1965, Labour Minister Roy Hattersley famously summed up the rationale of British governments that 'without integration, limitation is inexcusable, without limitation, integration is impossible' (quoted in Rose 1969: 229).
- As a consequence of this early recognition, influential Race Relations Acts have been passed and amended, progressively banning acts of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, nationality (including citizenship), or ethnic or national origin. This also obliges many public authorities to actively promote racial equality.
- Consequently, research into ethnic minorities, including the monitoring of their educational and labour market performance, is more elaborate than in many other countries, and is often commissioned by the government.

2.2. Issues of integration and and access to the labour market in mainstream research and studies

Due to the fact that Britain did not recruit on the basis of a 'guestworker model' and due to the early recognition of the fact that rotational work schemes would only nurture 'the myth of return', the integration of ethnic minorities into both the education system and the labour market have long been, and continue to be, a prominent concern in Britain. Therefore, research has become increasingly sophisticated and differentiated, acknowledging that Britain's 'ethnic minority population' is in fact extremely diverse and includes the highest as well as the lowest performers in education and on the labour markets.

As early as the 1960s, quantitative research conducted by the Policy Studies Institute (formerly PEP) pointed to the disadvantages that ethnic minority newcomers, particularly Black Carribeans, Indians, and Pakistanis, were experiencing on the labour market (Daniel 1968; Prandy 1979; Chiswick 1980; McNabb and Psacharopoulos 1981; Heath and Ridge 1983 and Stewart 1983). While the first generation of immigrants were mainly involved in manual work, research evidence agrees that over the 1970s and 1980s, ethnic minorities as a whole made considerable progress in the British labour market, and that many minority groups largely caught up with Whites in terms of occupational attainment. Indian men occupied professional, managerial and other non-manual work at levels close to Whites, while this percentage was significantly lower for West Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Iganski and Payne 1996). This positive trend came to a halt in the 1990s, even though the labour market improved in these years as the British economy overcame the recession, and unemployment fell from 8.6% to 5% between the 1991 and 2001 census (Clark and Drinkwater 2007). While disparities in occupational attainment between ethnic minorities and Whites declined and may be expected to decline further in future (Fielding 1995; Robinson 1990; Iganski and Payne 1996 qtd. in Heath 2001), unexpectedly, unemployment rates have not decreased for ethnic minorities since the 1970s (Leslie et al. 1998; Heath 2001), a situation that can be summarised as "Native birth brings occupational improvement but does little to mitigate unemployment" (Model 1999 qtd. in Heath 2001).

Today's situation is particularly worrying with regards to Black Carribeans, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis, who have unemployment rates more than twice that of Whites (40% for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men in comparison to white male unemployment of 15%, while Indians (5% unemployment) and Chinese (7% unemployment) have clearly been able to narrow the gap (Heath 2001; Leslie et al. 1998). In general, ethnic minorities find it difficult to obtain high-ranking executive positions (Clark and Drinkwater 2007), but Chinese and Indians are most likely to be in higher professional and managerial posts, while Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are over-represented in semi-routine and routine non-supervisory jobs. However, the use of aggregate statistics in these studies (i.e., the combination of second generation ethnic minorities and recent migrants in the statistics) may mask the fact that the positive aspects we witnessed in the 1990s could be due to the higher qualifications of recent migrants, who were recruited according to the stricter immigration laws (Bell 1997).

Table 2.1. Proportion of economically active ethnic minority groups unemployed at the time of the survey in Britain (%)

	First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1970s		First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1990s		Second-generation, born 1960-79, surveyed 1990s	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White British-born	4.3	4.4	7.5	4.9	12.2	8.3
Black Caribbean	8.3	9.4	19.0	11.0	29.6	21.2
Indian	4.7	4.5	9.6	8.6	16.1	12.3
Pakistani	5.4	-	20.7	19.9	30.7	21.9

Source: Column 1 – cumulated General Household Surveys 1973-79; column 2 and 3 – cumulated LFS 1991-97
Note: In the GHS data, ethnic origin has been identified on the basis of the country of birth and skin colour.

2.2.1. What accounts for ethnic minorities' disadvantage?

Research that attempts to account for the disadvantage that these statistics reveal regarding ethnic minorities' experience on the British labour market, has focussed on the following potential explanations:

- human capital: education and skills, knowledge of the English language, social and 'ethnic' capital
- ethnic penalties: institutional discrimination and prejudice
- geography: isolation, spatial segregation.

Regarding the first point, research has found that there are substantial differences in levels of human capital and education between ethnic minority groups, with Indians and Chinese being better educated on average than Black Caribbeans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Heath 2001). Studies using statistical regression have shown that these differences in educational attainment largely account for the lower occupational levels experienced by second generation Black Caribbeans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, however, to a lesser extent their high levels of unemployment (Heath 2001). Likewise, the overall improvement in occupational attainment of ethnic minorities can partially be explained by overall rising levels of education and qualifications among the second generation and among more recent migrants (due to stricter recruitment and immigration regulations) (Heath 2001). This kind of quantitative research has traditionally identified influential factors such as knowledge of English and educational qualifications in their calculations (see for instance Dustmann et al. 2003; Dustmann and Fabbri 2005). More recent studies, however, are now trying to extract variables that are more difficult to establish, such as discrimination, migrants' attitudes, institutional context, and the effectiveness of employment strategies (Cangiano 2006).

While evidence on these factors is still unclear, the term 'ethnic penalties' has been coined to describe those elusive factors that at least partially account for ethnic minority unemployment once clearly measurable factors have been dealt with (Berthoud 2000). In other words, ethnic penalties are defined as those disadvantages that persist for ethnic minorities in comparison to Whites, once human capital endowments (e.g. education) and personal characteristics (e.g. age) have been ascertained. Discrimination has been found to constitute a major component of ethnic penalties, but this is not the sole factor at work (Heath and McMahon 1997; Berthoud 2000; Carmichael and Woods 2000). Other possible elements are a lack of access to useful social networks, spacial mismatches, a lack of alternative employment, for example in the informal economy, or differences in work preferences and aspirations. In the 1990s, smaller-scale studies that scrutinised individual labour market sectors such as the NHS or large businesses claimed that ethnic penalties in the labour market had declined (Esmail and Everington 1993,1997; Noon 1993; Hoque and Noon 1999). More recent research has, however, not been able to support the claim that larger companies tend to exercise more equal treatment (Heath and Cheung 2006). However, levels of self-reported prejudice were found to be significantly lower in the public administration, education and health sectors than elsewhere, particularly in construction, manufacturing and transport (Heath and Cheung 2006).

As Britain has long been concerned with the establishment of racial equality and has been at the forefront in terms of anti-discrimination legislation (see introduction), a wealth of research has been keen to investigate the effects these policies have had on combatting discrimination and improving the labour market situation for ethnic minorities (Wrench and Modood 2000). Using statistical modelling, qualitative research into ethnic minority applicants' reports on job rejections, as well as field experiments, studies have frequently proven that discrimination levels have remained fairly constant in Britain over the past decades (Daniel 1967; Brown and Gay 1985; Riach and Rich 1991; CRE 1996; Leslie et al. 1998; Hoque and Noon 1999; TUC 2000; Heath and Yu, undated). Revealingly, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) commissioned a series of 'discrimination tests' in 1980 and 1994 (CRE 1996) that found white applicants to be twice as likely to be accepted

for an interview than either Black Caribbean or Asian applicants (Hubbuck and Carter 1980; Brown and Gay 1985; CRE 1996). The issue of discrimination received a highly significant and qualitatively new impetus in 1999, when a government-commissioned report on the police inquiry into the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993 found the police to have been slow to act, based on the prevalence of institutional racism. The MacPherson report initiated a series of new laws that now oblige all publicly (co-)funded institutions to actively promote racial equality, and to regularly produce race equality schemes in which they denote their racial equality strategies. The outcomes of this new race equality strategy may be expected to inform future research.

Furthermore, policies and research have long considered issues of geography as potential sources for ethnic disadvantage. As of today, approximately 70% of the ethnic minority population in Britain live in the top 88 most deprived districts. In contrast to discrimination by employers, residential (self-)segregation, 'a taste for isolation', and oppositional identities have been brought forward as further possible explanations for ethnic minority unemployment (Blackaby et al. 2005; Akerlof and Kranton 2000; Modood et al. 1997; Battu et al. 2003). Others have concentrated on the social isolation, particularly that of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, (Peach 1996; Leslie et al. 1998), which may lead to a lack of 'bridging social capital', i.e. job-conducive contacts with the white majority population. This coincides with a lack of 'ethnic capital' in poorly-educated communities (including whites who live in the same area), and possibly people's assimilation into lower-class social milieux and oppositional cultures which bring down aspirations (Borjas 1995; Portes 2000). However, Heath (2001) points out that there is too little evidence available to test these assumptions: national data does not support the hypothesis that Blacks, Indians and Bangladeshis exhibit a lower work ethic (Thomas 1998), or lower educational and career aspirations than whites (Rothon 2001). Equally, the majority of researchers repudiates the 'spatial mismatch' theory according to which a lack of employment opportunities in areas of deprivation accounts for ethnic minority unemployment rates (Fieldhouse and Gould 1998; Fieldhouse 1999). Rather, a process of 'neighbourhood self-selection' in which unemployed people of any ethnicity are more likely to move into socially deprived neighbourhoods seems to be at work (Heath 2001).

2.2.2. Ethnic minority self employment and the business case for diversity

Self-employment – mostly in transport, catering, and retail – is considered an important form of economic activity for ethnic minorities in Britain (Clark and Drinkwater 2007). Yet researchers have warned that, apart from the advantages it can offer in terms of job satisfaction, independence and avoidance of discrimination, self-employment bears the danger of 'blocked upward mobility', low levels of earnings, and a high risk of business failure (Metcalf et al. 1996; Clark and Drinkwater 1998). Data on the number of ethnic minority businesses is scarce (Bank of England 1999), but recent estimates suggest that Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)-run firms number nearly 100,000, representing roughly 10% of all UK businesses today (National Employment Panel 2005, qtd. in Cangiano 2006). Additional barriers to ethnic minority enterprises which have been identified include self-reported discrimination and a lack of success in securing loans and financial support from the government (Ram and Smallbone 2001, 2003; British Bankers' Association 2002). Self-employment is traditionally found more among Asians than among Blacks, and with the exception of the Chinese, women engage very rarely in self-employment (Borooah 2001). Neither do younger, higher qualified ethnic minorities of the second generation tend to choose self-employment (Clark and Drinkwater 2007). Rationales for or against engaging in self-employment have been labelled 'push' and 'pull' factors. Thus, depending on the situation of the entrepreneur, self-employment has been suggested to be either a result of "blocked upward mobility" or an expression of group-specific "cultural resources" (Metcalf et al. 1996). Clark and Drinkwater suggest that self-employment is a response to discrimination on the paid labour market, leading to higher self-employment for discriminated-against groups. At the same time, they suggest that "some aspects of ethnic minority culture, particularly religion, may enhance entrepreneurial ambitions" (2006: 2).

In the 1990s, with the growing importance of diversity management, the advantages of racial equality in business have increasingly attracted the attention of researchers. Workforce diversity has been found to contribute to effective human resource management (Carell et al. 2000), establishing more creative working environments, widening labour skills, accessing new markets, motivating, attracting and retaining staff and increasing profits. These findings have continually been substantiated (Metcalf and Forth 2000). Other reports have called for equal opportunity policies to be integrated throughout whole organisations as part of a process of institutional change (Liff 1999). Nominally, this has been pursued by many companies, but in practice few companies have systems to ensure that equal opportunities are really attained (Noon and Hoque 2001; Simpson et al. 2007).

2.3. Research on the social inclusion and identity of ethnic minority women

After World War II, women from the Commonwealth countries migrated to the UK at different points in time. Generally speaking, Sikhs and Gujaratis from India, and Black Carribeans were the first to come in the 1950s, followed by East Africans in the late 1960s, Pakistani women in the 1970s, and Bangladeshi women in the 1980s. Significantly, the latter came to Britain as dependents of men rather than as waged workers – unlike many Black Caribbean women and some Indian women who had entered Britain via earlier labour recruitment drives in the 1950's. Large numbers of Black Caribbean women were recruited as nurses to work in the expanding NHS, while Sikh women tended to work in manufacturing. Bangladeshis began arriving after the independence of Bangladesh in 1972 at a time when the British economy was being restructured, with an enormous decline in traditional manufacturing, the growth of the service sector and an increase in home working (Bhavnani 1994, 2006). The fact these groups of migrant women arrived at different points in time, with different social positions, and into different economic conditions in the UK, continues to influence their inclusion into the social and labour market today.

Kofman (1999) has pointed out that before the mid-1970s, women were largely invisible in migration research in Britain (as in Europe in general), as they were mostly considered to be dependents of male workers. This was the case despite the fact that from 1962 to 1973, 20% of work permits issued to Commonwealth citizens and almost half of those issued to non-Commonwealth persons went to women (Bhabha and Shutter 1994). The situation changed over the years, though, and today, British research and public perceptions pay more attention to the diverse skills, jobs, and status profiles of immigrant women than that of other European countries (Kofman 1999). Yet representations of immigrant women as unskilled workers and as belonging to 'problematic groups', i.e. low-skilled Muslims, continue to dominate the picture (Campani 1991; Lutz 1991; Kofman 1997) and have gained renewed prominence since the turn of the century. Today, it is the *highly skilled* migrant women that are 'invisible', in both research and public perception (Kofman 2000). Furthermore, the persistent dominance of the 'ethnic minorities paradigm' in Britain has led to an almost exclusive focus on settled communities from former colonies at the expense of research on newer immigrants and refugees (Peach 1996).

With the emergence of a new 'care deficit', i.e. increasing employment rates of native-born women, an ageing population, persistent gender ideologies that exempt men from taking up an equal share of housework, and a lack of state policies to deal with this situation appropriately, domestic and care work is increasingly performed by migrant women (Datta et al. 2006). This situation has led to renewed research interest in the care work done by migrant women over the past couple of years (Cox and Watt 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000; Momsen 1999; Popke 2006). Andersen (2006) has pointed out that the issue of migrants performing domestic care has been less visible in British discourse and research, as this situation is not socially accepted in Britain. The British government has recently indicated that it would heavily encourage individualised cash payments for care undertaken in private households in the future, yet at the same time there are no plans to develop legal immigration into the domestic work / care sector. This

means that *undocumented* migrants will most probably account for a large part of the domestic work and care sector in the future (even though it had been assumed that citizens from the enlarged EU would do so) and complement the (already racialised) black labour market (Andersen 2006; Bakan and Stasiulis 1996; Glenn 1992; Smet 2000). Since the early 1980s, researchers such as Phizacklea (1980, 2003) have pointed to the problematic intertwining of gender, race, and class in migrant women's domestic care work. Based on qualitative interviews with migrant carers, most recent research aims to shed light on the difficult situation of the migrant women carers themselves, and on their strategies for and problems in shouldering both their professional care work and the care work they need to do in their own families (Ungersen and Yeandle 2005; Datta et al. 2006).

In can further be observed that the traditional discourse that equates migrant domestic workers with victims of trafficking and illegal immigration leading to domestic slavery (Council of Europe 2001; ECRE 2001) is recently being challenged by activist organisations such as Kalayana, RESPECT, and The Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers (CFMW) who prefer to speak of agency, rights, mobilisation, and self-help (Andersen 2000; Schöning-Kalender 2002; Schwenken 2003). On the other hand, in government discourse and reports, the traditional 'benevolent' trafficking, exploitation, and protection rhetoric has been juxtaposed with a new 'tough' emphasis on the need to keep immigration regulations up and prevent illegal migrants from taking advantage of British social services (Home Office 2007).

A similar trend is discernible in research on migrant women's sex work: while earlier studies concentrated on the 'trafficking' aspects and spoke of 'services', recent research wants to 'break with the myth' that sex is different from any other kind of work and that sex workers are passive victims who need to be saved or helped. This highly controversial debate continues today and is mirrored in the terminology of those who call for legal action against sex trafficking (e.g. the IOM, Christian victims' associations and government reports) and those who emphasise the agency and voluntary decision of sex workers to engage in this business, disdaining the 'human-trafficking-rescue-industry' (most notably, the works of Agustín).

Research into ethnic minority women's employment is relatively new but has become a focus of much research commissioned by the New Labour government, that is extremely keen to raise the employability and employment levels of those formerly not in work. As for unemployment rates, overall women show slightly better results when compared with men, with only five out of 13 ethnic minorities reaching unemployment levels higher than 10% in 2001 (Clark and Drinkwater 2007). However, there are relevant differences among groups. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women had the lowest levels of employment and economic activity at less than 30% in 2001, compared to rates for Whites and Black Carribean women of over 70% (Clark and Drinkwater 2007). Black Carribeans reached the highest employment rate and highest wages among all women in 2001, even though their unemployment rate was twice as high as that of Whites in 1991 (Clark and Drinkwater 2007).

Different unemployment patterns for ethnic minority women reflect the fact that women face multiple forms of discrimination, some of them typical of the female 'double burden' of care work and paid work, and some due to particular cultural and religious traditions (Noon and Hoque 2001; Hall et al. 2004). Among their constraints are poverty, traditional roles as housewives and carers for children, often insisted on by members of the ethnic communities, issues of spatial segregation, race and gender discrimination, as well as a lack of formal educational qualifications and English language skills (for example, three-quarters of Bangladeshi women aged 25+ are not fluent in English according to the 2004 report of the Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force). For this reason, recent studies have pointed to the need to closely examine the demographics, family situations, and life stages that may influence employment patterns among women from different ethnic groups (Lindley et al. 2004; Holdsworth and Dale 1997; Dale et al. 2002).

The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (FNSEM) in the mid-1990s revealed that four out of five Bangladeshi women of working age took on a domestic role, while this was true for only about one in ten Black Caribbean women (Cabinet Office Interim Report, undated). In 2003,

Bangladeshi women were found to be approximately three times less likely to be economically active than Black Caribbean women, and Bangladeshi men were 40 % more likely to be in employment than Bangladeshi women. Furthermore, there were higher rates of full-time employment for Black women than for White and Indian women, who more often work part-time. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women at times are extremely disadvantaged in terms of low employment, wide wage differentials, and high risks of poverty and social exclusion: almost two-thirds of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women live in poverty. Even more so than men, ethnic minority women are often found in low paid work, and in casualised and less protected sectors of the labour market. Demographers have therefore pointed to the need for policy reform in order to avoid the future formation of a highly disadvantaged group of older women (Brittain et al. 2005).

Furthermore, South East Asian women were found to be less likely economically active once they get married, and even less when they have children (Thewlis et al. 2004). Creating access to affordable, high quality and appropriate, i.e. culturally sensitive, childcare has therefore been a priority for the government, and is increasingly studied in quantitative surveys and interviews which investigate their needs (Daycare Trust 2006). Along the same lines, it has been found that as a group of relatively recent newcomers, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women tend to adhere to cultural norms that White women have largely shed, such as traditional carer roles (Thewlis et al. 2004). Nevertheless, there are clear indicators of change. Qualitative research on Pakistani immigrant women of the first migrant generation in Reading found that these women were willing to find employment but came under pressures not to engage in paid work, as this could have been taken as a sign that their husbands were unable to provide for the family (Lloyd and Bowlby 2000). Such constraints, including local labour market conditions, discrimination, large dependent families, and views on motherhood within the communities may still be at work today (Brah and Shaw 1992). However, recent research on attitudes and expectations increasingly contradicts the commonly-held assumption that Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls are less ambitious and that their parents expect them to set up a family rather than follow a career (Ahmad et al. 2003; Tyrer et al. 2006). This contradicts a common assumption that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, or Muslim women, are not in employment because their families hold them back. Still, about half (sometimes more than half) of South Asians say their family has (at least formally) a big say regarding their future career, while this is only true for about a quarter of Whites and Blacks (Bhavnani et al. 2006). Similar research found that the higher a woman's educational level, the greater her ability and motivation for self-determination. Expectedly, this is particularly true for younger generations, who are more ready to use formal childcare, travel to jobs, are more aware of job opportunities and more ready to follow routes which differ from those of their mothers (Dale et al. 2002; Hall et al. 2004). Recent research has pointed out that educational qualifications – especially those gained in the UK – yield particularly high relative benefits for ethnic minorities in general, but that minorities need to achieve more than Whites in order to reach the same position (Dale et al. 2002; Hall et al. 2004). Also, the importance of English language fluency and the level of investment in one's human capital has frequently been emphasised (Shields and Wheatley Price 2002). At school level, 16 year old Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls have been found to achieve better GCSE results than boys from the same ethnic origin and (in most cases) white boys; they are more ambitious than white girls in the same schools, and they strive to pursue a successful career. On the other hand, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi 16 year olds actually consider it harder to get a job than white girls and are more likely to exclude certain jobs because of their sex, ethnicity or faith (EOC 2006).

At a later stage in life, while only 15% of Black women have received no qualifications at all, the percentage is 17% for White women and 26% for women from an Asian background. A considerable share of ethnic minorities pursues post-16 education and training, however many subsequently find it difficult to get a job (PIU 2002; Berthoud 2003; Barnes et al. 2005; TUC 2006). Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women under 35 who are in employment are, however, three times more likely to be often asked about plans for marriage and children at job interviews

and are much more likely to experience negative attitudes because of their religious dress (EOC 2006).

In view of the fact that the 2001 Census included a question on religion, recent research has been able to explore the role of religion and employment. This is particularly important as Muslim women (mostly from Bangladesh and Pakistan) have the highest rates of economic inactivity and unemployment and face the highest ethnic penalties in the labour market (Twomey 2001; Lindley et al. 2004; Berthoud and Blekesaune 2006; Dale et al 2002). Combining quantitative and qualitative methodology, a study by Ahmad et al. (2003) found that while education, fluency in English, household and personal characterstics all played very important roles in employment, the most significant variable was religion. Yet according to their findings, younger South Asian women were increasingly finding ways of engaging with the labour market that minimised religious differences in terms of employment participation and career advancement. This was done by continually negotiating and renegotiating their cultural, religious and personal identities and finding pragmatic solutions to practical problems.[18] Parental expectations in this group were found to be higher than just the 'homemaking' model, but daughters were not given the same amount of encouragement to work as sons were. The same study also found that most ethnic minority women preferred 'hyphenated' or multiple identities, and that Muslim women preferred a religion-based identity. The study also found that decreasing religiosity was linked to a higher level of education (Ahmad et al. 2003).

In the wake of renewed doubts about multiculturalism as a societal concept, anxieties about (self) segregration and isolation, and the recent government emphasis on social inclusion and community cohesion, recent research has become more critical about the link between multicultural communities and the formation of social capital. Some describe the tensions that arise, particularly for South Asian women, between the ethnic community as both a refuge and a barrier to integration and advancement in the educational / labour market. At the same time, they point to the fact that even under extremely oppressive conditions, ethnic minority women have been able to form networks and organisations to challenge unacceptable cultural practices where they are prevalent (Shamindar 2006). A few have underlined the potential importance of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) voluntary sector as essential for the advancement of BME individuals and development of their leadership skills, particularly among young people, as well as for promoting social capital, social inclusion, health and general quality of life (Turner 2001; Demos 2003; Pilkington 2002; McLeod et al. 2001; Rowntree Foundation 2002). In large-scale interviews minority ethnic women indicated that working in the voluntary sector had served as a stepping stone into education, training and sometimes the labour market (Yeandle et al. 2007). However, much of the research into minority ethnic social networks is still too recent to be able to provide clear evidence on exactly how the formation of social capital and social networking has or has not had a positive influence on labour market entry for minority ethnic individuals.

However, it appears that much of the research on the labour market situation and social networks of minority ethnic women remains still speculative, and clearly there is a "need to understand more about the circumstances facing women from specific groups, to unpick the complex interplay, not just between race and gender, but between these and other factors such as faith, geography, age, educational qualifications and becoming a mother" (EOC 2006: 10).

[18] Both the wearing of the turban by male Sikhs and the wearing of the headscarf by Muslim women have become symbolic for the pragmatic, non-ideological way of finding solutions to issues associated with religious dress in the workplace and in schools in Britain. $ 11 of the Employment Act 1989 permits Sikhs to wear turbans instead of safety helmets on construction sites. In case of injury, the construction site is only liable for injuries that would have been caused if the Sikh had been wearing a safety helmet. Equally, Sikhs are exempt from wearing motorcycle helmets. Schools have traditionally resorted to negotiating on issues pertaining to religious dress at the individual institution level, rather than involving the government. It is common practice to allow the wearing of the headscarf if it bears the school colours. However, the wearing of the burqa or the full veil has elicited controversy, and education secretary Alan Johnston announced that schools would be allowed to ban this dress on grounds of safety, security and teaching (Guardian 2007).

2.4. Issues of social inclusion and identity of the second generation with respect to the labour market

As should have become clear by now, the British convention is not to refer to settled minorities as 'second' or 'third' generation *immigrants* but rather as *minority ethnic communities*. Similarly, ever since assimilationist demands were discarded in the 1950s/60s as ineffective and inappropriate, a multicultural credo and race relations policies have formed the basis for many policies. In education, we have witnessed the early introduction of mainstreaming provision and multicultural curricula, coupled with ethnic monitoring and a drive to lower outcome gaps between ethnic minority and majority pupils. At an early stage British researchers and policy makers turned away from a deficit-oriented approach to ethnic minority children's schooling and made serious consideration of external phenomena such as school curricula, racism, and material deprivation as factors in the underachievement of ethnic minority children (e.g. Coard 1971). Influential government reports such as the Bullock Report of 1975 and the Swann Report of 1987 provided the impetus to move away from remedial and compensatory teaching to mainstreaming provision (including English as an additional language) within a multicultural curriculum that would apply to all. In an attempt to prevent the stigmatisation and alienation of ethnic minority groups, social policy measures in Britain have traditionally been characterised by 'racial inexplicitness', namely avoiding any direct reference to race or ethnicity.

Today, ethnic minorities are significantly more likely than Whites to attend post-compulsory education, and their educational attainment has rapidly increased (Drew 1995; Leslie and Drinkwater 1999). However, this does not frequently translate into higher level jobs; research points to the widespread, and widely studied phenomenon of 'overeducation', or overqualification (Green and MacIntosh 2007; Battu and Sloane 2004; Clark and Drinkwater 2007).

A number of reports were commissioned by subsequent British governments on the situation of ethnic minority youths, often following 'race riots'. All of these have been highly influential in British policy making. Thus, the *Scarman Report* of 1981 pointed out that Afro-Caribbean and Asian youths in particular felt increasingly disillusioned about the racism they were experiencing from the police force and this triggered greater efforts to recruit more ethnic minorities into the police force, and heralded changes in training and law enforcement (Scarman 1981). In 2000, the *Parekh Report* emphasised the need for shared values and greater equity but famously spoke of the UK as a 'community of communities' (Parekh 2000). The 2001 *Cantle Report* entitled Community Cohesion expressed concern that certain communities chose to live 'parallel lives' and criticised the establishment of single-faith schools (including Muslim schools). It provided impetus for the government's 'community cohesion' agenda, which some critics see as a return to the old integrationist-assimilationist agenda.

Continuing the long-standing mainstreaming approach and the aim of not stigmatising particular groups, the accomplishments of ethnic minority pupils' are now firmly embedded in 'whole school achievement' and a general raising of standards. Any differential funding is allocated through area-based programmes such as *Sure Start*, *Education Action Zones* and Excellence in Cities, thereby covering 70 per cent of all minority ethnic pupils in England. At the same time, the attainment of ethnic minority pupils is actively supported through programmes such as *Aiming High* and the widening of Section 11 funding into an Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) (DfES 2004a, 2004b).

Quantitative and qualitative research on ethnic minority youths' working ambitions began as early as in the 1970s and continues to show that a large part of (but not all) ethnic minority youths and their parents, including Asians, have high aspirations in the world of work (sometimes even deemed 'unrealistic') (cf. for example, Anwar 1988; Dale et al. 2002).

The essential role higher education plays in promoting social mobility has been proven many times and has been found to be an important factor in explaining the value many ethnic minorities attach to educational achievement (Modood 1993; Allen 1998).

As for access to employment, with a growing second and third generation of ethnic minorities, their greater qualification and acculturation to the British labour market, and with further targeted, mainstream, and framework policies becoming effective, researchers expect a further, but slow narrowing of differences in wages and occupational attainment. Statistically speaking, these processes are likely to be most obvious among the most recent arrivals such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, but less for the more established groups, simply because progress becomes more apparent when narrowing larger gaps than smaller ones. Judging from past trends, however, substantial gross differentials and differences in employment rates between whites, Blacks, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are likely to persist (Heath 2001).

The most recent Census, in 2001, provided a much-awaited opportunity to gather more authoritative data on the second generation on its own, as the first and second generation were traditionally pooled (Modood et al. 1997). In order to be able to determine the causal factors affecting the labour market conditions of first and second generations, Heath (2001) has called for research into the role of contextual factors such as social networks and 'bridging social capital', work attitudes and career aspirations, the effect of geographical concentrations and of discrimination and hiring pratices, particularly by smaller employers recruiting lesser-skilled labour. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) is also to include a range of measures on social origins, parental circumstances, and educational and occupational careers in one of their large regular surveys (Heath 2001). The past national surveys of ethnic minorities have not focused on employment-related attitudes, or methods of job seeking and social class origins, or parental education and family circumstances. Thus, ideally, there could be long-term analyses and panel studies that allow 'before' and 'after' measures of attitudes and employment strategies to refine the findings.

Ethnographic research into the second generation has shown that, for example, youths of Pakistani heritage have a strong British identity as 'British citizens' endowed with all the 'natural rights' of a British-born citizen (Hussain 2005). Other ethnographic research from the 1990s was able to demonstrate that, and the ways in which, ethnic minority youths were able to relate to different communities at once and to negotiate different identities. While five major 'communities' existed (Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Afro-Caribbean and White), other social cleavages such as class, birth place, (parents') nationality, and mother tongue cross-cut these ethnic definitions (Baumann 1996). At the same time, further studies found that religion remained a particularly important source of identity for ethnic minorities, particularly Muslims (Jacobson 1998). There is no research on whether issues of identity and identification following the public discourse and government agenda surrounding citizenship, national identity, re-Islamisation and allegiance to the state after the events of 9/11 and 7/7 are influencing young ethnic minorities in their access to work, job-seeking strategies, or employment aspirations. Racial discrimination and socio-economic exclusion remain the most pertinent focus of research that seeks to explain labour market differentials for ethnic minorities, particularly for (South) Asians (Anwar and Ali 1997; Ranger 1988; Brennan and McGeevor 1990; Abbas 2007).

Minority ethnic social networks and informal job-seeking continue to be a popular strategy for in the search for employment. However, research has suggested that statistically speaking, the use of social networks is popular among ethnic minorities but may not be the most effective instrument either in terms of gaining employment or in terms of the level of job acquired (Reingold 1999; Battu and Seaman 2004) as it prevents many from engaging in more systematic job-seeking and seeking the help of personal advisers from Jobcentres Plus. Based on findings about the tendency of many ethnic minority communities to rely on informal social networks – particularly those who are spatially isolated and less likely to use Jobcentres Plus – the government therefore initiated and

funded an Ethnic Minority Outreach (EMO) scheme, run by private and voluntary sector organisations with close links to the communities they serve (see below).

2.5. Policy oriented research

Adhering to the workfare principle upon which the British welfare state subsists, the government has made various efforts to bring people into work or back to work, particularly those who were previously classified as NEET (not currently engaged in employment, education, or training). True to the principle of evidence-based policy and the tradition of setting targets, monitoring, and evaluating government policy, the lion's share of policy oriented research in Britain has been commissioned by the government.

The social inclusion, educational advancement, and inclusion in the labour market of disadvantaged groups have been high on the New Labour government's 'social cohesion' agenda (Home Office 2001) since the party came to power in 1997. A wealth of social inclusion strategies have been introduced, regarding the realms of education, the labour market, health, housing, and the police force. Typically, these strategies are either concerned with:

(1) legal frameworks such as anti-discrimination, with
(2) mainstream programmes that also benefit ethnic minorities, or with
(3) programmes targetted at disadvantaged groups, including ethnic minorities.

Among the highest profile initiatives of New Labour are the *New Deal* programmes, which provide tailor-made personal advice to various groups at risk of social exclusion. As the New Deal programmes are relatively new, evaluations are still scarce and often inconclusive. The New Deal for Young People is a workfare programme that provides tailored support to jobseekers through personal advisers, individual action plans, and placements. The success of the programme is monitored on a monthly basis by the Employment Service, and statistics are disaggregated by ethnicity using the New Deal Evaluation Database. Following initial reports which suggested that the New Deal worked more for Whites than ethnic minorities (Moody 2000; Fieldhouse et al. 2002), the Cabinet Office Strategy Unit released a new strategy in 2003 that was directly concerned with the engagement of ethnic minorities in the labour market. A further evaluation of the New Deal for Young People carried out by the Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force in 2004 revealed once more that the successes of the programme were not as high for ethnic minorities as they were for Whites, and that there were significant variations for different ethnic groups (EMETF, 2004; Cangiano 2006). Still, the success of the New Deal in engaging ethnic minorities has increased in recent years, even if parity has yet to be achieved. Fieldhouse et al. (2002) calculated a reduction of 1.4% in economic inactivity due to the programme (Cangiano 2006).

Similarly, Action Teams, led either by the Employment Service (ES) or by Employment Zones, work closely with local communities to provide flexible and targeted help in individual circumstances. Ethnic minorities are highly represented among those teams as only 55% of their members are white (Cox et al. 2002). Initial evaluations found that Action Teams had a placement success rate of 40%, however only a minority of the successful cases had previously been classified as 'hardest to help'(Cox et al. 2002).

The aforementioned Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force was created in 2004 in order to bring together Ministers from key government departments and representatives of public bodies and the private sector to deliver the recommendations of the 2003 Strategy Unit report 'Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market'. The Strategy aims to build the employability, education and skills of some ethnic minority groups; connecting people to work, and enhancing equal opportunities in the workplace (Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force 2004).

The Department for Work and Pensions' Ethnic Minority Outreach (EMO) scheme from 2002 aims to raise awareness for employment especially in hard-to-reach communities and attract

inactive and unemployed ethnic minorities into the mainstream labour market through outreach-based, employer focused provisions and via project workers. The EMO schemes operate through Jobcentre Plus, and with private and voluntary sector organisations, to attract job seekers into the mainstream labour market. Barnes et al. (2005) found the EMO's contribution to the overall number of job placing for Jobcentre Plus marginal but not insignificant as over 3,000 jobs were gained in the years 2001–2004. 58% of participants were Asian or Asian British (44% Indian) and 24% were Black or Black British. EMO schemes have been proven successful in increasing ethnic minorities' awareness of employment and training opportunities, especially among Indian and Pakistani women, where the language and outreach skills of EMO staff were crucial in reaching these groups (Barnes et al. 2005).

Employment Zones, introduced in 2000, are a typical example of a non-stigmatising, area-based approach that aims to help highly disadvantaged groups and comprises areas where ethnic minorities are heavily concentrated. Targeting the long-term unemployed and lone parents, like EMO they work with ethnically mixed, multilingual personal advisers and individual action plans and in partnership with private and voluntary sector organisations. Ethnic minorities are significantly represented among EZs' participants (28%). Black people (14%) are particularly overrepresented when compared with their share of the British population (2%) (Cangiano 2006). Evaluation studies have pointed to the positive effect EZs have had on ethnic minority employment and found that creating a sense of ownership and influence within the local community is one of the key factors for success (Rowntree Foundation 1999).

Finally, specific research has been carried out in order to assess the impact of government schemes for the self-employment of ethnic minorities. The government has been actively supporting ethnic minority enterprises through a number of national programmes such as the DTI's Small Business Service (SBS) and Small Firms Loan Guarantee Scheme (SFLGS) that are implemented and supervised locally. Research has found that there is too little awareness of these schemes, and that many ethnic minority business owners prefer to rely on self-help and informal sources of assistance rather than on government support (Bank of England 1999). Among the targeted programmes are the Ethnic Minority Business Forum (EMBF), the Phoenix Fund, the Faith in Business initiative, and the Bangladeshi Women's Social Enterprise Cooperative, all of which still await evaluation (Cangiano 2006).

Naturally, most of the actual integration work thus happens on the local level, particularly in larger cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, and London. London has been an immigration hub for a long time, and it is the single most important destination for newcomers to Britain. True to the political ideology that only those who have not come by choice (i.e. recognised asylum seekers) are needy and worthy of public support for their integration, by far the highest number of integration programmes in Britain (and in London in particular) focus directly on enhancing the employability of refugees (rather than on ethnic minorities of the second or third generation). Their tasks span a whole series of services such as (providing access to) education and training; English language support (English as a Second or Other Language, ESOL or English as an Additional Language, EAL); promoting the recognition of qualifications gained abroad; fostering acculturation to British society and specific labour market demands; mentoring; encouraging and supporting entrepreneurship; building social and community capital; and signposting refugees, i.e. referring them to further agencies (Green 2005). To meet these demands, a complex patchwork of national, regional and local agencies dealing with integration issues has developed in London over time, in a piecemeal fashion. This intricate web of organisations includes government bodies, voluntary agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and refugee community organisations (RCOs).

While the bulk of public support schemes for ethnic minorities is specifically targeted at refugees rather than settled minorities, virtually all cities have installed local programmes that aim to aid minority businesses to access business advice, networking activities and possible growth finance. The impact of such programmes is hard to measure; researchers have admonished,

however, that many of those regeneration schemes fail to tailor their policies to the local needs of women, especially ethnic minority women, leaving many of them isolated from employment and educational opportunities. Some larger scale research projects (such as Gender and Employment in Local Labour Markets, GELLM) have been initiated with the aim of profiling local labour markets and informing policy-makers about ways to enhance an area's economic performance. Amongst others, GELLM has called for better data-disaggregation according to gender, and for supporting volunteering, activism, and enterprise in ways that work for women (GELLM 2006).

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Appendix. Examples of *best practices* towards migrant women and youth of migrant origin

Project: **LONDON BOROUGH OF HACKNEY PARTNERSHIP**
Promoters: London borough of Hackney, UK. Local residents are now on the management board and employed within the organisation.

Description: The project aimed to find solutions for local problems from the community itself. The project includes training programmes. It also facilitates Open Days and support groups such as Bengali Women's and Turkish Parents' Support Groups and encourages residents to set goals and complete an Individual Action Plan that details the tasks they need to complete in order obtain employment. As a part of the project Customised Employment programmes have also been developed, reflecting the Skills Tests and interview requirements set by employers. It was crucial to first gain the trust of just a few people within the local community and then through them make contact with the wider community. The "community ice breakers" (fun activities) had a real impact on the local community and enabled people who may not normally approach employment organisation have access to services in a more informal setting. The project revealed that long-term unemployed people respond to help best on a one to one basis and that it is essential to target employers who put less emphasis on formal qualifications and more emphasis on competency based testing as part of the candidate selection process. However, the "community-led" model of regeneration often poses problems for funders - funders tend to view programmes in 12 month cycles and want to see results within this time.

Project: **PRESET**
Promoters: Preset is a charity based in London. Preset works as an enabling body in partnership with numerous other organisations (e.g. Youth Justice Board).

Description of the project: The purpose of the project is to provide opportunities for disadvantaged young people, particularly those from ethnic minorities living in the inner cities, (Newham, Ealing, Islington, Hackney and Haringey boroughs of London) to fulfil their educational potential, and to provide the guidance that will help them to obtain meaningful, sustainable employment. The project entails a Community Mentoring scheme combined with career-focused training that will increase awareness of further education opportunities for young people living in deprived areas, and address key skills relating to employability. The project also provides ESOL courses (English for Speakers of Other Languages), basic skills training for young offenders, and a Leadership Programme that equips young people (16-26) with skills that increase leadership abilities to enhance career prospects. Preset has been able to continuously establish new partnerships, fostering the development of new initiatives and tools that help more disengaged young people access education and develop employment skills. There is no 'one size fits all' model of social engagement. New approaches are being adapted and developed for every new situation and ongoing learning can be achieved through sharing.

Project: **BLACKBURN SCHOOLS – RACES AND FACES PROJECT**
Promoter: Citizenship Foundation

Description of the project: Students from St. Wilfrid's School (CoE) and Beardwood School (majority Muslim) in Blackburn (Manchester) were brought together during this project to discuss their thoughts and feelings about racial bullying in their schools and communities. They then worked together with a local community artist to design a banner and mosaic, which expressed their feelings surrounding the issues they had discussed. In addition to this project, 26 Year 7 students and 12 Year 9 students were consulted about racial bullying at Burnage High School in Manchester. Students were given questionnaires to complete, and these were collated and analysed.

Project: **YEFF!**
Promoter: Network of European Foundation.

Description of the project: Yeff! offers a forum where young people from all over Europe meet and present their films on cultural diversity issues.
The network consists of partners in more than 10 European countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK) and is constantly growing. Every two years a Yeff! film forum takes place in a different European city. Young people from all over Europe are asked to produce films on the topic of cultural diversity and to present their work on the Yeff! forum. Participants are encouraged to reflect on their images in modern media, to learn how to represent their own realities and to present their visions to a broader public. Among the goals of the project are the following two:
1) to ask entrants to reflect on the experiences and perception of the issues of "cultural diversity" from their individual points of view;
2) to support above all young people with intercultural experience or experience of migration.

3 – GERMANY

3.1. Introduction. Basic data on the development of the immigrant population and ethnic minorities in the country

In general the history of migration in Germany is marked by a continuing system of foreign labour employment, which shifted from agriculture in the era of Prussia to the industrial sector in WWII. In several sectors such as agriculture, mining and the chemical industry, the share of foreign labourers rose to 40% in 1944 (Bade 1983). This pattern of foreign labour recruitment was interrupted only during the economic crisis at the end of the 1920s and at the end of WWII when in four years 13.7 m. refugees and exiled ethnic Germans from Central Europe immigrated to the three Western Zones of the future Federal Republic of Germany (Bade 1983).[19] Although immigration represents an integral part of German history, the first substantial migration movements into the country took place as a consequence of WWII which, therefore, marks the starting point of our introduction.

In post-war West Germany, a large proportion of demand for labour was met by returning German prisoners of war (4 m. until the end of 1950), refugees of German descent from Central Europe (approx. 4.7 m.) and persons emigrating from the German Democratic Republic (approx. 1.8 m. until 1961) (Bade 1987). In 1950, these migrants amounted to 16.7% of the West German population, rising to 23.9% in 1960 (Herbert 1990). Although these immigrants were treated like Germans by law, and considered themselves German, their integration was not entirely problem free: the native population often showed open hostility towards these *'Fluechtlinge'* (refugees) and expressed concern over their different culture, and prejudice about their unwillingness to work, their lack of cleanliness, and their presumed criminal tendencies (Oberpenning 1999; Schulze 1997).

Nevertheless, these migrants integrated successfully into the German economy and political system due to the fact that they enjoyed full citizenship rights, which enabled them to articulate and safeguard their interests in the given economic-political structure of West Germany. This political mobilization led to an assimilation process in which the political structure of the host society had to respond to the migrants' demands, instead of answering to the existing resentment of the native population.

Even though the demand for labour of the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the booming German economy of the 1950s, was met by these migrants of ethnic German origin, a demand for regional labour emerged in specific sectors. These labour shortages led to the employment of the first Italian 'guest workers' in 1952 by South West German farmers, in spite of an overall employment rate of 9.5% (Heckmann 1981). An increasing demand in the construction sector and industry - partly due to the rearmament and the formation of the German armed forces in 1956 - lead to the extension of active recruitment of foreign workers by agreements with several European countries: Italy (1955) was followed by Spain and Greece in 1960, and Turkey in 1961. These agreements not only served German interests; several sending countries applied for the extension of migrant quotas or to be considered for the 'guest worker' programme (Steinert 1995). After the construction of the Berlin Wall and the closure of the German Democratic Republic's border in 1961, further agreements with Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia were signed, covering a period up till 1968. One of the most important decisions of Germany's post-war labour recruitment was made in 1955, when the government, the employers' associations and the unions agreed upon full integration of labour migrants into the social security system (Mehrländer 1980). Since then, the German social security system in principle has not differentiated between foreigners and German nationals.

[19] In the aftermath of WWII Germany was divided into three Western and one Eastern zones, which became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) respectively in 1949.

As a consequence of the oil crisis of 1973, a halt on recruitment was imposed. At that time, 2.6 m. foreign workers were employed in the German economy, among them Turkish nationals (23%), Yugoslavian citizens (18%) and Italians (16%) (Lederer 1997). Although the employment of 'guest workers' was intended as temporary by both the German host society and the migrants, there was no enforcement of the rotation scheme. On the contrary, since the migrants were employed in unattractive sectors of industry (mining, construction, metal and textile industry), German employers were interested in keeping their trained labourers. During the early 1970s it became increasingly obvious that the rotation strategy was not feasible, while at the same time the share of non-European migrants and their visibility in public increased. Parallel to the 1973 halt on recruitment for non-EEC nationals in the context of the oil crisis, the official rotation policy was replaced by a policy promoting voluntary repatriation. From 1973 onwards the only way to immigrate into Germany legally was for the purposes of family reunion (spouses and children under the age of sixteen). Thus the ambiguous policy to stop new recruitment, to promote voluntary return and to foster the social integration of those who were unlikely to return was introduced into German migration management (Heckmann 1994).

The 1990s brought a new development in Germany's migration policy. The collapse of the Iron Curtain and German reunification eliminated a major migration barrier to the country. At the same time, the civil war in Yugoslavia generated massive refugee movements which were hosted predominantly by Germany and Austria. These refugee migration movements culminated in 1992 with a peak of 438,000 applications, while the immigration of ethnic Germans – since 1990 predominantly stemming from the states of the former Soviet Union – reached its climax in 1990, totalling 397,000 immigrants. Since the mid 1990s, the share of immigrants in Germany's population has oscillated around 9% (Bundesministerium des Innern 2005).

According to official statistics from the German Statistical Office ('Statistisches Bundesamt'), in 2004 6,717,115 foreigners were living in Germany, accounting for 8.1% of the total population. This figure includes all persons who are not considered Germans by Art. 116,1 Basic Law ('Grundgesetz'). In terms of single nationalities, in 2004 Germany's foreign population consisted mainly of Turks (943,644 males and 820,674 females), Italians (323,834 males and 224,360 females), people from Serbia and Montenegro (271,813 males and 235,515 females) and Greeks (172,152 males and 143,837 females) (Migrationsbericht 2005). These percentages have barely changed as shown in the table below, which visualizes the foreign population in Germany on 31st December 2006. However, different numbers in migration statistics are often related to diverse statistical methods or different definitions of 'immigrants', as will be explained in detail further on.

Table 3.1. Foreign Population in Germany on 31.12.2006 listed by nationality and gender

Country of origin	***Total***	***Men***	***Women***
Turkey	1,738,831	920,861	817,970
Italy	534,657	315,432	219,225
Poland	361,696	175,275	186,421
Serbia and Montenegro [1]	316,823	165,910	150,913
Greece	303,761	165,159	138,602
Croatia	227,510	111,826	115,684
Russian Federation	187,514	75,327	112,187
Austria	175,653	93,182	82,471
Bosnia and Herzegovina	157,094	81,222	75,872
Ukraine	128,950	50,556	78,394
Netherlands	123,466	67,637	55,829
Portugal	115,028	62,603	52,425
Spain	106,819	53,343	53,476
France	104,085	48,090	55,995
USA	99,265	56,639	42,626
United Kingdom	96,507	58,433	38,074
Vietnam	83,076	40,830	42,246
China	75,733	39,710	36,023

Source: National Office for Statistics

[1] Including people holding citizenship of one of the two successor states, 'Serbia' and 'Montenegro'

Main data sources on the migrant and foreign population in Germany

- **Microcensus**, published by the 'Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland' (Federal Statistical Office), see: www.destatis.de
  Abstract:

The microcensus ('mini-census of the population') provides official representative statistics of 1% of the population and the labour market in Germany. Since 1957 – in the new Länder (including Berlin-East) since 1991 – the microcensus has supplied statistical information in a detailed subject-related and regional breakdown on the population structure, the economic and social situation of the population, families, consensual unions and households, on employment, job seeking, education/training and further education/training, the housing situation and health.

- **SOEP**, the so-called German Socio-Economic Panel, supported by the German Institute for Economic Research, see: www.diw.de
  Abstract:
  The SOEP is a wide-ranging representative longitudinal study of private households. It provides information on all household members, consisting of Germans living in the Old and New German States, Foreigners, and recent Immigrants to Germany. The Panel was started in 1984. In 2006, there were nearly 11,000 households, and more than 20,000 persons sampled.
  Some of the many topics include household composition, occupational biographies, employment, earnings, health and satisfaction indicators.
- The **Auslaenderzentralregister** (Central register of foreigners) registers all migrants living in Germany beyond temporary stay (general statistics and visa statistics). It is the competence of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, see: www.bamf.de

Main studies on immigration flows and the situation of immigrants in Germany

- **Migration Report** ('Migrationsbericht'), published annually together by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees and the Ministry of Interior, see: www.bmi.bund.de.

The next Migration Report is expected to be published in July 2007, providing statistical information on migration in Germany in 2006.

- **Education Report** ('Bildungsbericht'), published by the Consortium on Education Coverage on behalf of the Permanent Conference of the Regional Ministers of Culture of Germany and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. In 2006 the Education Report was published for the first time and provided an indicator-based analysis on education in Germany, concentrating especially on the relationship between migration and education. The next Education Report is scheduled for 2008, see: www.bildungsbericht.de
- **Children and Youth Report** ('Kinder und Jugend Bericht der Bundesregierung'), is realized by the Office for Statistics on Youth Support (University of Dortmund) and the German Youth Institute e.V. (DJI) in Munich on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth, see: http://www.bmfsfj.bund.de/Politikbereiche/kinder-und-jugend,did=80050.html
- **Study on the Population from an Immigrant background**, published by the German Federal Statistical Office in May 2007 on the Microcensus of 2005. This study contains data on demographic and socio-demographic aspects, way of life in private households, employment, education, retirement arrangements, health and spatial distribution, see: https://www-ec.destatis.de

In general, the data sources cited above provide very relevant longitudinal data on migration in Germany. One structural difficulty involved in measuring migration, however, is that of criteria. Most European data sources rely on the criterion of nationality for researching migration. This criterion, though, has proved to be inadequate for reflecting the whole dimension of the phenomenon: due to some characteristics of German citizenship law, for example, so-called Ethnic Germans ('Aussiedler'), i.e. foreigners of proven German descent, obtain German citizenship and vanish from related statistics. Also naturalized migrants are excluded from most data sources on migration. These structural shortcomings in statistical sources contribute to providing a distorted picture of migration in the country. Since 2005 the Microcensus has therefore been based statistically on the criterion of 'Migrationshintergrund' (immigrant background). The term 'immigrant background' indicates 'all migrants who entered Germany's contemporary territory after 1949 as well as all immigrants born in Germany'. It also applies to 'all Germans born in Germany with at least one parent having direct migration experience or who was born in Germany as a foreigner'. All these expressions are obviously related to German migration and citizenship law, thus rendering translation difficult.

The cited reports and studies on the migration situation in Germany provide valuable quantitative data on different aspects of the phenomenon. It has to be considered, though, that they represent official publications on behalf of Federal ministries and offices and tend to highlight politically relevant issues, while other aspects of immigration in Germany may remain under-investigated. In fact, the cited reports and studies alone reveal little about, for instance, the social integration of migrants into German society and their identificational rapport with it.

3.2. Issues of integration and access to the labour market in mainstream research and studies

As shown above, migration to Germany is an 'old' phenomenon. Unsurprisingly, the average length of time that foreign people stay in the country is 18.5 years. Some facts given by the Study on the Population from an Immigrant background indicate, however, that migrants living in Germany face difficulties in socio-economic integration: In 2005 the rate of unemployment of

people from an immigrant background was 13.3%, while it was only 7.5% for Germans without an immigrant background. 73% of Germans in the age range between 25 and 65 were involved in the labour market, compared to only 61.6% of migrants. The differences in the rate of employment widen still further when it comes to women. The rate of women from an immigrant background who do not work is 36.9%, while only 26.3% of German women not from an immigrant background are unemployed (Study on the Population from an Immigrant background 2007).

3.2.1. The development of integration concepts

Why is this? This question is and has always been of special interest for migration researchers in Germany. This is partly related to the first intended migration schemes that the country experienced, i.e. the well-known recruitment of guest-workers from e.g. Italy, Greece and Turkey in the 1970s. From the very beginning of modern migration movements to Germany, evidence of steady employment and contribution to the national labour market was considered a key condition for entry and stay. This way of perceiving migration is reflected in German sociology which at that time (still) emphasised work as the most central condition for human beings in society. As a consequence, early migration research in Germany developed between the *de-facto* immigration of recruited workers and the sociological focus on the centrality of work. Still today the so-called structural integration, i.e. the inclusion of migrants into core social institutions (such as the labour market and education), is considered to impact on other dimensions of integration (like social inclusion, acculturation and identification) (see Heckmann 2000 on the ground of Esser and Gordon). On this regard, Germany founds itself in line with common US/American integration theories (see Esser 1980 and Gordon 1978).

As indicated above, in the course of time social sciences developed more sophisticated concepts of integration that juxtaposed the factor of work with the importance of education. Theories of human capital, which emphasised the uneven allocation of (social) capital, and the unequal assignment of its profits (in economics: return on investment) between migrants and natives, were accounted for by discrimination and segmentation (see Granato 2003a). In the following pages we will highlight some of the aspects which vanished from the focus of German social sciences. These issues regard above all a) the importance of institutional settings for immigrant entrepreneurs, b) the informal employment of migrant women in domestic and care-giving occupations, c) institutional patterns of discrimination against people from an immigrant background in Germany's education and vocational system, and d) the importance of informal power in the transit of migrant youth from school into the labour market.

Before reviewing these aspects some general characteristics of migrant employment in Germany should be highlighted.

3.2.2. Migrant employment and self-employment in Germany

In general, access to the German labour market is severely hampered by the so-called Law on Preference of Natives (*Inlaenderprimat*). This law constitutes an almost insurmountable entry barrier to migrant newcomers. Furthermore, people immigrating into Germany have problems obtaining official recognition for previous job qualifications and experiences. Logically, people from an immigrant background who have been living and educated in the country should not have to face these problems. But contrary to what one would expect, the children (the so-called second generation) and grandchildren of migrants in Germany (the so-called third generation) are likely to be 'disadvantaged' in the labour market. Several mainstream quantitative studies show, in fact, that people from an immigrant background are consistently employed in less attractive jobs than their German counterparts (Flam 2007: 8; Konsortium Bildungsbericht 2006: 153-160).

Alongside this trend of ethnic discrimination, another characteristic of the German labour market is the underemployment and underpayment of female workers. While the rate of participation in the labour force of German males amounted to approx. 80% in 2001, female workers reached only 60%

(Pfarr 2002). Moreover, mainstream research identified gender-based wage discrimination in Germany to range between 40 and 90 per cent in the 1990s (Brookes 2002).

Migrant women, in this perspective, are subject to two-fold discrimination: on the one hand, they experience the same employment disadvantages that affect all female workers in Germany, such as lower income, a lack of child care facilities etc. (Konsortium Bildungsbericht 2006: 181-186). While on the other hand, they face discrimination on the labour market as a consequence of poor school education. The latter factor, as recent studies suggest, also appears to be the result of discriminatory tendencies and practices in the German school system and teaching staff (Alba et al. 1994; Baumert et al. 2002; Flam 2007; Hamburger 1994; Gogolin et al. 1998; Gomolla and Radtke 2002; Kristen 2003, 2006; Prengel 1995; Terkessidis 2004).

Alongside this general situation of integration into the labour market the matter of self-employment of immigrants acquires particular importance in science and politics. In classical immigration countries, indeed, ethnic minorities tend to show higher commitment to entrepreneurship than members of the dominant majority group. Research has thus focused on patterns of group solidarity as social capital which gives minorities an advantage in entering self-employment. On this regard Granovetter identified particular forms of group solidarity which foster business strategies based on trust and liability (Granovetter 1995). Generally, British literature assumes that the development of immigrant business is directly related to the permanent settlement of guest worker communities in the country and the upward mobility from one-time industrial workers to the ranks of the self-employed. In this sense, self-employment tends to be considered as a sign of successful integration.

Experts in Germany, though, tend to differ from this understanding about the value of self-employment for the individuals involved, and offer a different interpretation of the long-term chances for success in terms of social mobility (Loeffelholz et al. 1994; see also Wilpert 2003).

Historically, migrant businesses in Germany were started up by people from the main guest worker groups, i.e. Italians, Greeks and Turks. In the four decades since the recruitment era, the small shops of former guest workers revitalized and added colour to neglected areas of German cities. These people created their niche in the sector of food/grocery stores and restaurants (Wilpert 2003). Loeffelholz et al. state that by 1992 'foreigners' owned almost one-third of all restaurants in the country (1994). In 1999, over 263,000 self-employed migrants lived in Germany, and were considered responsible for the creation of some 780,000 jobs (Bericht der Unabhängigen Kommission 'Zuwanderung' 2001).

Unlike the British interpretation of immigrant entrepreneurship, German scholars suggest that an increase in migrant self-employment is not necessarily a sign of successful integration into the host economy. Instead, they argue that it appears to be a strategy for coping with the constant threat of unemployment in the regular labour market (Loeffelholz et al. 1994).

Indeed, self-employed migrants enter economic areas characterised by marginal returns and difficult working conditions: restaurants, grocery shops, cleaning, construction, transport, hairdressing, tailoring and clothing repairs. This situation appears to be true not only in Germany. Besides the ideal contribution to the 'global city' (Sassen 1991), what role do migrant workers play in (worldwide) processes of economic restructuring, German scholars ask? Besides their given social capital in terms of trust among co-nationals, what other factors are encouraging migrants to become self-employed?

Due to some characteristics of migrant employment in Germany, the country represents unique terrain for researching these questions: while the Turkish population represents the largest 'migrant group' in Germany, it shows a relatively modest self-employment rate. Contrary to 11.6% of Greek migrants and 11.1% of Italian migrants living in Germany running their own business in 1992, only 3.6% of Turkish nationals were engaged in self-employment (Loeffelholz et al. 1994).

What factors explain the higher self-employment rate of Greeks and Italians compared to Turkish citizens? Do people of Turkish origin have less social capital than Greeks and Italians? Or may restrictive policies towards non EU-nationalities result in processes of exclusion of certain

groups of residents, which also have an impact on their economic integration? Using biographical research on Turkish entrepreneurs in Germany, Wilpert argues that it is not a lack of social and cultural capital in terms of solidarity among group members or the lack of self-employment experience in the home society and family that determines the underperformance of the Turkish self-employed. On the contrary, she asserts that existing (legal and administrative) restrictions towards non-EU immigrants are hampering their economic success (Wilpert 2003).

In the context of German research, however, the legal status of migrants and its impact on integration only recently gained relevance. Early studies concentrated primarily on the niche businesses of Turks and their clientele. They investigated the background characteristics and motivations of Turkish immigrant entrepreneurs (Blaschke and Ersöz 1987), gave a historical overview of the beginnings of the ethnic economy in Berlin's Kreuzberg district (Gitmez and Wilpert 1987) and conducted two large surveys among Turkish entrepreneurs in North Rhine Westphalia (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1989, 1991). Other nationalities were only investigated more recently. In 1992 Stavrinoudi studied the business of Greek immigrants and in 1997 Pichler investigated Italian entrepreneurship in the city of Berlin. However, very little research was carried out on migrant groups such as Vietnamese or Polish people. This is especially surprising as the latter, for instance, are renowned for organizing entire renovations of houses and flats with teams of fellow countrymen or undocumented migrants from other countries.

In the 1990s, however, the rate of self-employment among Turkish nationals in Germany increased, reaching a percentage of 6.2% in 1998. Nevertheless, the share of Italian and Greek migrants, which amounted to 13.5% and 18.8% respectively, still outranked the involvement of Turkish nationals in entrepreneurial activities. In recent years the self-employment rate for foreigners (9.5% in 1997) has been almost on a par to that of Germans (10%) (Wilpert 2003).

The growing importance of immigrant entrepreneurship in Germany has recently begun to attract the attention of social scientists. Some scholars suggest that Germany's refusal to pursue active integration policies for the last three decades has unleashed surprising do-it-yourself-integration processes in the economy among migrant communities. They use the cited changes in the Turkish ethnic economy since 1990 to back up this argument. The study of Mushaben (2006), for example, embeds these developments in an analytical framework which links economic enclaves and urban citizenship. According to Mushaben, guest workers and their offspring, motivated by structural unemployment and social exclusion, are turning to self-employment, adding new jobs to an otherwise moribund national economy and promoting urban revitalization, as in Berlin, Frankfurt and Cologne. The qualitative study outlines generational differences within the Turkish-German community, ascertaining that third-generation ethnics are more likely to start businesses outside the 'traditional' food sector and are more willing to embrace German citizenship. Special attention is dedicated to women entrepreneurs in Berlin. Indicating that the share of self-employed immigrant women today approaches that of German women, Mushaben states that Turkish women show a high level of identification with German society, a society that offers opportunities not available to them in their Turkish homeland.

On the contrary, Pichler (1997) and Wilpert (1998) emphasise economic demands and related structural changes together with the informalization of the economy as the reasons behind a more favourable climate for small business and self-employment in Germany at large. German reunification, they state, required a change of mentality which has resulted in a steady increase of self-employment in the country. But despite the public visibility of people from Turkey as entrepreneurs, this group continues to have the lowest rate of self-employment among the most important migrant worker groups. According to Wilpert this should be interpreted as a result of (legal and administrative) restrictions on non-EU immigrants (Wilpert 2003).

3.3. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of migrant women

Migration research in Germany came to the subject of female migration relatively late. Due to the *de-facto* recruitment of male workers, the topos of the male migrant working in Germany's production business became ingrained in German science and literature. Women from an immigrant background were perceived almost exclusively as non-workers and were considered as 'dependent persons' with limited freedom of movement, isolated in their private living spaces and potential victims of identity crises. In the mid 1980s more and more researchers became interested in the living conditions of women from an immigrant background in Germany. They were primarily concerned with questions of cultural relations and identities which were addressed above all at young women and girls. Many of the studies at that time followed the implicit assumption of a cultural conflict that the so-called second generation of migrants would experience. This *topos* was attributed especially to young women from a Turkish background who were perceived and became labelled as the 'victims' of such cultural conflict.

3.3.1. Female migrants: workers or 'dependent wives'?

These studies tend to overlook the fact that 21.3% of the workforce recruited from Turkey between 1961 and 1973 were women. In general, female migrants from Turkey who entered Germany in the 1960s and early 1970s were highly motivated and came from major Turkish cities. They were well educated and wanted to apply their professional capacities and knowledge in the country. But they were recruited to work in Germany's unskilled textile industry, and had difficulties getting their professional qualifications recognised. Professional qualifications from Turkey were not officially recognised in Germany. If Turkish women, for example, wanted to start up a tailoring business, they could do so solely by advertising a clothes-mending service ('*Aenderungsschneiderei*'), because this kind of professional activity did not require German craftsman status.

However, in the last 40 years of migration to Germany, the percentage of women from Turkey has increased considerably, now approximately 45% (see above). But in contrast to the pioneer women from Turkey, these females entered Germany in the context of family reunification, thus significantly changing the statistical representation of the living conditions of Turkish women in the country. As shown above, today's employment rate of Turkish women is significantly lower than that of German women or women from other recruitment countries. It has to be pointed out, though, that official statistics do not consider those Turkish women who work in domestic labour and restaurants, however in informal sectors of German economy. This statistical under-representativeness contributed to the image of Turkish women as 'dependent wives'. In fact, for a long time the integration of Turkish women in Germany was measured on the ground of their rate employment outside the home. However, a recent study suggests that it is primarily household duties and child care, followed by education and professional training, as well as a lack of success in finding employment that keeps Turkish women out of the German labour market. Only 12% indicate the family or spouse as a reason for unemployment (Karakaşoğlu 2003).

From this perspective, the occupation of females in the informal sectors of the German economy such as domestic work and care-giving requires special attention. According to the Microcensus of 2003, approximately 129,000 women were engaged in domestic services, of which 19,000 were migrant women (Microcensus 2003). This figure suggests a quite low significance of the phenomenon of domestic workers from an immigrant background in Germany. Instead, a recent study realized by the Ministry of Labour estimates a significantly higher number of domestic workers. On the ground of quantitative questionnaires the study revealed that in 2001/2002 almost 563,000 people were engaged in domestic services in Germany. These people were mainly employed as 'minor jobholders' ('*geringfügig Beschäftigter*') or obtained so-called mini jobs which are legally exempt from taxation (Infratest Sozialforschung 2003). It is difficult to estimate how many of these 'mini jobholders' are women from an immigrant background. Qualitative studies

indicate that the employment in domestic labour, child and private health care is widespread among female migrants who are often deprived of a legal work permit, because of their temporary or 'tolerated' status of residence in Germany (Finotelli 2006). In the case of Berlin, for example, qualitative research shows that oscillating migration was quite common among Polish women in the 1990s who, as highly qualified personnel, travelled to the capital to work as housekeepers or the like (Morokvasic 1994). Apart from Polish women coming to Germany for domestic work purposes, the immigration of Philippine and South-American women is also of relevance to the country. Contemporary qualitative research suggests that those two groups entered with a tourist visa or even without a visa as in the case of South-American women till the end of the 1990s and stayed for a longer time than legally allowed. These visa overstayers generally work in domestic jobs in the cities of Berlin and Munich, in the case of the South-Americans, and in the city of Frankfurt, in the case of Philippine women (Schäfter and Schulz 2001; Shinozaki 2003). More information on the phenomenon is provided by research undertaken by Reverend Dr. Jörg Alt (2003) which allows for some generalization of illegal stay and work in Germany. Comparing the cities of Leipzig and Munich, he comes to the conclusion that the need for immigrant domestic workers is greater in the bigger cities of West Germany. His study shows that the employment of migrants in households of Leipzig is not frequent, while in Munich it is quite common to engage Polish and Hungarian workers for domestic activities. Lately, these groups have been challenged by Ukrainian women, who are willing to work for 5 euros per hour instead of the more usual 10 euros (Alt 2003). Beside the existing phenomenon of informal domestic work carried out by immigrant women, their engagement in care services is also likely to increase in Germany, as the compulsory long term care insurance reveals its inadequacies in handling the rapidly ageing population and the increased need for nursing care. However there is still a lack of reliable quantitative data, as well as sound qualitative analysis, to this regard (Finotelli 2006).

3.3.2. The privatisation of care services, and the emergence of transational life circuits

One of the first German studies that explicitly focused on the relationship between immigrant domestic workers and their employers, as well as on the establishment of networks and transnational lifestyles of domestic workers in Germany, has recently been published by Helma Lutz with the assistance of Susanne Schwalgin (2006). On the ground of a combination of qualitative research methods – a) expert interviews with representatives of NGO's, medics, social workers and representatives of the (Catholic) church who represent the migrants' interests in this field, b) qualitative interviews with immigrant domestic workers and German employers in the cities of Muenster, Hamburg and Berlin and c) participant observation in one household and in the social environment of the migrant employees – conducted in the time period between 2001 and 2005 Lutz comes to the following conclusions: in Germany, child and household care still tend to be attributed to women, regardless of their increasing engagement in the labour market.[20] Like in many other wealthy nations in the world, the increase in female employment does not result in an intensified supply of child care and nursing facilities. On the contrary, the German welfare state exhibits a clear trend to withdraw from the allocation of accommodation and education facilities for children, elderly and ill people. This general trend in modern welfare states results in the privatisation of domestic and care work worldwide. The global demand for domestic workers is fulfilled by a workforce from parts of the world which suffer poverty, economic and environmental catastrophes or social change. In Germany, this global female workforce is usually engaged in the so-called three c's, i.e. cooking, cleaning and caring.

By referring to four case studies, Helma Lutz investigates the complex relational structures between immigrant domestic workers and German employees. Instead of labelling this relation in a simplistic manner as mere exploitation or re-feudalism, she applies the concept of 'Doing Ethnicity' which describes the reciprocal demarcation of boundaries on ethnic lines. This demarcation, it is important to notice, takes place on both sides of the employer-employee relationship, but not

[20] Helma Lutz refers to this as the concept of 'Doing Gender'.

necessarily in a complementary way. In general, the lack of rules and behavioural patterns, the often irregular employment situation, and the outsourcing of family labour to a foreign woman, together with the immanent intimacy of domestic work provoke insecurities and communication problems on both sides. By recurring to ethnic differentiation, Helma Lutz states, the existing asymmetrical power relations are legitimised, thus combining the concepts of (doing) gender and (doing) ethnicity. In comparison to traditional servant hierarchies in ancient times, this modern domestic work system lowers the barriers for direct interaction and results in the construction of diverse relationships between the two women involved, which range from distinct professionalism to assumed affinity. The study focuses in particular on emerging forms of 'virtual motherhood' on the side of the immigrant servant. The top priorities of female migration include financing their children's education and the medical care of spouses, parents, brothers and other family members, as well as the acquisition of their own living space.

The study thus concentrates on how immigrant domestics define and organise their motherhood. On this regard Lutz points out huge differences among the various nationalities: while travelling domestic workers from Eastern Europe regularly visit their children in their countries of origin, women from Latin America tend to compensate for their perennial physical absence by telephone and internet communications, and arrange for (paid) child care to replace them. Alongside these challenges in organising *transnational motherhood*, female immigrant workers have to face a multitude of other problems in the host society. These problems are related to the job, matters of housing and health, and orienting and integrating themselves in Germany. Moreover they are often confronted with situations of sexual harassment. In general, the study of Helma Lutz shows that the social capital of female domestic workers can be related to the German labour market and German society insofar as these migrants are able to access support networks. The access to these support networks, however, varies from region to region and city to city (Lutz and Schwalgin 2006).

3.3.3. The active participation of female migrants: entrepreneurship, life strategies, social capital

Another relevant phenomenon among professional activities of women from an immigrant background in Germany concerns female immigrant entrepreneurs. As indicated above, ethnic minorities tend to opt for self-employment more than members of the dominant majority group. Nevertheless, there are only a few, mostly qualitative studies focusing on gender and the self-employment of immigrant women in Germany (Apitzsch and Kontos 2003; Mushaben 2006; Wilpert 2003).

Wilpert (2003) states that the self-employment rate of immigrant women (5.9%) is almost equal to that of German women (6.4%). She argues that women employ different strategies in becoming self-employed, with respect to what is considered typical for the case of immigrant business, seen primarily as 'ethnic' and male. According to small-scale surveys that have been conducted with women, she concludes that immigrant women are less likely than men to rely on the resources of ethnic communities and the ethnic economy. In the early 1990s Wilpert researched immigrant women from diverse nationalities who started up their own businesses in Berlin. She discovered that more than a quarter of the interviewees managed on their own savings and another quarter with the financial support of family and friends, while about 17% of them relied on a bank loan, and the rest on a combination of all factors to start their business (Wilpert 2003). In the perspective of a less important role of the ethnic community for immigrant self-employed women, Mushaben's findings on women entrepreneurs in Berlin might be reconsidered. Mushaben comes to the conclusion that Turkish women show a higher identification with German society insofar as it offers opportunities not available to them in Turkey (Mushaben 2006). Instead, the European project 'Self-Employment Activities Concerning Women and Minorities', conducted between 1997 and 2001, interpreted the self-employment of migrant women as the complex combination of biographical strategies to overcome social exclusion barriers by simultaneously accepting high social costs (Apitzsch and Kontos 2003). Their follow-up project 'The Chances of the Second Generation in Families of Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Intergenerational and Gender Aspects of Quality of Life Processes', carried

out between 2003-2006, aimed to shed new light on the relations between the quality of life of the founding generation and the social chances of the second generation of entrepreneurs, taking gender aspects into consideration as well. The comprehensive results have yet to be published.

However, these and other recently started research projects may show that the relevance of the subject is widely recognised in science and politics. The Institute of Social Inquiry at the University of Frankfurt, for example, is currently leading a European investigation on the 'Integration of female immigrants into the labour market and society' which aims to assess policies and formulate policy recommendations. This two-year research project started in 2006 and follows the assumption that integration policies should respond to the actions of the persons involved. The analysis of the integration processes therefore focuses not only on barriers for social integration and on their removal, but also on the migration strategies and life plans of the female migrants. The project employs a four stage analysis, including the effects of policies on female migrants, migration flows and labour demand for female workers, processes of integration and the implementation of social policies. The study is based on a combination of methods: quantitative statistical methods are used to outline the character and forms of migration, employment and stay. However, on the basis of an agency-sensitive biographical evaluation of policy, the project formulates recommendations for better interventions both on the national and EU level, which aim to foster the integration of female migrants in a socially cohesive manner. The analysis covers 11 national cases that represent typical cases in relation to migration policy (highly regulated versus unregulated immigration), in relation to welfare systems (North versus South European countries) and in relation to member status in the EU (old versus new member states). The publication of the results is scheduled for 2008 (see www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de).

Beside the growing interest in female employment and migration among academics and politicians, it can also be noticed that the role of social capital and especially of female networks in achieving employment opportunities is relatively under-investigated. The issue of female entrepreneurship and employment strategies has been considered primarily by local initiatives aimed at fostering the occupational integration of migrant women in Germany. In Frankfurt, for example, the association 'berami (*Beruf, Bildung, Beratung in der Migration*)', financed by the women's department of the city of Frankfurt, started a programme for the qualified employment of migrant women in autumn 2006. It is the only mentoring project in Germany which aims to ensure an adequate professional inclusion for female migrants, and it will be presented scientifically for the first time within this National Study.[21] After a two year pilot phase, in September this year the project will start with its third group of mentors and mentees from an immigrant background. In general, three types of women are accepted as mentees: a) women from an immigrant background who are employed under their proper qualifications, b) women from an immigrant background who disrupted their professional career and aim to re-enter the labour market, and c) women from an immigrant background who possess an adequate professional employment, but aim to improve their careers and job opportunities. Instead, mentors - with and without migrant backgrounds - have to demonstrate a long-standing involvement and interest in intercultural collaboration. Besides personal contacts between mentor and mentee in terms of a) the launch event, b) working meetings every four to six weeks, c) professionally supervised project observations and d) intercultural training sessions, the project also aims to provide practical, on the job training by procuring an internship in the mentor's company, by 'shadowing' (direct observation of the mentee *in locum*) or by providing business contacts.

Furthermore, mentees have the option of attending training for job applications and special German language coaching. After six months mentors and mentees are invited for an intermediate evaluation which is followed by a final evaluation at the end of the year. Currently, only one group has finished its one-year mentoring project, while another group has reached its intermediate

[21] My special thanks on this regard go to Ute Chrysam who is the coordinator of the project. Without her kind support the presentation of internal information would not have been possible. For more information please visit http://www.berami.de.

evaluation. The first results of this mentoring project show a fairly positive impact on qualified migrant woman: in the first group only two of thirteen mentees abandoned the initiative, while nine of the remaining eleven women improved their working situations, some of them considerably so. A Czech tourism manager who worked as a female domestic worker in Frankfurt, for example, achieved an open-ended work contract at a travel agency after attending an internship. At the time of the evaluation two migrant women were still looking for a job, but agreed with the successful attendants that the project had increased their motivation and self-confidence and provided guidance in how to follow their ambitions. The negative points noted included the short duration of the mentoring network (one year) and the lack of permanent networks between working women with and without immigrant backgrounds; these factors were highlighted by both mentors and mentees (Borkert 2007).

3.3.4. A quantitative approach

In general, the relatively recent consideration of the rate of employment among migrant women in German social sciences, as described above, goes hand in hand with a delay in political attention. As one of the most relevant German studies in this regard, the first national 'Education Report' on Germany has to be mentioned. This is published by the Consortium on Education Coverage on behalf of the Permanent Conference of German Regional Ministers of Culture, and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. It emphasises the substantial difficulties that migrant women, above all, experience in the transition between school and vocational education as well as in the labour market. In comparison to their German counterparts the migrant women studied, in the 20-26 age range, are involved less than the average in professional education or jobs. This observation proves true for every single migrant group looked at in the study.[22] Moreover, the percentage of people without an income (*Nichterwerbspersonen*) is twice as high among women from an immigrant background (23%) as it is for native women (under 10%). Here especially the percentages of women of Turkish descent (37%) and from 'other States' (24%) are striking. In this context, the authors of the report argue that culturally embedded gender stereotypes hinder the employment of migrant women. Actually, the data appears to show that Turkish men encounter fewer difficulties in terms of earning (only 6% males of Turkish descent remain without an income, and 9% of those from 'other States') (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006: 150-160). However the study does not systematically examine other variables which may account for this, such as poor German language skills, and a lack of knowledge of the German employment system or institutional procedures.

3.4. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of second generations

In Germany, which has a certain history in terms of immigration, (even though this was not acknowledged by national politics for almost 50 years) there is a considerable number of children and young people from an immigrant background present in the German education system.

3.4.1. Quantitative studies

As opposed to the lower figures presented in official statistics, recent quantitative studies reveal that young people from an immigrant background account for one-third of the entire youth population in Germany. Instead of counting migrant youth on the grounds of foreign nationality, these sources apply the criterion of the immigrant background, of at least one parent. The studies providing such quantitative data are the German PISA study, the IGLU (the International Elementary School Literacy Study) study and Zinnecker's survey on children (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium 2001; Schwippert 2004; Zinnecker et al. 2002).

[22] In the study people from an immigrant background are divided into subgroups of 'Ethnic Germans', people of Turkish descent, other former countries of recruitment, other EU-15-States, other States and missing specification.

In a body of 8,000 interviews Zinnecker investigated children in North-Rhine-Westphalia aged between 10 and 18 years, also including 'foreign' children, though he does not differentiate between background variables such as nationality or gender among the migrant group. Within the study, 'foreigners' differ with regards to aspects such as religion, language skills, and interethnic contacts, as well as their opinions of the native population (Zinnecker et al. 2002).

Besides the cited quantitative data sources, mainstream studies on German youth still tend to neglect the relevance of migrant adolescents and do not provide related data (Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu 2005). There is some research that represents an exception to this, however. Among those studies, the 'Foreigners survey' of the German Youth Institute (DJI) must be mentioned. In this study the method of a quota sample was applied and personal interviews based on questionnaires were conducted with migrant youth aged between 14 and 25. Migrants of Turkish, Greek and Italian origin were interviewed and compared to their (Eastern and Western) German counterparts with regards to political views (Deutsches Jugendinstitut 2000). Meanwhile, Von Below – on behalf of the Federal Institute for Population Research – conducted representative interviews with German, Italian and Turkish youngsters aged between 18 and 30. The study concentrated on the integration of the interviewees into their scholastic, vocational and social environments, as well as their language skills and identification (and the differences among them), providing disaggregated information on nationality, gender and country of origin (Von Below 2003). Migrants of Italian and Turkish origin in the 15 - 24 age group were also the focus of the Shell Study in 2000 which gained a certain renown in Germany for being the 'first' quantitative study that intentionally differentiated between adolescents of German nationality and of foreign origins (Shell Studie 2000). Among the larger research samples aiming at providing quantitative data on migrant youth in Germany, the regional study 'Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective – EFFNATIS' should be mentioned. As well as considering policies and strategies of integration, the study provided first-hand empirical data on the integration of migrant youth in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. These findings were compared with secondary analyses of data on integration in the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Finland and Switzerland. For the case of Germany, Heckmann and his team put quantitative questionnaires to 850 so-called second generation migrants in Nürnberg of Turkish, ex-Yugoslavian and German descent as well as examining the Microcensus in order to investigate the structural integration of young migrants, i.e. their incorporation into core institutions of the host society.

The key outcome of the EFFNATIS project was the fact that there are huge differences in the grade of integration among migrant youth between the single countries investigated. These differences were related in the first place to the national context and only secondly to individual characteristics of the interviewees such as educational background, gender, family background or ethnic affiliation. Moreover, the study showed that no single 'national model' prevailed over another, with regards to systematic effectiveness. In France, for example, the system of higher education has been successfully extended to adolescents from an immigrant background. Here, almost no differences between immigrant and native youth could be traced in the formal educational results of the two groups. But both groups, and especially adolescents with Maghrebian background, face major difficulties in converting formal educational qualifications into stable labour opportunities. In contrast, Germany shows huge differences in formal education levels between native youngsters and youths from an immigrant background, while integration into the labour market seems less problematic, due to the dual educational system (Heckmann et al. 2000).

Apart from this general data on migrant youth in Germany, there is also a wealth of literature on the vocational and educational situation of immigrant youth in the country. However, a considerable part of these studies focuses on the educational performance and attitudes and orientations of adolescent immigrants and their families with regard to vocational training. But these tend to overlook institutional patterns that may interfere. Some studies also worked on gender related

aspects of educational and vocational careers (Boos-Nünning 1993; Grantao and Meissner 1994; Herwartz-Emden and Westphal 1997).

3.4.2. Access to the labour market

In general, the existing studies reveal that for both professional training and the labour market it is an asset to be male and of German origin, while they show that female youngsters with a foreign background tend to be 'disadvantaged' when it comes to full participation in professional training. Although 90% of 21 year old women of foreign nationality in Germany obtain some kind of school certificate, with 25% having a secondary school education ('*Abitur*'), women's participation in professional training opportunities remains very low when they come from a immigrant background (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2005; Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2003; Granato 2003b).

Furthermore, recent years have been marked by a substantial decrease of youth participation in Germany's vocational training. But while this negative trend for German-born youngsters is ranges from 67% in 1994 to 59% in 2002, showing a difference of 8%, the share of young people from an immigrant background dropped from 34% in 1994 to 25% in 2002 amounting to a decrease of 9%. These figures suggest that the negative trend in Germany's vocational training tends to affect people from an immigrant background to a larger extent than native-born youngsters (Uhly and Granato 2006).

In fact, recent studies on the matter indicate that the school-to-work transition of young immigrants or people from an immigrant background in Germany is significantly influenced by structural factors such as discrimination by German teachers and trainers and not only by individual and group level characteristics as assumed in theories of social capital (see above). There is still a lack of knowledge about institutional patterns and informal factors that affect the process of integration of young immigrants into the educational and vocational system in Germany. Nevertheless, some explorative studies have been conducted, investigating, for example, hiring practices of companies for apprenticeships and how these practices contribute to determining the training situation of young immigrants (Boos-Nünning 1990; König 1991).

Of course this does not mean that most German employers habitually exhibit prejudice and xenophobia. But there is evidence on mechanisms at work which prevent German migrant youth from entering apprenticeships with ease. There is, for example, a lack of networks for young migrant adolescents and their families, networks capable of boosting their initial conditions, while the selection criteria used by German companies for new employees are rather tough. Companies, of course, are interested in creating homogenous working groups. Applicants presenting diversity, with the risk that they have been excluded from mainstream education and socialisation, are less attractive to potential employers. Past research has indeed shown that these factors, together with presumed prejudices of clients, may manifest themselves in the tendency to exclude migrant youth in Germany (Boos-Nünning 1990; König 1991).

3.4.3. Pupils from an immigrant background in German schools

Literature on German schools and the presence of pupils from an immigrant background is also abundant, but, like the research on the vocational training and education in Germany, this still lacks work on institutional patterns and their influence in the integration process. There are some qualitative studies, though, which identify German school as an institution which hampers the educational development of pupils from an immigrant background.

In general, secondary education in Germany is divided into two levels – *Sekundarstufe* I and II. The first level (*Sekundarstufe* I) embraces all types of schools (*Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium*) up to the tenth grade, excluding professional schools. *Sekundarstufe I* can be finished after the ninth grade with the certificate '*Hauptschule* 9th grade', and after the tenth grade with different certificates. These entitle the student to start an apprenticeship, take a higher level qualification at the professional school, or to pass on to level II at the High School (*Gymnasium*) or

comprehensive school (*Gesamtschule*). The *Sekundarstufe* II generally embraces years 11, 12 and 13 and finishes with the university entrance diploma (*Abitur*). After the school reform of 1989 in some schools the *Abitur* can be obtained after 12 years of school attendance, due to federal autonomy in education.

With reference to the educational achievements of children from an immigrant background, Gogolin (2001) states that three times as many foreign '*Bildungsinlaender*' (children who do not hold German passports, but attended education in Germany) as German children attend only *Hauptschule* after primary school, with no further or higher education after that.

Further evidence is provided by the National Office for Statistics: 17.5% of foreign young people did not attain any school certificate in the year 2004/2005, compared to 7.2% of German pupils. 41.7% did not achieve more than a *Hauptschule* 9th grade certificate, compared to 23.2% of Germans. Only 8.2% of foreign pupils obtained the university entrance diploma, while 25.7% of German pupils gained the qualification to attend university.[23]

Other significant characteristics of foreign pupils in Germany regard their dispersion on the national territory and the differences among national groups. Indeed, students from an immigrant background are spread in an irregular way throughout the country: 70% of these pupils are located in only four '*Laender*', i.e. in North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Hesse and Bavaria (Flan 2007).

Another important aspect regards the high concentration of foreign children in special schools for children with learning disabilities. This *per se* highly questionable type of school seems to gather increasing numbers of pupils with immigrant backgrounds: between 1991 and 1999 the percentage of foreign children rose from 13.5% to 14.7%, even if the share of pupils with immigrant backgrounds compared to the total amount of students only amounted to 9.4%. In the country students are recommended to attend one of the three different types of schools after primary school. A detailed investigation on the recommendation practices of German teachers is still lacking, but the high percentages of pupils from former guestworker countries relegated to special schools for children with learning disabilities indicate discriminatory tendencies. These tendencies seem to affect above all children and adolescents of Italian origin. In the year 1998/1999 7.8% of them were assigned to special schools, while pupils of Portuguese and Turkish descent amounted to 6.1%, children of Greek origin to 5% and those of Spanish decent to 4.7% (Wagner/Powell 2001).

In the light of this empirical data, the German school system has been deemed a monolingual middle class educational institution by German scientists. Inspired by US-American research on organisations and French studies carried out by Bourdieu and Passeron in the 1990s, German school has considered as an institution reproducing social inequality (Flam 2007).

In recent years the school system has been studied, and classified as follows:

a) an institution with a monolingual, middle-class *habitus* which favours German as the teaching language, reproduces social differences and supplies an (migrant) underclass to the economy (Gogolin 1994; Hamburger 1994; Prengerl 1995);
b) a field deprived of national policy, with issues addressed only indirectly by the single regions (*Bundeslaender*), and in this sense it is a policy field with a low level of national standardisation (Reuter 1999; Reuter 2001; Avenarius and Heckel 2000);
c) a context where teaching models are characterised by indifference or reluctance towards pupils from an immigrant background and an area of regional policy which insufficiently prepares its education institutions for multicultural needs which are, in any case, limited to primary school (Gogolin et al. 1998; Reuter 2001);
d) an organisation which addresses local media and other schools in the proximity (Gomolla and Radtke 2002)

[23] The data is available online at:
http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Statistiken/BildungForschungKultur/Schulen/Tabellen/Content100/AllgemeinbildendeSchulenAbschlussart,templateId=renderPrint.psml, (accessed 28.08.2007).

e) an institution in line with the popular 'think model' that associates migrant children with deficiencies and approaches them in a generalized and culturally deterministic way (Hamburger 1994; Bommes and Radtke 1991; Gomolla and Radtke 2002);
f) an institution which negatively influences the self-image of pupils from an immigrant background (Terkessidis 2004);
g) a crucial decision-maker which determines the life chances of children from an immigrant background (Gomolla and Radtke 2002) and
h) an institution which relegates a disproportionately high number of pupils from an immigrant background to the lowest levels of education, e.g. schools for people with learning difficulties, and the lowest form of schooling, i.e. *Hauptschule* (Gomolla and Radtke 2002).

In contrary to the *de-facto* situation of immigration in Germany, in which one third of all children and young people come from migrant families, children from an immigrant background are not considered as a structural phenomenon, but treated as a 'problem at the margins of policy' (Flam 2007: 18). This kind of marginalisation has certainly influenced teacher training in the past: teachers are not trained to teach German as second or foreign language, either during their studies or on the job. They do not receive information on the developments in Intercultural Pedagogy, or on the legal aspects of immigration to Germany or its real causes within a critical, anti-racist perspective. Thus, they are unable to acquire a critical distance from existing political/media discourse. In their dealings with migrants they therefore act as lay people, conditioned by a daily political/media input that since 1980 has become increasingly xenophobic and cultural deterministic (Bommes and Scherr 1991; Räthzel 1997; Eder et al. 2004).

Consequently, as recent studies show, pupils from an immigrant background are repeatedly defined and perceived as 'deficient', 'problematical', 'like time bombs' in everyday school life and routinely reconstructed as exotic representatives of a primitive culture who do not know any language and culture accurately (Hamburger 1994; Gogolin et al. 1998; Gomolla and Radtke 2002; Prengel 1995; Terkessidis 2004).

3.4.4. Issues of identity, religion and culture

The impact of these existing stereotypes on migrant pupils is two-fold: on the one hand the constant exposure to alienating assumptions and constructions has a negative effect on the process of identity formation, while on the other hand pupils from an immigrant background are given poorer marks and recommended for lower forms of education more often than the average. These factors significantly restrict their chances in life (Flam 2007).

One of the main problems, especially with regards to Muslim school pupils, is the predominantly negative perception of Islam, which also affects the atmosphere of the classroom. In 2005, Jonker and Schiffauer carried out a study based on discussion groups in school, including Muslim pupils and their parents as well as native interviewees.[24] Both Muslim pupils and Muslim parents stated that they personally sensed a shift from being viewed as foreigners to being seen (and blamed) as Muslims. Also, some statements made by teachers during the group discussions were indicative: in one school, for example, a female teacher stated that Muslims were demanding too much, while she viewed herself and the school as being open and tolerant, and not having problems with Muslim girls wearing headscarves. After the official discussion a female Muslim pupil of hers, however, revealed that it is a well-known fact among the students that girls with headscarves are not even admitted to the school (Mühe 2007). Yet before, in 2002, an ethnological field research project was carried out by a group of scientists who investigated Turkish pupils in different European cities such as Berlin, Paris, London and Rotterdam. The study concentrated on processes of political enculturation and provided an in-depth insight into structures and particularities which are at work in German schools and society as a whole. These characteristics, it was shown, posed problems for

[24] The study was part of the European project 'Europe's Muslim Communities – Security and Integration post- 11 September', coordinated by the Italian Council for Social Science.

foreign (above all Muslim) pupils, and are often difficult for both teachers and students to analyse. While these unspoken, underlying presuppositions were identified as the central source of conflict by the scientists, the cultural and religious diversity of pupils and their parents were generally blamed for many problems (Schiffauer et al. 2002).

In contrast to this, quantitative sociological mainstream studies in this field still tend to focus on the parents of migrant pupils and the pupils themselves to investigate and to explain their poor educational performance.

Using two huge quantitative data bases, the 'micro-census' of 1989 and the 'socio-economic panel' (SOEP) (see above), Alba et al. (1994) investigated the evident difficulties of pupils from an immigrant background in terms of achieving satisfactory school results in Germany. By looking at the 'cultural climate' of their parents' houses and the duration of the pupil's school attendance as explanatory factors, the authors focused on investigating 'ethnic disadvantages'. They assumed that the language of the family household, the 'cultural climate' at home (newspapers, music and cooking) and the social relations of the family (with people of the same ethnicity or with native people) significantly influenced the pupil's educational performance. Their research relies on the assumption that people from an immigrant background will gradually assimilate German culture (envisaged as monolithic) and that differences between German children and migrant children were likely to decrease over the generations (Alba et. al 1994: 209-214; Flam 2007: 46-47).

On the contrary, many German pedagogues and sociologist highlight that culture in Germany is not monolithic, but rather stratified according to social classes. German school culture, it is argued, corresponds to the privileged social strata of the middle class, constituting significant acculturation challenges even for German children of parents employed as manual or unskilled workers in industry, agriculture or the services sector. Therefore, children from an immigrant background could be compared to lower class German children in order to evaluate their educational performance more effectively. It is assumed that the educational gap between German pupils and pupils with a foreign background is likely to diminish significantly when comparison is made on the grounds of membership of the same social class.

The relevance of social class is taken into account by the IGLU study, the International Elementary School Literary Study. Its international correspondent is PIRLS – Progress in International Reading Literacy Study. One of the main findings was the key role played by social class in terms of future educational opportunities in Germany. Schwippert and his consortium colleagues found out that students from a higher social class were recommended for German High School 2.63 times as much as pupils from a lower social class with the same cognitive skills and level of literacy. This relational interpretation of educational skills was equally relevant when it came to the status of foreigner: with regards to recommendations for attending high school, German teachers recommended pupils with two parents born in Germany 2.11 times more than students from an immigrant background, even when the educational skills were identical (Schwippert 2004).

In the light of the influence of social class, the PISA-study also investigated variables such as social class, numbers of parents born in Germany and the parents' German literacy skills. The student's region of residence was also taken into account as the single '*Laender*' in Germany possess a high level of autonomy in educational matters. Indeed, this last variable was considered to reflect the impact of different integration strategies for the educational underachievement of migrant pupils (Baumert et al. 2002).

However, these huge quantitative studies highlighted the fact that the school performance of children from a foreign background lay behind that of native ones, even when the social class factor is taken into account (i.e. when the comparison is between native pupils and pupils from an immigrant background belonging to the same social class).

In the case of the PISA-study the continuing gap in educational achievement can be accounted for by the variable of language and literacy, i.e. migrants' poor knowledge of the German language, which is considered to be passed on by foreign parents to their children. The PISA-study showed that, above all children from a Turkish background used German comparatively rarely in their

everyday lives. As a consequence of this, their maths and reading skills are below the level required for successful apprenticeships and working life (Baumert et al. 2002).

This approach in mainstream sociological research in Germany, which appears to be based on an underlying assumption that foreign children have to assimilate to German pupils over time, has recently been questioned by Cornelia Kristen. She explicitly works from another perspective and applies an approach which focuses on migrants' resources (Kristen 2003, 2006). Despite her declared intention to apply a different paradigm, the set of variables she draws her evidence from is largely unchanged: she looks at the characteristics of migrant pupils and their families in order to account for their poor educational performance. But rather than attributing this to a lack of assimilation into 'German culture', Kristen identifies parental ignorance of the German school system as the factor which explains the poor educational results of migrant children (Kirsten 2003: 2-8).

When we review the given literature on the educational under-achievement of migrants, the lack of development of quantitative mainstream sociological research in Germany becomes evident: in recent years existing studies have focused almost exclusively on the characteristics of migrant families such as the 'cultural climate' in their homes (Alba et al.), the social relations of the family, the duration of pupils' school attendance, their social class, the low level of German literacy of foreign children and their parents, and parental ignorance of the German school system. However, quantitative and qualitative studies on the German school system generally reveal a significant educational deficit among pupils from an immigrant background, throughout the country. It seems, however, that scientific research on the factors behind such a deficit has only just begun. In the past, in Germany, research on the performance of pupils from an immigrant background was significantly hampered by the absence of adequate data: given the events of WWII most Western European countries avoid building up statistics regarding people from ethnic backgrounds.

There is an abundance of German literature when it comes to migrants' identities, especially with regard to individual Muslim identities, while research on the collective identity of Muslim began more recently.

The situation of young Muslim men was recently addressed by Nicola Tietze (2001), who compared Germany and France. For the case of Germany, she studied a group of young men in the Turkish organisation Milli Görüs in their mosque in Wilhelmsburg and came up with a typology of identities similar to that found by other researchers. Firstly, Nicola Tietze explains that the strong (underlying) discourse of difference in Germany, where immigrants of the third generation are still called 'foreigners' also has an impact on their way of identifying with Islam. Secondly, the (discursive) exclusion on a national level is accompanied by a strong identification with the local neighbourhood. This phenomenon is referred to as '*Kietzdenken*', meaning a strong identification with the district where one lives. On this level a tendency towards pragmatic solutions, which focus on the singular case, can be observed. Indeed, coping strategies are developed on a local level, while each case is dealt with separately and disconnected from the question on the general standing of Islam (Tietze 2001). The attitudes of Muslim women towards their host country were investigated by Schirin Amir-Moazami (2004) who also compared Germany and France, but this time in the context of headscarf wearing. Her investigation reveals an interesting national difference: while young Muslim women in France criticise the intolerance of French society, young females in Germany often stress its tolerance. Taking a closer look, however, one can observe that these statements are made in the light of opposing expectations: the situation in France is criticised in the light of the French Republic's promise of equality, and the bitter awareness that this promise has been broken. In opposition to this, the praising of tolerance in Germany represents a general feeling of lack of affiliation to society. Tolerance is experienced as an attitude against 'foreigners' who are still not considered to be a natural part of society, even in the third generation (Amir-Moazami 2004).

3.5. Policy-oriented research

The development of national migration policy in the European context has been fairly well reconstructed in several studies. However, there is a lack of analysis of the actual implementation of national migration and foreigner-related policy among the German regions (*Laender*) and in the context of local actors. Existing evidence suggests that there are substantial variations between practices and forms of implementation throughout the country.

With regards to the German education system it should also be noted that cultural issues fall under the jurisdiction of the single German *Bundeslaender*, i.e. the regions: there is no national policy on this regard. Like the lack of national education policy, the development of a comprehensive German migration law stalled for many years. The view that Germany was not a land of immigration dominated national political discourse. Only in the new millennium were there significant changes in German migration policy. There was a profound shift in public discourse, with immigration no longer viewed as a phenomenon to limit, but as an important resource in global competition, and in line with this the then Minister of Interior, Otto Shily, promoted a general reform of German immigration legislation and legislation regarding foreign nationals and set up an independent commission on immigration to develop proposals. After four years of intensive political struggle in 2004 the migration law was passed by the two national chambers (*Bundestag* and *Bundesrat*), and came into force on 1st January 2005.

The modest number of publications on migration policies in Germany should be considered in this context of political reluctance to tackle the subject of immigration. Recently, there has been growing attention to the field of migration and measures and policies regarding integration on a local level. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of research comparing the various regions and regarding the possible impact of the international and Europe-wide application of integration policies.

3.5.1. Education

Uwe Hunger represents an exception to this rule. In 2001 he investigated the topic of education policies and 'institutionalised discrimination' on the level of German *Bundesländer* (regions). In this context he focused on the extent to which regional education provisions lay the ground for further discrimination of pupils from an immigrant background in German schools. He hypothesised that the treatment of migrant pupils in schools depends on the regional interpretation and formulation of education policies (Hunger 2001: 122). Hunger revealed that there were significant differences between the regions of North-Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) and Bavaria, where the chances for migrant pupils to achieve further education qualifications appeared to be more limited than in NRW. In line with his institutional approach, Hunger argues that the causes for such difference are not likely to be found on the migrants' side, but in the institutional environment of the regions considered: in Bavaria pupils from an immigrant background have been taught in separate classes for many years, while special resources have been linked to the lowest form of German schooling, the *Hauptschule*. On the contrary, NRW applies a more liberal education policy which is explicitly integration-oriented, and legal education provisions do not entail measures of segregation: pupils from an immigrant background are taught together with native children. Only where there is an inadequate level of German literacy, do they attend so-called preparation classes.

As one of the first comprehensive research studies on this topic, the EFFNATIS project must also be mentioned. The study 'Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective – EFFNATIS' examined the effectiveness of policies and strategies aiming at integrating second generation migrant youth in contemporary European societies. Besides empirical studies carried out in France, Germany and the United Kingdom, a number of country reports and secondary analyses of existing research findings on integration in the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Finland and Switzerland were drawn up. The research was based on the assumption that integration issues are of great significance for the social,

economic and cultural development of European societies. It also revealed the significance of national integration concepts and strategies, and their implementation, in terms of the level of *de-facto* integration of migrant youngsters (see above).

Other policy-related research was published by the 'European Forum for Migration Studies' (EFMS) in 2002 (Bosswick and Will 2002). The project 'Integration Offers in Selected Hessian Districts and their Institutional Implementation' investigated the development and implementation of integration measures at a local level in eleven Hessian districts. In the empirical study, completed within three months, the conception and coordination of integration measures at a local level were examined and a document detailing the different integration measures was compiled. The study was based on the assumption there is a wide range of services, mostly financed by charitable organisations, independent sponsors and local institutions, and aimed at promoting the integration of migrants on a local level. These services have been reviewed and reorganised by the respective organisations in response to the increased pressure caused by integration problems in the past two decades and in the light of their practical experience. However, these approaches still target integration problems and hardly make any use of the opportunities and resources resulting from the active integration of resident migrants. In addition to this, there are still considerable deficits regarding the information on existing services, the coordination and networking of the wide range of services offered by regional and local authorities, the accessibility to these services and involvement of resident migrants, as well as the intercultural openness of regular services.

A number of towns and districts in Hesse have begun to tackle these problems, with a variety of different institutional approaches. Frankfurt am Main must be mentioned here, as this city serves as a model on an international level, thanks to its Office for Multicultural Affairs (AMKA). On the basis of analysing existing best practices, recommendations on the institutional coordination of integration work have been formulated, with a special focus on how to reach resident migrants on a local level and encourage them to participate. Empirically, an overview of integration-related services and their institutional implementation in established Hessian institutions (Intercultural Office in Darmstadt, Regional Headquarters for Co-existence in Offenbach, Office for Integration in Wiesbaden) was compiled. The special case of the AMKA in Frankfurt was used as a reference for analytical purposes. In addition to this, the overview includes initiatives in urban areas (Wetzlar, Marburg and Limburg,) and in the district of Offenbach, as well as projects in rural districts (Lollar, Rodgau and Hofgeismar) which are partly funded by the Hessian Ministry for Social Affairs. In all the selected local authorities the statistical data on the *de-facto* situation was supplemented by an empirical study: charitable organisations, independent sponsors and local institutions were asked to fill in a questionnaire which focused on the degree of networking between existing services, any coordination structures, and the need for coordination. In Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Offenbach, the Offenbach district, Darmstadt, Marburg, Wetzlar and Limburg in-depth face-to-face expert interviews were conducted with the managers from the local authorities or coordination centres. In Rodgau, Lollar and Hofgeismar several expert interviews were carried out by telephone. The majority of those interviewed were very interested in participating in the study. A considerable amount of information was gathered, supplementing the findings from the analysis of the documentation, above all regarding the background of the local migration situations, and the *status quo,* as well as the prospects for coordination activities. Lastly, the results of the local case studies were analysed on the basis of the empirical study, and the growing need for coordination at a local level was illustrated. This was compared with the approaches used by the authorities examined in order to formulate a number of recommendations for the local authorities concerned, for the federal state of Hesse and recommendations for the government (Bosswick and Will 2002).

With regards to education and migration, in 2006 the EFMS also launched the publication 'Immigrant Integration and Education. The Role of State and Civil Society in Germany and the U.S.'. This publication presents the results of an international workshop which was held in Nürnberg in July 2005 co-organized by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. After the shock caused by the PISA study, German civil society and public authorities became increasingly

aware that something had to be done to improve the educational achievement of young people from an immigrant background. The volume gathers a number of articles which reflect this increase in public awareness and, at the same time, describe some of the measures that are already being implemented. While the first part of the book focuses on concrete measures to support the integration of migrants and their children through education and information, the second part is of a more general character and discusses the basic question of migration - integration policies both in the US and Germany (Heckmann and Wolf 2006).

3.5.2. Effectiveness and implementation of integration policies

These recent EFMS publications, though among the first to focus on the impact of policies on the issues of migration and integration in Germany, are of a rather descriptive character. However, the role of politics and its influence on immigrant integration is also confirmed by other studies. With regards to the poor educational achievement of pupils from an immigrant background in the German school system certain investigations suggest that the system itself does not offer equal opportunities. The gap in educational opportunities is evident between the federal states (Weishaupt 1996), and even between different cities and districts within one state (Kornmann et al. 1996). According to Kornmann, for example, Baden-Würtemberg is the federal state with by far the worst levels of discrimination against foreign children and young people (Kornmann et al. 1996). However, the issue of integration policies and their implementation in Germany remains a scientific field that has still largely to be explored in a comprehensive, comparative manner.

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Appendix. Examples of *best practices* towards migrant women and youth of migrant origin

Project: **SELF EMPLOYMENT FOR FEMALE IMMIGRANTS**
Promoters: The project, funded by the Berlin Senate and ESF, is run by the independent organisation ISI.

Description: The project aims to help immigrant women in Berlin to enter self-employment in order to get them economically independent by leaving family dependence and state support. ISI is a project run by immigrants for immigrants. The project offers a one-year training course which consists of: business studies (in particular entrepreneurship), development of a business plan, accounting, IT, business German, strengthening social and intercultural competencies, training with female experts, visiting companies, a two-month internship, career guidance and advice on self-employment. The project is also a good example of transferability of local employment development models from one city to another, from one country to another, since the original idea for the project came from Birmingham in the UK and it has now been transferred to a new project in Milan in Italy, after being adapted to local circumstances.

Project: **LOCAL PARTNERSHIP /CO-OPERATIVE** .
Promoters: Members of the local partnership are representatives of public institutions, private organizations and the voluntary sector, with the voluntary sector playing a dominant role.

Description of the project: The project combines employment development with measures aimed at the improvement of the social environment in the district of Wedding in Berlin. The project aims to support those activities that create jobs for disadvantaged residents in the district, including migrant men and women, through training and exploring new job opportunities, in order to improve the living conditions of all residents. Some new firms were created as a part of the project. This is the case of the co-operative Stadteilgenossenschaft, a social enterprise that is a network of local businesses (primarily painting and decorating businesses as well as electricians) which aim to create jobs and support local businesses. Since one of the goals of this co-operative is the economic inclusion of immigrants, some previously unemployed immigrants have been involved as members of the co-operative. Moreover, the co-operative is now focusing on including local ethnic businesses in the co-operative.

Project: **FRUESTART**
Promoters: This is a project run by the Turkish-German Health-Foundation, Hertie-Foundation and Herbert-Quandt-Foundation.

Description of the project: The main characteristic of "Fruehstart" ("Early Start") is a combination of language teaching, intercultural education and parent involvement, in order to improve the integration of children from a migration background in kindergartens. The pilot project started in January 2004 in 12 kindergartens in three Hesse cities: Frankfurt, Giessen and Wetzlar. Nursery school teachers in the chosen kindergartens receive a special training program, which enables them to implement new modes of language and intercultural teaching in their kindergartens. Beside nursery school teachers, parent assistants are trained to serve as a link between parents and nursery school teachers.

Project: **SOMMERCAMP**
Promoters: Jacob Foundation, with the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and the Bremen Senator for Education and Science.

Description of the project: Many children from migrant families grow up speaking two languages. In Germany these children often speak their parents' native language at home while speaking German at school. What happens during the summer holidays? The German summer holidays break is associated with a setback in children's German language skills. One useful initiative was the organisation of a language summer camp, in Bremen, during which children from immigrant families attended German language courses.

4 – ITALY

4.1. Introduction. Basic data on the development of immigrant population and ethnic minorities in the country

In Italy, immigration flows started in the 1970s. The 1981 census revealed an unexpectedly "high" number of foreign residents (210,937) and presence of foreigners (109,841), but mainly of Italian origin. The first big influxes took place between 1984 and 1989, when approximately 700-800,000 people entered the country.

Residence permit archive of the Ministry of the Interior: this offers extensive data on a range

Main sources of data on immigration in Italy

- Residence permit archive of the Ministry of the Interior: it allows to collect extensive data on a range of variables (sex, age, marital status, country of origin, reason for coming, province of residence). The main limit of this archive is that minors are registered on the residence permit of their parents if they are under 14 years old.
- Registry of the resident population (ISTAT): data on the individuals registered in the Municipality's Registers. Registration is not compulsory and usually foreigners do not seek immediate registration once they have obtained their residence permit. On the other hand, cancellation of information on foreigners whose stay permit has expired or foreigners who have moved to another Municipality might occur with some delay.
- General Directorate for Employment (Archive of the Ministry of Labour): this archive is organised on a provincial level and contains data on Italian and foreign unemployed and employed persons.
- National Social Security Institute (INPS): this archive gathers information about regular workers (paying retirement contributions) and enables us to make in-depth analyses of the relationship between migrants and the Italian labour market.
- Ministry of Education: this collects information about migrant pupils attending compulsory education and their performance.
- Ministry of Justice: data on immigrants convicted for crimes and given a prison sentence.

Between 1996 and 2004, the foreign population in Italy increased by 300%, with peaks immediately after the main regularisation laws. At the beginning of 2002 the foreigners present in Italy were estimated to be about 1,362,630 (Caritas 2002). Following the influxes and the applications presented under the provisions of the last amnesty of 2002, at the beginning of 2004 a total of 2,193,999 foreigners were present in Italy (Caritas 2005), with an increase of the 60% in comparison to 2002.

After this latter regularisation, immigrant stock started to increase at a slower pace, and by January 1st 2006 the number of documented foreigners reached 2,271,680 according to Caritas and 2,670,514 according to Istat.

Table 4.1. Overview of immigration in Italy during last three years (December 31 of each year)

	2003	2005
Immigrant population*		
- total estimated population, including minors	2,598,223	3,035,144
- % female	48.4	49.9
% labour residence permit	66.1	62.6
% family residence permit	24.3	29.3
Regional Breakdown* (%)		
North-West	33.4	34.0
North-East	24.5	25.5
Centre	28.0	27.0
South	10.5	9.8
Islands	0.2	0.1
Origin by continent* (%)		
- Europe	47.9	48.8
- Africa	23.5	23.1
- Asia	16.8	17.4
- America	11.5	10.6
- Oceania	0.2	0.1
Recruitment by sectors (%)		
Agriculture	7.4	11.6
Industry	21.7	25.6
Services	27.1	47.1
Non specific	43.7	8.4

Source: *Elaborations of Caritas/Migrantes (2002) on Ministry of the Interior data;
** Elaborations of Caritas/Migrantes (2005) on the National Social Security Institute data.

There are no overwhelmingly predominant nationalities: in terms of residence permits, by 1st January 2006, the largest national group was that of Romanians[25], who however made up only 11.9% of the total foreign population in Italy. The next most numerous nationalities are Albanians (11.3%), Moroccans (10.3%), Ukrainians (5.2%), Chinese (4.9%), Filipinos (3.4%), Poles (3.2%), Tunisians (2.7%), and Indians (2.3%)[26] (Caritas).

There are no predominant nationalities nor we can talk of a predominant religion.

[25] The Romanian migration began after 1992, when the first pioneers arrived. But their statistical visibility became significant in 1999, and the 2002-2003 legalisation showed that migration from Romania was the most active during these years: Romania is the number country of origin in terms of immigration, with more than 130,000 legalised in 2003, and a population of over 210,000 in 2003. They come mainly from the Moldavia area of Romania, around cities like Bacau, Suceava and Roman.

[26] Data on foreign residents are rather different: in 2006, in the first place there are Albanians (13.6%), followed by Moroccans (12%), Romanians (11.1%), Chinese (4.8%), Ukrainian (4%), Filipinos (3.4%), and Tunisians (3.1%) (Istat).

Table 4.2. Residents permits by main religion (1.1.2007)

Religion	%
Catholic	22.0
Orthodox	21.7
Protestant	3.9
Other Christians	1.5
Muslim	33.2
Jewish	0.2
Hindu	2.5
Buddist	1.9
Animist	1.2
Other religions	11.8
Total	100.0

Source: estimation of Caritas on data of the Ministry of Interior

The immigration phenomenon is affecting the various regions of Italy in different ways. The majority of non-EU citizens lives in the North and in the Centre of Italy. The primacy of the North is also confirmed by the relatively low weighting of the Southern regions. The marginal presence of immigrants in this area is linked to the higher demand for labour in the Northern areas, both in the industry and agriculture. Large urban centres, mainly Rome and Milan, host substantial immigrant populations.

Access to work, both as employee and self-employed, continues to be the main reason for issuing residence permits, followed by family reasons, religious reasons, elective residence and student permits. The number of permits for family reasons in the past ten years has increased, which is a basic indicator of increasing stabilisation.

However, despite trends towards stabilisation, illegal entries and undocumented presence in the country represent a particularly significant phenomenon in Italy. It is estimated that about 2/3 of foreigners in Italy have spent some time in the country without legal permits (Blangiardo 2005). Between 1986 and 2002, Italian governments passed five regularisation acts, which elicited 1,450,000 applications. 634,728 were processed in the last regularisation in 2002[27]. We can thus affirm that the significant features of migration in Italy are rapid inflows, scattered nationalities and a high proportion of undocumented immigrants.

Main studies on immigration flows and the situation of immigrants in Italy

- Bonifazi, C. (1998) *L'immigrazione straniera in Italia.* Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Ambrosini, M. (2001) *La Fatica di integrarsi. Immigrati e lavoro in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Pugliese, E. (2002) *L'Italia tra migrazioni internazionali e migrazioni interne*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Colombo, A. and Sciortino, G. (2004) 'Italian immigration: the origins, nature and evolution of Italy's migratory system', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies, 9*(1).

[27] Some foreigners have benefited from more than one act of indemnity. Indeed, in between these acts, they have relapsed into illegal stay status.

4.2. Issues of integration and access to the labour market in mainstream research and studies

As is well known, in the European context Italy stands out as "recent" immigration country. The first studies in the 1980s viewed immigration as a sudden and indistinct phenomenon, as implied by the widespread use of the term "extra-comunitari"[28], i.e. non-communitarian citizens. The main priority of research was to account for the exceptional nature of the Italian case, as a new receiving country while still being perceived as a major sending one: the first analyses carried out by demographers emphasised the role of world population imbalances, while on their part sociologists, while challenging the prevalence of demographic explanations, still underlined the impact of macro push factors such as unemployment, social and economic inequalities, political turmoil and dictatorships. The indirect relevance of institutional pull factors was also stressed: migration flows towards Southern Europe were favoured because of the lack of restrictions on entry, which were increasingly being tightened in traditional immigration countries (Melotti 1993).

However, at the beginning of the 1990s, the view of Italy as an immigration country *malgré soi*, was gradually declining. A growing number of studies carried out at a local level highlighted a strong relation between immigration on the one hand, and job opportunities offered by the Italy's highly segmented and informal labour market on the other. According to Ambrosini (2001), in Italy four models of immigrant employment can be identified. The first one is the model of small and medium sized firms, in the North-East (Triveneto, part of Lombardy and Emilia Romagna) and in some regions of the Centre (Tuscany, Marche and Umbria) of the country, that usually hire male, unqualified immigrants in the lower tiers of industrial production. The second is represented by the main metropolitan areas, where immigrants fill in gaps by taking on unqualified jobs in the tertiary sector (cleaning, restaurant waiters, street vendors etc.), especially in care-giving and domestic work (see below). The third model is that of traditional Mediterranean agriculture, where foreigners are employed on a seasonal basis for the fruit and tomato harvests. In this latter context, temporary work and irregular status are particularly widespread. On the other hand, in the fourth model, that of agricultural and tourism activities in the North of the country, especially Trentino Alto Adige, the seasonal employment of immigrants is strictly regulated and organised.

Local studies on immigrants' employment are usually based upon different sources. Among the most important ones, administrative data provided by local (Regional and Provincial) Labour Offices on immigrants hired in the various economic sectors per year are of particular relevance. Indirect data on foreigners engaged in different economic activities is also provided by INPS (the National Social Security Institute), on the basis of the number of foreigners that pay into pension schemes every year. Of course, irregular and illegal work is beyond the reach of official statistics.

Research on immigrant employment in local labour markets has only occasionally explored issues of social integration. However, throughout the 1990s, a debate on the level of immigrants' social integration into Italian society arose, especially among demographers and, to a lesser extent, sociologists[29], with the purpose of identifying a number of consistent indicators of individual integration into different spheres, i.e. economic, public/political and cultural. This was particularly encouraged by the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants, established by Law n. 40/1998 and in office until spring 2001[30], which proposed a definition of integration based on the well-being of both nationals and immigrants (in a psychological, social and economic sense) on the one hand, and positive interaction between different groups on the other (Zincone 2000). On this basis, a number of studies on possible indicators of immigrants' integration in the Italian context have been carried out (Golini et al. 2001; Golini et al. 2004; Golini 2005; Blangiardo 2005; Cibella 2003).

[28] However, more specific analyses challenged the widespread, uncritical use of such an administrative category, since it also applied to North American and Australian citizens, who did not share the same economic, social and political conditions of sending countries in Africa, Asia and South America.
[29] See: Recchi and Allam (2002).
[30] The Berlusconi government which came into power did not formally eliminate the Commission, but it was no longer re-appointed.

More recently, an index of territorial integration has also been devised by Cnel (2005, 2006), focusing on regional and local level indicators of social inclusion.

Inclusion in the labour market is crucial in this literature. Among the most relevant indicators linked to the participation of immigrants in the spheres suggested by these studies, the distribution per type of job and occupational sectors has to be considered, since this indicator helps to determine whether immigrants are equally represented in the main economic sectors, or if they tend to be concentrated in more unskilled jobs, or hazardous/dirty jobs. Other relevant indicators are: the proportion of immigrants in key professions, such as architects, lawyers, engineers, doctors etc., which signal levels of social mobility in the migrant population; and unemployment rates and income levels, in order to find out whether migrants face the same risks of unemployment and receive the same income as native workers employed in the same sectors.

As for rates of participation in the labour market, in Italy these are usually characterised by considerable differences between the different communities in terms of gender ratios (Golini et al. 2001: 126). Whereas participation rates substantially below the average for native women may be a sign of exclusion and segregation, as in the case of women from Maghreb countries, participation rates substantially above the average seem to highlight strictly labour-oriented migration, and thus a possible lack of integration into other social spheres. This is the case, for instance, for Philippino, Peruvian, Moldovan and Ukrainian women, who are mostly employed in the domestic and care-giving sectors.

According to research studies on indicators of integration, immigrants in Italy are usually associated with lower levels of professional mobility and a high concentration in unskilled occupations. This is often accounted for by a lack of qualifications and the professional training required by the labour market. However, issues of discrimination have also been taken into account. The discrimination testing method (Bovenkerk 1992, 1999) was adopted in a study carried out by FIERI (Allasino et al. 2004), which analysed obstacles to immigrants' access to the labour market in Turin, Rome and Naples. The test enabled us to examine the behaviour of labour-market gate-keepers, i.e. employers. In concrete terms, experiments were carried out by pairs of candidates, one national and one immigrant with similar characteristics except for their national background, applying for the same job. Discrimination was assessed on the basis of different treatment at the three critical stages in the job-seeking process: 1) being invited to apply for a job after a phone inquiry; 2) being invited for an interview; 3) face to face interaction and the eventual job offer. Italy scored a total discrimination ratio of 27% in the first stage, i.e. telephone inquiry; 12% in the second, i.e. invitation to interview; and 2% in the third stage, i.e. the interview. The total discrimination score was 41%, the highest compared with similar studies carried out in other countries[31].

On the other hand, many studies have shown high rates of self-employment among immigrants in Italy. This may signal a relatively high level of integration, since setting up a business usually requires an in-depth knowledge of the host country's norms and regulations. However, it may also indicate difficulties in access to mainstream occupations, as a factor pushing immigrants to start up their own business activities. Such companies may even be favoured by native employers, in order to avoid social costs by subcontracting work rather than hiring employees. In this case, self-employment is actually a front for what is to all intents and purposes an employer-employee relationship, as in the case of the building sector in Italy.

Other studies on immigrant entrepreneurship have focused on analysing the rapport between economic and social integration. In the case of the Chinese community, for instance, community networks and internal resources such as strong relations based on mutual trust and the availability of cheap labour in the family and the community at large[32], have proved crucial in order to compete successfully with Italian textile firms in the area of Prato (Ceccagno 2003). In the case of the Egyptian community in Milan, on the other hand, along with group social capital, human capital

[31] See: Zegers de Breijl 2000. Belgium scored 33%, Germany 19%, the Netherlands 37% and Spain 36%.
[32] Irregularity and illegality are among such resources, and are often mediated by Chinese traffickers.

based on individual resources such as education, financial means and social status, also matters (Ambrosini and Abbatecola 2002; Codagnone 2003). Lastly, opportunities in the local institutional and social context, the so-called *opportunity structures*, may account for differences in group involvement in entrepreneurial activities in different contexts: Schmidt di Friedberg (2002) has pointed out how in the early 1990s Moroccans monopolised the sector of *halal* slaughter in Turin, while in Milan this was already occupied by Egyptians[33]. Recent research on immigrant entrepreneurship has also adopted a transnational perspective, i.e. examining how immigrants are able to exploit their multiple identities in order to develop unusual trade activities (Schmoll 2003; Colombo 1998).

The case of transnational ethnic entrepreneurship clearly highlights the critical relation between economic success and social integration. Economic integration does not inevitably imply acculturation, since immigrants are often able to capitalise on their complex cultural and social identities, mixing elements of their culture of origin with those of the predominant life style in the receiving country. However, the acknowledgement of transnational patterns of integration clearly undermines the search for neutral indicators that implicitly measure the degree of similarity between immigrant groups and national citizens in their economic and social positions and performance.

4.3. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of migrant women

One of the main features of Italian immigration since it first began is by the high numbers of foreign women involved. Since the Seventies, female first migrants have been arriving from ex-Italian colonies (Eritrea), in the context of the return home of Italian colonial officials with their families and domestic personnel after the Second World War. Another flow of female immigration came from developing countries with a considerable number of Italian Catholic missions (Cape Verde, the Philippines) which played a crucial role in supporting and organising emigration, as well as in mediating with the demand for domestic labour in Italy[34] (Macioti and Pugliese 1991; Ambrosini et al. 1995; Sciarrone 1996; Colombo and Sciortino 2004).

Since the 1990s, women have also begun coming to Italy for family reunion purposes. Most of them come from Muslim countries to join their husbands who emigrated before them. More recently, at the end of the 1990s, flows from Eastern Europe began to increase rapidly, especially from Romania, and later from the Republic of Moldova and the Ukraine. Women are prevalent in these new flows, with the exception of Romanians, who show a more balanced gender ratio. The great majority of the women coming from these countries are employed as domestic workers and caregivers, often on a live-in basis.

Nowadays (1st January 2006), women represent 49.9% of the regular migrant population (ISTAT). However, not every national community has such a balanced composition of gender, as the table below shows. It is interesting that the communities with a high proportion of women prevail: there are 40 national communities comprised of over 70% women, while there are only 18 communities (mostly from Muslim countries) with less than 30% women. At the end of 2005 (31st December 2005), 46.3% of them held a permit for working reasons and 44.9% a permit for family reasons (Caritas 2006).

[33] On Moroccan networks in Turin see also: Schmidt di Friedberg (2002).

[34] According to Andall (2000), the crucial role played by Catholic trade unions and organizations in structuring paid domestic work was also due to the limited attention paid by other trade unions to this segment of the labour market for a long time.

Table 4.3. Stay permits issued in Italy in 2005 (31st December). Gender ratio in the top fifteen communities

Nationality	Residence permits	% of women
Romania	271,491	53.4
Albania	256,916	42.2
Morocco	239,728	35.3
Ukraine	115,087	83.6
China	114,165	46.1
Philippines	74,987	62.1
Poland	73,191	72.3
Tunisia	61,540	27.6
Serbia and Montenegro	52,272	42.1
India	51,832	36.4
Peru	48,717	64.6
Senegal	47,085	12.8
Egypt	46,834	19.5
Ecuador	45,156	64.6
Moldova	45,006	46.11

Source: extrapolated from Istat data

At the outset female inflows were characterized by "triple invisibility" in Italian society: they were absent from the public sphere, since they spent most of their time in employers' houses as domestic workers; they were segregated in a particular segment of the labour market; and, lastly, they were neglected by mass media and migration scholars (Tognetti Bordogna 1993; Favaro and Tognetti Bordogna 1991; Favaro and Omenetto 1993). Italian researchers indeed only seemed to notice them in the 1980s (Cucurachi et al. 2004). Since in this period the great majority of female migrants were employed in the domestic sector, the first Italian research on migrant women actually dealt with this sub-group of foreign women, i.e. domestic workers and caregivers (Crippa 1979; Favaro and Tognetti Bordogna 1991; Vicarelli 1994; Ambrosini et al. 1995; Ambrosini 1995).

At the turn of the century, the entrance of Eastern European women onto the paid domestic labour market favoured a new wave of studies on salaried foreign domestic work, making Italy one of the main testbeds for empirical research and theory on this topic (Colombo 2003). Nonetheless, this report also looks at three further research themes, i.e.: the role of women in the migrant family; sex workers and trafficked women; and female entrepreneurs. While the first two categories of migrant women have been studied since the 1990s, due to their increasing visibility, the last represents an emerging theme.

4.3.1. Literature on foreign female domestic workers and caregivers

As far as foreign female domestic workers are concerned, up till now research has been mainly of the qualitative variety, based on semi-structured interviews and ethnographic methods. There is a lack of reliable quantitative data on domestic work and migrants' participation in this segment of the labour market. According to the National Institute of Social Security (INPS), at the end of 2002 foreigners represented 56% (126,376 out of 224,402) of those employed in the personal care sector in Italy – including chauffeurs, gardeners, etc. Most of them were women, especially in Eastern European (91.5%) and South American (94.4%) (INPS 2004). On the other hand, according to the "Surveys on Italian families' consumptions" (*Indagini sui consumi delle famiglie italiane*), carried out by ISTAT since 1953, which were analysed by Colombo (2005), the majority of those employed in the domestic sector are Italian. According to Colombo (2005), the discrepancy

between INPS and ISTAT data is due to the fact that INPS takes into account only regular employment while a large quota of Italian domestic workers are unregistered.

A number of studies have been carried out in order to gain more insight into the working conditions of foreign women employed in the domestic sector in Italy. According to INPS (2004), compared to Italians, foreign workers are more often at risk of segregation, since they are usually involved in caring and cleaning jobs for more hours per week and often live in the same house as their employer (live-in). However, there is evidence of processes of emancipation from live-in to hourly paid work (Tognetti Bordogna 2007). Indeed, at the start of the migratory experience, it is in the interests not only of the employer, but also the migrant, to share the same house: initially most migrants are irregular[35], and the house of the employer is seen as a "refuge" that provides a high level of invisibility from institutions and an alternative to the private rental market, which is expensive and difficult to enter without residence permit (Colombo and Sciortino 2005). At a later stage they often obtain residence permits through an amnesty (relatively frequent in Italy) and the economic goals of the initial phase of migration begin to include other needs, i.e. autonomy and privacy, socialization, the desire to reunite the family, etc. The shift from live-in to live-out work is usually followed by a rise in unregistered work, an increase in expenses (i.e. for housing) and a decrease in income (Ambrosini 1999; Ambrosini et al. 1995).

Other research has revealed that domestic working conditions (wages, overtime, etc.) have worsened with respect to the past and the number of unregistered jobs has increased. One reason for this is that employers are no longer purely from the upper classes[36], and many of them cannot afford to pay the minimum wage (Cardenas and Franzinetti 1998). Moreover, newly arrived immigrants from Eastern Europe accept lower rates of pay, reinforcing this trend (De Filippo 2000). However, wages may also vary according to the area: in general, in the South of Italy pay is drastically lower. For this reason, after a certain period many migrant female domestic workers move to the North of the country (Cardenas and Franzinetti 1998).

Furthermore, research shows that domestic work represents almost the sole job opportunity for female migrants in Italy. This has favoured the formation of a gendered and ethnicised[37] labour niche (Grasso 1994, Pugliese and Macioti 2003, Zucchetti 2002). For instance, a comparative study carried out by "La Sapienza" University in Rome and the Michigan State University revealed that for Philippino women in Canada, paid domestic work is just the first stage in upward mobility trajectories, while in Italy it is often the first and the only job accessible to them (Cortesi et al. 2006).

This has a significantly effect on the social and professional identity of migrant women. Domestic work and care-giving has a low social standing. According to some authors, this is due to two main reasons: firstly, this work requires a brand of expertise that is not socially acknowledged as professional, it is considered a sort of "unprofessional work"[38]; while secondly, in western countries since the 1970s, domestic work has been devalued by native women, as a reaction to the traditional division of work which confined women to the household (Abbatecola 2005; Alemani 1994). So it is that female migrant domestic workers find it difficult to forge a professional identity.

A study carried out in the Lombardy region reconstructed the ways out from domestic work: 10 years after arriving in Italy, two-thirds of the immigrants interviewed managed to get out of the

[35] Parrenas' comparative research (2001), for instance, reveals that Philippino women usually enter the United States legally, while they enter Italy holding a tourist visa and, when the visa expires, become irregular - at least until a new regularization is approved.

[36] See Colombo (2005), Alemani (2004), and Sarti (2004). In particular, Colombo shows that the social class of Italian families is still relevant in the case of those employing domestic workers and childcare providers, while this factor no longer affects the hiring of careworkers for elderly and disabled people.

[37] In 2005, one third of (male and female) migrant workers are employed in only five occupations: bricklayers, cleaners, housekeepers and caregivers, day labourers in agriculture, unqualified blue-collars (Istat 2006).

[38] Ambrosini (2006) underlines that the last amnesty in 2002, as well as studies and research, distinguish between subordinate job (for private firms) and domestic and care work as if this last one was not subordinate.

domestic sector. This number was higher among men than women. Furthermore, while men undertake paths of upward mobility, women normally find jobs as cleaners (20%), waitresses or unskilled workers in factories, in most cases working for a private company, but doing the same job they did previously for a family (Colombo and Sciortino 2005). Migrant women are usually relegated to subaltern roles which reflect the most traditional female occupations (Ambrosini 2004, 2005; Tognetti Bordogna 2007). In this way, migrant women are discriminated against, both as migrants and as women (Giaccardi 2002).

Working conditions and the social identity of foreign female domestic workers in Italy have also been analysed by a number of foreigner scholars, adopting a post-feminist approach (Andall 2000; Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001), i.e. focusing on processes of racialization of paid domestic work and on relations between gender, race and social class. According to these studies, in the domestic sector different hierarchies are at work in terms of families' preferences and wages: for instance, in Germany Polish women get the highest wages, while Italian families seem to prefer Philippinos; on the other hand, women from Africa seem to suffer the most discrimination wherever they go[39] (Anderson 2000, Andall 2000; Cardenas and Franzinetti 1998). Furthermore, Andall and Anderson's analyses highlight the domestic worker's submission to the employer, demonstrating that subordination meted out only from men to women, but also between women; the commercialization of domestic work which implies the sale of personality and emotions needed to take care of children, the elderly and disabled; and the contradiction between the emancipation of middle class women in developed countries and the segregation of migrant working class women in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile Parrenas' work on Philippinos (2001) highlights that migrant domestic workers play out "strategies" in order to modify such power structures – though without radically changing them – and reveals that migrant women also hire domestic workers and nannies in their country of origin in order to replace them while they are abroad.

A second element which characterises research on paid domestic labour is the attention devoted to revealing the relations between the demand for immigrant caregivers and the Italian welfare structure. The inadequacies of public services for the care of children, elderly and the disabled, the increasing participation of women in the labour market and the ageing of the population, are all factors that lead Italian families to hire migrant care workers[40]. As some authors suggest, migrant women compensate for the "invisible welfare" once represented by the unacknowledged, unpaid domestic work of Italian women, which is a characteristic feature of the South European "familistic model" of welfare (Tognetti Bordogna 2003; Gori 2002; Ranci 2001 and 2002; Zanfrini 2001; Ambrosini 2005). In actual fact, according to some authors (Altieri 1994; De Filippo 2000), foreign women are proportionally less employed in this segment of the labour market in those Italian cities where public services (nurseries for children, nursing homes for the elderly, etc.) are better developed. The lack of state welfare services and the consequent need for private care have led Italian governments to adopt a more open policy towards domestic workers (Colombo 2003; Andall 2000), as reflected in preferential access to residence permits in comparison with other workers (for instance, special treatment was accorded in the last amnesty of 2002 and a large quota of permits was reserved for this type of worker in the inflows decree of 2006).

One last feature of Italian studies on paid domestic work is the growing emphasis on networks, which are however examined from a critical perspective. The ambivalent nature of social relations

[39] Andall and Anderson affirm that these hierarchies are due to racism, while Ambrosini, Lodigiani and Zandrini (1995) assert that they mainly result from stereotypes according to which, in the case of Italy, Philippinos are good domestic workers and Peruvians cheap careworkers for the elderly, helping to reinforce ethnicised working niches. Furthermore, Ambrosini (2005) points out that these hierarchies are quite flexible; for instance, in Genoa they have changed in recent years: nowadays women from Eastern Europe are favoured, and Moroccans are preferred to South Americans, even if the latter do come from a "Latin" culture.

[40] However, Colombo (2005), comparing the influence of demographic changes on the recent increase of waged domestic labour, and the tendency of Italian families to use paid domestic help, asserts that the second factor has greater importance. He also suggests that this change in behaviour may be due to the larger supply of waged domestic labour at a lower price, thanks to immigration.

has been pointed out: networks may foster access to first employment in the private care sector[41] for new arrivals, but may also trap them in this segment of the labour market, restricting upward social mobility (Ponzo 2002; Alemani 2004; Morini 2001; Scrinzi 2004; Ambrosini 1999; Ambrosini et al. 1995). Furthermore, networks may hide abuse and exploitation: sometimes access to job is mediated by co-nationals and entails payment of a fee (Mazzacurati 2005; Ambrosini and Boccagni 2003; Tassinari and Valzania 2003). Lastly, some research highlights the weakness of domestic workers and caregivers' social network, especially if live-in, and their separation from the host society since relations with Italian people are often limited to the employer's family and eventually to supporting religious institutions. In this way, a gap forms between labour/economic insertion and socio-cultural integration (Ambrosini et al. 1995).

4.3.2. The migrant woman and the migrant family

Moving away from research on domestic workers, there is a second cluster of studies on foreign women which focuses on their role in the migrant family, as wives and mothers, as a consequence of the increasing number of family reunions in the 1990s, especially concerning women from Maghreb. Most of these studies use a qualitative approach, in the main using semi-structured interviews and life stories.

These studies highlight the bridging function played by these women, who mediate between the culture of origin and that of the receiving society. Such a negotiation modifies the interactions inside the household and the models of children's education (Landuzzi 1995; Martinelli 2003; Favaro 2003; Tognetti Bordogna 2004; Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001). At the same time, wives and mothers also have a crucial bridging function between the family and the host society, in particular with local welfare services such as health services, schools, etc., (Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001; Cifiello 1995). This means that migrant women play a strategic role in integration processes.

However, the risk of seclusion and isolation from the host society, especially for women arriving in Italy through family reunion from the Muslim countries of North Africa, has also been underlined. Isolation may be reinforced by the lack of female social support networks (the so-called "enlarged female family") which in the country of origin provides support for the woman and enables her to have a social life outside the home[42] (Cifiello 1995; Tognetti Bordogna 2004; Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001). The fact that these women cannot rely on a network of relatives or friends indeed closes off a number of options, such as work outside the home or following a process of partial independence from their husbands. Moreover, sometimes the traditional role of the man becomes stricter, preventing the woman from creating relations outside the family in the host country, even if the she worked full time before the family reunion. These women suffer great hardships, due not only to the absence of relationships based on affection and of a circle of female friends and relatives, but also linked to the loss of their identity as workers. The social isolation can be accompanied by closure in the religious dimension, which can provide a strong support to the vulnerable identity of migrant women (Tognetti Bordogna 2004; Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001).

Nevertheless, when these women get out of isolation, they usually have less ethnicised social networks and a higher number of relations with Italians compared to men, confirming what we said before about the crucial role of women in integration processes (Cifiello 1995). Moreover, even if they tend to be housewives (De Filippo 1994; Giannini 1994), some of them (unlike those who migrated from Maghreb to France in the past) enter the labour market, especially as domestic workers (Decimo 2005; Fondazione G. Corazzin 1997; Campani 2005). Their goal is usually that of contributing to family finances. In actual fact, they seem to invest more in modifying gender relations than in their own professional upward mobility (Campani 2005; Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001).

[41] Some studies also highlight mechanisms of circular migration, as in the case of women from Eastern Europe. By being replaced by co-nationals, women holding a tourist visa could avoid overstaying their permit (Ambrosini 2005).

[42] The situation can be particularly difficult in the case of a "second level reunion", when women join their husbands immediately after marriage: in this way, the woman becomes wife, migrant and often mother at the same time (Tognetti Bordogna et al. 2001).

There is a number of studies analysing the processes of renegotiation of family relations in the case of first-migrant women (Baldisserri 2005; Parrenas 2001; Tognetti Bordogna 2004), who may also experience difficulties in family life. First of all, after migration these women become family breadwinners, thus undermining their husbands' role. Secondly, they experience problems in reconciling domestic and care work outside and within the family (Castagnone et al. 2007; Tognetti Bordogna 2004; Ambrosini et al. 1995). For instance, some surveys have revealed that these women often either give up the idea of having children or send them to boarding schools or convents (Collicelli et al. 2005; Zanfrini 2001b). Another alternative is to leave children with relatives in the country of origin (creating "transnational families"), thus taking on all the related problems on an emotional level and the difficulties in the mother-child relationship (Castagnone et al. 2007; Zontini 2002).

4.3.3. Sex workers and trafficked foreign women

A third current of research on migrant women in Italy is represented by studies on sex workers and trafficked women, who became more and more visible in the late 1990s (Zandrini 1997; ENAIP 2000; Carchedi et al. 2005; Ambrosini 2002). The sector of sex work is one of the few alternatives to domestic work. According to Luciano (1994), in Italy migrant women were granted the social roles of wife, domestic worker and sex worker. The stereotype for a migrant woman in Italy is either sex worker or domestic worker.

Foreign women are usually relegated to the most risky sector of prostitution: prostitution on the street. When they leave their country the awareness of entering prostitution and the desire to do so may vary a lot, however most of them do not arrive in Italy alone, and most are exploited by criminal organizations (Ambrosini 1999; Pastore et al. 1999).

In order to combat the trafficking and exploitation of these women and foster their social integration, an innovative piece of legislation has been adopted in Italy (section 18 d.lgs 286/1998[43]). Authorized organizations, which operate in the context of "section 18 projects" (associations, religious organizations, NGOs, etc.) and are supported economically by a specifically established Fund, take on the victims, helping them to leave the circuit of exploitation and prostitution. In order to support this process the girls can receive a residence permit for reasons of social protection.

One of the key steps towards leaving prostitution is represented by the search for a new job. Work enables the woman to achieve a degree of financial independence and a new social status. However, domestic and care work are the main alternatives. In this respect, Abbatecola (2005) highlights that forced prostitution risks undermining women's previous identities, while the identity of prostitute continues to be perceived by the girls as a stigma, even after they have left prostitution. In order to overcome this stigma the new path in life should be characterized by a new, socially recognised and appreciated identity. But this is not the case when it comes to domestic work, since, as mentioned above, this is not considered as a "proper" job. Nowadays, organizations operating within the "project section 18" are increasingly suggesting these girls perform different kinds of work, in restaurants, shops, hospitals, hotels or in hairdressing, tailoring, shoe making and, sometimes, in factories[44]. However, full insertion into social life usually occurs very slowly and is often hindered by considerable reserve towards former prostitutes (Abbatecola 2005; UNICRI 2004).

4.3.4. Ethnic female entrepreneurs

[43] An English translation of d.lgs 286/1998 is available on the FIERI web site (http://www.fieri.it/pagInterna.cfm?pag=leggi&id=247)

[44] It is above all Nigerian women who ask to work in factories, in view of their increased difficulties in entering the labour market due to prejudice and discrimination, on one hand, and their diverse "work culture" which implies problems with respecting working hours, managing formal relations, etc., on the other hand (Abbatecola 2005; UNICRI 2004).

One newly emerging phenomenon, which could represent a potential step towards integration, is that of female migrant entrepreneurs. However, these are usually only taken into account in quantitative surveys on immigrant self-employment promoted by Chambers of Commerce, often at a local level.

The number of female migrant entrepreneurs is increasing rapidly. In June 2006, this group represented 16.5% of foreign-born entrepreneurs and in some Italian regions such as Umbria, Molise and Basilicata more than 25% (Caritas 2006). According to the Observatory on female entrepreneurship (*Osservatorio sull'imprenditoria femminile*) of *Unioncamere-Infocamere*, compared to 2005, in 2006 the number of foreign female entrepreneurs increased by 12.7%. As for nationality, the Chinese are in the top position, with nearly 10,000 businesses, but the number of Moroccan and Romanian companies is also increasing rapidly.

Table 4.4. Firms in Italy with a foreign, non EU female owner (2006)

Nationality	Firms
China	9,828
Switzerland	5,021
Morocco	3,011
Nigeria	2,604
Romania	2,510
Serbia and Montenegro	1,287
Argentina	1,233
Venezuela	1,142
Brazil	1,042
United States	943
TOTAL	41,973

Source: Osservatorio dell'imprenditoria femminile, Uniniocamere-Infocamere (www.unioncamere.it)

The high proportion of Moroccan women could appear in opposition with what was previously illustrated regarding the situation of Muslim women. However, it has to remembered that becoming an entrepreneur requires an in-depth knowledge of the host country's commercial laws and regulations. The fact that the Moroccan community is one of the oldest in Italy might in part account for the significant percentage of Moroccan female entrepreneurs.

For each nationality, the most significant quota of female entrepreneurs is involved in commercial sector (more than 70% among Senegalese and Nigerian, nearly 60% for Moroccans, 51% among Bangladeshis and 43% among Chinese). The Chinese community is also well-established in the textile sector (37% of female Chinese female entrepreneurs). However, there is more female than male involvement in hotel and catering activities (e.g., restaurants). The risk of marginalization has also been highlighted, especially in sectors which imply the use of traditional or "female" knowledge as tailoring, hairdressing, beauty treatments or caring activities (cooperatives provided childcare, or care for the elderly or disabled) (Santi 1995). This bears the risk of reproducing the stereotypes and the mechanisms of segregation in "female occupations" previously illustrated.

There are very few qualitative studies on female entrepreneurship, and they focus on local contexts. They reveal that female migrant entrepreneurs show a particular talent for combining social networks, opportunities offered by the local market and cultures of the sending and receiving countries, confirming the bridging function mentioned before. This is the case of the Tunisian women studied by Schmoll (2003), who are engaged in transnational commercial activities - buying Italian products in Naples and selling them at the markets in their home country. Another interesting case is that of foreign women who produce multicultural products in fashion and food (i.e. products which are the result of a mix of aspects of different cultures and are adapted to the

demands and tastes of the Western market, such as Afro pigtails, dresses inspired by Arab style, Indian take-aways, etc.) sectors analysed by Lunghi (2003) in Milan.

Finally, there is an even larger lacuna research and studies concerning migrant women employed in industry. The data available reveals that they risk being doubly disadvantaged, both as women and as migrants, since either they are excluded from factory work (Zanfrini 2000a, 2001b) or they have access to temporary and unqualified jobs only (IRES Piemonte 2006).

4.4. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of second generations

Research on second generations is still in its infancy in Italy. Since the early 2000s, however, the field has begun to attract researchers from different disciplines studying the various aspects of this issue: school, family, identity and, more recently, friendship relations across the ages, from infancy to adolescence. The issues at stake have broadened and measures have deepened and become more focused. Local and regional studies (see references) have helped to identify key topics of interest to researchers and educators, but unfortunately these studies have not helped to redirect and improve policy and practice: changes in policies and improvements in practices appear to be fragmented.

Table 4.5. Foreigner population under 18 years old by age group on 1.1.2006

	Foreign minors (%)
Pre-school age (0-5 years old)	44.9
Compulsory education age (6-16 years old)	54.6
Post compulsory education age (17-18 years old)	9.7
Total	100

Source: Extrapolated from Istat data.

It is important to stress that, in line with recent Italian immigration history, these studies are mainly focused on children and adolescents belonging to "generation 1.5" (Rumbaut 1994): the number of second generation migrants (the Italian-born children of first generation immigrants) is increasing, but at the moment it is mainly represented by children under 10 years old. The majority of foreign minors present in Italy today came via the family reunion route. This means that their age at the time they left their country of origin acquires particular significance for social research. In fact, unlike the second, Italian-born generation, foreign adolescents born elsewhere share their parents' foreign background, language and culture, although they differ in other significant aspects.

As the data shows, in the 1996-2005 period the number of minors[45] increased at a much higher rate than that of immigrant residents as a whole (120% and 66% respectively), from 125,565 to 586,483 (Ricucci 2006). In 2005, two factors influenced this tendency: the arrival of minors from abroad (over 42,255) and the number of births of children to foreign-born parents (53,000). In 2005 immigrant minors represented 22% of the total foreign population. Such a proportion is higher in the North and reaches levels of between 24% and 27% in the various provinces of the Lombardy region (data at 31.12.2005).

This data reveals deep structural and socio-cultural changes in Italian society, as reflected in Italian schools. In the 2005/2006 school year, there were 430,000 foreign pupils, approximately 5%

[45] Italian research studies usually include in this category: immigrant children or children of immigrants (individuals from birth to the age of 18 who come to Italy with their parents: the latter can be divided into generation '1.25', '1.5', and '1.75'); second generation immigrants (the Italian-born children of first generation immigrants); unaccompanied minors (according to Italian legislation an 'unaccompanied minor' is a minor who does not hold Italian citizenship or that of another EU Member State, has not applied for asylum, and is present on Italian territory without the assistance and the legal representation of his/her parents or other legally responsible adults in accordance with Italian law); Roma minors (from different ethnic groups, often with Italian nationality); and minors applying for asylum (who are beneficiaries of humanitarian services).

of the total, whereas in the 1993/94school year they were only 37,478 students, 0.4% of the overall student population. In the last twelve years, the number of foreign students has increased by almost ten times, with a 50,000 yearly increase during the last three years.

Table 4.6. Pupils of non-Italian citizenship, by type of school, comparing different academic years

	1997/98	1999/00	2001/02	2003/04	2005/06
Nursery	13,423	24,103	36,823	54,947	81,577
Primary school	29,286	52,973	76,662	115,277	164,177
Middle school	14,080	28,891	44,219	67,537	96,611
Secondary school	6,410	13,712	24,063	44,922	82,318
Total	63,199	119,679	181,767	282,683	424,683

Source: Ministry of Education, Information System.

The increasing number of non-Italian children has influenced the standard management of schools and their role in fostering socialization. In other words, the institutional adaptation to this new kind of users has involved defining competences with regards to basic issues, such as the encounter between different cultures, and the development of innovative didactic approaches. Schools and teachers have responded to this challenge with numerous initiatives that show a great vivacity and a increase in skills. However, a systematic census of the multiplicity of interventions and initiatives aimed at foreign pupils has not been undertaken at a local level throughout Italy, as we shall see below.

The first issue to attract attention, and hence invite investigation, concerns children at primary and middle school[46]. Several studies (Favaro 1990; Favaro and Demetrio 1997; Giovannini 1996, 1998; Favrega and Palmas 2003) investigated the social characteristics of immigrant children and their difficulties with Italian school and language[47]. In classrooms and schools linguistic, socio-cultural and social interaction codes may well diverge from those prevailing in the home, peer and community lives of foreigner pupils. The acquisition of language and literacy skills, in particular, may be hindered when the social organisation of teaching and learning ignores these differences, and fails to provide opportunities and activities that permit students to integrate in the classroom and make progress in their schooling. This is the reason why schools are beginning to set up projects addressed at the parents of foreign pupils, recognizing the strategic importance of family involvement for student success[48].

There are two surveys which compare the results and educational preferences of foreign pupils with those of their Italian schoolmates. The first (Giovannini et al. 2002) was carried out in 1998, in nine Italian cities (Brescia, Modena, Bologna, Turin, Padua, Arezzo, Ravenna, Genoa and Bari) and the second one (Dalla Zuanna, 2007) was carried out more recently, in 2006, and concerned nine Italian regions (Veneto, Lombardy, Tuscany, Marche, Lazio, Campania, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily). The data collected in the two research studies shows a high degree of similarity between the sample groups in their perception of their school achievements, educational and work preferences, family relations and future expectations. In defining their opportunities, self-esteem and trust in the future, both foreign and Italian pupils were influenced by the family's educational background and level of income, as well as by the area of residence.

With regards to research studies on adolescents[49], a survey was carried out in 1998 dealing with issues of experiencing difference and patterns in the sense of belonging to a specific territory and/or

[46] These schools form the first educational cycle: it is compulsory and lasts for 8 years, beginning at the age of 6.

[47] Despite the progress Italy has made in the field of integration since 1998, policies in this area still contain contradictions, mostly with regards to a discrepancy between theory and practice.

[48] More information about this kind of activities is available on the following websites: www.centrocome.it, www.pianetapossibile.it; www.ismu.org, www.interculturemap.org.

[49] Adolescence is taken as synonymous with the teen years (13-19).

culture (Besozzi 1999). The main focus of this study was diversity and its relation to the building of identity. By means of a survey carried out on a sample of both immigrant and Italian pupils in middle schools, the author provides an insight into how pupils from different backgrounds grow up together. The findings show how migrant pupils seek, above all, to define their identity by mixing the cultural values and norms of their previous socialisation in their home countries with the attitudes and expectations of the host country.

The theme of identity is becoming a crucial issue in analyses of foreign adolescents in Italy. Adolescents' identity definition and social integration sway between a strongly emotional cultural system within the family context and the array of social symbols and meanings conveyed by the host society. For foreign adolescents, the status of 'child of immigrants' signifies a greater likelihood of encountering difficulties in accomplishing the full realization of one's own subjectivity as well as a greater likelihood of marginalisation. Like everyone else, foreign adolescents are called to take on a role and work out their identity, which is not a merely individual process but rather involves family, school and friends. Therefore, it is necessary to assess how individual preferences combine with first and second generation projects and with the integration policies of the host society.

Recently, research on children, adolescents and young immigrants has further developed in the direction of studying their level of integration outside the school in greater depth (Cologna and Breveglieri 2003; Asis and Zanfrini 2006; Besozzi and Colombo 2007; Fondazione Agnelli 2007). Ultimately, both inside and outside school, researchers are aware that it is necessary to explore overall social and cultural conditions in order to comprehend the integration and psychological well-being of adolescents and young second generations. More specifically, studies have also explored gender inequalities, identity formation (i.e. self-image, ethnic awareness), home-school-society conflict, inter-ethnic relationships (inside and outside school), attitudes towards religions and value orientations (Marazzi 2006; Queirolo Palmas 2006; Leonini 2006). The picture that emerges can be summarised in the following points:

- overall, adolescents and young immigrants involved in these studies appear to be well integrated into Italian society and their sense of belonging to the country is increasing. Only rarely is this undermined by a strong sense of attachment to the country of origin. This sense of disconnection is experienced especially by those belonging to generation "1.25", since the latter rejoined their families during adolescence;
- most of them have a positive perception of Italy, appreciating the higher levels of personal freedom and greater opportunities (i.e. to improve their social conditions, to experience different ways of life, to express themselves).
- many young immigrants acknowledged that the integration process was harder for their parents than for themselves. It is apparent that the frustrations felt by the parents have a significant impact on the identity-building process of young generations.
- among young migrants from Latin America, a new phenomenon is emerging: the so-called "Latino gangs". The phenomenon mainly concerns adolescents recently reunited with their mothers, who are living and working as caregivers or domestic workers in Milan or Genoa (Queirolo Palmas 2006). They react negatively, to both the migration process that they have not personally chosen, and to the downward integration facing their mothers, by forming street groups. These are stigmatised in the Italian media as being "dangerous gangs" and are persecuted by the police: in very few cases, these groups are involved in criminal activities, but generally they are just more visible than other juvenile groups due to their chosen style of clothing (oversized), tattoos, use of slang and so on.
- in comparison to their Italian-born peers, immigrant youths are less likely to combine education and work during high school or further education. Some studies point to the importance of the family and the significance attributed to education as an instrument of integration into Italian society. However, the family can also limit schooling options: personal inclinations and preferences are often sacrificed to parents' economic needs and worries, as they prefer to direct

their children towards occupations that ensure rapid access to the world of work. The data shows that foreign adolescents mainly attend professional institutes: these are considered to be less demanding and more rewarding in terms of job-seeking. Moreover, this kind of school is also favoured by the fact that other co-nationals attend them.

Integration/inclusion is not a one-way street and progress is often creeping rather than leaping. Many adolescents and young migrants are creating individual identities by combining elements of both cultures and countries. The youth associations run in Italy by the children of immigrants represent an example of this talent for a 'bicultural' approach: Young Muslims of Italy, the Second generation network, the Association of Young Philippinos, The Chinese Youth Association are some examples of groups established by youths from an immigrant background working to improve their quality of life. These new Italians are currently the focus of numerous studies that are unfortunately still in progress at present (the end of August), and therefore it not possible to present their findings (Marazzi and Valtolina, forthcoming; Frisina, forthcoming).

4.5. Policy-oriented research

4.5.1. Policy-focused research on migrant women

In Italy, research *explicitly* addressing public policies for migrant women is rare. One of the main reasons for this is that there are very few measures explicitly addressed at this category. These are mostly experimental programmes often promoted by local authorities with the considerable involvement of voluntary sector associations.

Nevertheless, we can identify two main clusters of policy-oriented research. The first cluster concerns the programme for the social inclusion of trafficked women introduced by section 18 of d.lgs. 286/1998, mentioned above. The second cluster is focused on the (lack of) policies aimed at supporting careworkers' inclusion into the Italian welfare system and tackling the "care drain" that this sort of female migration entails in the country of origin. This last cluster of research is very recent and has been occasioned by the arrival of new waves of female migrants from Eastern Europe.

In actual fact, section 18 of d.lgs 1998 does not explicitly address foreign women: it concerns all trafficked migrants. However, this category of migrants is prevalently composed of prostitutes, to whom the programmes developed are actually addressed. In general, this piece of legislation is positively viewed by academics, since even now it is fairly innovative. According to some reports, a correlation between the application of "section 18" projects and a reduction in prostitution has been documented in some areas (for example, the area on the border between Marche and Abruzzo, the urban areas of Rome and Turin) (UNICRI 2004). However, the analysis of the law and of its implementation has also highlighted some limitations (Prina 2002; Petrini et al. 2002; UNICRI 2004; Petrini 2002).

One of the main problems is represented by the high degree of discretion exerted by the Questure (local Police Headquarters) in the application of the law. Despite the fact that according to the law all victims of trafficking should have access to a stay permit for social protection, the various Questure actually adopt different practices in processing applications and often issue residence permits at their own discretion. Other critical points are the long delays in obtaining justice from Italian courts, which shows a lack of consideration of the position of the victim, and the difficulties encountered by the NGOs and associations managing the integration programmes in actually providing a satisfactory position of employment (see above). In this regard, the studies underline the need to increase the involvement of employers and labour associations in the programmes.

The second cluster of research, focused on the inclusion of care workers in the Italian welfare system, is an emerging one. Once more, not all migrant care workers are female, but women do represent the great majority. Studies included in this cluster usually start by analysing the factors

(Ambrosini 2006; Castegnaro 2002) that occasion the demand for care services in Italy (demographic changes, inadequacy of public services, the preference for home care rather than institutionalisation, etc). As a consequence, migrants become an important piece of the (informal) Italian welfare state.

Nevertheless, in Italy the mechanisms for recruiting foreign care workers are inefficient. Italian legislation only permits foreign workers to be recruited directly from abroad. But this system does not take into account the fact that relations of trust are crucial in the domestic and care sector (Ambrosini 2006). The result is that Italian families recruit care workers already present in Italy, sometimes without a residence permit, but recommended by family friends or known co-nationals, and employ them irregularly.

Given this situation, some research has been undertaken on best practices promoted at a local level (Rome, Turin, Reggio Emilia, Bologna, Milan, Trieste, etc.) in order to cope with these problems, such as training courses for care workers[50], services for mediating between supply and demand in the care sector, giving care vouchers to families, and offering tax deductions in order to encourage regular employment, etc. Other projects aim to integrate care workers into public welfare services through: tutoring, i.e. advice, support and links to public welfare structures offered by social workers in the houses where care workers are employed; promoting networking between care workers and voluntary organizations (cultural mediation, medical assistance, Italian courses, holiday replacements, etc.); and promoting networking between care workers and local welfare services (Piperno 2006; Quintavalla 2005)

However, problems are also emerging in the countries of origin, since female emigration causes a "care drain": children and elderly people no longer have mothers and daughters to take care of them. Scholars have underlined the lack of policies to tackle this situation (Piperno 2006; Pastore and Piperno 2006) and suggest coordinating immigration, welfare and development policies in order to improve the "care gain" for the receiving countries and limit the "care drain" in the countries of origin. The final goal would be the creation of a form of "transnational welfare" or "co-welfare", i.e. integrated circuits of welfare sustainable both for the sending and the receiving country (Castagnone et al. 2007; Pastore and Piperno 2006; Piperno 2006).

4.5.2. Policy-focused research on second generations and identity

As mentioned above, and as documented repeatedly in various Regional or National Reports, on a local level schools have played an active role in tackling the challenge of foreign pupils, promoting dedicated projects and measures. School has always been a significant agency for socializing and it was one of the earliest institutions to get actively involved in the immigration phenomenon. It not only had the role of pioneering the experimentation of inter-cultural/multi-cultural policies, but also the delicate task of guiding minors through their integration into the host country. Therefore, schools have "developed practical knowledge and authentic know-how composed of innovative educational processes and interesting organizational solutions (Fravega and Queirolo Palmas 2003: 7).

Hence, despite the lack of input from the Ministry of Education, each school has found its own way of tackling the integration of migrant pupils. However there are very few studies aimed at reviewing and evaluating this multiplicity of experiences and they usually have a local scope. One interesting initiative was carried out by the Ismu Foundation in Lombardy: a database was set up, containing all local school programmes and the experience of intercultural education in this region.

As is clear, more policy oriented research on the situation of foreign minors and on the practices already experimented at school level is needed in Italy. The table below provides a first map of the issues which would deserve more attention from Italian researchers working on second generations, as well as the relevant policy implications.

[50] Some research points out that caregivers often have no exchanges of information with regard to the work of caring and methods, and that this is particularly negative, not only in terms of quality of work, but also as far as personal experience is concerned (Tognetti Bordogna 2003; Castagnone et al. 2007)

Research in the following areas could be considered	*The effects on the second generation could be…*
Research on the income distribution and living conditions of immigrants, including the spatial concentration of poverty of diverse immigrant groups.	Better understanding of minors' living conditions: it is known that poor housing characteristics, urban segregation and a low level of family income can have a negative effect on academic performance.
Research on immigrants' experiences of social inclusion, through some indicators such as monitoring access to state services such as social welfare, health, education and training	Better understanding of the measures that need to be taken to ensure the inclusion of immigrant children in the school environment, and social inclusion programmes that need to be developed in order for pupils and their parents to gain a better understanding of both the social and educational system in Italy.
Research on the language skills of parents and their migratory plans	It is useful to reinforce the parents' ability to speak the host country language, in order to ensure they are able to interact with teachers, support the second generation in their education paths and better understand the society their children are growing up in.
A longitudinal study on how newly-arrived immigrants adjust over time – their working experiences and conditions, risk of poverty, language skills, cultural practices, family composition and links with home countries – taking into consideration gender, class and ethnic origin, and the diversity of experience of different immigrant groups	As the American experience shows, it could be useful to understand the outcomes of the integration process between the first and the second generation.

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Appendix. Examples of *best practices* towards migrant women and youths of migrant origin

Project: **INSIEME SI PUÒ**
Promoters: The project, financed by the Department for Social Policies and Promotion of Health, is the result of an agreement between the department for Social Policies and the Department of Work Policies of Rome City Council, and the trade unions CGIL, CISL and UIL of Rome and the Lazio region.

Description of the project: The project entails creating a City Register of people who intend to offer home-based assistance to elderly people who are no longer self-sufficient. It was designed with the aim of safeguarding foreign women working in the sector, who are at risk of being defrauded or exploited by employers. It also aims to address the problem of finding another position when the person in question no longer requires their services. At the same time it was also aimed at ensuring old people have access to quality services, and to lessen the expenses involved (it entails financial support to help the elderly people involved make the necessary social security contributions, when they select a care-giver from the register set up as part of the project). To register the care-givers must have a relevant professional qualification. The City Council has set up training and refresher courses for candidates, organising and paying for qualified replacement care for the elderly employers in question. The elderly people who sign up for the project, sign a one year contract with the City Council to enable the care-giver to attend the training course.

Project: **DONNE PER LE DONNE**, part of the wider project Progetto Now (New opportunities for women)
Promoter: Associazione Progetto Arcobaleno, UETP Toscana (an association of three universities in Tuscany, regional associations and companies), Comune di Firenze.

Description of the project: The aim of the project is to encourage professional training and the foundation of companies by mixed groups of Italian and foreign women, which will provide services in the care-giving sector, children's entertainment, assistance for the elderly, and domestic work. The project also aims to foster integration between people who speak different languages, and have different cultures, pasts, ages etc. This intercultural integration is to be seen as a strong point of the service offered. The project, which enabled participants to take a childcare qualification, covered the following areas: research, training, guidance for company start up, and a final conference. The participants continued the work once these activities were over: three business groups were set up to implement various projects in the childcare field. The project was recently replicated in Bologna by Ecipar, a training company in the CNA system.

Project: **PROVACI ANCORA SAM**
Promoter: Municipality of Turin.

Description of the project: For a number of years this project has been testing various cooperation structures among schools, regional associations and local organizations aimed at combating the drop out rate and preventing school/training failure in the 14 - 20 age group. It aims to promote an intra-institutional network which should facilitate adolescents' school integration, temporary integration and tackle learning difficulties. The activities, which foster the integration of foreign minors and adolescents – identified as the new subjects at risk of social exclusion, are devised by social services and leisure workers working together.

Project: **NON UNO DI MENO**
Promoter: Province of Milan, and the Associations "Centro Come" and "Farsi Prossimo".

Description of the project: This project aims to solve practical problems involved in the migrant pupils' school enrolment, by organising Italian courses and training activities, printing leaflets and brochures in different languages and creating a website offering useful news and information on teaching in a multicultural classroom. These activities aim to tackle problems ranging from the reception stage to the evaluation of previous education, to language teaching, family involvement, homework support and the rapport with the native language.

5 – HUNGARY

5.1. Basic data on the development of the immigrant population and ethnic minorities in the country. Arguments for taking Roma as the target group of the literature review.

The main ethnically, culturally and – partly - linguistically diverse indigenous group in Hungary, the Roma, make up about 6 to 8% of the population (approximately 600 thousand). They have lived in Hungary for centuries; the majority settled in the 19th century, giving up their traditional travelling lifestyle. Although there are significant differences between Roma/Gypsy[51] subgroups, both groups have always been characterized by social and economic marginalization. During the state socialist regime the Roma were formally employed, but employment was due to labour intensive industrial technologies and the concept of full employment, which was as a principle for the legitimacy of the regime[52]. At the same time, even then, the Roma occupied the lowest level, worst paid jobs. Consequently, the changes after 1989 had drastic repercussions for the Roma people: most of those who had previously been employed – as low skilled workers, employed in "socialist" heavy industry and agriculture –lost their jobs. A present unemployment and poverty seriously afflict the majority of the Roma in Hungary; the employment rate within this population decreased from 77% in 1984 to 29% by 2003. In parallel to the exclusion from the labour market there is also an increasing amount of residential segregation: Roma / Gypsies move to (or stay in) low status or slum districts of larger towns, or settlements with little or no economic activity and a lack of transport services that also hinders employment or makes it practically impossible.

Main studies on the situation of Roma/Gypsy population in Hungary

- Babusik, F. (2004) *A Szegénység Csapdájában [In the poverty trap]*. Research Report. Online at: w**ww.delphoi.hu.**
- Kemény, I., Janky, B. and Lengyel, G. (2004) *A Magyarországi Cigányság 1971-2003 [The Hungarian Gypsies 1971 - 2003]*. Budapest: Gondolat – MTAKI
- Kertesi – Kézdi (2000)
- Szuhay, P. (2004) 'Foglalkozási és megélhetési stratégiák a magyarországi cigányok körében' [Employment and subsistence strategies among Hungarian gypsies] in Glatz, F. (ed.) *A Cigányok Magyarországon*. Budapest: MTA Társadalomkutató Központ.
- UNDP (2006) *At Risk: Roma and the Displaced in Southeast Europe*

Prejudice and interethnic hatred of Roma in Hungarian society is widespread: according to recent research on prejudice (Enyedi et al. 2004) of all the ethnic minorities and migrant groups, the Roma experience the most widespread rejection from mainstream society. The Gallup yearly survey, which has measured the openly expressed attitudes of the Hungarian population over the last 10 years, showed that approximately 40% of Hungarians are openly prejudiced against Roma and exhibits a generally negative attitude towards this ethnic group.

As far as the exact numbers of the Roma/Gypsy population are concerned, there is a great level of hesitation. Methodological and legal problems are inter-related: due to data protection legislation,

[51] I will use the term Roma / Gypsy because there is no consensus among Roma/Gypsies about what to call their ethnic identity. Some groups prefer Gypsy, while others are reluctant to use this word because of the negative connotations attached to it. Roma is more politically correct but some subgroups reject this label.

[52] Unemployment did not exist and those without a job were considered criminals and sent to prison (as "publicly dangerous shirkers").

it is prohibited to collect data on ethnicity. Due to historical fears related to the Roma identity[53] and the widespread prejudice and discrimination, census data – where ethnicity is self-reported – underestimates the number and ratio of the Roma population by a great extent[54]. On the other hand, data from household surveys also significantly underestimates the proportion of Roma for two reasons: they live in areas where interviewers are reluctant to go, and more importantly, Roma are not willing to identify themselves as Roma. Thus we have to rely upon various estimates based on a combination of census data, survey data and a mixture of ethnic self-definition and ethnic definition of the close environment. The same problems related to data-collection on Roma/Gypsy communities have also been encountered in other EU countries.

Main data sources on the Roma population

- National Census 2001
- Representative Roma/Gypsy Survey, 2003 Institute of Sociology, principal researcher: Kemény, István
- UNDP regional survey on the Roma population, 2005, TÁRKI, principal researcher, Bernát, Anikó.
- On schooling: Kertesi-Kemény-Liskó, 2000

On a national level, there are basically three data sources. The first is the National Census, that includes questions with regard to belonging to an ethnic minority. According to the census there is a low ratio of Roma in Hungary: 190 thousand Hungarian citizens described themselves as Roma or Gypsy. According to estimates based on a national survey of the Roma population (Kemény and Janky 2003), the population numbers approximately 600 thousand, 6-7% of the total population. The ratio of the Roma population in Hungary is expected to increase due to the higher than average birth rate (approx. 2.5-3 compared to 1.5 of the total population) and due to younger than average population (the life expectancy is over 10 years lower than for the rest of the population). A third set of statistics on the Roma population in EU countries was commissioned by the UNDP and conducted by TÁRKI in 2005 and estimated the Roma population to be between 520-650 thousand.

As for the employment situation of the Roma population there is even more ambivalence in data sources, as it is against data protection regulations for the authorities to collect data on ethnicity. Consequently, public offices – the Employment Office, Regional Labour Market Centres, and Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs – that collect and record data on unemployment and economic activity do not have information on the ethnicity of their clients. The primary sources of data on the labour market situation of the Roma are therefore the aforementioned sociological research projects.

In contrast to the case of Roma, the immigrant population in Hungary is minor, especially when compared to old member-states of the EU. Immigrants account for less than 1% of the population and the vast majority of them – over 70% – have Hungarian descent. They are ethnic Hungarians arriving from neighbouring countries (Romania, Slovakia, the Ukraine, Serbia).

Main studies on immigration in Hungary

[53] Historical experiences including the holocaust, and the post-war period of homogenizing and relocation, as well as present negative experience of prejudice, discrimination and negative attitude.

[54] only 1/3rd to 1/10th of the estimated Roma population in the EU reveals his/her ethnic identity according to UNDP (2005).

- Gödri, I. and Tóth, P.P. (2005) *Bevándorás és Beilleszkedés [Immigration and integration]*. Budapest: KSH NKI.
- Hablicsek, L. and Tóth, P.P (2000) 'A nemzetközi vándorlás szerepe a magyarországi népesség számának megőrzésében 1999–2050 között', *Demográfia, 43*: 11–46.
- Hárs, Á. (1995) 'Migration and the Labour Market', in Fullerton M., Sik E. and Tóth J. (eds) *Refugees and Migrants: Hungary at a Crossroads*. Budapest: Institute for Political Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Hárs, Á., Simonovits, B. and Sik, E. (2004) 'Munkaerőpiac és migráció: fenyegetés vagy lehetőség?' [Labour market and migration: an opportunity or a threat?], in *Társadalmi Riport*. Budapest: TÁRKI.

According to a study by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Gödri and Tóth 2005) the immigration inflow between 1998 and 2003 amounted to 295 thousand. The vast majority of immigrants (almost three quarters) arrived from neighbouring countries, and 90% of those arriving from these countries were ethnic Hungarians. (Hablicsek and Tóth 2000; Gödri and Tóth 2004; Rédei 2005). The majority of immigrants are of working age (25-34), highly motivated to attend higher education and to work, due to the better financial circumstances in Hungary than in their home countries. A new "secondary flow" of immigration includes the elderly, in the context of reunification. According to CBS data, the educational level of migrants is higher than the Hungarian average in all age ranges, and the majority come from urban areas, although the ratio of rural immigrants is increasing.

As recent surveys demonstrate, migrants (i.e. incoming Hungarian nationals) experience lower rates of unemployment than the respective socio-demographic groups of native Hungarians; most of them experience upward occupational mobility in comparison to their status in their home country, etc. (Hablicsek and Tóth 2000; Gödri and Tóth 2004). Similarly to immigrants' presence in society, the ratio of foreign children in education is not significant. Out of a school population of 1,880,816 around 12,500 foreign students were registered as attending Hungarian public education. (Kováts and Medjesi 2006) More than two thirds of foreign students (8,546) were of Hungarian ethnicity (mainly children of ethnic Hungarians from Romania, Slovakia, the Ukraine and Serbia).

Main data sources on the migrant and foreign population

- Central Bureau of Statistics
- Ministry for Interior, Immigration Office
- Employment Office

The context described above – the low rate of incoming migration, the vast majority of migrants being working age, well-educated ethnic Hungarians welcomed by the population - is a stark contrast to the relatively large proportion of Roma with a visible racial identity, and subjected to economic and social exclusion and marginalization, and this legitimises the decision to focus the attention of this literature review on the Roma, thus comparing their situation to that of new immigrant minorities in old and recent European immigration countries. Nevertheless let me provide some more arguments. If migration is viewed in a narrow sense – referring to people who migrated from one country to another with the hope of building a better life – Hungarian Roma do not fit into the definition. They have been living in the territory of present-day Hungary for several centuries. But if we consider social and personal consequences of migration – i.e. being „others", being the subject of prejudice and neglect, being discriminated against, being segregated and finally becoming „outcasts" from society – than the problems related to Roma integration largely resembles the situation of immigrants in old EU member states. At the same time, the situation and

problems related to the integration of the vast majority of migrants in Hungary can not be compared to their counterparts in Western Europe, as they – ethnic Hungarians arriving from neighbouring countries – are culturally and traditionally the same ethnic and linguistic group, are of working age, are welcomed by Hungarians and do not face the problems that migrants living in western Europe do: they do not have language problems, do not encounter prejudice, discrimination, segregation or exclusion, are well-educated and find work easily. They are accepted as Hungarians by Hungarian society and thus do not require assistance to integrate. There is a minor group of migrants in the country whose status can be compared to the status of migrants in old member states (Chinese, Afghanistan, Pakistani, etc.) but their presence is negligible. Moreover, most migrants of non-Hungarian descent consider their present residence in Hungary as one of transit towards Western Europe or the US. "It is not an exaggeration to state that, given the rather homogeneous national/ethnic composition of its dominant population,[55] and also the traditionally low rates of inward migration,[56] it is Hungary's only domestic ethnic/racial minority – its Roma citizens – that embody "otherness" and that "take up" the position of deprived and marginalized groupings labelled as "culturally alien" migrants in most other European societies" (Szalai 2007)

5.2. Major issues of integration and access to the labour market in mainstream research and studies. Basic data on the labour market involvement of the Roma population.

5.2.1. Comparative research in the EU.

The social situation of the Roma population in EU countries is a crucial one and as I argued in the previous section, it is identical to that of immigrants in many respects. Nonetheless there has been little comparative research done across the EU on this issue for various reasons.

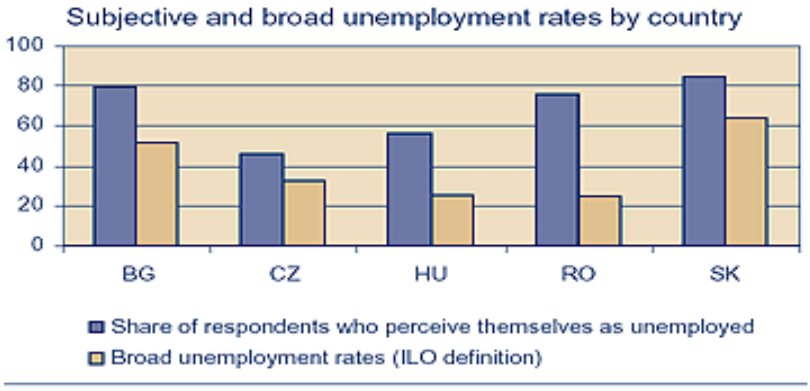
A large regional comparative research survey was conducted recently by the United Nations Development Program about the social situation of Roma in the EU. The research was composed of two stages: the first included Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia in 2000-2001. A follow up to this survey was done in 2004 and targeted vulnerable groups (Roma, internally displaced people, refugees) in countries of the Central and South-East Balkan region[57]. This research was concerned, in terms of methodology, with identifying and sampling the target population described in the previous section.[58] We cannot take this database as representative of the Roma population in the given region or even in the member countries. Nonetheless, we do not have – and will not have in the near future – better comparative data on the Roma population for one very simple reason: we do not have accurate statistics on how many Roma people live in the region and what their demographic and regional distribution is. In simple terms we do not have a basis for establishing the representativity of the survey.

As a consequence, there are no official statistics about unemployment rates and economic activity rates of Roma in the countries of the region. Survey data of the UNDP about subjective views on unemployment[59] demonstrates extremely high unemployment rates, ranging from 46 percent in the Czech Republic up to 85 percent in the Slovak Republic. According to the follow-up report (UNDP 2006) subjective views of unemployment are even higher (up to 92%) among Roma in the Balkans. According to the broad definition of employment by ILO[60] (incl. informal, irregular

[55] Responding to the questionnaire of the last Census of 2001, 94 per cent of the population indicated exclusive "Hungarian" nationality.
[56] The yearly rate of inward migration has remained between 0.5-0.7 per cent during the past 15 years (Rédei 2005).
[57] Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania and Kosovo.
[58] Just to give an example: there are great differences between the UNDP research and the national Roma survey in 2003 with regards to the regional dispersion, level of education and employment rate of Roma in Hungary.
[59] What is your current status with regards to economic activity?
[60] Combination of answers to the following two questions: What type of work/activity did you do to earn money in the last month? When did you last have a job?

work as well as any income-generating work-type activity) unemployment is much lower, but still high.

GRAPH 9



Source: UNDP (2002). Avoiding the Dependency Trap. The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe.

Using this revised definition the average rate of unemployment of Roma in the region was 40 percent, ranging from 24 percent in Romania to 64 percent in the Slovak Republic. The data reflects the extensive presence of the informal labour market in Romania and a deep-seated "real" unemployment among Slovakian Roma. Roma are 8-10 times more likely to be long-term unemployed than the non-Roma population in the region. This data reinforces the fact that the Roma were disproportionately affected by the negative consequences of economic restructuring during the second half of the 1980's and the 1990's (Guy 2001; Kertesi 2004; Ringold 2000; IBRD/ World Bank 2001). As a result the Roma population is widely excluded from the labour market now, and especially from official jobs, in the whole of the region.

According to various studies in the region, the factors accounting for high unemployment and economic inactivity rates within the Roma population are manifold: (1) low educational levels, (2) disadvantaged regional dispersion of the Roma living in regions characterized by economic crises, (3) the economic restructuring that heavily affected Roma low skilled and skilled workers employed in former socialist heavy industry, (4) the uncompetitive qualifications that a disproportionate number of Roma possess, and last but not least (5) the excessive racial discrimination of employers.

(1) Low level of education: According to UNDP/ILO (2002) research, the educational level of the Roma population across the region is dramatically low. The majority of Roma possesses at most primary school education (in Romania and Bulgaria over 40% of Roma did not even finish primary school). Only 7% completed secondary school or higher grades of schooling. Naturally there are vast differences between countries: the lowest educational levels were observed in Romania and Bulgaria, where 80% of the Roma has primary school or lower education, while the Czech Republic and Slovakia demonstrates a high ratio (35-40%) of Roma starting secondary school (though many stop studying before getting their qualification). It is obvious that a primary school qualification is not sufficient for successful access to the labour market.

(2) The regional dispersion of the Roma population in the region usually closely reflects the map of economic performance: most of the Roma live in regions characterized by the lowest GDP/capita and structural economic crisis. This is strongly inter-connected to the next factor.

(3) The Roma were extensively employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in intensive "socialist" heavy industry. They were offered stable, but low paid jobs, and they were encouraged to stay in these positions (Kertesi 2005). The semi-skilled or unskilled Roma working in unproductive, poorly performing heavy industry state companies were the first to

lose their jobs after firms went bankrupt due to the collapse of the state socialist political system. Many Roma have never recovered from the crisis caused by the restructuring of the economy that took place in the 1980s and 1990s: two third of the jobs that the Roma occupied in the socialist era in Hungary were wiped out after 1989 (Kertesi 2000).

(4) Roma typically hold qualifications (semi-skilled or skilled workers) that are uncompetitive in the modern economy. A further problem is that the educational system has still not adapted to the new needs of the economy: a large segment of vocational training schools – which are the educational institutions most Roma attend after primary school – equip children with skills that are currently uncompetitive on the labour market.

(5) There is yet another decisive factor: the discriminatory practices of employers add to the Roma's low chances of employment. A number of studies (ERRC 2007, UNDP/ILO) prove that Roma / Gypsies are strongly discriminated against in the labour market.

There are many facts that reinforce the hypothesis of extensive labour market discrimination on an ethnic basis. In the UNDP/ILO study (2002) ethnic background was ranked as the primary cause for not being employed by Roma respondents in Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary. Important evidence for the existence of discrimination comes from the comparison of employment rates among Roma and non-Roma with the same levels of education and qualifications: this comparison clearly demonstrates that the Roma are more likely to be unemployed or economically inactive than non-Roma with an identical education and different demographic characteristics (Bernát 2006; Kemény and Kertesi 2005). According to calculations in Hungary *"human capital variables such as the low educational attainment, lack of relevant work skills and the concentration of Roma in economically depressed regions account for about half of the difference in labour market opportunities between Roma and non-Roma in all age ranges – the remainder is attributed to the ethnic discrimination that is prevalent in the labour market"* (Kertesi 2005). There are further factual evidences for extensive labour market discrimination against the Roma emerging from national surveys carried out in some EU countries.

The European Roma Right Center published the results of its research on discriminatory practices in the labour-market in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia in 2007 (ERRC 2007). The study was carried out during 2005 and included interviews with Roma individuals of working age, companies, and labour market gatekeepers (labour offices, government officials, labour market policy-makers). It provides a thorough overview of discriminatory practices, procedures and attitudes from both the supply and demand sides of the labour market. The study concludes: "*The most compelling evidence from the research is that discrimination is exercised at more or less every juncture in the labour market. As a consequence, there is systemic exclusion from employment for vast numbers of working-age Roma.*" Despite anti-discrimination legislation in these countries, employers exclude Roma right at the start of the employment procedure, in the recruitment phase: they usually reject jobseekers they suspect to be Roma. Two-thirds of the Roma individuals interviewed reported that they had experienced discrimination in employment and half of them answered that they were told directly by the employer that rejection was due to his/her ethnic background. There are significant differences in this respect among the countries: two-thirds of the respondents in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic mentioned that they were openly turned down because of their supposed ethnic origin, while this ratio was "only" 29% in Hungary. These alarmingly high proportions of overt racial discrimination suggest that anti-discrimination legislation is poorly or not at all implemented in these EU countries.

It is not only employers, but frequently the labour market gatekeepers – especially labour offices – as well, which are permissive about racial discrimination. During the interviews many labour-office officials expressed their openly stereotyped, prejudiced views that Roma people are incapable of working and consequently cannot be employed; sometimes they even seconded employers' discriminatory practices.

5.2.2. Country specific research in Hungary

A number of national research studies have focused on labour market discrimination in Hungary.

A decisive share of research and literature on the labour market exclusion of Roma people has adopted a macro-economic and macro-sociological approach. There is a key think tank of economists (Kertesi, Kézdi, Köllő, Vajda) working at the Institute of Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and another team at the Research Institute of Sociology and Ethnic and National Minority Research (Kemény, Janky, Havas, Szalai). These teams have conducted the most exhaustive research on the employment situation of Roma people in Hungary from a macro-perspective. They have published numerous studies concerning the reasons and consequences for the labour market exclusion of Roma since the mid 1990s. (for a selection of papers see Kertesi 2005) Their economic and sociological analyses focused on the processes that lead to the extremely high ratio of unemployment among the Roma population of working age during the post socialist era. Their studies pointed out that the decline in Roma employment began before the transition and accelerated during the first half of the 1990s when more than 35 per cent of Roma of working age lost their jobs. After 1995 the very low level of employment consolidated amongst Roma people.

In the mid 1990s the employment rate of Roma workers was not only extremely low, but also highly unstable (Kertesi 2000). Economic transition caused increasing regional differentiations and inequalities that had a disproportionate affect on the Roma, forcing them to engage in expensive, unreasonable commutes. Consequently the Roma were forced to participate in an unstable, irregular or illegal segment of the labour market or appeal to the social welfare system. The spread of unstable employment also led to social disintegration: the lack of permanent employment meant an irregular income, the lack of a stable lifestyle, the continued presence of breadline worries, no protection from the main institutions, a lower level of social transfers from the state and the employers – or even the loss of entitlements (Szalai 2005; Messing 2006; Kertesi 2005).

Public work programmes, which are a common form of initiative aimed at fostering the employment of Roma, in actual fact perpetuate the instability of Roma employment: these programmes typically offer irregular, short-term employment opportunities in low prestige jobs, contributing to negative social stereotypes, making dependency permanent, and reinforcing the lack of protection from the authorities. (Kertesi 2005; Fleck et al. 2006). Another segment of research and literature focuses on labour market discrimination practices. A survey by Delphoi Consulting Ltd. (Babusik 2006) among Hungarian companies (with more than 10 employees) collected data on discriminatory practices in employment. The research, which collected data from 1800 companies and 530 regional Labour Office members of staff, provides a new type of data source: corporative, i.e. company level data on practices leading to discrimination against disadvantaged groups, especially the Roma, but also immigrants and asylum seekers. Its major conclusion is that the Roma are excluded from the labour-market not only because of their disadvantaged educational situation but mainly due to the negative attitudes of employers: over 80% of employers interviewed stated that he/she would not employ Roma even if his/her qualification fit requirements. The study also pointed out, that labour market subsidies aimed at the inclusion of disadvantaged groups do not influence discriminatory practices: companies that exercise racial discrimination are able to obtain such subsidies as much as companies that do not discriminate.

The NEKI (Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities) project promoted by the European Union published a report on racial discrimination in the labour market in Hungary in 2004 (Bodrogi and Iványi 2004). The report reviewed practices of racial discrimination at different points in the labor market: discrimination against job applicants, discrimination during selection procedures, discrimination in the workplace, discrimination through public work. The analysis is based on clients' complaints followed by discrimination testing at the given company. The second chapter of the study is concerned with the legal background and anti-discrimination legislation. The third chapter is dedicated to the legal redresses for victims of employment discrimination. According to NEKI's experience 8 out of 10 clients' complaints are founded: in these cases

repeated testing by Roma and non-Roma job applicants prove the accusation of racial discrimination: when they are rejected, Roma applicants are usually told that the position has been filled, while non-Roma applying at a later date are accepted.

Another important segment of research includes ethnographic, anthropological studies investigating ethnic business and self-employment. A number of in-depth sociological and anthropological studies focusing on various Roma communitites offer a profound insight into the labour market situation, and the employment experiences of the various Roma/Gypsy communities. A few studies focus on those ethnic enterpreneurial activities that are rooted in Gypsy traditions and may provide employment and income for a few people, especially those whose traditions remained in the family despite historical events (i.e. when traditional Roma occupations were eliminated and the Roma were employed in labour-intensive industry under the state socialist system). Kállai's (2000) research on Roma enterpreneurs demostrated that the majority of Roma enterpreneurs took up business due to economic constraints, with insufficient education and skills, and lie on the borders of legality; they are involved in commerce or entertainment-hostelry services which offer at most a small profit.

The anthropological research carried out by Fleck, Orsos and Virag (2000) provided a in-depth insight into the subsistance strategies of an impoverished Boyash community in South East Hungary. They mapped families in these communitities, their sources of income, employment and other income-generating activities and showed, that only the privileged have a low paid, but stable income. Most families have to rely on various income sources i.e. welfare assistance (including family allowances), pensions, irregular and badly paid seasonal jobs, collecting crops from the forest, and wood for heating. Another decisive anthropological study was published by Stewart (1994) on a traditional Vlah gypsy community, presenting income sources, subsistence strategies and the prevailing traditional occupation of horse keeping and trading. Further qualitative research focuses on various subgroups of traditional Gypsy/Roma jobs like musicians (Békesi 2003), antique traders (Lakatos, 2000), and demonstrate how these traditional occupations are disappearing due to economic difficulties. Szuhay's earlier study gathered information on and described traditional Gypsy communitites and related traditional occupations prevalent in Hungary (Szuhay 1997). Despite the fact that there is very little research on the identity of Roma/ Gypsy people and the impact of identity on social inclusion, labour market inclusion, one can say that there is substantial evidence for the assumption that social and labour market exclusion is mostly due to discrimination, wide-spread prejudice on the one hand and low social capital (low level of education, disadvantaged family background, lack of social networks) on the other hand. There is no evidence for the hypothesis that exclusion is the product of some distinct culture or ethnic identity of Roma people. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that Roma children in education have similar or even higher aspirations when compared to non-Roma children with identical socio-demographic parameters, yet due to unfavourable conditions and discrimination they have fewer opportunities on the labour market.

5.3. Review of existing research on Roma labour market inclusion/exclusion with a focus on women

Although a number of studies have been published on Roma in the Hungarian labour market, most lack a gender perspective. The marginalized position of Roma women in the labour market is not addressed in most surveys and publications. According to survey results, the low employment rate among Roma is comprised of a low level of employment of Roma men and overwhelming majority of economic inactivity of Roma women.

Table 5.1. **Rate of employed people amongst Roma in the 15-49 age group (Percent distribution).**

Year	Male	Female	Total
1984	95	61	77
1989	85	53	67
1993	39	23	31
2003	38	20	29

Source: Kemény et al. 2004

Although inactivity is high among both Roma men and women, almost twice as many men than women work or study full time.

The reasons for this are twofold: Roma women have even less chance of getting a job due to their even poorer educational background, which is strongly related to the fact that Roma women become mothers at a very early age and consequently stop studying. Roma women have a higher than average number of children (3 children compared to 1.5 children among non-Roma), and subsequently are more likely to stay at home with their children from a very early age (Járóka, 2006). A third important factor is that Roma women face additional disadvantages due to low educational levels and multiple gender and ethnic discrimination. (Kóczé 2003)

According to another survey (Babusik 2004) somewhat less than one-third of Roma men and only one fifth of Roma women have registered, paid employment. Unemployment among Roma men and women is similarly high but in addition, a quarter of Roma women are at home performing childcare or domestic work. The very low ratio of pensioners among both Roma men and women is related to early mortality and exclusion from economic activity, and as a consequence the lack of access to social security (Szalai 2005). Several case studies of young Roma people in rural areas (Babusik 2002; Fleck et al. 2000) of economically depressed regions found that Roma women's alternatives are reduced to childcare: they attend school until they give birth to their first child. Roma women have practically no chance of gaining employment in such regions. There is a dominant view prevailing in Hungarian society: Roma women do not work, because their families are better off if they live on various forms of welfare: childcare benefits, unemployment benefits, etc. Income data – although not very reliable – demonstrates (Babusik 2004, Szalai 2005, Messing 2006) that even if various forms of welfare benefits are taken into account, the pro capita income of Roma families is highest when both parents are earners. Only a small minority (one tenth) of Roma families have two employed adults, and in more than half of the cases both partners are inactive. A number of studies, especially qualitative ones (Fleck et al. 2000; Szuhay 20004), refer to the fact that many Roma women are engaged in unregistered income-generating activities, in low paid, unregistered and inferior jobs (filthy jobs in other households, selecting garbage at the dump, unregistered physical work in building industry and agriculture, picking and collecting goods in the forests (berries, wood, herbs), doing inferior jobs during public work i.e. cleaning streets and drains etc.) These women are defenceless: subject of the employer's good- or bad-will, working among lowly conditions and without social security and pension.

5.4. A review of existing research on the social inclusion and identity of young people

A large number of research projects and studies have been published in relation to the education of Roma children in Hungary.

A large body of research focuses on the educational situation of Roma children and the reasons for the low level of education and consequences with regard to employability and labour market perspectives (Kertesi 2005; Kemény 2003; Havas et al. 2002; Radó 1997). A literature review on this issue was produced by Delphoi Consulting in 2000 (Fiath 2000).

The low educational level of Roma is one essential reason for their low employment rate. Data from several studies provides evidence for this. The table below provides information gathered in the latest study on the schooling of Roma children.

Table 5.2. Educational level of the Roma population by age range (Percent distribution)

	15-39 years old	40-59 years old	60-99 years old	No.	%
Primary or lower	78	85	93	2,350	81
Vocational training	19	12	6	465	16
Secondary school with school-leaving exam	3	3	1	83	3
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
No.	1,838	871	189	2,898	

Source: Kemény and Janky 2003

The data provides information on two important factors that represent a basis for a number of studies developed in the field: although rising, the educational level of Roma in Hungary is still extremely low and definitely not competitive on the labour market. Research has thus been focusing on the reasons and consequences of the low educational level, and especially on the reasons for the small number of Roma participating in secondary education which is valued on the labour market.

1. Processes in education: This research area addresses how educational institutions relate to Roma children and to typical problems related to this population: the high drop-out rates among Roma students as well as the low number of Roma students entering secondary schools that offer a leaving certificate which represents the passport to the labour market (Havas – Kemény –Liskó, 2002; Babusik, Zolnay).

Table 5.3. Differences characterizing the education of Roma and non-Roma children after primary school. (Percent distribution).

	1996/1997		1997/1998		1998/1999	
	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma	Non-Roma	Roma
Do not continue	2.3	16.5	2.8	16.1	3.2	14.9
Special trade school	4.4	8.6	5.4	10.4	3.2	9.4
Vocational school	36.5	61.6	34.9	57.5	36.8	56.5
Technical secondary school	38.3	9.3	37.3	12.0	38.1	15.4
Grammar school	18.3	3.7	19.3	3.8	18.4	3.6

Source: Havas et al. 2002

The data shows significant differences between Roma and non-Roma students: obviously Roma children drop out from the school system after primary school at a much higher rate than their non-Roma peers, while the vast majority of those who continue in education manage to go to those types of secondary schools which do not provide valuable qualifications on the labour market. Less than one fifth of Roma children continued with a secondary education, compared to non-Roma peers' ratio of 57%. Another important area of research focuses on widespread techniques of segregation: assessing Roma children as slightly mentally handicapped as well as other processes that lead to segregation on three levels: among schools, within the school and within the classroom.

2. The teachers' side. Research in this area focuses on teachers, pedagogic methods applied by teachers in schools, and teachers' attitudes towards Roma students.
3. Prerequisites of successful schooling: Another set of research concentrates on early childhood educational integration, the role of pre-school in combating school disadvantages and problems related to the marginalized situation of Roma children and their consequences on schooling (Havas, OKI)
4. Experiences of Roma/Gypsy children in education and consequences with regard to identity and career expectations.

For questions of space I will focus only on the fifth segment of research and publications, namely on research that concentrates on the experiences of the children themselves and the consequences of being a Roma child in Hungary. This research topic is relatively neglected in Hungary; little attention has been paid to the relationship between education, identity and employment opportunities. However, two studies can be listed here. The first studied Roma students who were members of Romaversitas, an extracurricular college for Romany higher education students. (Kende 2005) The main focus of this study was identity models and their relation to career ambitions and educational careers. The study concludes that there are different models of identity building according to the family's ethnic identity history (assimilation versus tradition-keeping), the socio-economic status of the family and – mostly negative – on the experiences related to their ethnic group membership. Nevertheless all the students of Romaversitas, irrespective of their families' background, thought that building a positive Roma ethnic identity was essential for their professional and personal future. One has to keep in mind that because of the very low number of Roma university students, Romaversitas members represent the young Roma elite, probably set to become the core of the Roma intellectual elite within a decade or two.

The second study focusing on identity is the product of an ongoing research project in the Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (Neményi 2007). The research work attempts to identify the impact of schooling, segregation and identity formation (especially ethnic identity) on the career ambitions of 14-15 year old primary school leavers. The study concludes that children in this age group possess extensive experience of the consequences of being a Roma: being stereotyped, segregated and marginalized, being an object of prejudice and a socially excluded ethnic group. Roma children experience these negative experiences related to ethnic identity in their peer relationships as well as in institutions and everyday interactions. The ethnic identity of these children is based on the stigma attached to being Roma by the majority population and its institutions. Such negative experiences influence children's identity and consequently their career ambitions. Different identity strategies may be identified as a response to threatened identity. These range from self-conscious ethnic identity to assimilation to the concealment of ethnic roots even negative ethnic identity, hatred of Roma ethnicity. These strategies naturally affect children's career ambitions, and expectations for the future: those trying to build a positive ethnic identity are more likely to think strategically about their future and continuing in education.

5.5. Policy-oriented research. The most important policies addressing integration in the labour market and education.

A number of studies on the labour market situation of Roma people have been commissioned by governmental or local policy-making organizations (ministries, local governments, National Development Agency) in the past few years and thus are policy-oriented. A number of studies commissioned by the government remain unpublished though.

5.5.1. Employment; active labour market policies

1. A study on Roma employment published by Kertesi (Kertesi 2005) provides evidence for the hypothesis that public work and active labour market programs aimed at increasing Roma employment have an important side effect: they increase the instability of employment of the target population. The reason behind this process is that public work programmes typically provide employment for very short terms (1-5 months on average). A large ratio – approximately one-fifth – of working age Roma population is employed by such programs.
The paper provides recommendations for labour market policy. The author sees the strong decentralization of the public work system, which delegates the responsibility to the municipalities, as a major problem. He argues that the present system of public work increases regional inequalities by a large extent, as well as greatly fragmenting local labour markets. He also argues that long-term unemployed, marginalized poor are extremely vulnerable in the present system, as they are dependent on the municipality's good will not only in terms of welfare subsidies, but also in terms of employment possibilities that would make them entitled to welfare allowances. He also points out that public work does not change the employability of long-term unemployed, but is rather an extension of the social welfare system instead of being an element of labour market policy. He proposes drawing up complex rehabilitation and integration programmes in regions with multiple disadvantages and a large Roma population. These programmes should focus on various spheres of social marginalization, as the current situation is the product of various, interrelated and intermingling causes. Consequently, intervening on just one source of marginalization will not lead to long-term results. Complex rehabilitation programmes should thus focus not only on employment but also on other elements of marginalization: education, housing, economy, social care and health care. Another paper dealing with the social welfare system argues a similar case: delegating the responsibility for the social care and social employment of the marginalized to municipalities (that are as poor as their inhabitants) makes clients – especially Roma clients – even more defenceless to authorities. (Szalai, 2005)

2. The Hungarian Foundation for Self Reliance ("Autonómia Alapítvány", an NGO active in Roma employment), with the support of ILO and UNDP, prepared a research on Roma Labour Market Programs in 2003. (Csongor et al. 2003). The study provided an overview of subsidized labour market programmes aimed at Roma citizens of working age. It distinguished among three types of programmes:

- Governmental programs including Roma employment programmes of the National Public Foundation for Employment (Országos Foglalkoztatási Alapítvány – OFA), Phare programs, and social land programs.
- Non-Governmental Initiatives including programs of the Autonómia Foundation – Foundation for Self Reliance and programs of the Public Foundation for Romany in Hungary.
- Public work and "socially useful work" programs.

Estimates provided by the Employment Center and by the Ministry of Economy concerning Roma participants in active labour market programmes (ALMP) differ a lot: according to Employment Centers 17,000 Roma people participated, while the Ministry of Economy's estimate is almost double that (31,500).

Table 5.4. Roma participants in ALMP: estimates provided by the Employment Center and the Ministry of Economy. (Percent distribution).

	Total	Roma Participants (Employment Center)	%	Roma Participants (Ministry of Economy)	%
Active programmes in total	135,792	17,025	12.5	31,500	23.2
Retraining	40,621	3,206	7.9	4,400	10.8
Socially useful public work	34,414	7,531	21.9	17,300	50.3
Local public work	9,521	2,697	28.3	-	-
Large-scale public work projects	4,797	2,115	44.1	3,800	79.2
PUBLIC WORK TOTAL		12,343		21,100	
Wage subsidies	20,364	1,479	7.3	1,800	8.8
Travel to work subsidies	4,306	354	8.2	160	3.7
Payment of social charges on wages	5,096	864	17.0	800	15.7
Other programmes	11,971	852	7.1	400	3.3
Special Roma programmes	-	2,782	-	2,450	-

Source: Csongor et al. 2001: 13

The numbers above demonstrate that public work programmes represents a key sphere of ALMP for unemployed Roma on the one hand, and on the other that Roma represent a large proportion of the participants in these programmes. The weighting of special Roma programs is negligible. *"Relevant data was collected from both beneficiaries and those providing financial support. One immediate finding is that programmes are documented at a very basic level, and donors are only involved until the support is transferred – or at best until they receive project accounts. Project support is an exception to a certain extent, but even projects are documented only at the end of the project period. Programme efficiency is rarely assessed, and reports on outcomes are occasional. The situation is similar on the beneficiary side, especially with projects where a single activity or its various elements are financed by several supporters".*

3. Another – yet unpublished – research study commissioned by the Ministry of Employment Policy and Labour examined Labour Market Programs directed at unemployed Roma and came to similar conclusions (Fleck et al. 2006). The research provided a thorough examination of all governmental and NGO active labour market programs aiming at increasing Roma employment. The research included employment programs as well as training programs, active labour market programs, public work programs and corporate development programs for companies which employ Roma workers. Results were disappointing: despite the fact that a relatively large number of programs for unemployed Roma are in place, very few obtain convincing results and it is very rare that Roma people participating in employment programs remain on the labour market after the program is finished. The study formulated a number of policy recommendations. The most important of these are:

- the need to design complex micro-regional development programs that focus simultaneously on various elements of social disadvantage (education, health, social welfare, labour market, economic competitiveness).

- the need to replace social employment programs that do not increase the employability of the clients on the primary labour market with active labour market programs.
- the need to decrease the ratio of competition in the field, as it results in contra-selection of subsidised actors that excludes the most marginalized who the lack human and economic resources to apply for tenders. The present system puts too great a burden on organizations which lack human resources.
- Programmes need to be professionally supported and monitored to a much greater extent than the present system allows. Without professional support and regular monitoring even projects implementing very good ideas go bankrupt as they lack management, financial, human resources and the professional skills and experience necessary for running a business.
- Greater transparency of such programmes is also essential.

To sum up, all studies agree that Labour Market Programmes for the Roma in Hungary (Kertesi 2006; Fleck et al. 2006; Csongor et al. 2003; Tardos 2005), i.e. public work programmes do not support long term employability due to various reasons:

- They only provide temporary jobs, for short periods (1-6 months);
- They do not provide training or any other opportunity that would increase employability on the market;
- They function in a similar way to social allowances;
- They increase the lack of protection from local authorities (in most of the small settlements where Roma live, public work is organized by the local authority, the same institution that makes decisions about social allowances, their other means of support, and the local authority is often the only employer in the given settlement);
- Public work programmes serve as a segregated, secondary labour market for those excluded from the primary labour market and thus reinforce exclusion.

The studies also agree on the need for a more complex approach to the problem of unemployment and marginalization in disadvantaged regions that would simultaneously take into account the various causes of unemployment.

4. UNDP 2006 research in the EU formulated a number of recommendations regarding the labour market sector. It recommends general measures including the development and implementation of welfare-to-work measures, involving the private sector in combating discrimination, promotion of self-employment and promotion of access to micro-finance.

5.5.2. Discrimination in the labour market

1. Research on discrimination in the labour market by Delphoi Consulting Ltd. (Babusik 2006) included a number of policy-relevant proposals. The research investigated attitudes and employment practices/policies of company-leaders as well as governmental Human Resources subsidies aiming at increasing the employment of long-term unemployed and Roma people. One of the main findings of the study was that there is no relationship between the amount of HR Subsidies provided to the firm and their willingness to employ Roma people. Moreover, there is a negative association between these two factors: the more HR support was provided to companies the more employers showed negative attitudes towards Roma job-applicants. Companies practicing racial discrimination were able to get governmental HR funds to the same extent as any other company. The regional distribution of the long-term unemployed, or Roma population, or socially disadvantaged groups is not associated with governmental funds spent on such purposes. As a result, the study provides a number of policy recommendations including (1) supervision of the

system of governmental HR subsidies, (2) drawing up a more efficient selection and monitoring procedure, (3) provision of a more sound definition of preferences of the HR subsidy system (4) creating tools for the national human resource subsidy system.

2. The ERRC study (2007) on labour market discrimination has had a significant influence in policy decisions. It formulated 34 recommendations for 4 agencies: the government, Equality Bodies, Employers and Roma Right Activists. These recommendations concern legislation, the provision of equal opportunities, affirmative action, implementation of financial incentives for employers ready to employ Roma people and development of anti-discrimination training for employers and public sector employees.

5.5.3. Education

A very important, innovative study commissioned by the Roma Education Fund was published in 2006 (Kertesi and Kézdi 2006). It examined the costs and long-term benefits of educating Roma children. The study shows that investing in the education of children from a socially disadvantaged background would pay off not only in social but also in fiscal terms. It estimated the net benefit of the extra investment that would enable a Roma child to successfully complete secondary school, which is what opens the road to further education and the labour market (instead of the prevailing situation, where Roma children drop out after primary school or at the beginning of secondary school, thereby leaving the school system without any marketable qualification, ending up unemployed or as casual labourers). *"We considered seven channels: personal income tax on income earned from registered full-time employment, social security contributions paid by employers and employees on earned income, unemployment benefits, means-tested welfare benefits, earning from public employment projects, value added and excise tax on consumption, and incarceration costs. We adjusted our estimates according to the additional cost of increased secondary and college education".* The results are astounding: *"According to our benchmark estimate, discounted to age 4 (a possible starting age for such an investment), the present value of the future benefits is about HUF 19M (70,000 EUR), with regards to the value the government would collect on the representative person if he/she had continued her studies after primary school. The benefits are somewhat smaller if (without the suggested early childhood educational investment), the young Roma person finished vocational training school (HUF 15M, 55,000 EUR)".* The study provides a very clear policy implication: investing in education – even in strictly fiscal terms – provides a huge net return, not to mention social and psychological returns.

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Appendix. Examples of *best practices* towards Roma youth and women

Project: **SECOND CHANCE SCHOOL**
Promoters: EQUAL, European Commission's initiative

Description of the project : The direct aim of the project is to establish a 'Second Chance' school in the region of Vásárosnamény to integrate Roma and non-Roma young people who are severely disadvantaged or who have dropped out of secondary education into society and the labour market. The "Second chance school" integrates education, the attainment of a qualification and access to employment. The target group of special interest among the Roma population is the group of young women, who suffer multiple disadvantages on the labour market due to being Roma, young mothers and under-educated. The project provides family day-care services in order to involve young mothers who are willing to attend school or get a job. The programme's further innovation is that it is implemented in a small settlement, in an economically disadvantaged micro-region. In other words: school comes to the people. The initiative is based on methods and a pedagogical approach that fosters the reintegration of undereducated, under-motivated youth into education and the labour market. The programme also involves local entrepreneurs (as vocational training agencies and future employers) as well as local minority-oriented NGOs and educational institutions. The Second Chance school operates a system to enhance employment success, by building self-esteem and involving families in the development activity, as well as functioning as a "driver" of local communities in these small, often segregated, marginalized settlements. Participants have serious social problems, therefore during the training they will be provided with scholarships, as well as transport for those who live far from the school.

Project: **ROMA CLASSROOM ASSISTANT**
Promoters: ***Ministry for Education, National Employment Fund***

Description of the project :This was a successful active labour market programme in terms of increasing employability, providing qualifications and increasing social integration for Roma. It targeted Roma young people with at least primary school education. The project provided 1-2 years long-term training (depending on earlier education) and the qualification as classroom assistant for young Roma participants who were then employed in schools with a significant Roma student population (minimum 20%). In the course of the project a significant number of young Roma, especially women, obtained marketable qualifications, but its social and community impact proved to be even more significant: usually there is a large social gap between teachers and Roma. Lack of communication between the institution and the family, mutual distrust and teachers' stereotypes about Roma etc. lead to frequent absence of Roma children from school, low motivation, low performance and lastly high drop-out rates. The figure of Roma classroom assistant became the link between the majority institution (school) and the minority community and families. They were accepted by the school as junior colleagues, and accepted by the Roma community. In many cases, absences among Roma children decreased when Roma classroom assistants were employed, pupils became more motivated and families less distrustful towards the school. Roma classroom assistants also provided an accessible career model for young Roma children.

THIRD PART – Executive summary and policy brief

1. Introduction

The increase in migration and the increasing presence of ethnic minorities in the EU Member States raises issues regarding the lack of social integration, and diversity. The need for equal opportunities in education and access to the labour market has been recognised by the European Commission, with the approval of the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive. In addition to this 2007 was declared European Year of Equal Opportunities.

In this context, the situation of migrant women and youths from a foreign background is of particular significance. These two categories are usually perceived as running a high risk of being doubly marginalized: ethnic minority origin plus gender in the case of foreign women, and plus youth in that of second generations, leading to greater disadvantages in terms of access to the host country's labour market. In this respect, the study "Review of Literature on the Identity and Social Inclusion of Young Migrants and People from a Migrant Background - Evidence on causalities and policy implications" addresses four crucial questions:

4. what mechanisms play a part in identity-building, including cultural background and links to countries of origin? Special attention has also been devoted to the role of attitudes in the host society and the extent to which the denial of equal opportunities might influence feelings of belonging and the construction of identity

5. To what extent are marginalisation and a perceived lack of belonging to the host society an obstacle to social inclusion?

6. What are the crucial issues involved in reaching a better understanding of the situation of migrant women?

7. What main factors determine access to the labour market for young people with a migrant background?

Firstly we shall introduce the working method which underlies the Literature Review and clarify the main concepts used in the research study. Secondly, we will illustrate the main findings and results regarding the situation of migrant women and young people with a migrant background, and describe the mechanisms and factors crucial to the processes of identity formation. Finally, some considerations on best practices and possible policy responses will be put forward.

2. The research method

The literature review was carried out in two steps:

1. An initial general reconstruction of the field, through the identification of the main theoretical contributions, and the most prominent approaches in empirical research, as well as the most relevant findings both in Europe and outside Europe – mainly North American – of research on issues of identity, social inclusion and access to the labour market of migrant women and young people of a migrant background;
2. A number of meaningful and relevant country-based studies on different European national contexts, considering both traditional North-Western immigration countries (France, the UK and Germany) and – relatively – new Southern ones (Italy) and Eastern ones (Hungary). In this latter case, that of Hungary, we focused on an internal

marginalized minority, the Roma people, who face discrimination and legal obstacles similar to those encountered by foreign immigrants in EU immigration countries.

The two steps were designed to be complementary. While the first step aims to establish a framework and present the main terms of reference in international scientific debate on the issues of identity, social inclusion and access to the labour market for migrant women and young people, the second intends to offer more specific analyses of how these issues are treated in different national contexts. To this end, national experts were asked to conduct extensive reviews, also taking grey and secondary literature into account, such as reports on third sector organisations, PhD theses, reports published on specialised websites etc. These sources of knowledge are often neglected, yet they are highly relevant, as they are usually produced in order to influence national/local debate and/or policy-making, and thus may contribute to shape the perceptions and living conditions of the categories concerned and society as a whole.

One initial problem faced by the international research team was defining the relevant concepts, particularly those referring to the groups being considered. Generally speaking, the aim of literature review was to present the relevant findings of the literature and the main conclusions from available data published in recent years regarding young people aged 13 to 25 from a migrant background. Obviously, as pointed out in the first part of the Report, this is likely to be a very heterogeneous population, depending on the legislative framework that regulates access to host country citizenship. In France, for instance, the expression '*jeunes issus de l'immigration*' is usually adopted, since second generations have easy access to citizenship, which is automatically granted to children of foreigners born in France when they reach the age of 18. In the UK, on the other hand, scholars prefer the label 'ethnic minority youth', which emphasises the settlement in the country of different cultural and ethnic groups such as Indian, Pakistani, Caribbean etc. In the case of Germany, where citizenship is more difficult to obtain, even second and third generations born in the country are likely to be looked on as part of the foreign population. A similar situation can be found in Italy, where to date there are few children of immigrants, and there are considerable legislative obstacles to obtaining Italian citizenship.

Though they face similar challenges, i.e. two-fold marginalisation and discrimination, migrant women and youths from a migrant background represent different groups: migrant women are essentially first generation migrants who arrived in the country for family reunion or to work; while the group of youths from a migrant background comprises different generations, as mentioned above, and this is a crucial dimension when analysing their situation and processes of identity formation. In order to get a clearer picture of the different factors influencing the social condition and identity of these two groups, the Report has chosen to treat them separately.

3. *The situation of migrant women and youth from a migrant background: evidence from existing research*

3.1 Migrant women

By the year 2000, **migrant women** represented 52.4% of the total immigrant population in Europe and 51% of that in North America, while in 2004, women accounted for around 55% of arrivals in Europe during the previous 10 years (OECD 2006). However, these figures are not evenly distributed across countries and inevitably underestimate the numbers entering in an undocumented manner or working irregularly, as well as the transient circulation patterns women are often involved in.

Table 1. **Labour market outcomes (2005)**

Country	Employment/population ratio (%)		Unemployment rate (%)	
	Native-born women	Foreign-born women	Native-born women	Foreign-born women
Belgium	65.7	38.9	7.5	20.3
France	58.7	48.0	9.2	16.5
Germany	61.8	48.0	10.1	16.3
Hungary	50.9	53.7	7.4	7.7
Italy	45.3	46.7	9.2	14.6
The Netherlands	68.5	52.6	4.5	9.6
Norway	72.4	60.2	4.3	8.6
Spain	50.0	60.4	12.0	13.5
United Kingdom	67.0	56.1	3.7	7.1
United States	65.3	56.4	5.2	5.2

Source: OECD-SOPEMI, International Migration Outlook. Annual report. 2007 Edition

National surveys concur when it comes to the economic disadvantages faced by this group. As table 1 shows, foreign women usually participate in the labour market to a lower extent than native women, and they are more frequently at risk of unemployment. The only exceptions are Italy, Hungary and Spain, where women are mainly employed in the care-giving and household sector. More generally, fewer foreign women occupy skilled jobs: with respect to native-born women, foreign-born women occupy four times more positions in the household sector, and twice the number in hotels and restaurants. The gap between native-born and foreign women is particularly high in Spain (36.2% native women in high skilled occupations versus 21.6% foreign born), Italy (43.9% versus 29.2%) but also in Germany (46.0% versus 30.5%). Also according to the OECD-SOPEMI Report (2007), work on an irregular and temporary basis is also widespread.

When analysing the situation of migrant women, more specific factors also have to be taken into account. Foreign women come from different migratory backgrounds and have different migratory projects. In old EU immigration countries, foreign women started to arrive, mainly as family dependants, from the 1970s onward, while in newer immigration countries in Southern and Eastern Europe family reunion is a recent phenomenon and most women are first migrants, seeking work in the household and care sector. As a consequence, the National Studies carried out in the context of this Literature Review show significant differences between various immigrant groups. Turkish and Moroccan women in France and Germany, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK arrived essentially for family reasons and show higher levels of unemployment and economic inactivity. On the contrary, Portuguese women in France and Afro-Caribbean women in the UK are more active than the average population of native women. Similar differences can also be found in recent immigration countries such as Italy and Spain: while women from North Africa arrive mainly for family reunion purposes and are economically dependent, women from Eastern European and Latin American show high levels of participation in the labour market.

3.2 Young people from an ethnic minority background

It is very difficult to compare quantitative data on **second generations and young people from an ethnic minority background** across EU countries. The differences in the ways countries collect data on immigrant populations clearly affect the amount of data available on second generations and youth from a migrant background. As we mentioned above, these differences are linked to the different legislative frameworks that regulate access to host country citizenship, as well as immigrants' integration. In France, for example, in line with the assimilationist credo of citizenship and integration policies, native-born second generations are not 4considered in the statistics on the foreign population and no data is collected by the census on the parents' nationality. In the UK, on

the other hand, data on parents' nationality and ethnic background is collected on a regular basis by censuses.

Given these differences in the statistical representation of young people of a migrant background throughout the different European countries, it is only possible to make a rough estimate of their number. According to Eurydice (2004), the proportion of foreign nationals aged under 15 in the total population of persons in this age-group is under 6% in the majority of countries for which data is available (data refers to 1st January 2000). Luxembourg, where over one third of the population aged under 15 is of a foreign nationality, is an exception. The corresponding proportion in Germany and Austria is just over 10%, while it is lower than 3% in the Czech Republic, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Hungary, Slovenia, Finland, the UK and Iceland.

As for the situation of second generations and youth from an ethnic minority background in Europe, existing studies show gaps in their educational performance. The results of the 2003 OECD-PISA study show that, above all in Europe, immigrant students often perform at significantly lower levels than their native peers (OECD-PISA 2006). Mean reading proficiency scores show that first generation immigrant students, i.e. students who were born outside the country of assessment and whose parents were also born in a different country experience great difficulties in matching up to native students, especially in Belgium (-117), Switzerland (-93), Sweden (-89), Germany (-86) and France (-79). But what is worse is that the situation does not change even with regards to the second generation, i.e. students born in the country of assessment but whose parents were born in a different country. While there are some improvements in Austria, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, the gap actually increases in Denmark and Germany.

Table 2. **Comparison of mean reading proficiency scores (PISA 2003)**

Australia	AT	BG	CA	DK	FR	DE	LU	NL	NO	SE	CH	US
All students												
524	451	456	531	464	463	456	462	487	462	486	466	479
Native students												
529	501	523	534	497	505	517	500	524	505	522	515	503
First generation students												
517	425	407	515	454	426	431	431	463	436	433	422	453
Second generation students												
525	428	439	543	440	458	420	454	475	446	502	462	481
Share of students with migration background												
22.2	13.1	11.5	17.8	6.4	14.0	14.1	32.3	10.5	5.5	11.4	19.7	14.0
Difference between first generation students and native students												
-12	-77	-117	-19	-42	-79	-86	-69	-61	-68	-89	-93	-50
Difference between second generation students and native students												
-4	-73	-84	10	-57	-48	-96	-47	-50	-59	-20	-53	-22

Source: OECD-PISA, Where Immigrant Students Succeed (2006)

As for recent immigration countries such as Italy, research on second generations is still in its infancy. However, official data on the 2003-'04 school year reveals a deficit in the educational performance of foreign students (Ministero dell'Istruzione 2005): while the yearly pass rate of native students was 85.2%, for foreigners it was 72.6% (-12.5%).

A main finding of this Literature Review is that research on the situation and the state of integration of second generation and ethnic minority youth appears to be unevenly developed across the five countries investigated in the Report and in the EU in general. As for old European immigration countries, research is well established in the UK and Germany, while in France a general resistance to collecting data regarding the ethnicity/national origin of immigrants and their offspring accounts for the complete disregard of this issue until recently. In Italy, on the other hand,

because of the relatively recent history of immigration, research on second generations is starting now: the few existing studies focus on generation 1.5, i.e. on children reunited with their parents at school age. Immigration is an even more recent phenomenon in new Eastern European member states, that however have to deal with the problem of internal marginalized ethnic minorities such as Roma.

Existing data on migrant youth's access to the labour market shows that the latter are significantly more exposed to unemployment than their native counterparts (OECD-SOPEMI 2007): in France, for instance, while unemployment among young people aged between 15 and 24 born in the country is 20%, for young immigrants it is 35%; in Sweden and Belgium unemployment among young migrants is at least twice that of native youngsters, respectively 29% and 33%, compared to 15% and 17%.

Moreover, studies documented in this Report (see the National Studies on France, Germany and the UK), point out that the situation of the second and third generations who were born and have been educated in the host country is similarly worrying. Discrimination and differential treatment appear to account for much of the underachievement of ethnic minority youth in the labour market. According to a recent cross-national study taking into account all the main EU old immigration countries (Heath and Cheung 2008), Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands show higher levels of disadvantage in employment and access to the labour market for non-European groups. Estimates of ethnic disadvantage (so called "ethnic penalties") have been calculated after establishing educational qualification and age. Turkish people in Austria and Belgium, as well as Moroccans in Belgium and sub-Saharans in France are the most disadvantaged groups. In the case of the UK, none of the main ethnic groups considered, i.e. Caribbean, Indian and Irish, is significantly different from the British population of the same age and level of qualification. Nevertheless, second generation Caribbean and Indian are more likely to be unemployed, while Indian and Irish youngsters are more likely to be self-employed than British youngsters with the same level of qualifications.

As a consequence, intergenerational mobility cannot be taken for granted. Specific studies carried out in France and the UK show that while immigrants' occupational segregation in unskilled manual jobs decreases with the next generation, indicating a process of diffusion across the labour market, a persistent gap can still be observed in comparison with the corresponding native groups.

4. Migrant women. A potentiality and a challenge

Processes of marginalisation and identity building are strongly influenced by the different situations migrant women face in their country of residence. As foreigners, migrant women share the problems encountered by the immigrant population in getting access to the labour market, i.e.: language problems, lack of domestic labour market experience and the human capital required in the receiving country, lack of recognition of foreign qualifications, a precarious legal status (i.e. irregularity or admission on a short-term basis), and discrimination. These are combined with the problems of access to the labour market encountered by women in general, i.e.: lower appreciation of their human capital, difficulties in pursuing a professional career, and difficulties in managing family obligations (childcare, care for elderly parents etc.).

More specific risks of marginalisation may arise as a consequence of the different migratory backgrounds described above. **Women who arrived as family dependants**, in order to take care of children and look after the household in the receiving country, may face isolation and a lack of meaningful social relations, such as the "enlarged female family". This has been particularly underlined in the case of Muslim women in France, Germany, the UK and Italy. A wealth of studies document how traditional male roles may become even more stringent, preventing the woman from forging relations outside the family in the host country, even if she had a job before reunion. These

women may suffer great hardships: isolation can be accompanied by closure in the religious dimension, which can offer strong support to the vulnerable identity of these women.

Yet, the Literature Review also shows that such a situation of isolation and threatened identity is likely to be dealt with in different ways by the women concerned. In the case of France, for instance, attention has been drawn to the excessive focus on the traditional identity/social emancipation dichotomy and on the reproductive sphere, overshadowing the everyday negotiations that these women engage in and the multiple identities that arise. Algerian women in France, for instance, rather than breaking with tradition, actually manage to negotiate, bending and diverting it to serve their own interests by setting up small trade and handicraft businesses. This informal type of employment is misrepresented in all statistics, though it is very frequent among North African women in Italy and France, as well as among Turkish women in Germany, and it enables them to achieve a certain level of economic independence and integration.

In the UK, data shows relevant differences between ethnic groups: in 2003, Bangladeshi women were found to be approximately three times less likely to be economically active than Black Caribbean women, and, together with Pakistani women, they are particularly exposed to poverty and social exclusion. Traditional culture and religious affiliation seem to play a part in this, especially for first generation Muslim migrant women: according to a research study on Pakistani women in Reading, for instance, these women were pressured not to engage in paid work as this could have been taken as a sign that their husbands were unable to provide for the family (Lloyd and Bowlby 2000). Nevertheless, other studies point to the fact that even under extremely oppressive conditions, ethnic minority women have been able to form networks and organisations to challenge unacceptable cultural practices where they are prevalent (Shamindar 2006).

On the other hand, **women who are first migrants seeking work**, while included in the labour market, may also face conditions of extreme social exclusion. As mentioned above, these women are very often confined to the household sector. As documented in the Italian Report, **live-in work**, which is prevalent throughout Southern Europe, leads to a condition of "invisibility" in society: migrant women are not only segregated in a specific, unskilled, segment of the labour market, but they are also absent from the public sphere, since they spend most of their time in their employers' homes.

As a consequence, these women are likely to face multiple threats to their social identity. On the one hand, they often face a process of deskilling, since in their countries of origin most of them achieved qualifications which are not recognised in the country of immigration. Even worse, domestic work calls for a type of expertise that is not socially acknowledged as professional and is devalued by native women in western countries as a reaction to the traditional gendered division of work. Moreover, when they live their families at home and become "breadwinners", more problems are likely to arise. A great wealth of studies on different groups such as Peruvian, Philippino, Polish and Ukrainian women in Italy, France and Germany show how this challenges traditional family patterns, especially when the family is reunited in the host country: husbands are likely to have problems entering the labour market while children will require the care that the mother is actually providing to native children and the families of their employers.

Yet, from another perspective, domestic work may also represent a strategy to gain independence and social mobility. Research studies on Philippino domestic workers in France and Italy have pointed out that these women, who are usually of urban origin and well educated, prefer to migrate, since they are able to earn more in the domestic sector in Western countries than working as clerks or teachers in the Philippines. Through migration these women are also able to free themselves from the pressures of traditional family roles, and to experience a more independent lifestyle and gender status.

As is clear, family relations represent a crucial context with regards to identity building and negotiation for migrant women, for both family-dependent women and those who work outside the home. As French and Italian researchers in particular underline, integration into the host society does not simply consist of accepting and transmitting pre-established norms, but is a process of re-

elaboration and re-negotiation of these norms. For North African women in France, a process of progressive emancipation and negotiation of *contre-pouvoirs* has been illustrated, by means of which these women find themselves in new roles, such as dealing with the French administration and engaging in paid work.

Community networks also represent another significant factor. Our Literature Review document shows how first migrant women in general, independently of their nationality and country of stay, rely heavily upon fellow national contacts for access to the labour market and as a buffer for initial relations with the host society. The risk of a "trap effect" has been observed, not only in the private care sector but also in sex work. In the case of Nigerian and Eastern European women in Italy community networks are often regarded as a source of hardship and violence, while French and UK literature shows a more nuanced picture, devoting more attention to women's individual aims.

Leaving aside deviance and negative effects, community networks undoubtedly represent a fundamental resource in the building of women's multi-sited identities. So-called **"transnational mothers"**, for instance, clearly rely on female networks of co-nationals to combine work abroad with long stays back in their home countries to care for their own children and those of the women who are standing in for them. Huge differences have been pointed out between the various nationalities: while oscillating /transiting domestic workers from Eastern European countries such as Poland, Romania and Ukraine (see the studies carried out in Germany, Italy and France in particular) regularly visit their children, women from Latin America and the Philippines compensate for their physical absence by telephone and internet communications, and appoint paid substitutes for child care.

Both in the UK and Germany the potential importance of the voluntary sector and of specific projects has been pointed out, in terms of improving the advancement of individuals and the development of their leadership skills, particularly among young people, as well as for promoting social capital, social inclusion and **women's ethnic entrepreneurship**. On this latter point, research studies carried out on North African women in Italy and France (mainly Tunisian and Algerian) and on Turkish women in Germany revealed their particular ability to combine social networks and the opportunities offered by the local markets and cultures of the sending and receiving countries.

Hence, foreign women's social identities are shaped in a complex web of relations that includes community networks, family relations and transnational ties, but also everyday interactions with host country institutions and services. The experience of economic and social marginalisation is likely to reinforce withdrawal into and seclusion within the group of origin, while exacerbating the distance from the surrounding social context. Yet, evidence drawn from existing research on patterns of integration shows that different strategies are actually pursued by migrant women in order to resist segregation and restore their social identities. "Unusual" paths of inclusion, which blend references to the culture of origin with the lifestyle of the context of residence challenge the assumption of a simple dichotomy between exclusion and integration.

As a consequence, combating marginalisation and counteracting isolation means acknowledging the potential, in terms of integration, of open, transparent, community associations and social networks. Discrimination against, and stigmatisation of supposedly 'backward' cultures and communities may only lead to their complete withdrawal and, as a consequence, reinforce the isolation of migrant women therein.

5. *Second generations. Looking beyond problems*

Second generations and ethnic minority youth are usually regarded as a problem and as a challenge for the integration and cohesion of society as a whole, as the use of expressions like "time bomb" or "5th column" shows. Especially when entering the labour market, the risks of double marginalisation appear to be particularly high. First of all, youngsters from a migrant background have to face difficulties which are common to all young people in accessing first employment, i.e.

finding appropriate training and apprenticeships, finding a job in line with their qualifications, gaining the professional experience needed in order to look for better job opportunities, etc.

Added to these difficulties, youngsters from a migrant background are likely to face additional obstacles, especially if born abroad. Poor knowledge of the host country's language, as well as a lack of recognition of qualifications and skills acquired in the home country's education system, are likely to undermine equal access. On the other hand, second generations are often faced with discrimination, which may undermine access to more qualified jobs on an equal basis, as has been pointed out above.

As a consequence, in recent research studies in the UK, Germany and France, growing attention has been devoted to the interplay between institutional mechanisms of exclusion/discrimination, at school as well as in access to vocational training and employment, and young immigrants' and second generations processes of identity formation. In the German context, a specific research stream analysing the practices of marginalisation affecting foreign pupils at the school level has formed, though studies are often descriptive and non-systematic. In Hungary, with regard to the case of Roma children, low participation in secondary education, high drop-out rates and segregation in non-qualifying professional education, are accounted for as the result of enduring practices of discrimination in primary schools such as, for instance, viewing Roma children as slightly mentally handicapped.

The role played by institutions in integrating or excluding second generations has been analysed in-depth by the EFFNATIS project. This considered the three traditional countries of immigration in Europe, i.e. France, Germany and the UK, illustrating the different institutional mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of the children of international immigrants (CIM), as shown in the table below.

Table 3. Results of the study on the integration of children of international migrants (CIM). Comparison between three countries.

France has comparative strengths in the extension of education, in acculturation and in identification, but shows weaknesses in vocational training and access to employment. This means that the assimilationist, universalist French mode of integration with open citizenship policies seems to have produced structural integration into the education system with rather strong acculturative and identificational effects on CIM. Problems in vocational training and employment of CIM in France are apparently a function of general system properties rather than of a specific mode of immigrant integration. Housing segregation on the other hand – probably the most serious problem of structural integration – concerns only the immigrants and their descendants.	**Germany** has comparative strengths in vocational training and access to employment of CIM, but weaknesses in legal and identificational integration. An ambiguous policy seems to have produced ambiguous results. The German mode of integration, that affected the CIM in the sample, was characterised on the one hand by open policies in relation to the core institutions of the modern welfare state but on the other hand by the restrictive measures of an "Ausländerpolitik" that did not want to recognize the realities of the immigration situation and did not invite "foreigners" to naturalize and to identify with their country of residence.	In **Great Britain** there is a tendency for CIM to show ethnic preferences in areas of social integration (friendships, marriage partners) and cultural integration (values, tastes). Patterns of ethnic inequality can be identified in access to vocational training and employment of CIM. Housing segregation of ethnic minorities is quite distinct. At the same time, ethnic minorities display a high degree of identification with the UK polity. The British ethnic minority integration policy has reproduced ethnic minority structures.

Source: taken from the Executive Summary of the EFFNATIS final report. Online at: http://web.uni-bamberg.de/projekte/effnatis/pgitps.htm.

One key finding of the EFFNATIS project was that no single 'national model' prevailed over another in terms of systematic effectiveness. In France, for example, the system of higher education has been successfully extended to adolescents from an immigrant background. Here, almost no differences between immigrant and native youth could be traced in the formal educational attainments of the two groups. But both groups, and especially adolescents from a Maghrebian

background, have to face major difficulties in converting formal educational qualifications into stable labour opportunities. In contrast, Germany shows huge differences in formal education levels between native youngsters and youth from an immigrant background, while integration into the labour market seems less problematic, due to the dual educational system (Heckmann et al. 2000).

Yet, host country institutions, while crucial in shaping the opportunities and patterns of integration among young people with a migrant background, cannot but reflect the complex processes of social identity creation which take place in the different everyday living contexts. When the latter are marked by the experience of segregation and marginalisation, as is the case in many deprived neighbourhoods where immigrant families usually live, a feeling of not belonging is likely to emerge.

As a reaction to this, the re-discovery or re-invention of a religious and ethnic identity, especially for young males of a Muslim background, has been demonstrated. In France, urban riots in the *banlieues* have been accounted for as a result of the discrepancy between the experiences and expectations developed in school and the realities these youngsters face on entering the job market. Algerian youth, and more generally North African and Sub-Saharan youngsters, are the main participants in violence. A similar situation has been highlighted in the UK, where, especially among Muslim Pakistani and Bangladeshi minorities, the appeal of charismatic leaders appears to compensate for the frustrations experienced in the attempts to get accepted and recognised by the British majority.

In Italy, a similar strategy appears to be pursued by Latin-American youngsters, with the so-called "Latin gangs". The phenomenon particularly concerns adolescents recently rejoined with their mothers, who are living and employed as caregivers or domestic workers in Milan and Genoa (Queirolo Palmas 2006). These adolescents show a negative reaction to both the migration process that they have not chosen, and to the downward integration facing their mothers, by forming street gangs. These are stigmatised in the Italian media as "dangerous gangs" and persecuted by the police. These groups are only rarely involved in criminal activities, but are generally more visible than other youth groups due to their style of clothing (oversize), tattoos, use of slang and so on.

Oppositional cultural and religious identities necessarily represent an issue of prime concern in all EU Member States today, since living in separate communities reduces the chances of social inclusion even further. More generally, cultural identity and background of origin are often regarded as detrimental to the social integration of second generations: for instance, speaking the mother tongue at home is thought to result in less proficiency in the host country language, which is likely to affect school performance. In a similar vein, living in a closed community network, i.e. mainly with friends who are fellow nationals, is considered detrimental for the child's future life, since the isolated migrant family will not have access to networks and resources which may sustain social integration and mobility. Ethnic communities are often identified in public discourse as synonymous with "parallel lives", and thus as an element constraining, rather than promoting, social mobility for young generations.

However, research studies carried out in the US have pointed out that embeddedness in ethnic communities can have a positive effect on the educational attainments of migrant children, provided that the values of the community are positively oriented towards education. This is especially the case of the Korean and Indian communities, which are also characterised by higher levels of education than South American communities, Mexican in particular. In the UK too, Indian second generations usually achieve more than Pakistani or Bengali youngsters. Hence, the community is not necessarily a realm of backward attitudes and obscure traditions, detrimental to children's future integration: much depends on the families, which are likely to have diverse background values and support their children's education in varying ways. According to US and UK research studies, variables such as social class, period of immigration, proficiency in English and the native language, level of education and area of residence are likely to have an important influence on family attitudes towards their children's education and integration.

In the case of Germany, for instance, the comparison between the integration trajectories of Italian second generations in Bavaria and Berlin shows that the better performance of the Berlin community cannot be accounted for only by looking at the more favourable institutional and policy context: group factors also have to be taken into account. While Italian immigrants in Bavaria are mainly of a rural and Southern origin, the Italians living in Berlin are usually middle-class and well educated, and their social networks are strongly oriented towards participation in the host society.

As is clear, the community and family of origin represent important sources of emotional support and self-esteem in the process of identity building for youngsters. Identification with the ethnic group of origin is not detrimental *per se*: the parents' educational background and social status in the country of origin, as well as the cultural orientations of the community, are also crucial factors.

6. Policy implication and recommendations. The search for best practices

As yet there are few satisfactory studies that systematically analyse **best practices**, providing criteria for evaluation, and evidence on the conditions for success and transferability. This is a serious lacuna in the existing literature and further research is needed.

Below we set out examples of local level policies which can be considered as cases of "best practices" in terms of meeting the needs of migrant women and youths with a foreign background and combating the risk of double marginalisation. As already mentioned above, these groups encounter similar issues in terms of identity building, marginalisation and not belonging. Answers to these challenges are likely to be similar, and they focus essentially on two key policy areas: education and access to the labour market.

6.1 Education

Interventions in the area of education are usually targeted at foreign children and youth. However, immigrant families, and above all mothers, represent key actors in children's access to schooling. As a consequence, a significant number of practices carried out, especially at school level, actually target foreign women, who are regarded as having a crucial bridging function in integration processes.

For almost two decades in Europe the debate on the integration of immigrant children has opposed policies fostering the learning of the host country's official language, in favour of policies oriented at recognising the value of the language of origin in school teaching. Mother tongue support was introduced in the 1970s in Northern European immigration countries on the grounds that this would improve the development and learning ability of children with a native language different from the language of instruction, and also cement their sense of identity in the expectation of return to the home country.

The stable settlement of immigrant minorities led to these policies gradually being abandoned, and nowadays there is widespread consensus in most European countries that full proficiency in the language of instruction is far more relevant. In actual fact, studies carried out in Germany (see the National Study on Germany), reveal a gap between the poor performance of students of a foreign background in Bavaria, where ethnic classes and mother tongue teaching has been in place until recently, and the far better achievements registered in Northern *Länders*, where a more open, mixed system has been pursued. Projects aimed at strengthening German language skills have thus been increasingly recognised as crucial. The *Sommercamp* project, promoted by the Jacob Foundation, with the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and the Bremen Senator for Education and Science in Germany, is a case in point. It provides children from migrant families with the opportunity to attend intensive German language courses during summer holidays too, when these children may be risk encountering a setback in language skills since often their parents do not speak German at home.

Other projects also promote the introduction of elements of intercultural curricula, following a mixed strategy which was identified as particularly promising in the Eurydice review (2004) of the measures for the integration of immigrant children in school in Europe. The *Fruestart* project, run by the Turkish-German Health-Foundation, the Hertie-Foundation and Herbert-Quandt-Foundation in three German cities - Frankfurt, Giessen and Wetzlar - is a combination of language teaching, intercultural education and parent involvement which entails training classroom assistants to serve as a link between parents and nursery school teachers. Migrant women have been among the main beneficiaries of this training, and many of them now work as classroom assistants and provide a mentoring service for other foreign families[61].

The *Non uno di meno* project carried out by the Province of Milan together with NGOs, comprises multiple activities ranging from the reception stage to the evaluation of previous education, language teaching, family involvement, homework support and rapport with the native language. The *Provaci ancora Sam* project run by the Municipality of Turin, on the other hand, which also relies upon close collaboration with schools, adopts a similar multi-purpose and intercultural strategy in order to combat drop out rates and prevent school/training failure in the 14 - 20 age group with a foreign background.

The relevance of the cultural element as an asset in integration processes is also demonstrated by the *Acting Labs* mentoring project in Germany and Belgium, and in the *Roma classroom assistants* project in Hungary. Both rely upon this in order to support foreign children in building a positive identity, i.e. one that positively evaluates the experience of being a migrant and/or having a different cultural background. In the *Acting Labs* programme, successful adults from an immigrant/ ethnic background have been working with foreign children to implement different projects related to their professional activities: journalists helped children to create a school newspaper, hip-hop musicians produced a CD, sportsmen organised sport events etc. The results of the various activities were presented to parents during an event where the children took centre stage. The city of Turin is also running *Acting Labs* as a pilot scheme in Italy.

The *Roma classroom assistants* project, on the other hand, has been promoted by the Ministry of Education and the National Employment Fund in order to increase employability and provide young Roma with the qualification of classroom assistant. The project provided 1-2 years of long-term training (depending on the prior level of education) and young women were among the main beneficiaries. Roma classroom assistants were then employed in schools with a significant Roma student population (minimum 20%), and they became a link between the majority institution (school) and the minority community and families. In the schools where this figure has been introduced, absences among Roma children have decreased, Roma pupils are more motivated and families show more trust in the school. Roma classroom assistants also represent an accessible career model for young Roma children.

Along with specific projects for minority/immigrant youths, an alternative but equally relevant strategy is represented by actions aimed at promoting the access of youngsters with a migrant background to mainstream institutions, on an equal basis. This is the case of the *Conventions d'education prioritaire*, signed every year between the highly selective *Institut d'Etudes Politiques* of Paris and some high schools located in disadvantaged areas (ZEP, *Zones d'Education Prioritaire*, benefiting from specific state support). The project is part of an growing intent in France to make schools of excellence more accessible to pupils from disadvantaged social groups. In 2000, seven high schools were involved in the initiative and this number has increased every year (48 in October 2006). The project entails running an admittance procedure for young people from ZEPs, which includes special training courses for taking the entry test and access to special grants. To date, two thirds of students admitted to Sciences Po through this project have at least one parent born outside France.

6.2 Access to employment and the labour market

[61] For more examples of projects oriented towards migrant families in Germany see: Heckmann and Wolff 2006.

Access to the labour market for migrant women and youths from a migrant background can be pursued either through general or specific initiatives. General measures usually target all unemployed young people living in inner-city or particularly disadvantaged areas. In the UK, for instance, Preset, a charity organisation based in London, has run various Community Mentoring schemes combined with career-oriented training for young people living in deprived areas, most of whom are from an ethnic minority background. The project also provides ESOL courses (English for Speakers of Other Languages) basic skills, training for young offenders, and a Leadership Programme that equips young people (aged 16-26) with skills that increase leadership abilities in order to enhance career prospects.

A similar approach is adopted by the local partnership working in the Wedding district in Berlin, which involves representatives of public institutions, private organizations and the voluntary sector, with the voluntary sector playing a dominant role. The project combines employment development with measures aimed at improving the social environment in the area. Activities aimed at creating new job opportunities for disadvantaged residents, including migrant men and women, have been carried out, and new entrepreneurial activities have been supported. This is the case of the co-operative *Stadteilgenossenschaft*, a social enterprise based on a network of local firms (mainly painters and decorators, but also electricians) particularly involved in promoting the economic inclusion of unemployed immigrants. The *Hackney London Borough* partnership, on the other hand, combines community action with specific support for ethnic groups. It is a "community-led" model of regeneration aimed essentially at increasing the employability of the long-term unemployed. The project includes training programmes, Open Days and various support activities for minority associations such as the Bengali Women's and Turkish Parents' Support Groups.

The *Espere* and the *Afip* projects in France are specific initiatives (see the French National Study) which explicitly cater to young immigrants' greater difficulties in accessing work due to discrimination. *Espere* is a French government project which involves a number of institutional partners, and was developed in the framework of the EQUAL European initiative. The goals are 1) to make state employment agencies more active in preventing and combating discrimination, by means of training programmes; 2) to provide those intermediary agencies with some tools to enable them to tackle the issue of discrimination in their ordinary practices and in particular in their relationships with employers and managers. Up till now 1000 people have received training, in various pilot schemes run in the towns of Dijon, Dreux, Châtellerault, Grenoble and the Seine Saint Denis department.

Also in France, a similar approach is adopted by the *Association pour Favoriser l'Intégration Professionnelle* (*Afip*), funded by a number of local institutions in the Paris area (city of Paris, Region, Paris prefecture). The goal is to foster the access of educated young people from visible minorities to the labour market, by supporting and capitalising on their cultural heritage. Cultural diversity is regarded as an asset rather than something to be ashamed of or conceal. This initiative is open to people up to the age of 35 with at least 2 years of further education. Up till now, 40% of those involved in the project have found long term jobs.

As is clear, both general and specific measures refer to some extent to the cultural backgrounds of immigrants, which is regarded as a resource in the process of getting access to the labour market (community-based mentoring, capitalising on the cultural background).

Our Literature Review also identifies specific projects for migrant women in Germany and Italy. According to the OECD-SOPEMI Report (2007), best practices for improving migrant women's participation in the labour market need to be based on confidence-building. This can be pursued in a variety of ways, first and foremost through conational mentors, who can play a crucial role in building bridges and mobilising goodwill in the ethnic community. However, providing support in the initial period of work and/or training, especially in terms of childcare, has also turned out to have a decisive impact in favouring women's participation in training projects. In other words, the challenge is to design initiatives which help to combat the risk of isolation and segregation, both within the household and in unskilled occupations, such as domestic work.

At present domestic and care workers are being targeted by the *Insieme si può* project in the municipality of Rome, established by a partnership between NGOs, Unions and the public administration. It aims to professionalise care workers by providing specific qualifications and facilities, in order to ensure that migrant women can be employed on a fair, transparent basis. A City Register of women who are seeking employment as home-based assistants for elderly people has been created, with the aim of preventing foreign women being mistreated or exploited by employers.

On the other hand, the *Donne per le donne* project in Italy and the *Self employment for female immigrants* project in Germany aim to support processes of access to self employment and business activities, thus providing an alternative to work in the home. *Donne per le donne* has been implemented in the Florence area and has involved both the Municipality and a number of NGOs. The aim is to foster professional training and encourage mixed groups of Italian and foreign women to set up in business, providing various services in the care sector such as children's entertainment, assistance for the elderly and domestic work. The initiative is inspired by the concept of integration between people who speak different languages and are of different cultures, life experiences and ages. The municipality of Bologna is now undertaking a similar project.

Self employment for female immigrants targets migrant women in Berlin with the purpose of enabling them to become economically independent from either family or state support. The project offers a one-year training course which includes: business studies, development of a business plan, accounting, ICT, business German, building interpersonal and intercultural skills, training with female experts, visits to companies, a two-month internship, career guidance and advice on self-employment. The project is also a good example of transferability of best practices from one city to another, and from one country to another: the original idea was developed in Birmingham in the UK, and it has now been transferred to a new project to be started in Milan in Italy, after being adapted to local circumstances.

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