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The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

WorkPackage 2
'Immigrant' Focus Groups

Responsible for WP2:

England and Austria

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Introduction to WorkPackage 2

The main objectives of WorkPackage 2 were to i) investigate through focus group discussions the experiences, understandings, and strategies of immigrants and minorities and ii) to establish an archive of the voices of immigrants across the axes of Europe. This Introduction provides a general overview of the research methodology employed to these ends, and also includes a discussion of the partners' research plan in more specific detail.

An Overview of the Focus Group Methodology

The focus group method was the main form of data collection used in WorkPackage 2. As the general aim of this phase of the research was to provide a platform for migrants' voices, it was important to choose a discourse-centred method that would facilitate this. Previously focus groups have been used to good effect in a number of key social scientific studies addressing racism and discrimination, such as Gamson (1992), Essed (1991), Wodak et al (1999), and Lamont (2000). As focus group research emphasizes the interaction of the participants and the construction, in a group setting, of arguments, ideas and themes it was decided by the lead partners that this was the most suitable methodological approach to adopt for this phase of the research. The key to this approach is in letting a group of people with generally similar experiences (in this case migration) of a broadly defined topic (in this case discrimination) discuss their opinions in a discursive, relatively 'natural' social context; it is in this way that focus groups are useful for finding out about the taken-for-granted assumptions that people make about their everyday lives. Certainly, when successful, this research method can lead to an understanding of how individuals conceptualize issues that are relevant to them *when they are part of a group*, and vitally focus groups provide a way to observe how individuals explain or defend their position in relation to that of others. Frequently in the course of focus group interactions an individual participant will qualify, or sometimes even change their opinion. It is important that interaction within the group should allow for such fluidity and that participants feel they can discuss issues with each other, as opposed to speaking directly to the researcher/moderator as would be the case in a group interview for example.

Because of the importance of the group dynamic for focus group research moderators should certainly allow for the development of issues related to the pre-defined topic, but occasionally do have to 'steer' the discussion back in line with the research area. Moderators should be

flexible enough to allow participants to raise issues that they feel are relevant and are important to them, while not straying *too* far from the focus. Morgan (1988) suggests that, due to the fact that new themes often emerge as a result of the group dynamic, the moderator or researcher can sometimes have relatively little control over the data that is produced, in comparison to, for example a 'closed' questionnaire. Knowing how to keep the group 'focused' on the topic without stifling discussion or expression is central to being a good moderator. For example, it is acceptable for the moderator to ask people to expand on their viewpoints in a non-aggressive way by asking 'why do you think that?' or 'has that always been the case?' and so on (Morrison, 1998).

Again, given this group dynamic it is important to keep in mind that the views expressed by a participant is not necessarily their understanding of their 'reality'; participants may be wary of group censure, may be shy, may not be very articulate and so on. It is also the job of the moderator to ensure that everyone in the group feels that they can make a contribution if they so wish, although of course it is also important not to put people under undue pressure to contribute if they don't feel comfortable doing so (Homan, 1991). The researcher or moderator should also avoid showing any favoritism or offering opinions that may influence participants' contributions (Kreuger, 1988).

Focus groups are particularly useful when researching a particular, relatively well-defined topic, as they draw on the relevant lived experiences of the group's participants. Because of the discursive nature of focus groups, this type of social research is useful to understand *why* participants hold certain opinions, as well as exploring the values held by the members of the group. As a result of this emphasis participants should be encouraged to engage with each other's experiences and question each other's views, as this allows for differences, as well as similarities, to emerge in the course of a discussion (Morgan, 1988). It is in this way that focus group research offers an opportunity to explore how social actors make collective sense of their realities and legitimate their world-views in a discursive, argumentative way. Because focus group research has the potential to generate a range of opinions on any one topic, they are an excellent way to generate a lot of data in a relatively short period of time (Bryman, 2001). However, a point that is necessary to consider when engaging in focus group research is that one of the underpinning theoretical/methodological assumptions is that 'discourse' is constructed in a group context and is therefore not reducible to an individual's experience or consciousness. The epistemological basis is perhaps best considered a critical hermeneutics, for not only does discourse have its own 'reality', it is itself a reality creating force. The aim of this method is to analyze latent, attitudes, opinions, beliefs, notions of identity, and so on.

The constitution of the focus group is potentially a problematic issue (see below). There is a danger that when the experiences of a given group's individuals are too diverse it is sometimes difficult to generate coherent discussions. However, conversely there is also the problem of a group with too narrow a range of experience, as they can tend to arrive at consensus and discussion can become a bit stifled. It is also a consideration that meeting with others whom they think of as possessing similar characteristics or levels of understanding about a given topic, is often more appealing to poential participants than meeting with those who are perceived to be 'different' (Morgan, 1988). On this point it is very important to make sure that the general topic of the discussion and the individual prompts (see below) are suitably 'focused' while at the same time allowing for contributions from participants with a more disparate range of experiences and opinions. For this reason the composition of the group is not really the critical issue and there is no reason why the participants cannot have much in common.

There are some ethical issues that need to be taken into consideration when conducting a focus group. For example, it is not possible to guarantee confidentiality in the same way it is with some other research methods, such as one-to-one interviews, as everyone in the group is party to what is said. You can encourage people to respect each other's right to confidentiality, but can't really ensure what will happen to the discussion – in this sense it's 'out there'. Given the moderator's neutrality it can also be difficult to know when to intervene in the discussion if one participant has views considered offensive by the rest of the group. It is important that members of the group do not feel threatened or vulnerable during their participation, and on rare occasions it is necessary to expel someone from the group to ensure this is the case. In general it is important to make sure that the participants have a clear idea of where their contributions are going and what the purpose of the research is. It's also good practice to let the group know the research outcomes.

There is no real agreement about how many focus groups should be carried out on any one topic. In general it seems that previous focus group research usually uses between 8-15 sessions, although there is the suggestion that the researcher should do as many groups as is needed until 'finished'. For example Calder (1977) says that when you can anticipate what the next group are going to say accurately, or in other words when no new material is being generated, then that's the time to stop. Between 6-10 participants is the most common size for groups, which usually take between 2-3 hours to complete. Morgan (1988) recommends the use of smaller groups when the participants may have a lot to say on the topic.

Focus groups are quite limited in terms of their ability to generalize findings. This is primarily because of the small numbers of people in the groups and the likelihood that the

participants, almost by definition as they tend to have shared experience of a topic will not be a representative sample. However, there is also the question of how far any generalization can be made, and whether, for example, the experience of Somali migrants living in Liverpool can be generalized to the experiences of Somalis living in other northern British cities, other European cities or not at all. However, as Morrison (1998) points out it is not always necessary or even desirable to generalize about populations as a whole and this is one of the reasons why focus groups are very good at using at the beginning of a project for framing issues and identifying themes to follow-up.

Focus groups are notoriously time consuming and difficult to organize and assemble. For example, there is often a problem with 'no-shows' (i.e. people not turning up on the day) - a way to deal with this is by consciously over-recruiting (Bryman, 2001). It is also important to make sure that there's an adequately sized room, tea, coffee, sandwiches etc and an assistant to take notes and deal with other administrative issues. It is best to use as 'neutral' a venue as possible, as often holding disscusions in official offices or very expensive conference facilities can make participants feel uneasy. Another practical point is that groups should be taped on a good quality tape recorder, as it's important to identify who said what and how they said it (earnestly, ironically, angrily, uncertainly etc.), although of course, and as suggested above, it is important to anonomise data as far as is possible.

When writing up the research from focus groups it is vitally important to bring out the interactive element of the group dynamic (Morrison, 1989). Focus group research should not be presented as if from a one-to-one interview, as interruptions, pauses and people 'helping each other out' (Kitzinger, 1994: 111) are all significant aspects of a group's dynamic. Focus groups can be an empowering research method that sensitizes the researcher to participants' experiences in a social setting (Morrison, 1998: 175-77). It should be emphasized that representation is **not** the most important criteria in focus group research. Due to the small numbers of participants it is not really possible, or desirable, to represent each group – the idea is to get a feel for the emergence of common themes, strategies and legitimations. As a result participants can even be selected at 'random', or perhaps with the help of migrant associations or local government agencies.

The Focus Group Method for WorkPackage 2

Each national partner identified two or three cities in which to conduct their focus groups on the basis of a difference in the respective labour market structures. It was acknowledged that,

while a labour market distinction would be critical in the choice of cities in some countries, in others there might be no major distinction to make. If this was the case partners were advised to select cities that differed in some other socio-political aspect.[1] It was suggested that in general, the cities should have a contrasting feature, ideally, but not necessarily, in the area of work. It was recommended that the focus group discussions should include at least six participants, although there was an acknowledgement that given the vagaries of 'real world research', this may not always be possible. The leaders/spokespersons of immigrant and minority groups, self-help and other immigrant or minority organizations, and relevant Non Governmental Organizations and official agencies were one valuable resource in assisting to identify participants for the migrant focus groups, as were personal contacts and other informal networks.

It was also recommended that the participants who made up the groups should be a mixture of 'first and second generation' migrants; in other words people who were not living in their country of birth ('first generation') or people whose parents both moved from their country of birth ('second generation'). This was not an unproblematic categorization, as for in some countries (for example the UK) to refer to people who were born in Britain and who are British citizens as 'migrants' is often considered offensive. Another problem with these formulations of migrants in terms of 'generations' is that the so-called 'first generation' may be migrants who arrived as very young children who therefore are in effect second generation because they spent their formative years in the country of immigration. Sometimes such migrants are referred to as '1.5 generation'. Also in many countries the second generation becomes automatically citizens and with the third generation there is often no difference between these groups and ethnic minorities or other groups within the mainstream population (cf the Republican ideal in France). Of course this is not be true of all countries participating in this research, and sometimes the term 'immigrant' is used as a synonym for minority ethnic groups, so recent were the movements of non-'indigeoneous' people to that country. As this cursory discussion highlights there were many variations between partners' (who were also operating in very different research cultures) understandings of migration. Accordingly, and as is almost always the case with research guidelines, latitude had to be allowed for the specificities of given national contexts.

Each national partner should have conducted at least six groups in all, and reflecting the following variables (the last two are based on any kind of composition).

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[1] The cities chosen to conduct research in WorkPackage 2 will also be investigated by WorkPackage 4, which addresses institutional discrimination and will use elite interviews as its method.

Group 1:   'Non-European' Highly Educated

Group 2:   'Non-European' Less Highly Educated

Group 3:   'European' Less Highly Educated

Group 4:   Youth Group

Group 5/6:   Open (groups that are of particular relevance in the specific country. These groups could have been the same constitution as some of the earlier groups).

The terms 'Non-European' and 'Highly Educated' are clearly very problematic. However, it was agreed at the Uppsala workshop that other comparable terms would lead to at least as much, or even more, confusion across countries. WorkPackage 1 has already drawn attention to the terminological debates in each country, and although categories of 'European' and 'non-European'were acknowledged to be highly contested, eurocentric typologies, they were employed to give a most basic, albeit flawed, constitution to each group. However, even when taking into account the external problems in constituting groups around a vague, ethno/geo-political concept, it cannot be overlooked that exactly what is seen to constitute 'European' or 'Non-European' may also have varied across national partners, due in part to the lack of clarity of the original category but also to aforementioned cultural differences. It was decided that 'European' should include migrants from Canadian and the U.S.A., perhaps further compounding the ethnocentricism of the categories. However, in most cases 'European' was generally taken to mean migrants from eastern/southern Europe (for example Albanians in Italy, Turks in Germany). Another related issue to consider in this context is the relation between migrants and ethnic groups. There is a frequent tendency to conflate them. In the case of Britain for example, this is a very political issue and great care must be made in defining the research population. Again this varied greatly in the different countries, which have all had very different experiences of migration, so the assumptions of one country will not necessarily apply to others. The 'Highly Educated' category was taken to include participants with a higher education degree/equivalent or a higher award.

Groups were conducted in the official language of the country in which they were carried out. This meant that only migrants who could speak the official language to some degree of competence could participate, and that many migrants were excluded from participation. Although this stipulation served to exclude some of the most vulnerable migrants, it was necessary to conduct groups in the native language for a number of practical and methodological reasons (cost of transcriptions, employing bi- or tri- lingual moderators). For example it was not possible to pay for translations into the official language (and then into English for almost all the partners). Also the fact that discourse 'flow' is a fundamental

methodological assumption of focus group research prevents the use of an interpreter in the group itself, as frequent interuptions, pauses etc impede the discussion to a large extent. Groups generally lasted between 90 minutes and two hours and were tape-recorded (audio), while those with the capacity to do so were also encouraged to use video-recording facilities.

As the idea of focus groups is to generate discussion and not to receive answers to questions, the moderator's role in steering the discussion in line with the themes we wanted to address (see below), while not being too prescriptive, was vital. Each focus group discussion was organized around some key themes, which were not presented as questions to be answered but rather as 'prompts' to generate discussion. These prompts were strategies designed to encourage dialogues on the general area of racism and discrimination, and were presented in a nuanced way in order to operationalize a social scientific question. The prompts needed to be phrased in an easily understandable way and designed to generate discussion as opposed to closed (yes or no) answers. These prompts were also presented in a neutral way in order not to influence the participants' responses in any way. In some cases prompts needed to be explained, and sometimes even supported by further ones, to clarify or expand on a theme. As suggested above, focus group research necessitates that moderators should be flexible about ideas and arguments that participants develop; topics are often interconnected so that, for example, the prompt on work may well lead on to observations about educational qualifications. It is important not to be too rigid in this respect, as the everyday conversations and discussions that focus groups are intended to in some ways replicate cannot be compartmentalized in such a way. Indeed, some researchers prefer to use a very open, unstructured approach with one or two very general questions or themes to generate discussion. The partners responsible for the coordination of this WorkPackage suggested the use of 'guiding questions' or prompts under six main themes. Although there were specific areas suggested they were of a general nature so as to generate as much discussion as possible; as is suggested above if the focus of the prompts is too narrow it can be difficult to generate discussion. The themed prompts also allowed for comparability between sessions and across countries, while also providing this report (and indeed WorkPackage 3 with some structure. The focus groups in each country must cover the same topics so as to produce comparable data.

The following general themes were suggested for use, although the actual wording varied from country to country to take account of the specificities of each national situation. The prompt statements and examples, as well as modified or added general questions are explained in detail):

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1. Experience of discrimination in general.

This prompt was concerned with the experience of being a foreigner or an 'outsider' in general. In the view of migrants is the society in which they live predominately 'racist' and exclusionary? How is it possible to achieve belonging in this society? The hypothesis underlying this question was that migrants might experience discrimination in many ways both directly, indirectly, and also in ways that are often not clearly identifiable. In formulating the question, it was suggested in was best to avoid charged words like 'racist'.

2. Discrimination in work

This question intended to focus on the issue of discrimination and work. It was directed at social exclusion, with particular reference to the extent to which migrants experience discrimination in the labour market. The assumption here was that work will be one significant area in which migrants might have experienced discrimination.

3. Discrimination in educational matters

This was particularly relevant to some groups more than to others. This prompt also addressed to the issue of social exclusion, but here in terms of access to access to education, training, higher education and so on.

4. Experiences with the Extreme Right

This topic addressed direct experience of, or fears and concerns about, the extreme right. It was suggested that this theme should be introduced in a way that allowed an assessment of the level of existing knowledge about the activities of the far-right in the area.

5. Possibilities for emancipation and success

This was addressed to how migrants resist (or cope with) racism. How do they achieve success? What kind of moral and cultural resources are needed to survive? The hypothesis

underlying this question was that migrants cope in different ways with racism and discrimination.

6. Multiculturalism and social values

What kind of social values should a multicultural society be based on? This question could have been designed to get information about what kind of rights migrants desire. One hypothesis behind this question is that migrants do not necessarily desire to become full national citizens, but desire to be treated with respect, to have perhaps dual nationality, rights of multiple entry, social rights etc.

The anonymity of all participants was guaranteed as far as was possible. However, as stated above it is important to remember that anonymity cannot be guaranteed to the same extent as with some research methods, as other participants were able to hear the discussion. Participants all agreed to being taped, and the tapes of the focus groups were kept in a secure, locked place. It was decided that participants should be as well-informed as possible about the nature and output of the research project, and that feedback should be provided to participants wherever practically possible. Where possible we decided to pay local travel expenses or give a token of some kind; this was considered to be favourable to actually reimbursing people for their time, which sets up a problematic dynamic. Partners were also encouraged to provide refreshments for participants.

Supplementary Data Collection

An initial questionnaire was also given to the members of each group to establish some basic factual information about the participants (i.e. their name, nationality, age, gender, occupation, education, marital status). The main purpose of this questionnaire was to provide some biographical contextualization, and while it was not used in the analysis of the data such information is used in some cases to describe the participant who is quoted (e.g. A 36 year-old Somali doctor suggested that…).

Further to this some focus group participants, those with distinctive experiences, were selected for an in-depth interview. It was agreed that the moderator should avoid picking the 'best' (most articulate, most co-operative) participant and that 'distinctive experience' should be the only selection criteria. It was recommended that at least one interview per focus group

be carried out. There should therefore have been a total of six in-depth interviews to supplement the focus group data. These interviews were semi-structured, and also addressed the broad topics listed above. It was felt that a semi-structured interview technique would yield some interesting data that would not necessarily emerge in the discussions (for some of the reasons identified above). Generally speaking the strength of semi-structured interviews is that they are based around general themes rather than on strictly bounded, pre-determined questions. This less structured approach allows for a general exploration of a topic, as well as providing the interviewer with more flexibility. Also means that it is less proscriptive and can be more about what the interviewee thinks is important rather than the interviewer. This leaves the structure of an interview is open at least to the extent that it is co-constructed by the interviewer and interviewee during the interview process. The interviewer should acquire a feeling for how well it's going, what people want to talk about and so on.

Semi-structured interveiwes can also be a more empowering research method to participante in if you're the interviewee too, as what they are actually taking part in a freely-structured discussion in which their own viewpoints are valued and can guide the proceedings to some extent. Simply speaking, the very method used in semi-structured interviews, i.e. assigning topics for discussion, rather than asking questions, is similar to the one applied in focus-group discussions. The methodological rationale was that these two methods would be complementary in gaining a picture of the experiences and stories of research participants for WorkPackage 2.

Deliverables

The deliverable for WorkPackage 2 is an 'archive of the voices of immigrants', with particular respect to their experiences in the labour market and in education. These reports were expected to give a voice to the migrants who participated in the research, in relation to several areas of discrimination and exclusion, as well as their experiences of and reflections on the public discourses and political debates on 'immigration.' Each partner (Austria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, UK, Sweden) produced the following reports focusing on these themes.

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The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

WorkPackage 2
'Immigrant' Focus Groups
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1. Introduction

As it has already been shown in various studies (cf. Çinar, Hoffinger and Waldrauch 1995, Fassmann and Stacher 2003, Volf and Bauböck 2001) the general situation of immigrants in Austria has been radically deteriorating in recent years. The most radical, negative changes have, thus far, taken place within the institutional realm, with ever more restrictive laws and regulations regarding labour and residence rights for foreigners. The institutionally grounded, negative attitudes towards foreigners and migrants, have been, by all means, influenced by the actions of the Austrian government which has been, for the second term in a row, consisting of predominantly foreigner-hostile parties, i.e. the ÖVP (Christian-Democrat Austrian People's Party) and the FPÖ (radical-right Freedom Party of Austria, led by the notorious Jörg Haider). Obviously enough, the electoral success of such parties, overtly favouring radical limitations to immigration, is fully reflecting the fear of foreigners among the Austrian public. This fear, rising ever since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, may be still expected to increase once the Eastern and Central European countries (which are the main sites from which immigrants living in Austria originate) would join the EU in early 2004 (cf. Wodak, Ulsamer, and Krzyzanowski 2002, for a more detailed overview of the situation of migrants in Austria).

On the following pages, we present a report on 'voices of immigrants' gathered by the Austrian team within the research activities of Workpackage 2 of 'The European Dilemma' project. We understand the voices of immigrants as a set of discourse-based experiences of migrants collected throughout a certain amount of time within their contacts with Austrian institutions and members of Austrian society. The analysis of those individual as well as, in our case, also collectivised experiences will help us to deconstruct various discursive phenomena which shape and reconstruct racial and discriminatory practices prevalent in Austrian society.

The anchorage of the aforementioned individual and collective experiences in discourse is crucial for our theoretical view of discourse and its social functioning. As representatives and advocates of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) we see discourse "as a social practice" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). By doing so, we assume "a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them" (ibid.). Following the claims of an immanent interrelation between discourse and society, we see discourse as playing a crucial role in producing, sustaining, and reproducing an ideologically

based social status-quo. Thus, discursive practices "can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, men and women, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things, as well as position people. So discourse may, for example, be racist or sexist, and try to pass off assumptions (often falsifying ones) about any aspect of social life as mere common sense" (ibid., cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001, for more critical-analytic approaches to racism and discrimination).

By applying the theory of discourse as a social practice to the study of racism, we predominantly perceive racism "as a social practice, and as an ideology [which] manifests itself discursively" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:1). Relating our assumptions on discourse as a social practice to the interpretation of voices of immigrants, we need to see the latter as a sort of individual and collective archive of experiences with two basic layers of discursively shaped Austrian social reality, within which, as we assume, various racist (and, by the same token, immanently discursive) practices are prevalent. Among those two layers are first, the Austrian institutional realm, and, secondly, the Austrian everyday social reality. While the latter is perceived by us as a totality of discursive practices of the Austrian state institutions, inter alia, regulating the issues of labour, education, housing, law, etc., the former is considered to be the set of discourses of social practices rooted in everyday interaction of members of the Austrian majority and the foreigner minorities. The analysis of voices of immigrants helps uncover the actual form and shape of social relations which when produced and reproduced by means of discursive practices taking place at the two, aforementioned levels, very often lead to discrimination and unequal treatment of those whose experiences were closely inspected by our research team.

As the social sciences have seen a multitude of various theories of racism in recent years (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 1-30, for an extensive overview) we need to limit ourselves to those of the theoretical approaches to racism which allow for an elaboration and justification of our choice to look for discursive traces of racist and discriminatory practices taking place at an institutional, as well as on an everyday level. We are fully aware that the long-time division into 'everyday' and 'institutional' racism, which would seem suitable for our theoretical distinctions presented here, possesses numerous shortcomings (cf. Essed 1991: 36-39, or Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 1-30, for an in-depth overview). Unlike some theoreticians, however, we perceive 'everyday' (not to be mistaken with individual) and 'institutional' racism as expressions of the same complex of discriminatory and oppressive phenomena, which, however, are to be traced at various levels of social discourse. In this respect, we agree

with Michel Wieviorka who, following the classical studies by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), suggests that racism "can be expressed in two possible forms: it may be overt and individual or covert and institutional. The former is explicit; the latter does not need to be" (Wieviorka 1995: 62). As he also suggests, institutional racism very often "becomes implanted in routine practices and the functioning of organisations" (ibid.).

The analysis of experiences of foreigners, as is the case with our 'voices of immigrants', allows one to discover, uncover, and deconstruct the actual form and shape of discriminatory practices taking place at an institutional level of the Austrian state system. We believe that such an analysis perfectly supplements the 'primary' analyses of institutionalised, discriminatory practices (presented in our previous report, cf. Wodak, Ulsamer, and Krzyzanowski 2003, for details) rooted in the legal and organisational frames of the Austrian labour and education system. By looking into the experiences of those who, on a daily basis, have to cope with various institutions, we are able to draw a clear map of those practices which affect the migrants living and working in Austria. Obviously enough, the investigation of 'voices of immigrants' also permits us to map out all sorts of prejudices, stereotypes, and other forms of discrimination, which foreigners encounter and cope with in everyday situations in Austrian society.

Our report first includes the description of the research process leading to our collection of the data indispensable for this study (cf. part 2). The report further presents an overview (cf. part 3), and a preliminary, content-oriented analysis of the data which we collected during focus group discussions and individual interviews (cf. part 4). The final conclusions, presented in part 5, will also be drawn in order to sketch out any possible future implications from our research findings.

2. The Research Process

2.1 The Research Method:
Focus Group Discussions and Semi-Structured Interviews

Focus Group Discussions

The focus –group interviews have recently become one of the basic methods used in qualitative-oriented social research. Despite the fact that some of the features of focus groups have changed since the first introduction of this method by the members of the Frankfurt school in the early 1950's, its basic characteristic, i.e. the group dynamics remain a stable core of the focus groups. As Gertraud Benke suggests: "while opinions elevated in this way may be less profound than opinions expressed in the course of personal interviews, the developing group dynamics promote frank discussion of the issues" (Benke 2003: 348). Or, differently put, focus groups, as in no other method, allow their participants to not only assert their opinions on the subject issues, but also to discursively negotiate (and change) their viewpoints through the process of group-dynamics facilitating communicative interaction between the participants. The latter is, obviously enough, of prime importance to researchers interested in observing stableness and flexibility of social functioning of particular opinions on vivid topics such as e.g. racism and discrimination.

Technically speaking the basic feature that differentiates focus group discussions from other forms of group interrogations (e.g. group-interviews) is the 'direction' of interaction, which does not only run between the moderator and particular interviewees. In the case of focus groups, the main focus is on interaction, i.e. the moderator is only responsible for thematically framing and 'guiding' the discussion, while the participants are allowed to discuss issues amongst themselves – which also opens yet another platform for uttering and mutually negotiating their opinions. This is, on the other hand, additionally fostered by a particular informal mood of the discussion which is to be secured by the moderator, who needs to remain very sensitive to the participants' communicative abilities and skills.

As Ruth Wodak and her collaborators, widely using the focus group method for various research purposes suggest, the objectives of the focus groups, as well as other group interviews, vary according to the "focus of respective investigations" (Wodak et. al. 1999: 106), which, "range from ascertaining beliefs and attitudes of individual participants to the

analysis of group process leading to the formation of specific individual and group opinions" (ibid.). In our case, the mentioned focus of investigation has been directed towards examining two main aspects, i.e., first, inasmuch as the opinions and viewpoints on racism and discrimination asserted by particular participants of discussions can be determined as fixed personal opinions, very often were based on personal (as well as collectivised) experiences, and, second, inasmuch as the group dynamics led to the negotiation of opinions through which the actual (quasi finite) 'forms' of group opinions were structured.

Semi-structured interviews

The basic advantage of semi-structured interviews lies in the fact that they are based on general topics (instead of strictly pre-planned question lists) which allow for open-ended narratives or the utterance of beliefs, opinions, etc. This leaves the structure of an interview open to the extent in which it is being co-constructed by the interviewer and interviewee during the interview process. The interviewer acquires communicative feedback from the interviewee and may guide the discussion further in an unexpected (or implicitly pre-planned) direction. The interviewees, on the other hand, gain the impression that they are not just being interrogated, or 'testifying', but that they are actually taking part in a freely-structured discussion in which their own viewpoints can be uttered. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews, however, permit the interviewer to guide the discussion in a direction in which interviewees would rather opt for uttering their own, personal opinions as opposed to routinely used elements of official register. Simply speaking, the very method used in semi-structured interviews, i.e. assigning topics for discussion, rather than asking questions, is very similar to the one applied in focus-group discussions (cf. above), with the exception of semi-structured interviews being usually conducted with a very limited number of one to two interviewees.

2.2 The Research Tool

The research tool applied in our fieldwork activities (focus groups and individual interviews) was defined by the general discussion topics assigned by the Liverpool team as key areas of investigation (cf. Gerard Delanty and Paul Jones' note on WP2 as of February 2003). The topics were further elaborated by the Austrian team with hindsight on Austrian-specific issues

and other aspects which seemed relevant for our largely context-dependent research (cf. below for an overview). The topics were further differentiated by the general questions, which, in a way, were responsible for guiding the discussion within particular topics. Finally, the prompting statements and examples were appropriate in order to depict similar situations or contexts that we put under discussion. The prompting statements were carefully selected and presented with a high level of neutrality and ambivalence, inasmuch as was possible with one negative and one positive supporting example, in order not to influence the statements made by participants by way of response.

As the fieldwork has shown, the research tool needs to be very flexible and sensitive to the actual development of the communicative action during either a focus-group discussion or an interview. As was very often the case, the need for using supporting/prompting questions, statements and examples, or even the general questions, were redundant within a group where the group dynamics were established and developed very fast. On the other hand, in the case of group or individual interviews with interlocutors of far less developed group or individual communicative abilities, the prompts had to be clearly explained and sometimes even supported by further ones. As was also very often the case, the interaction required the moderators to remain very flexible about the topics which were developed by the participants in a topic-transcending manner, i.e. some topics from different or still forthcoming topics were touched upon within other ones as was the case with e.g. 'labour issues' which had already appeared in the 'perceptions of the host country' topic.

The following topics and general, supporting, and prompting questions were used (the prompt statements and examples, as well as modified or added general questions are explained in detail):

TOPIC I:
GENERAL ISSUES / PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOST COUNTRY

General question I/1:
How much and where exactly do you have contact with members of Austrian society?

General question I/2:
Do you feel welcome in Austrian society?

The general question I/2 of this topic was further supported by two, ambivalent prompts regarding 'being welcomed' as a foreigner/other in Austrian society. The negative prompt regarded the passport and customs controls which take place on the night trains passing through the Austrian-German border. Those controls, which are within the Schengen zone should not take place at all, are performed only at the ethnic selection basis, i.e. only those passengers who, by their appearance, look 'non-Austrian' or 'non-European' are controlled. The controls usually end up with very overt, radical, discriminatory actions performed by the officials against ethnically non-white passengers. The positive prompt, on the other hand, entailed presenting participants the information package file which was sent out to all newly (officially) settled foreigners by the city of Vienna. The package, with a set of welcoming notes and numerous quite helpful and practical information is rather handy to many foreigners that are still not well acquainted with everyday activities at the Viennese institutions of e.g. education, labour market, etc.

General question I/3:

Do you think the fact that whether you are welcome/unwelcome in Austria depends on your particular location – living in the city of Vienna/Innsbruck? (Would the situation be different if you lived elsewhere in Austria?)

General question I/4:

How about your relatives (e.g. children) or friends living in Austria?

General question I/5:

How does it correspond with your previous experiences (if there are any) gained in living abroad?

TOPIC II:

LABOUR MARKET / WORKPLACE

General question II/1:

Do you think that discrimination at the workplace is taking place in Austria?

General question II/2:

Do you think you have ever been discriminated (in Austria) according to the colour of your skin/religion/nationality/language while applying for a job here?

General question II/3:

When you say that in case of some posts/jobs either Austrians or foreigners are favoured by the employers – then why is that the case?

The general question II/3 was further prompted by an example of internal and administrative jobs at the United Nations Office at Vienna (UNOV, a 'highly international' organisation) being provided only to Austrians.

TOPIC III: EDUCATION

General question III/1:

Are you in contact with any Austrian educational institutions?

General question III/2:

How about your relatives, family members, friends?

General question III/3:

Has anyone of you (or of the ones you know about) been/felt blocked, or encountered any other problems while trying to access education/training in Austria?

General question III/4:

Does the fact that you (your relatives – children, etc.) have been attending education/training in Austria provide you with some positive/negative examples of contact between Austrians and foreigners?

General question III/5:

Has this positive/negative contact been in any way facilitated/limited by educational institutions?

The general questions III/4 and III/5 had not only an 'answer eliciting' function, but they also served (and were slightly modified for that purpose) inquiring into whether the fact of

migrants involvement in the school life of their children may help in migrants' deeper integration within Austrian society.

Prompt:
Did the school (or other institution) offer any concrete activities, or otherwise facilitate contact (providing meeting rooms, organising meetings)

TOPIC IV: EXTREME RIGHT

An introductory question was asked of our participants about the location and conditions in which they live. This question was supposed to provide us with an overview of whether the participants live in an environment where contact with members of Austrian society (these including extreme-right activists) would be possible. The prompt in which asked them about the possibilities of such contact while living in closed areas due to ethnic reasons (viz. quasi-ghettos) or due to social and economic status (e.g. closed areas for diplomats or international officials) was also added.

General question IV/1:
Do you know of any extreme-right activities (official/unofficial) in your area?

General question IV/2:
Have you been concerned with FPÖ's continuous government participation? Do you know of any/are afraid of official racist/xenophobic actions taken by the FPÖ?

This general, highly Austrian-specific question was further prompted by the set of examples of FPÖ's (far-right, and highly controversial political party) concrete social-wide actions and policy proposals, meeting with wide acceptance throughout Austrian society. Among those actions, the so-called 'Austria First Petition' (launched in 1992/93, and signed by almost 500,000 Austrians) was mentioned as an example. Explicitly racist and discriminatory postulates of the petition were also enumerated, these included: (a) stopping 'overforeignisation' (*Überfremdung*), (b) halting immigration (e.g. up until the possibility of where housing problems would not be overcome, and as long as the unemployment rate would not fall under 5%), (c) establishing a new education law according to which only 30%

of pupils whose native language is not German could be allowed to attend a school (if a 30% limit would be overcome – special classes for foreigners should be introduced).

TOPIC V: COPING WITH RACISM / PREJUDICES

General question V/1:
Have you ever been confronted with any prejudices in Austria? (if so – were/in what situation, how did you deal with those prejudices?)

General question V/2:
Do you think that prejudices may lead to some institutionalised, discriminatory practices?

The general question V/2 was then additionally prompted by some examples in which ethnic/national or other prejudices lead to concrete institutionalised discriminatory practices, such as, e.g. in the Austrian border region of Carinthia where the attitudes towards customers of various national origins are evident in signposts such as 'Don't steal' being written in Slovenian and other Yugoslavian and Slavic languages, and special offers being described only in German.

General question V/3:
Have you ever encountered any reactions to your personal features in which your otherness was emphasised?

This general question was supported by various examples of 'physical' and other artefacts of otherness which could be reacted to in various ways. These included reactions to e.g. speaking one's native language loudly in public, being conspicuous (in clothing) and showing signs of happiness, wearing culture-/religion-specific garments, or driving a car with a foreign license-plate.

TOPIC VI:

GENERAL / CLOSING:

IMPROVING TOLERANCE AND ANTI-RACIST INITIATIVES

General question VI/1:

What could be done to improve the level of tolerance in Austrian society?

General question VI/2:

Do you know of any initiatives/organisations dealing with migration issues? (follow: combating racism and striving to improve the level of tolerance)

In the case of this general question we inquired into participants' knowledge about activities of the: European-wide (Austria-based) official institutions combating and researching racism and discrimination (EUMC, European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research), as well as about Austrian official institutions (WIF: Viennese Integration Funds) or NGOs (ZARA) in which are active in the field.

2.3 Location, selection, organisation, and composition of focus groups and individual interviews

Location of the Immigrant Focus-Groups (selection of the cities)

The groups were organised at two locations, i.e. in Vienna, the federal capital of Austria, and in Innsbruck, one of the largest and most important Austrian cities and capital of the federal province Tyrol, the main centre of Austria's leading industry viz. tourism.

Vienna is strongly characterised by a very multiethnic population, with the largest percentage of foreigners of all other Austrian cities (cf. Wodak, Ulsamer, and Krzyzanowski 2003, for statistical details). Vienna is also the place where most of the foreigners (legally) residing in Austria find their workplace, and where most of the work and residence permits are being issued to foreigners. Among all of the areas of Austria, Vienna is perceived as relatively foreigner-friendly.

Innsbruck, on the other hand, is the main Austrian tourism city, localised in the heart of the Austrian Alpine region Tyrol (of which Innsbruck is the capital). Most of the foreigners working in tourism and other associated sub-branches have their workplace in Innsbruck or its direct vicinity. Despite the fact that, first, the region's main industry is tourism, which usually is associated with an openness to international customers, and, second, that Innsbruck is located in the vicinity of neighbouring countries (Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein), Tyrol is strongly characterised by rather significant anti-foreigner moods, with the only 'open' contact with foreign groups taking place on the basis of business (guest-tourists – bringing profit). The foreigners working in Innsbruck mostly hold less-respected, typical back-door positions such as sweepers, dish washers, etc.

Selection of immigrant groups for the focus-group discussions

Three groups were selected in Vienna, i.e. Educated Non-European (ENE), Lower-Educated Europeans (LEE), and the group organised at one of the Viennese Secondary Professional Schools (SCH), while two groups were organised in Innsbruck: Educated Europeans (EE) and Lower-Educated Non-Europeans (LENE).

The Educated Non-Europeans (ENE) group was selected from among the Viennese immigrants of African origin. The selection of the group was particularly interesting due to a set of reasons. First, the basic selection criteria (origin/education) were fulfilled, as all of the participants shared the region of origin, and, all of them were well educated people active in an international professional environment, in a setting of a large multicultural area (Vienna) on an everyday basis. Secondly, the composition of the group, mostly consisting of ethnically black people was of prime significance to us. An almost homogenous group, among the participants of which the basic marker of difference (in the Austrian context) was their ethnicity, definitely allowed us to expect promising material, particularly in the areas concerning the issues of ethnic prejudices. The fact that one of the participants was white, yet still shared with other ones the geographical origin, also enabled us to observe how the markers drawn between ethnicity and actual place of origin were articulated by the migrants taking part in the mentioned discussion, and, how much of the discriminatory practices directed against the interrogated migrants were motivated by the mentioned origin/ethnicity factors.

The School group (SCH) was selected according to the basic criterion of adolescent age, i.e. all of the participants were sixteen/seventeen years of age. Most of the participants of that group (five out of six) were Turkish, and thus they were representatives of one of the largest immigrant groups living in Austria. The fact of organising a group among the migrant pupils seemed to be very crucial for discovering the platforms of interplay between the opinions of such migrants, who, while still in their education years, are soon expected to enter professional life and the labour market. In this respect, the issue of examining expectations towards the host country seen from the perspective of the migrants' own, professional future, was of prime importance to the research team. The criterion of age also allowed us to observe how discrimination, also perceived from the point of view of the potential (limited or enhanced) educational and professional opportunities of the participants, differed from (or was similar to) the opinions of the representatives of the other group of Turkish migrants that were investigated (cf. LENE description). The fact that the group was organised in Vienna, constituting Austria's largest educational and professional market, seemed to be of additional significance for the aforementioned selection reasons.

The Lower-Educated Non-Europeans (LENE) group, consisting of Turkish participants working and living in Innsbruck constituted yet another attempt at investigating the migrants from Turkey. The fact of organising the group in Innsbruck allowed us to, first, observe the labour opportunities of the migrants, and, second, to examine their awareness of discrimination in the very characteristic context of an internationally vivid (tourist resort), yet still ethnically and nationally homogenous, and rather (implicitly) foreigner-unfriendly region. The actual state-of-affairs of professional opportunities of migrants as compared to the other group (SCH) yielded interesting data about the situation of migrants in the Austrian labour market.

The Lower-Educated Europeans focus group (LEE: Vienna) consisted of Polish migrants living in Vienna. All of the participants were graduates of either general or specialised (professional) secondary schools – with all of the graduations were conducted while they were still in Poland. The selection of the Polish group was based on a set of underlying factors. First, historically seen, Polish migrants have always been one of the most numbered immigrant groups living in Austria. As the (official number) of Polish migrants in Austria remains very high, it is also widely known that there are at least twice as much illegal workers active in Austria (and not represented in any statistics). Secondly, the fact that one of the researchers of the Austrian team (MK) is Polish, allowed us to discuss issues in a more

informal way, as would be the case while moderating the group in German. Moderating the group in the native language of the participants enabled us to gain various 'unofficial' views about the reality of the migrants' everyday problems and about their encounters with various discriminatory practices. Furthermore, the interrogation of the Polish group had the aim of examining issues in a group which, similarly to the ENE group, is comprised of the foreigners who are 'undesired' in Austria (as most of the Eastern-Europeans are) and are thus subject to open, discriminatory practices on behalf of the 'unwelcoming' Austrian institutional system, as well as to the discrimination and prejudices in the everyday encounters with members of Austrian society. The eventual comparison of the outcome of this focus group with, e.g., the findings from the EE group, (i.e. the group of 'desired' and 'welcomed' immigrants) was also in the focus of our activities.

The Educated Europeans group (EE: Innsbruck) was set up in order to examine the views of the migrants that were long-term residents in Austria. The fact that the participants were selected from among the group of foreigners, who sooner than all of the remaining immigrant groups (e.g. all of the Eastern Europeans, i.e. 1989) were granted the possibility of settling in Austria and working here, was of prime importance for our investigations of their perception of Austria (as a society and as a set of state-based institutions). The participants of the EE group came from 'desired' and overtly 'welcomed' migrant groups of either Western-European (German, Swedish, French, and Italian) or Central-European origin (Hungarians). Investigating the group of such migrants, who are very rarely defined as foreigners by the system and do not perceive themselves as such, was also very important from the point of view of examining their (low) perception of discriminatory actions performed by the state against other ('undesired') immigrant groups.

Finally, the homogenous group of South-Tyroleans was organised, yet did not take place as most of the participants cancelled their attendance on very short notice (despite our renting the room and carefully preparing the discussion, most of the twelve scheduled participants contacted us by telephone within half an hour before the discussion was set to start, and all excused their absence under various reasons). The interrogation of South-Tyroleans was supposed to provide us with some insight into a very specific, minority group. South-Tyroleans, coming from the South-Tyrol region at the Italian-Austrian border (today's Italy) all hold Italian citizenship, yet enjoy (almost) full rights in Austria as compared to Austrian citizens, usually inaccessible to most other foreigners. Most South-Tyroleans traditionally study, and very often work, in the western, Austrian regions of Tyrol and Vorarlberg. What is

very typical for South-Tyroleans is that they display a very strong tendency of gathering around their minority-specific organisations and institutions (South-Tyrolean student unions, South-Tyrolean student dormitories, etc.) which is a crucial factor for sustaining a group-specific identity. Furthermore, the interesting status of 'neither citizens, nor foreigners' of South-Tyroleans allowed us to expect promising data with respect to perceptions of the host country (Austria) and opinions about (Austrian) immigrant groups.

Organisation of focus groups and interviews

The participants of our focus-group-discussions were mostly contacted in an informal way, by means of personal contacts with individual immigrants, i.e. through immigrant students, friendly academics, personal contacts, etc.

In the case of the Polish focus group (Vienna), the contact with Polish immigrants was made with the help of the official body of the Polish Embassy in Vienna, i.e. the Polish Institute (responsible for promotion of Polish culture among Austrians) which possesses numerous contacts with Polish immigrants, Polish academic and cultural institutions or immigrant organisations active in Austria. We also used a set of personal contacts to invite a couple of additional participants.

As far as the Turkish group is concerned (Innsbruck), we were able to gather a group which was homogenous from the point of view of their education level, origin, and to the extent of professional activity. This group was recruited by means of personal contacts among Turkish migrants (Austrian, or still, Turkish citizens) who were all active in the tourism industry – a leading branch of the Austrian Alpine region (Tyrol).

In the case of the only age group we organised, i.e. the group organised at a Secondary Professional School (*Berufsschule)* in Vienna, we needed to apply to the School Council of Vienna (*Stadtschulrat*) for special permission to conduct the research. Once the permission was granted, which all in all lasted a couple of weeks, the Council proved to be very helpful in organising the discussion by assigning a school principal who should be contacted, and who further provided us with the group of participants and all necessary facilities at the school.

The two remaining groups, i.e. Educated Non-Europeans and Educated Europeans were organised with the help of personal contacts with various migrants who fulfilled the selection criteria.

The final group, i.e. the group of Students from the South-Tyrolean Region (Italian citizens) was also organised (Innsbruck) yet was unable to take place as most of the participants cancelled their partaking on short notice due to examination sessions at their universities. This group had to be re-scheduled, and, conditions permitting, will still be organised in early September, or will be replaced by a heterogeneous group of migrants from the Middle East and former-Yugoslav countries (in preparation).

Composition of the Immigrant Focus-Groups

The Austrian team gathered the empirical material within five focus group discussions, selected following the pre-assigned criteria of either education/origin or age of the participants. Among the groups which took place were (all of the below-presented information was gathered with the use of a discussion-supporting general questionnaire, cf. Appendix 3, for a closer look):

Group	Participant	Age	Country of origin	Nationality	Education	Occupation
ENE	M1	36	Sudan	Austrian	graduate	engineer
ENE	M2	35	South Africa	Austrian	graduate	IT specialist/ teacher
ENE	M3	37	Sudan	Sudanese	graduate	translator
ENE	F1	32	Sudan	Sudanese	graduate	HR specialist
ENE	F2	26	Sudan	Sudanese	graduate	unemployed
LENE	Mod[*]	32	Turkey	Turkish	high school	waiter
LENE	M1	50	Turkey	Austrian		waiter
LENE	M2	58	Turkey	Turkish		unskilled worker
LENE	M3	34	Turkey	Turkish	high school	tailor
LENE	M4	33	Turkey	Turkish		unskilled worker
LENE	M5	29	Turkey	Turkish	graduate	economist
LENE	F1	59	Turkey	Turkish		unskilled worker
LENE	F2	13	Turkey	Austrian	elementary school	secondary school student
LENE	F3	27	Turkey	Turkish		unskilled worker
LENE	F4	19	Turkey	Turkish		saleslady

LENE	F5	13	Turkey	Austrian	elementary school	secondary school student

* the LENE-moderator was also an active participant of the focus group discussion.

EE	F1	43	Italy	Italian	high school	foreign correspondence clerk
EE	F2	62	Luxemburg	Luxembourg	pedagogics	retired teacher
EE	F3	51	Germany	Austrian	commercial school	housewife
EE	F4	57	Sweden	Austrian	graduate	retired teacher
EE	F5	49	Hungary	Hungarian	graduate	singer

LEE	M1	43	Poland	Austrian	high school	plumber
LEE	F1	48	Poland	Austrian	high school	unemployed
LEE	F2	24	Poland	Polish	high school	university student
LEE	F3	44	Poland	Austrian	high school	employee
LEE	F4	37	Poland	Polish	high school	
LEE	F5	39	Poland	Austrian	high school	financial specialist

SCH	F1	17	Austria	Austrian		apprenticeship
SCH	F2	16	Austria	Austrian		apprenticeship
SCH	F3	17	Austria	Austrian		apprenticeship
SCH	F4	16	Austria	Austrian		apprenticeship
SCH	F5	17	Pakistan	Pakistani		apprenticeship
SCH	F6	17	Austria	Austrian		apprenticeship

Table 1: Participants of the focus-group discussions.

a) **Educated Non-Europeans (ENE) (Vienna)** – recruited from immigrants from the African region (black and white), all holding academic degrees and all active in either international organisations or multinational companies seated in Vienna. The group involved two black female participants (F1,F2), with one of them professionally active at an international organisation (F1) and the other one (F2) being a housewife. Three male participants took part: M1 and M2 (black) and M3 (white). M1 was professionally active at a multinational company, M3 at an international organisation, while M2 worked as an IT specialist at an Austrian company and (part-time) as a teacher at an international school. Of the participants, M3 and F2 were spouses. Four participants were of homogenous origin, while the forth (white) came from a different country of the African region. The discussion was conducted in English and was moderated by one of the researchers from the Austrian team (MK), and was

very easy to moderate, as all of the participants were accustomed to communicating and uttering their opinions in a group of people.

b) **Lower-Educated Non-Europeans (LENE) (Innsbruck)** – the group included eleven participants recruited from among the Turkish population living in Innsbruck. Most of the participants worked for various restaurants in Innsbruck (as waiters, cooks, etc.). The group was organised by one of the participants who also moderated the discussion. Some of the participants were family relatives in various configurations (spouses, grand-children, etc.). The LENE-group was a homogenous group of 10 Turks, of which 5 were female and 5 male. The average length of residence in Austria was about 14 years, except for one who came to Austria six months ago. Three of the participants hold Austrian citizenship, two of them because they were born in Austria. Their occupations were: unskilled worker (3), waiter (2), tailor (1), salesperson (1), secondary school student (2), and university student (1, who actually did not fit into the groups' category, but whose statements still did support the discussion). The discussion was conducted in Turkish (later transcribed and translated into English) and was moderated by one of the participants who was also responsible for setting up the group. The decision to conduct the discussion in Turkish (and thus assigning an "external" moderator) was made due to two reasons, i.e. first, the participants selected by the low education criterion were not fluent in any other language than their native tongue, and, second, we expected the answers to have more actual validity, as using Turkish would allow the participants to speak on an informal basis (as they do most of the time) instead of using German which they tend to use for official reasons only. The moderator, was previously carefully trained by researchers from the Austrian team, and was also responsible for adjusting the questions to the participant's language (due to that, some changes occurred in the questions that were asked). The group was extremely difficult to moderate as some of the participants became very emotional about the issues discussed.

c) **Educated Europeans (EE) (Innsbruck)** – this group gathered female immigrants from five different European countries. The participants were contacted by an active participant of the group (F3) who knew the others personally, which also allowed for the discussions' atmosphere to be very informal. The discussion was moderated by one of the members of the Austrian research team (MK) and was carried out in German (all of the participants possessed a very good command of German corresponding to their level of education and length of residence in Austria). The composition of the group was as follows: EE-F1 (from Italy, 43, foreign correspondence clerk, in Austria since 1981, Italian citizenship), EE-F2 (from

Luxembourg, 62, retired teacher, in Austria since 1999, Luxembourg citizenship), EE-F3 (from Germany, 51, housewife, living in Austria since 1977, Austrian citizenship), EE-F4 (from Sweden, 57, retired teacher, in Austria since 1972, Austrian citizenship), EE-F5 (from Hungary, 49, opera vocalist, in Austria since 1989, Hungarian citizenship).

d) **Lower-Educated Europeans (LEE) (Vienna)** – the group involved six participants recruited from among Polish migrants living in Vienna. Three of the participants were contacted with the help of the Polish Institute of Vienna (cf. 2.3) with three of them being contacted using private contacts. All of the participants were middle educated, i.e. they all graduated form either general or specialised (professional) secondary schools. One of the participants was male, whereas the remaining five were female. Participants were between 24 and 48 years of age. Their length of residence in Austria spanned between 4 and 22 years. One of the participants was unemployed; one was a student, with the remaining ones being full- or part-time employed. The discussion was carried out in Polish (later transcribed and translated into English), and moderated by one of the members of the Austrian research team. The fact of conducting the discussion in Polish helped us, similarly to the LENE group, to create an informal atmosphere for the discussion, during which much more 'realistic' views on the issues of discrimination were uttered by the participants. The group was very co-operative, yet not easy to moderate.

e) **Secondary Professional School Group (SCH) (Vienna)** – This group was a group of six 16/17 years old female students, five Turkish girls, who were born in Austria, and one Pakistani girl, who migrated to Austria in the year 2000. After receiving permission from the Vienna City School Council to carry out the focus group discussion at the professional school, the participants were contacted via the head of this school and then via the teacher of the participants' class. The discussion was moderated by one of the members of the Austrian research team (FU) and was carried out in German.

Individual Interviews

In addition to the focus-group discussions, six individual, semi-structured interviews have been organised by the Austrian team (similarly to focus groups, all of the below-presented information was gathered with the use of a supporting general questionnaire, cf. Appendix 3, for a closer look):

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Nationality	Education	Occupation
INT-1	m	28	USA	American/ French	graduate	IT-company/ teacher
INT-2	f	26	Poland	Polish	elementary school	deputy restaurant manager
INT-3	m	22	Poland	Polish	high school	university student
INT-4	m	29	Lebanon/Palestine	Austrian	graduate	research associate
INT-5	f	29	Austria	Austrian	high school	university student/ receptionist
INT-6	m	33	Spain	Spanish	commercial school	official in charge

Table 2: Participants of individual, semi-structured interviews.

a) **Interview 1 (INT-1) (Innsbruck)** – male interviewee, black, American and French citizen, 28 years of age. Currently resides in Austria for the last two years (throughout 3-4 summer months), where he works as a door-keeper at a pub in Innsbruck. Spends the rest of the year in the USA (where he owns and runs his small IT company). His French (EU) nationality (interviewee's mother is a French citizen) allows him to work and reside freely and legally in Austria. While in Austria, his contact with Austrians takes place on both a professional and everyday basis. He has encountered numerous discriminatory situations, mostly on ethnic grounds.

b) **Interview 2 (INT-2) (Innsbruck)** – female interviewee, white, Polish citizen (Austrian citizenship 'almost' granted), 26 years of age, elementary school graduate, permanent residence in Austria. Professionally active as a deputy manager in one of Innsbruck's top restaurants. In Austria since 1991. She migrated to Austria with her mother who was working here illegally until the mid 1990's. Very skilful in German, her professional career in

gastronomy started in the restaurant kitchen in the mid 1990's. In order to stay in Austria the interviewee was 'forced' to marry an Austrian citizen, yet the marriage broke up after a couple of years. Her professional situation in Austria is now very good and secure, yet that required a lot of effort and negative experiences throughout the years. Everyday contact with Austrians on a professional basis. Her superior professional position to Austrians at the workplace is often disliked by her Austrian collaborators and subjects.

c) **Interview 3 (INT-3) (Vienna)** – male interviewee, white, Polish citizen, 22 years of age, residing in Austria since 2001, Student Residence Permit (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) granted – with no possibility of working in Austria. Supported by his parents, studies at one of the widely-known, private Universities of Business Administration in Vienna. Despite many efforts, the interviewee was unable to establish any closer contact with Austrians, and thus his personal contacts are mostly with Polish or other Slavic immigrant groups (Croatians, Slovenians, and Bosnians).Very fluent in English (studies in English), intermediate knowledge of German. While still at the beginning of his studies, the interviewee planned to stay in Austria and set up his professional career here. Judging by his rather unpleasant experiences in Austria (in both institutional and everyday settings), he will most likely go back to Poland immediately after finishing his university studies.

d) **Interview 4 (INT-4) (Vienna)** – male interviewee, white, 29 years of age. Came to Austria in 1995 as a stateless Palestinian refugee from Lebanon, became an Austrian citizen in 1999. Bachelor degree in Lebanon, MA degree in Vienna, where he works as a research associate and freelance book editor and translator. Very fluent in German and English, Arabic as a native language. The interviewee claims that his rather positive experiences in Austria were facilitated by his ethnicity (white, 'looks Italian') as well as support provided by his Austrian colleagues and some very well organised fellow-immigrants he knows from the Middle East.

e) **Interview 5 (INT-5) (Vienna)** – female interviewee, black, 29 years of age, was born in Austria, father from Nigeria. Graduated from a tourism college, worked for some years within the Austrian tourism industry. Started to study translation and interpretation in Innsbruck, moved to Vienna one year ago. Studies and works as a receptionist at a hotel in the Viennese 'inner city'. She has never been confronted with any kind of discrimination until she came to Vienna, where she has mostly been discriminated on an everyday basis (e.g. refusal of entrance into bars).

f) **Interview 6 (INT-6) (Innsbruck)** – male interviewee, white, 33 years of age, was born in Spain and came to Austria 11 years ago, permanent residence in Austria, married to an Austrian. Professionally active as an official in charge of operations concerning scheduling in the food industry. Works in an all-Austrian surrounding, his German became through this environment quite fluent. Plans to stay in Austria until his son finishes elementary school - he plans to go back to Spain with his family afterwards. He has never endured any unpleasant experiences in Austria, neither in institutional nor in everyday settings.

3. Contents/Results of the Focus Groups: General Overview

3.1 Perceptions of the Host Country

ENE

When asked about the level of contact with the Austrian society some of the participants (M2, F1) answer right away that this contact in general does take place predominantly in the workplace, and, while the need arises, with Austrian institutions. M3 suggests that his contact is mostly based on a casual, everyday basis (shops, institutions, etc.). M1 who has been in Austria for over thirteen years says that this contact in the past has depended on his life situation at the time (studies, military service, and workplace). F2 (professionally not active) suggests that her contact with Austrians is very scarce if any.

The issue of feeling welcome (or not) in Austria is defined by the ENE focus group participants as a problematic issue. F1 defines Austrians (judging by her previous experience living in Spain or Germany) as much closer than other groups, and emphasises that you always need to make an effort in order to establish some closer contact with Austrians. M2, on the other hand states

ENE-M2:   I have an advantage (.) I look Austrian
Abstract 1 ENE

emphasising the fact that his being ethnically white (unlike all other discussion participants) definitely makes him welcome in Austria. He also stresses that Austrians (in both everyday and institutional contact) usually have more positive attitudes towards those people who are

not ethnically different. M3 agrees totally with M2 and states that although you sometimes cannot feel the hostility towards you (as a black person) you still are almost unable to feel welcome. Some feeling of being welcome (e.g. asking about your children, place of origin etc.) may be sometimes experienced on behalf of elderly members of Austrian society. M3 supports his claims by additional comparison to his previous experiences gained in the USA (New York City), where he says the level of mutual interest was much larger than in Austria. F2, not having much contact with Austrians, says that there is definitely no deep interest in yourself, your origin, etc. F1 added that the problem of feeling welcome may be solved by some efforts at establishing some closer, interpersonal contacts with Austrians:

ENE-F1: **they say that they become quite friendly when you really get to know them (2.0) when you really get inside the house get to know the family having more opportunity to go together and have such a life they're quite friendly when you (unread 2.0) BUT to to JUMP that step is a hAArd a thing**

Abstract 2 ENE

M1 states that Austrians really are a closed society. He claims that there is, however, a huge differentiation in the level of openness to foreigners according to different geographical location. As he states, taking Vienna as an example, some districts do have some really foreigner-closed societies. He says, however, that irrespective of the actual location, the first step in mutual, interpersonal contact always needs to be made by a foreigner, while their level of success may be explicitly marked by the foreigner's knowledge of the German language:

ENE-M1: **if you know the language ok ok (2.0) you can talk to anybody and they'll accept you as a person**

Abstract 3 ENE

As he further supports his claims:

ENE-M1: **the interesting thing about older Austrians is if you talk to them theythey would ask you (2.0) where you come from, the second thing WHY you choose Austria (3.0)**

ENE-M2: **((laughs))** **[**

ENE-M1: **and the third question WHEN you plan to go back to your country**

Abstract 4 ENE

The problem of ethnicity (colour of skin) is defined by all participants as the main obstacle in feeling welcome, although M1 claims that the situation improved in this respect since Austria joined the EU (in 1995). M1 and F1 also state that this factor seems to be ever less important in everyday contact between Austrians of younger generations (e.g. in a situation at a disco, etc.) and blacks, as well as other ethnic groups (e.g. 'Latinos'). Surprisingly enough, F1 also states that some boundaries stemming from the so-called 'level of blackness' are visible in this respect, as e.g. 'less black' women (the mentioned 'Latinos') would be contacted much quicker than black African women would. If such contact does take place, they would most usually be established by foreign (e.g. British) white people rather than by Austrians. F1 also claims, following the question of M2, that white women are more open to contact with black men as opposed to white men in contact with black women. M1 further states that the hostility towards black people and foreigners may be rooted in an outdated Austrian legal system and e.g. lack of anti-racist laws, while he also provides examples of a set of (widely-known) discos in Vienna where black people are not allowed to enter. M2 supports the claims of M1 by providing a set of examples (from Austria and elsewhere) emphasising the slight increase of interethnic contact between people of both genders, especially as far as the younger generations are concerned.

LENE

This focus group discussion was very emotional from the start which means people were raising their voices, standing up, gesticulating, etc. According to experiences gained through other focus group discussions, here, too, the male participants were far more active than the females with the exception of F1 – the eldest woman – who made very clear statements throughout the discussion.

The opening question as to whether there was any contact with Austrian society was mainly taken up by F1 who stated that – regarding frequency – she does not have many contact with Austrians outside of work, mainly because of the fact that

LENE-F1   in the building in which I live all of my neighbours are my family
Abstract 1 LENE

Even outside of work, her social interaction with working colleagues is limited to greeting each other. Later in the discussion she mentioned that the small amount of contact that she has is at least characterised as good contact. Most of the participants agreed, whereas the reasons for this were elaborated on later in the discussion in the context of the participants' housing situation: first, most of the participants live in an all-Turkish environment, and, secondly, they do not 'go out' to establish some closer contact with Austrians (e.g. they would never go to an Austrian cafe).

Discussing how welcomed they feel by the Austrian society, they agreed upon two main factors because of which they probably are not regarded as very welcome by Austrians: The issue of religion was introduced by F2 which was silently supported by all the other female participants. However, especially M1 and other male participants pointed out that religion may be a factor but – according to M1:

LENE-M1 **come on who is thinking about religion in this age (.) in which age are we living (.) we live now in the 21ˢᵗ century (.) everyone has his own mosque, his own (.) the whole problem is here (.) the whole problem is the MONEY**

Abstract 2 LENE

Except for employers in the tourism sector, which is the main industry sector of the federal province of Tyrol, profiting from employing foreigners as 'cheap' workers (**M3: the employer is satisfied because of his profit**), the general consensus among Austrian society is that foreigners take money away from them.

Following this, the question as to whether Tyrol is a foreigner-friendly region or not was also answered by referring to Tyrol (Innsbruck) as being a tourism region which corresponds to the fact that the region is accustomed to being surrounded by strangers that are either tourism or seasonal workers. The focus group participants, of which five have always been working within the sector of tourism, therefore judged Tyrol as a very foreigner-friendly region. According to M5, who has also gained experience working in Vienna, within Austria there is only one city that is "better" than Innsbruck:

LENE-M5 **Vienna is better Vienna is more relaxed Vienna is more free nobody disturbs you**

Abstract 3 LENE

In this context, the terms *racism* and *xenophobia* were explicitly mentioned by M1 who referred to the historical past of Austria and Germany as follows:

LENE- M1   **where had racism emerged (.) what was Hitler (.) he was an AUSTRIAN (.) he was from here (.) the greatest xenophobia is in Austria (.) in the countries I lived so far living in Austria was the one which was most xenophobic (.) these Alps these countries which have these mountains (.) that's why it is also in Austria (.) Hitler is also an Austrian there can be said nothing more (.) he's from Braunau from Salzburg(actually it's in Upper Austria Oberösterreich)**

Abstract 4 LENE

Regarding the issue of attractiveness between Turkish people and Austrians, all participants except F1 agreed that love and a good character are the decisive factors for any kind of relationship even though religion might be a problem. The following discussion arose mainly between F1 and M2, who are married to each other.

LENE-M4   **for example your son or your daughter wants to marry an Austrian (.) what would you do**

LENE-F1   **I'm against it**

LENE-M2   **and if they are in love with each other**

LENE-F1   **I'm against it even if they are in love with each other**

LENE-M2   **if there is something like fortune this thing will continue (.) I cannot persuade a 20/22 year old young man (.) but afterwards (.) aren't here people who have children and so on (.) yes everywhere (.) he has built his home and goes on but there is one thing (.) if you can make her or him a Muslim you will earn a medal.**

LENE-Mod   **does she or he have to become a Muslim**

LENE-M2   **no but**

LENE-M1   **for example someone of good character a good person but he doesn't become a Muslim (.) a sincere person who acts equally to all**

LENE-M2   **you don't have to go between two persons who love each other**

LENE-M1   **only because they are not Muslims**

LENE-M2   **you shouldn't intervene (.)**

Abstract 5 LENE

The discussion was opened by a self-introduction of each participant. F5 started and immediately raised the topic of citizenship and the possible facilitations or even advantages linked with it because, at the time of the focus group discussion, she was about to apply for Austrian citizenship. F3, who herself proudly holds Austrian citizenship now and is married to an Austrian, took up the idea of having advantages with certain citizenships. In her case, she decided quite late to switch from German to Austrian citizenship because of her children: As long as Austria was not a member of the EU her children held two citizenships – German and Austrian which could have been of advantage in order to work or study in one of the two countries. In this context, F2 emphasized that she will never give up her Luxembourg citizenship, and F3 changed her former Austrian citizenship which she held for 15 years back to Italian which was made possible especially for Italians by a new law. Now her children also hold two citizenships – Italian and Austrian. Only F4, who has been living in Austria for 33 years, said that citizenship does not mean anything to her. F5 and F2 replied quite emotionally because their experiences in this context were rather bad in the sense that in Austria one has always to cope with complex bureaucracy.

The discussion concerning citizenship led to a differentiation between Western and Eastern Europeans and how they are recognized differently in Austria. F5 – as being the only participant from Eastern Europe – stressed that it is more difficult for her to get through the Austrian institutional system than it is for people from Western Europe. F3 added that when Austria was not a member of the EU it had been very difficult for Western Europeans, as well.

EE-F3   I also had to queue up with Turkish people and people from Yugoslavia and others

[

EE-F4   me too

EE-F3   because I needed a residence permit as well until after a few years (.) being married and being here I got a permanent residence permit but actually it was before the EU (.) what is now true for Eastern Europe (.) earlier it was the same

[

EE-F4   yes we felt the same at the beginning

[
EE-F3   **I also had to queue up with them regularly**
        and apply for an extension of residence permit
                                        [
EE-F4   **to get Yugoslavian plates for the car which were blue and**
                                                                [
EE-F3   **((laughs)) yes yes it's**
easy for us NOW

Abstract 1 EE

Following this, F4 explained that – in comparison to other foreigners – she has always felt as if she was being treated in a privileged way. The reason for that might have been that she originates from a wealthy country (Sweden).

The question of whether the participants initially felt welcome when they came to Austria was generally answered with yes, whereas they agreed that one always has to be open-minded – otherwise it is very difficult to gain a foothold in a rather closed society as it is in Austria.

Subsequently, the participants started to exchange experiences concerning their contact with other foreigners in Austria. F5 described situations in which she was confronted with foreign youth groups, e.g. when using public transportation. She recognized most of the groups as rather primitive what primarily might be a matter of language. F4 agreed and added that most foreigners have a bad command of the German language, especially young people whose vocabulary is limited and who for example tend to use swearwords frequently.

LEE

Most of the participants of the LEE group have contact with Austrians at their workplace. F5 and F3, both work as clerks at financial institutions, and have established most of their contact with Austrians at their workplace. F1, for the time being unemployed, states that she has the best possibility of interacting with Austrians through family connections, as both her daughter and her son have Austrian partners. M1, who works in a heating installation company interacts at his workplace with Austrians as well as to – a small degree – with some foreigners. F2, a student, interacts with Austrians at the student dormitory where she lives. As

she suggests, the Austrians are very closed, and, it is extremely difficult to establish any interpersonal contact. Austrians

LEE-F2:   well they are not at all open people (.) they do not want to have any contact with foreigners

Abstract 1 LEE

F2, who is currently studying the German language and linguistics, states that despite many efforts and her open attitude she has not been able to establish any closer contact with Austrians in her studies. She said initially she thought that the main issue was that Austrians are only reluctant to establish contact with Polish people. Yet, as she experienced later, the experience of reluctance was also shared by, e.g. people form South America or the USA. As she continues, the Austrians, being oriented to a very specific gain, e.g. once learning English or Spanish, would tend to establish contact with Americans or with Spaniards.

Judging by the contact with his neighbours, M1 suggests that even once any contact with Austrians is established, it is rather an artificial one and at a very superfluous(or superficial?) level (no deeper contact or friendship is possible). The situation changes as far as the contact with international marriages is concerned. M1 managed to establish many sincere relationships with, e.g. Austrians married to Polish people. F1 points to the fact that she does not feel at all welcomed or desired in Austria. She says that the attitudes of Austrians towards Polish people are mostly based on historical experience, which allows Austrians to feel superior to other nations such as, e.g. Poles. As F3 (unlike others, bit of showing off with her level of assimilation within Austrian society) suggests the only barrier in establishing contact with Austrians is constituted by the knowledge of the German language. Once you know the language, no nationality or other origin is important and you can establish good contact with Austrians. F3 also provided a very negative example of contact with Austrians by describing very hostile treatment in which the parents of her Austrian partner have showed to her (the relationship with her partner ended under his parents pressure after two months).

SCH

Because of the fact that the five Turkish participants were born in Austria and therefore hold Austrian citizenship, the question of identity was a substantial issue which regularly arose

throughout the focus group discussion. F1, who was the most talkative and initiative-carrying participant during the entire focus group discussion, initially emphasised that even though she was born in Austria her roots are Turkish. Simultaneously, she also mentioned that because of that fact, that she was born in Austria ,she is not accepted as Turkish in Turkey either.

SCH-F1   **I feel as if I am in between (.) I regard myself neither as a foreigner nor as I don't know sometimes when I spend my time with Austrians (.) then I see myself as a foreigner because (.) ahm (.) I am not I don't know a pure foreigner I was just born here but my roots are in Turkey and therefore (1.0) I only know the Austrian way of life (.) I don't know how it is there [Turkey] therefore (.) I don't know (.) when I am there I somehow feel differently too because they are (1.5) for example I can not speak Turkish that well and when I am there [Turkey] they say I was born in Austria and when I am in Austria they [the Austrians] say I am a Turkish woman (.) I am a Turkish woman (.) that's what I am (.) I don't say I am not (.) but I feel that I am in between I don't know**

Abstract 1 SCH

This opinion was taken up by F6 and F2 who both added that whether they feel as if they are foreigners or as Austrians is highly dependent upon situational facts such as the mixture of students in the classroom, the area in which they live within Vienna, or their parents' contact with Austrians. They constantly reintroduced the subject of roots and belonging throughout the discussion and all agreed that they feel as if they are foreigners in Austria. F5 – the Pakistani girl – did not have these identity problems, but she did not feel welcome in Austria, either.

Concerning the general question on how much contact they have with members of Austrian society, the girls – following the primarily discussed issue of identity – agreed that they have frequent and good contact with other Austrian students and teachers, as well as within their Austrian neighborhood. Only the Pakistani girl mentioned that she does not have any contact with Austrians outside of the school area which obviously has to do with her length of stay in Austria and her lack of command of the German language.

Nevertheless, the level of how welcome the participants feel as regards Austrian society is quiet low because in everyday situations – even though the Turkish girls were born in Austria

– they are still recognized as foreigners by Austrian society, as F1 pointed out especially by elder people.

SCH-F1   they believe that we are not human beings

Abstract 2 SCH

Finally, they all agreed that the situation would not be different if they lived elsewhere in Austria, although none of the participants had any concrete experiences.

SCH-F1   for example yesterday ((laughing)) I was sitting in the tram and I was sitting like this (.) not like this but somehow lop-sided and (1.0) there was an old man (.) and he was Austrian and he kicked my feet down and I didn't respond because he was old and there were also a bit (1.0) there were two people in front of him and (.) ok (.) I thought ok maybe he did this unintentionally and I took a short look at him wondering if he excused himself (.) and afterward he looked at me like this and said what what

Abstract 3 SCH

The reactions to the topic of attractiveness between foreigners and natives were quite few. The participants did not report any personal experiences, but agreed upon the following tendency: Religion may be a key factor for relationships, regardless of gender. The issue of wearing of a head scarf was brought up by F2: Austrian men are probably not interested in Turkish women because they are afraid that they may someday wear a scarf as well.

3.2 Institutional Discrimination and Work

ENE

Touching upon issues of discrimination at the workplace, M2 states that it is extremely hard to obtain any job in Austria when you are not an Austrian citizen, except for some jobs at international institutions. M1, who became an Austrian citizen after a set of years spent in Austria, claims that he was unable to obtain any (decent) post in Austria prior to his 'naturalisation'. M2, who teaches international students in Vienna, says that his students are usually offered 'backdoor' jobs (as a dishwasher at a restaurant, etc. – "as long as no one sees you"), while getting front-office jobs is almost impossible for them despite very high

professional qualifications. The situation is easier as far as international companies and organisations are concerned, yet, in Austrian companies it is almost impossible to obtain a job for a skilled foreigner. M1 explains that he was once unable to obtain a job at an Austrian institution because people would be reluctant to contact a black person at the contact desk. Some of his black friends still "drive taxis" despite obtaining a widely-respected education (IT-specialists) and despite holding Austrian citizenship. Currently working for one of the most widely recognised international companies, M1 states that his further promotion is very difficult because of his origin (different than Austrian), as well as due to his ethnicity (black). He also emphasises that his promotion to a manager position of an international project carried out by his company was met with explicit and open hostility and resistance between a large number of his Austrian colleagues at his workplace. To support those claims, M3 provides a set of examples of his friends from his native country, in which despite their good education and sound knowledge of German had immense difficulties in obtaining jobs and setting up their professional careers in Austria. The main difference that is made by Austrians is between Europeans and non-Europeans, while he also states that Muslim women (that wear a head scarf) have almost no possibilities of obtaining a job in Austria due to their (religiously obligatory) garment (cf. LENE and SCH groups for similar remarks).

All of the participants agree that immigration and discrimination at work need to be seen in global dimensions, i.e. people have been migrating for labour throughout history and no one has the right to deprive anybody of the right to work. They all emphasise that migrants who are discriminated at work or denied any right to work are sometimes forced to look for various illegal sources of income just to survive. The participants also suggest that all of the European countries (meaning Western European countries or EU countries) act similarly as far as discrimination of immigrant labour is concerned, and Austria seems to be no exception to this rule, being a "very typical example".

LENE

Regarding discrimination at work, the first thing mentioned was the womens' problem of wearing a head scarf. M4 said that especially young Turkish girls who wear a head scarf would never obtain a front office job. From a female perspective, F1 stated that if she was obliged by an employer to take off her head scarf that she would quit the job. M3 toned down this issue by emphasising that

LENE-M3   everywhere in the world clothing is important (.) aesthetics is important

Abstract 6 LENE

Further – according to M1 and M2 – features such as cleverness and appearance are very crucial factors to gain a foothold within the labour market.

EE

Regarding discrimination at work, none of the participants endured any typical xenophobic experiences thus far. F4 reportedly had problems in the early 1970s with the nostrification of her Swedish certificates which took her about five years to be acknowledged. But still, she was able to work even without nostrification because at that time there was a high demand for English teachers in Austria. Apart from this initial bureaucratic fussiness, she always felt completely integrated and was never confronted with any prejudices by her colleagues or superiors.

F3 has never worked in Austria and she did not seem to be really aware of the problem of discrimination at work. Coming from the tourism industry, her impression was that the main problem for foreigners is the lack of language skills, but at the same time she pointed out that getting a front office job has nothing to do with ethnicity, but with the quality of education and work experience, which is true for EU citizens who are working in the sector of tourism.

Finally, the issue of stereotyping was developed by F4 who started with the following example from her country of origin:

EE-F4   the poles have a bad reputation in Sweden probably worse than in Austria AND THAT EFFECTS EVERY SINGLE PERSON (1.0) things like this do exist (.) things like this really exist (.) Swedish people rather have the image that they are easy to fool, but incredibly honest yes (.) but I never suffered from this image (.) I can put my gloves anywhere or my purse and I find it again (.) if I don't find it a Polish person has taken it ((laughing)) it's somehow like this and it rubs off on (1.5) the Hungarians are regarded as neutral

                              [

EE-F5   yes yes and I think

	[
EE-F3	but do you really think that this still is true today
EE-F4	in Sweden everybody thinks like this about Polish people

| | [|
| EE-F3 | REALLY |

| | [|
| EE-F4 | it's good to get them for cleaning or picking strawberries in the southern parts of Sweden where I come from but after that we don't want them anymore in our country (.) eeeh (.) and and if something is stolen people always say this was a Polish person |

| | [|
| EE-F5 | yes yes |

| | [|
| EE-F3 | really(.) even today |

| | [|
| EE-F4 | but this is more likely in Sweden than it is here [in Austria] (.) because of geographical closeness and there is a ferry running |

| | [|
| EE-F5 | and this I also experienced in the theatre (.) I say Polish people are not that popular eh and (.) eeh and then my Polish college she is a VERY good friend of mine and she is very nice said that she feels ashamed of coming from Poland because this is very bad for her and I honestly must say they are not popular in the theatre and eh (1.0) |

| | [|
| EE-F4 | it rubs off on |

| | [|
| EE-F3 | yes yes |

Abstract 2 EE

Following this, the issue of borders was introduced by F4 who stressed that the situation in Europe is very difficult. In spite of the EU, the borders are still there and, in her opinion, most people want these borders to be maintained. She provided the following explanation:

EE-F4   **for example I was born as Swedish person not Danish (.) and there's a big difference or as Norwegian (.) the Norwegians are a bit suspect to me (.) they are our closest neighbours but ((laughs)) that's how it is in Scandinavia (2.0) I have a cultural heritage I have a long history I have a language (.) which I want to keep I want to (.) ok I do translations as well and eh the fairy tales which I learned as a child the songs I used to sing (1.0) I want to HAVE them and this is my property (.) I don't know**

Abstract 3 EE

F2, as being a retired person, said that she probably might be more welcome in Austria because she is already retired and collects her pension from Luxembourg.

EE-F2   **(.) how to say it I don't take any job away and especially with Tyroleans I think eeeh that people are afraid that if many foreigners come to our country we would be unemployed, but I think (.) that they don't like foreigners (.) no I'd (.) but it's like this (.) if foreigners who come to Austria would behave properly and assimilate Tyroleans are (.) I say they would be accepted**

Abstract 4 EE

F1, who was less active during the whole discussion, added that she works in a perfumery in Innsbruck which mainly survives due to tourism. The reason why she was hired for the job was her knowledge of foreign languages – Italian, English, and French – and particularly because she is Italian and most tourists who come to Innsbruck are Italians.

LEE

As F4 suggests, unlike for instance in Germany, Austria has a relatively unclear system for labour opportunities for foreigners. The main problem lies in very limited possibilities of getting to know one's rights with respect to the labour market.

F2, working part-time as a baby sitter, claims that she has never been able to find any job while applying for it. The main reason for not being employed here might be the fact that she was Polish, yet, as she states, she has never been overtly told that her national origin was a decisive factor. The only jobs she ever obtained thus far were, however, those she took over from her female friends, and the ones she was recommended for. F3, working at a bank for

over 12 years, has never encountered any discrimination at work. F5 who worked at a cashiers desk and as a housekeeper never encountered any problems as well. As most of the participants (apart from M1) agree, most of the problems at work are rooted in language skills, i.e. all those who do not know the German language can be subject to some discrimination and misunderstandings. F1 who came to Austria as an asylum-seeker in 1984 and was granted Austrian citizenship only three years after this, was, despite many attempts, only able to get low-skilled and underpaid jobs in Austria (currently, she is unemployed).

As F2 suggests the fact that Austrians are favoured for some jobs (which even skilled foreigners cannot obtain) is basically universal behaviour.

LEE-F2: **I think that the situation would be the same in Poland (.) well (.) maybe a German would have got the job, but if an Ukrainian would come to Poland and wanted to get a job there he wouldn't have got it and we are here just the same as the Ukrainians are in Poland**

Abstract 2 LEE

M1 provides a very positive example of his wife, who, being helped by her Austrian employee, acquired a very well-paid job as a nurse at one of Vienna's hospitals. Yet, as he implies, despite very good qualifications, his wife had to repeat her trainings previously completed in Poland in order to be promoted in Austria.

SCH

Regarding discrimination at work, two major topics were regularly developed within this all female focus group discussion: first, the issue of wearing a head scarf at work, and second, the fact that front office jobs are preferentially granted to Austrians. The reasons lie in the differences in physical appearance, as well as in language and religion which – in the opinion of Austrian and also foreign employers – is probably not regarded positively by Austrian customers. Discrimination of women because of their wearing head scarves can also be found in Turkish shops, restaurants, agencies etc.

The participants felt that it will be very difficult for them to find an apprenticeship place, as well as a job. Many job postings include the condition of being an Austrian citizen to apply. Again, the participant's self-image does not correspond with their legal status, that is being an

Austrian citizen, but with their recognition by the Austrian society which is linked to everyday racism.

F6 stated that the reason why most apprenticeship places and jobs are preferentially offered to Austrians is that **Austrians are better than us** which was heavily denied by F1 and F5. They both raised the question of how important professional qualification is for a successful job application. Unfortunately, this question could not be answered although F6 corrected her former statement into **Austrians are perceived as better than us**. The discussion developed as follows:

SCH-F6   **if the employer is Austrian (.) yes (.) and there are two persons me and an Austrian (.) and then the Austrian will get the job**

                                                    [

SCH-F1   **yes but a minute ago you said that the (.) she [the other applicant] is better than you**

                            [

SCH-F6   **yes of course (.) because ahm (.) that's not my opinion that's the opinion of the Austrians who**

                                            [

SCH-F1   **I see (.) yes**

                    [

SCH-F6   **who complain about us**

Abstract 4 SCH

In the context of work, F1 again emphasised the topic of language skills. A good command of German is a major condition for foreigners to acquire a job in Austria. Furthermore, the issue of bilingualism was taken up by all Turkish participants who said that an intermixture of German and their native language is a typical characteristic for foreigners when they are talking to each other. Especially between friends, the dominant language is the mother tongue, as well as in private and institutional settings such as school or work. F6 added that being born in Austria does not guarantee a perfect command of German because of her being brought up bilingually. F2 said that the reason for being discriminated against because of using another language than German in public settings might be that Austrians feel offended and excluded. This was directly taken up by F6:

SCH-F6   **one day here in school I went into this room because I had to do some ironing (.) and a girl who was standing vis á vis of us said ahm (.) I was talking to her [F2] (.) hey start speaking German (.) hey that's none of your business what I am talking (.) I really wanted to kill her (.) it's none of her business what I am talking**

Abstract 5 SCH

3.3 Institutional Discrimination and Education

ENE

Most of the participants in the discussion came to Austria with academic degrees, and, apart from some language courses or training did not have much contact with Austrian educational institutions. M1, who came from Sudan as a high school graduate and finished all his Masters studies in Austria, states that he did not meet with any significant problems at the time that he started his studies which was at the beginning of 1990's, when the third-world students still enjoyed many rights, as far as studying in Europe was concerned. M1 further suggests that the situation of people from African regions deteriorated towards the end of 1990's and nowadays the students from Africa have to tackle numerous obstacles before being allowed to study in Europe. M2, coming from the Republic of South Africa, attended language courses at the 'Wirtschaftskammer Wien' (Economic Chamber of Vienna) allowing him to apply for some better jobs in Austria. As a non-European, he had to pay for the course himself, while all of the Europeans (including Austrians) attending the course received a discount of about 50% of the costs of training. F1 suggests that the number of study scholarships for non-Europeans have decreased dramatically in Austria in recent years.

Regarding their children, F1 met with numerous problems when trying to send her daughter to an elementary school in Austria. In order to avoid her daughter having to attend six years preparatory training in Austria, F1 moved to Germany where her daughter (a German citizen) was able to start attending elementary school immediately. M2 states that only well-earning foreigners can afford sending their children to some very expensive international schools based in Vienna. M3 and F2, whose child is just one year old, are willing to send their son to an international school, where he would not get exposed to any possibility of being discriminated against.

The participants of the discussion have not met with any significant examples of their children being discriminated against in the peer group according to their ethnicity and other factors. M2, whose children (white) attend the Austrian school, have not met with any discrimination, similarly to F1's daughter (black) who attends the French-international school (well prepared and accustomed to having children of various ethnic origins).

Some of the participants agree that becoming active in the parental school activities may be of some help to be better integrated and more welcomed in Austria. Some of the participants took part in such activities with some positive experiences. However, as they state, the international schools are better prepared to integrate parents through their parental activities. As far as kindergartens are concerned, the level of parental involvement is perceived as higher than in elementary and secondary schools.

LENE

The discussion about discrimination within the Austrian educational system did not develop very well although all focus group participants have their children enrolled in Austrian schools. Only F3 said that there is almost no social interaction between her child and Austrians within school. M1 added that the main problem in this context is based on language skills, that is that Turkish children in school sometimes pretend to understand what was said or explained and actually did not.

Others observed that the Austrian school system is actively trying to provide integrative and cultural specific lessons (German language lessons, Islamic lessons) as well as to modify their curricula, e.g. in history or geography to put more effort into cultural specific patterns.

EE

The discussion concerning the Austrian educational system developed quite well, first, because two of the participants were retired teachers who – somehow as having been part of the system – were able to report some experiences from an inside perspective and, second, because all of the participants were mothers whose children have attended school in Austria and therefore had experiences from the outside as well.

The question in what way the Austrian school system actively supports the integration of foreigners, was taken up by F4 who stressed that schools are committed to support and realize the integration of foreigners. As a teacher one is very aware of the fact that it is one's duty that foreign pupils feel as if they are integrated and equal. But this is only possible if they – the foreign pupils, as well as their parents – act in a co-operative way. F3 added that problems concerning the integration of foreign pupils generally arise in these schools which are not organised very well. Additionally, teachers are not trained well enough to deal with heterogonous class communities. F4 and F2 agreed.

Furthermore, the level of intensity of communication between teachers and parents was regarded as a crucial factor. Parents have to be open-minded and refrain from demanding any special treatment, e.g. Turkish parents who do not want their daughters to attend swim classes.

F3 finally remembered the following case which occurred in Hall, which is in Tyrol, a couple of years ago and which was remembered by all of the participants:

EE-F3   **a Turkish girl applied for school with the best marks possible and they denied her admission (.) and this went public (1.5) it was on TV for at least four weeks on the radio in every newspaper and finally she got the admission (.) and today they boast about that they (.) eh admit everybody no matter what religion nationality (.) everything it is not a problem any longer**

Abstract 5 EE

LEE

Most of the participants had very limited contact with Austrian educational institutions. F2 and F4 are, for the time being, studying in Austria. F5 previously attended various courses organised by the Economic Chamber of Vienna (*Wirtschaftskammer Wien*) (cf. ENE group in the same section). In order to do these trainings, she had to resign from her job, as only unemployed persons are entitled to take these courses. Yet, as she recalls, she was the only foreigner taking these courses then. Obtaining permission to do the Chamber's courses or language courses made her experience some very unpleasant and hostile interviews at the Labour Office (*Arbeitsamt*).

F1 suggests that there is immense difficulty in studying the Polish language at Austrian schools and universities. Her children were unable to be taught Polish at school, as this was not offered by the school (unlike other Eastern- and Central-European languages).

F1, whose children are adults now, can recall one situation when her daughter was overtly discriminated against by the teacher who uttered a set of negative opinions about Poland and Polish people during one of the classes. Yet, the daughter informed F1 about this occurrence only a couple of years later, and, hence, reacting to that was already impossible and far too late.

The son of M1, who is very diligent about going to school, interacts with Austrian children easily and with no significant problems. However, as far as leisure activities are concerned, M1's son tends to interact only with his Polish peers.

F3, who was involved in various leisure activities organised for parents and pupils at her daughter's school, had some very positive experiences in interacting with the school and other parents. She was also involved in preparing and organising an 'international day' at her daughter's school in which both Austrian and foreign parents were involved. This was a very positive experience which let both her and the many involved overcome some hesitations and stereotypes about each other. F4, as well as M1's wife were also involved in some private meetings organised by the school for parents.

SCH

The participants generally agreed that they have never been confronted with any serious problems within the Austrian school system with the exception of experiences with some school teachers whose behaviour could be interpreted as xenophobic. F6 mentioned experiences earlier in the discussion which where reintroduced again in a more concrete way.

SCH-F6 **I had a female teacher in secondary school Mrs. […] (.) I still can see her she really was xenophobic (.) she always screamed (.) when we didn't bring the homework (.) when we made mistakes (.) and we had Austrian girls in our class as well (.) and when they made mistakes she didn't say**

anything she was nice (.) but with us she only was impudent (1.0) there are so many people who behave like this

Abstract 6 SCH

In this context, the matter of language skills became quite important which is recognised as a decisive factor for being accepted by Austrian classmates and teachers. F2 reported that in elementary school her German language skills were rather poor and therefore she was laughed at by the other classmates.

The issue of scholarly bureaucracy problems did not arise throughout the discussion. Most of the schools they attended offered Turkish language courses and religion classes which were attended by all of the Turkish participants. F2 reported about additional classes in Turkish geography.

The issue of wearing a head scarf was – besides the above mentioned issue of identity – one of the major topics that arose in the context of discrimination at school and from then on permanently throughout the focus group discussion. F3, who has been wearing her head scarf for only six months, and F2 brought up the term "Mafia of Scarves" [*Kopftuchmafia*].

SCH-F2　　**in secondary school my former headmaster talked to me (.) well he asked if we have to wear the head scarf (.) if we can't take it off (.) and I said no this is our religion and well he wanted that (.) he was not that xenophobic (.) but (.) he wanted that we take off the head scarf (.) but (.) it was just a question (.) otherwise in secondary school everything was ok mhm because in wearing a head scarf I didn't have any problems (.) but it's different on the street**

Abstract 7 SCH

The Turkish participants constantly stressed experiences concerning discrimination of their religious traditions in school such as wearing different clothes and in their not eating pork.

SCH-F6　　**in secondary school we had the subject domestic science and (.) our female teacher always cooked pork (.) yes (.) and there were only Turkish children (.) they were foreigners and she always cooked pork and the children**

always said we are not allowed to eat it we don't want to eat it (.) and she always threatened us (.) yes (.) you have to you have to eat it otherwise you'll get a five [worst mark in the Austrian school system] (.) you have to eat it and the children always hid the food and threw it away (.) and I had one girl friend she was fighting with her she said I don't eat it she [the teacher] said either you get extra work or a five (.) and she [the student] said I'll do nothing and then she [the student] called her sister and the sister was also fighting with her [the teacher] and then the girl left the school (.) and still today the female teacher forces and threatens children to eat pork

Abstract 8 SCH

3.4 Racism and the Extreme Right

ENE

The participants who all live in various areas of the city (not in especially closed areas) have neither heard of any radical-right organisations in their vicinity nor about their activities. M1 knew about one black person having recently been killed somewhere in Austria due to racial reasons, yet he was unable to recall where exactly that occurrence had taken place. In some districts of Vienna there are certain right-extremist activities possible (e.g. in the 10th or 11th district), and, as he suggests, black people willing to live in Vienna should avoid such areas when looking for an apartment or a house. F1 (also black) supports this view by saying that she was warned not to look for an apartment in either the 10th or 16th districts. M1 also thinks that radical-right activities might happen in Austria, as no Austrian official law forbids such organisations to exist and to act.

All participants were fully aware of the FPÖ's success in Austrian politics. Asked about the FPÖ's wide and still rising public appeal, the M2 suggests that it simply reflects the way people think and the way they actually are. FPÖ's average voters are 45 years of age or older and this reflects the views that the elderly members of Austrian society share – and that in those views the people cannot overcome such prejudices connected with categories as a different origin or a different colour of skin. As the participants agree, it is the awareness of what the FPÖ's goals against foreigners actually are that makes the party attractive to so many Austrians. As M2 suggests, there are very few people who overtly confirm voting for the

FPÖ, as they know it might be perceived as politically incorrect. M2 also suggests that the wide support for the FPÖ clearly reflects Austrians' feelings of insecurity which, in turn, often evolves into hostility towards foreigners, whom Austrians fear as one of the basic threats to their prosperity and stability. As some participants agree (F1, M2) it is the media who are responsible for building the public image of foreigners as the ones that are a threat and a competition to Austrians in, e.g. their professional opportunities. The participants also see the rise of radical-right wing parties as a pan-European phenomenon, particularly fostered by the European media and rising unemployment quotas, all increasing the feelings of social insecurity.

LENE

The participants' opinions about the FPÖ and their concerns with the FPÖ's continuous government participation were very concurrent and, against expectations and experiences gained from other focus group discussions, were very surprising. After a very short statement of uncertainty and fear concerning the party's policy making stated by M2 and F1, the following discussion developed:

LENE-M1 **shall I tell you something (.) of the social democrats there are some (.) they only call themselves social democrats (.) Haider is harmless if you compare him with them**

LENE-M3 **I think the same (.) the politics of Haider is not so bad he's open**

LENE-M1 **Haiders politics is not bad (.) Haider is not a racist he isn't a racist at all (.) he loves his own country (.) you love Turkey that's the same Haider is not a racist**

LENE-M3 **he doesn't like people who don't work (.) I've analysed his politics he doesn't like people who are NOT working**

LENE-M1 **look (.) I worked five years at Wienerwald (.) the work councillor there was a social democrat (.) he could have been the right hand of Hitler if he lived today (.) an ENEMY OF FOREIGENRS (.) after the Second World War within the following ten years there were hundreds of people who were former Nazi commanders and who have also fought with the Nazis who are now social democrats (.) after the Second World War (.) social democrats (.) they were wearing masks (.) the FPÖ doesn't say anything wrong (.) they are not foreigner-enemies (.) the foreigners who don't work**

should go (.) that's what they say (.) I have been working for 23 years I pay taxes (.) the foreigners who don't work should go he [Haider] says (.) there are coming killers from Turkey (.) they don't work but they drive Mercedes (.) I have worked for years but I have nothing (.) do I say something wrong

LENE-M4 in some aspects he is right

LENE-M3 he says right (.) Haiders politics is normal and he tells it not only to the foreigners he also tells it to his own people (.) he doesn't like lazy people (.) you have to work

LENE-M1 Haider is only a populist he is not a foreigner-enemy on the contrary (.) why should he be a foreigner-enemy

LENE-Mod did you get to know any foreigner-enemies from this party or from another one (.) from the FPÖ or from another party (.) do you know someone by name

LENE-M1 shall I tell you something (.) I got to know many people from the FPÖ but not one of them is a foreigner-enemy (.) on the contrary they are populists they are all cultivated, educated, well-read

Abstract 7 LENE

EE

All participants could only report from hearsay. F3, for instance, heard the following from her 18 year old son:

EE-F3 he goes out quiet often and spends some time in the city at night and (.) to put it this why what what I as a mother consider as very bad the little fights (.) there don't have to be serious injured people (.) whereas once there was a case of death with skinheads in a secluded disco ehm the number is increasing and that there are yes (.) there is a Turkish youth group who likes this kind of music and then there is a group of young Yugoslavs who (.) and they like another kind of music and and and if they get together in a certain bar and eh (.) then it works out quiet fine for two hours and than someone tries to succeed in getting some kind of music through

Abstract 6 EE

Such behaviour among young people is seen as a struggle for power which is characteristic for a certain age group. Peer pressure decreases when they grow older.

Especially the rising power of Haider within the party is, on the one hand, seen as a result of what has happened within the last 50 years and, on the other hand, of well trained communicative strategies used by Haider, that is

EE-F3   **picking up every piece he can find which goes in a populist direction just to mess up existing structures**

Abstract 7 EE

LEE

As some of the participants suggest, despite a very densely populated foreigner community, the Viennese 22nd district is widely known as a right-wing-oriented one. Surprisingly, when asked about right-wing activities in some districts, the participants enumerate (with overt disregard) districts with poorer infrastructure where foreign, seasonal workers (from Turkey or Yugoslavia) tend to live. The topic of the extreme right was, seemingly purposefully, not touched upon.

As far as FPÖ's (radical-right) politics are concerned, F4 suggests that in her opinion the FPÖ is the party that is the most tolerant towards foreigners. As she suggests, the SPÖ (social-democrat party) is the most foreigner hostile. F1, on the other hand, states that

LEE-F1:   **well I only watched a documentary film at a German TV station (.) and the assembly of all those old fascists was shown there and he [MK: Haider] addressed them as FRIENDS-friends**

Abstract 3 LEE

F1 also recalls speaking with one radical-right activist once, who tried to convince her that the Polish people are descendants of Mongoloid races and are thus worse than other European nations.

SCH

All participants were aware of the fact that the FPÖ is part of the Austrian government and that this party openly propagates against foreigners. They did not know any further details and could not report any reactions from their families or friends. F1 stated that she thinks that the Green Party is the best because they support foreigners.

F4 said that she has heard that foreigners who can not speak German properly have to leave the country which was an idea of the FPÖ. F2 agreed that she has also heard about such a law, but nobody was able to name it as the 'Contract of Integration'. Finally, a certain nervousness arose between the participants. F3 and F6, who have not heard about this contract prior, responded rather angrily that this cannot be true because otherwise their parents – who have been living in Vienna for more than 20 years, but whose command of German is still not very good – might be simply kicked out of the country which would not be possible.

One criminal experience was mentioned in this context:

SCH-F3 **one week ago I was walking around near the Westbahnhof there was a (.) I don't know (.) 35 year old man he was Austrian (.) I he I was coming from the 12th district to te Westbahnhof (.) and he was after me (.) I couldn't go home (.) yes later I was with my (.) I was leaving the house there he was still after me (.) and I went to (.) I went to the police and the police gave me a lift home (.) it still happens today it's always the same man and I (.) I lived right next to the Westbahnhof (1.0) now we have moved to the 12th district**

Abstract 9 SCH

Following this story, the participants started to talk about the districts in which they live in Vienna. Here, the connection between discrimination and housing became obvious. F2 introduced the term "Little Istanbul" which is used for the 16th district where many Turkish people live. Other districts in Vienna which are densely populated by foreigners – mainly Turkish people – are the 10th and 20th districts. All of the participants live in one of these three mentioned districts.

3.5 Coping with Racism

ENE

This topic was not discussed due to time limitations. Some data on this topic may be found in other sections.

LENE

None of the participants had any negative experiences concerning institutional discrimination, e.g. at public offices. They agree that as long as your documents are extant and valid, official institutions will do what the law stipulates. More often they are confronted with everyday racism, for instance at work when they are badmouthed by their colleagues. Most of the participants consider such behaviour simply as a bad attitude what they generally do not take to heart or personally.

EE

Nobody in this group has ever endured any experiences which they themselves would define as discriminating or racist. They are very aware of the fact that everyday racism exists, but they have never been confronted with it because – in their opinion – they are not recognised as typical foreigners by Austrian society as they – as F4 pointed out – originate from wealthy European counties.

LEE

F4 suggests that the attitudes of Austrians towards Poles (full of stereotypes) is rooted in a lack of any better knowledge concerning Poland and its inhabitants, since Austrians have had very limited possibilities to gain any more detailed information about Poland, mostly because of the post-war, iron-curtain period. Such a situation creates the perfect ground for various stereotypes and prejudices, as the Austrians would most commonly think that

LEE-F4:   we only steal (.) that we do not know what the vacuum cleaner looks like (.) that Poland exists at all, since all elderly people think as if the [MK: Austrian-Hungarian] empire still existed

Abstract 4 LEE

Despite those, as F4 suggests, very common and widely-functioning stereotypes, F4 was able to establish good contact with Austrians. She tries to fight off some prejudices by inviting some of her Austrian friends to visit Poland and, by doing so, to get to know Polish people better.

Surprisingly enough, some of the participants, as, e.g. F3, utter (and reproduce) certain national stereotypes, even those directed against her own, national group (Polish), since it seems true that those who have committed crimes in Austria or still do are mostly foreigners (!). Asked if there are no Austrians at all involved in criminal activity, she stated that there are some, but those are still foreigners who are involved in various illegal activities. Further inquired, she states:

LEE-F3:   the gangs are coming (unread 2.0) and I do not know from where (.) from Poland or from Czech Republic or-or from Romania right (.) or I don't know '(.) those who steal at Hofer [MK: Austrian supermarket chain] or somewhere else or those who are pickpockets (.) those are-are not Austrian gangs (.) those are foreigners (.) that's for sure (.) or-or those Africans who are selling drugs right now

Abstract 5 LEE

F4 suggests that some prejudices lead to institutional forms of discrimination in such areas where nationalist tendencies are widely recognised and very strong (as e.g. in Carinthia).

SCH

Following the issue of bilingualism, a prejudice against foreigners concerning language was developed by F1 who experienced that – in the opinion of Austrians – foreigners only use their mother tongue in situations where they are not brave enough for confrontations with Austrians. Subsequently, the issue of prejudices arose and how the participants deal with such prejudices. F1, F4, and F6 talked very emotionally about statements like:

Foreigners are worthless.

Foreigners are similar to dirt.

Foreigners do not work.

Foreigners are all unemployed.

Foreigners take away jobs from Austrian people.

The reason why Austrians are unemployed is the high percentage of foreigners living in this country.

Foreigners are only good enough for cleaning.

Abstract 10 SCH

Every participant in this focus group discussion agreed that they have already been confronted with most of the abstracted prejudices. Most characteristic for the discussion about prejudices was the high emotionality with which the participants described their experiences. Finally, the discussion shifted from emotional story telling to how emotionally they react to these prejudices. F1, F4, and F6 expressed their attitude against prejudices very openly. They described themselves as very aggressive which was confirmed by the other participants. The reasons for such emotional reactions are that, first, they try to defend their own identity, their people, and their nation, and, second, that they do not want Austrians to believe that they can do anything they want with and against them. F1 added that even if a stranger is offended by anybody she tries to support him/her. Only F2 disagreed and suggested to quietly talk to the people and confront them with the prejudices they hold.

SCH-F2   **for example in school we were fighting once with two Austrian girls (.) and all of us (.) and she [one Austrian girl] went for her**

                           [

SCH-F1   **she said (.) yes that's why this fight started (.) once I said (.) I said something**

                                 [

SCH-F2   **because of**

                                       [

SCH-F1   **she said I am the queen and you are my servants**

                     [

SCH-F2/F4   **and you are my servants**

                                         [

SCH-F1   **and I said excuse me**

	[
SCH-F4	**and when I heard this I**

started to scream

	[
SCH-F1	**in the beginning she wasn't like this but there was (.) there was another**

girlfriend of her (.) and she

	[
SCH-F6	**she looked as if**

	[
SCH-F1	**as if we make her sick (.) she**

had features like this

	[
SCH-F4	**and after the fight (.) they brawled a bit (.)**

and after the fight (.) ahm (.) a discussion started (.) and we sat down to

talk to her

	[
SCH-F3	**you see we can solve everything by talking**

	[
SCH-F1	**she only wants to talk**

((laughing))

Abstract 11 SCH

In the context of prejudices, the issue of peer pressure was elaborated especially by F1 who emphasised that Austrians always stick together against foreigners and feel strong in groups, whereas in her opinion most of them behave like co-purchasers. A single Austrian would never be that offensive against a foreigner, especially not young people. She also mentioned that because of this fact, we – foreigners – also have to stick together.

SCH-F1   **together we are stronger**

Abstract 12 SCH

3.6 Possibilities for Multicultural Citizenship

ENE

Assessing the possibilities for improving tolerance and developing multicultural citizenship, M3 suggests:

ENE-M3: **(laughs) hmh, I think you need to improve the minds of the people, you need to educate the people (2.0) you-you need to change the media need to change politics**

Abstract 5 ENE

As M3 further states, the entire public sphere (media and politics) needs to be modified in order to improve the possibilities for multiculturality.

The participants possessed a thorough knowledge about which international organisations (official and non-governmental) were active in the anti-racist initiatives. Yet, as F1 suggested, the major mistake made by all organisations is that they always look into the problems of racism, xenophobia or human rights abuse in isolation, while those problems should be coped with in global terms, and in an interrelated manner. Regarding the Austrian context, F1 says that, same as is elsewhere, the key to a tolerant and multicultural society lays in deeper knowledge concerning other social/ethnic/national groups. The starting point in creating a multicultural society is

ENE-F1: **getting the opportunities for people to merge (.) to interact**

Abstract 6 ENE

LENE

The reactions to the question what could be done to shape Austrian society into a more tolerant society were quite different from anything we had discovered elsewhere. The reactions were contradictory to our expectations. Instead of making suggestions, the discussion shifted over from criticizing the status quo in Austria to self-criticism and -reflection. Obviously, the participants were sensible enough to realize that it is not only the responsibility of Austrian society and of Austrian institutions to remedy abuses.

LENE-M6   this is a society which criticizes itself (.) we don't criticize ourselves so much (.) don't misunderstand me (.) I don't want to be disrespectful everyone has spoken (.) it is a very pessimistic atmosphere here, but we never look at ourselves (.) I live here for six month now (.) whatever I say it will be that what I've seen here (.) I don't know what you have experienced (.) I only can try the way of empathy (.) what I've seen here is that we don't try to improve ourselves (.) we don't come together you have said your neighbours are Turks (.) does it matter if they were foreigners when we live here we have to integrate ourselves (.) shortly before you have said our religion is against it (.) I don't know such a religion (.) maybe it's a little bit like this we don't look in the mirror we don't look at ourselves (.) we have many faults

LENE-M2   we are a little bit barbaric

LENE-M6   yes, we get angry very fast we are a Mediterranean society

Abstract 8 LENE

EE

The proverb *"Wie man in den Wald hinruft, so schallt es heraus"* was central to the discussion about what could be done to improve the relationship between foreigners and native Austrians. Therefore, the responsibility is seen as bilateral: First, foreigners must obey the rules because that is what Austrians also have to do when they are abroad. Secondly, existing negative clichés which are the causing factors for everyday racist actions have to be reconsidered very carefully, especially in institutional settings such as in schools. If the educational system would put more effort into multicultural education, curiosity about other countries and traditions would heighten among pupils. This would train them to become less prejudiced and more enlightened citizens.

LEE

As F1 suggests the key to improving tolerance and building a multicultural society in Austria lays in the hands of the media. Better quality of information about others (including Poles) in the media would be helpful in improving the level of tolerance and diminishing social

functioning of stereotypes within Austrian society. Some of the participants (F4, F5) consider some organised forms of promoting certain countries (e.g. the events of the Polish Year in Austria in 2002 – presenting Polish culture and science to Austrians) as very helpful in this respect.

SCH

All participants agreed that stopping insulting or badmouthing foreigners would equate to great strides for an improvement concerning xenophobic behaviour. Additionally, following the issue of peer pressure, to stop parroting each other would also improve the relationship between foreigners and native Austrians. As F1 and F4 said, everybody should foremost improve oneself.

4. Analysis

4.1 Analysis: theoretical and methodological background.

The body of literature describing methods and procedures which can be applied to an in-depth, qualitative analysis of discourses about multiethnic and multicultural issues (including the issues of racial, ethnic and religious prejudices, anti-Semitism or xenophobia) has significantly grown in recent years. Critical Discourse Analysis, aiming at, *inter alia* deconstructing power relations underlying various forms of social inequality (viz. racism and xenophobia, as some of its displays). This has become one of the research fields which, by means of its theoretical interdisciplinarity and broad methodological apparatus, has most vastly contributed to the development of qualitative studies on racism and xenophobia (cf. Wodak et. al. 1990, Wodak and Matouschek 1993, Wodak and Van Dijk 2000, Reisigl and Wodak 2000 and 2001, Wodak and Reisigl 1999).

Critical-analytic approaches to investigations of racism and anti-Semitism are usually based on a two-step strategy. First, the content-oriented (not to be mistaken with content-analytical) analysis of discourse topics, i.e. main thematic structures of the texts, is performed in order to discover the most predominant, yet still general features of the contents of texts taken under analysis. Secondly, the in-depth, qualitative analysis of rhetorical strategies, topoi and

argumentation patterns can be employed (cf. Wodak and Meyer 2001, for further details). As the second step of the analysis, i.e. the in-depth, qualitative analysis will be applied to the empirical data gathered during focus-groups and interviews within the comparative analyses of the Workpackage 3, we restrict ourselves in this report to the thematically-oriented, general analysis of contents of the data (cf. Krzyzanowski 2002, for a corresponding, topic-oriented application).

Within the aforementioned analysis of thematic structures, we will mostly be looking for the main and recurrent themes of discourse sequences (chunks, episodes) from our interviews and focus-groups. From a text-semantic point of view, discourse topics are defined as "expressed by several sentences of discourse, (…), by larger segments of the discourse or by the discourse as a whole"(van Dijk 1984: 56), while from a meaning-interpretative standpoint the discourse topics should be perceived as "the most 'important' or 'summarizing' idea that underlies the meanings of a sequence of sentences in a discourse, (…)a 'gist' or an 'upshot' of such an episode, (…), it is what such passage is *about*" (ibid.). The mentioned 'definition' of meanings of a text (discourse) episode takes place along the set of rules, which "generalize, abstract, and reconstruct meanings at the higher level of abstraction" (ibid.). It is worth being added that the analysis of discourse topics found numerous applications in studies of various genres (e.g. interviews) about interethnic group relations (e.g. van Dijk 1984).

4.2 Content-oriented analysis of thematic structures

In the below-presented analysis, we introduce the distinction between two main types of our basic analytical categories, i.e. of discourse topics. The first group, i.e. *the primary topics*, are the ones which, in the process of thematically semi-structuring of discussions and interviews were overtly assigned ('given') by the moderators through general topics that framed the discussions. *The secondary topics*, on the other hand, are those which were developed by the participants within their utterances during discussions and interviews, and were very often brought into discourse in a manner which transcended the primary, structuring topics. The aforementioned group dynamics (cf. 2.1), very crucial to the semi-structured interviewing forms such as the focus groups, played a crucial role in the discursive development of the secondary topics. Among the primary and secondary topics were:

| TOPIC I: | T-I | PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOST COUNTRY |
| TOPIC II: | T-II | LABOUR MARKET / WORKPLACE |

TOPIC III:	T-III	EDUCATION
TOPIC IV:	T-IV	EXTREME RIGHT
TOPIC V:	T-V	COPING WITH RACISM
TOPIC VI:	T-VI	IMPROVING TOLERANCE AND ANTI-RACIST INITIATIVES

Table 3: Primary Discourse Topics.

TOPIC 1:	T-1	SOCIAL CONTACT
TOPIC 2:	T-2	PERCEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS
TOPIC 3:	T-3	CITIZENSHIP AND COLLECTIVE IDENTIFICATION
TOPIC 4:	T-4	ETHNICITY AND RELIGION
TOPIC 5:	T-5	LANGUAGE
TOPIC 6:	T-6	PREJUDICES
TOPIC 7:	T-7	AUSTRIAN RADICAL-RIGHT POLITICS
TOPIC 8:	T-8	MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE
TOPIC 9:	T-9	INTEGRATION

Table 4: Secondary Discourse Topics

4.2.1 Primary discourse topics

The below-presented analysis of the primary and the secondary topics serves the aim of depicting how in all of the discussions (generalized) the contents developed according to the general thematic structures, viz. primary discourse topics, which were uniform in the case of all the countries where the research has taken place. The following analysis presents the ways in which primary topics developed into secondary topics, i.e. inasmuch as discussion themes triggered by the primary topics led to, as was very often the case, an unexpected appearance of the secondary topics. It is worth being mentioned that the distinction between primary and secondary topics is not mutually exclusive, i.e. the primary topics are to be treated as introducing the secondary ones, while the secondary topics as the semantic development of the primary ones. From the point of view of the investigated voices of immigrants, the following analysis helps to discover the ways in which the general issues concerning the lives of immigrants in Austria (reflected in the primary topics) are perceived by the investigated migrants, and, what kind of less general associations and elements of social reality (in our case, reflected in the secondary topics) they are usually associated with.

Primary Topic I (T-I): *PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOST COUNTRY*

Within the T-I, the strongest thematic interconnection (cf. Figure 1, below, marked with bold lines) appeared with regard to T-1 (Social Contact), which was further very often connected with T-2 (Austrian perception of immigrants, cf. 4.2.2, for a closer overview of the contents of the secondary discourse topics). T-I very often triggered the discussion on the issues of citizenship and collective identification (T-3) which further brought about discussions on the problems of ethnicity and religion (T-4), as well as on language (T-5). T-I was also connected with issues of prejudices (T-6) and integration (T-9).
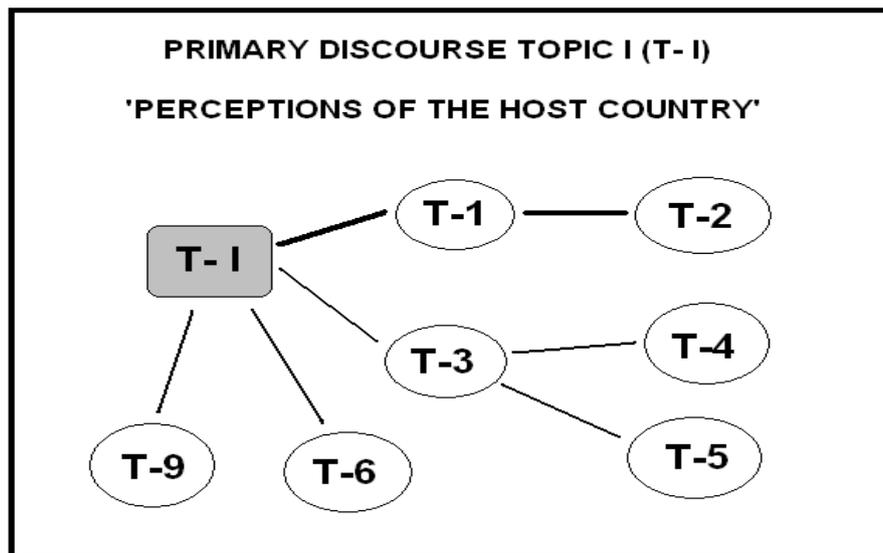
Figure 1: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic I (T-I).

Primary Topic II (T-II): *LABOUR MARKET / WORKPLACE*

The discussion on T-II brought about the strongest connection with the secondary topic T-3 (citizenship and collective identification), which was further very often connected with discussing issues of language (T-5). T-II was also often connected with the topic of ethnicity and religion (T-4), which sometimes triggered discussion on language issues (T-5) as well. Prejudices (T-6) were often brought about in the discussions concerning the labour market and workplace.
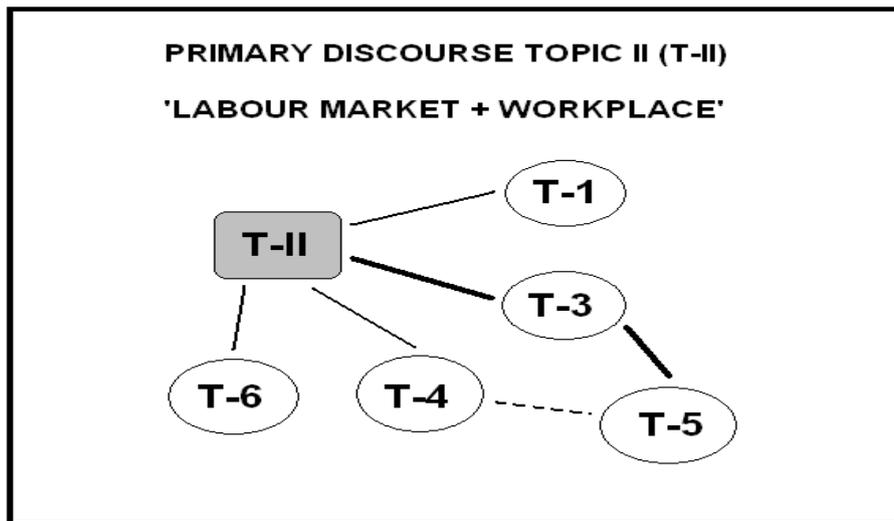
Figure 2: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic II (T-II).

Primary Topic III (T-III): *EDUCATION*

Discussing the issues of education (T-III) the participants of most of our discussions referred to the issue of language (T-5), which was further very often supplemented by various arguments about prejudices (T-6) which are prevalent in the functioning of the educational system (!). The issue of integration (T-9) was also often connected with education.
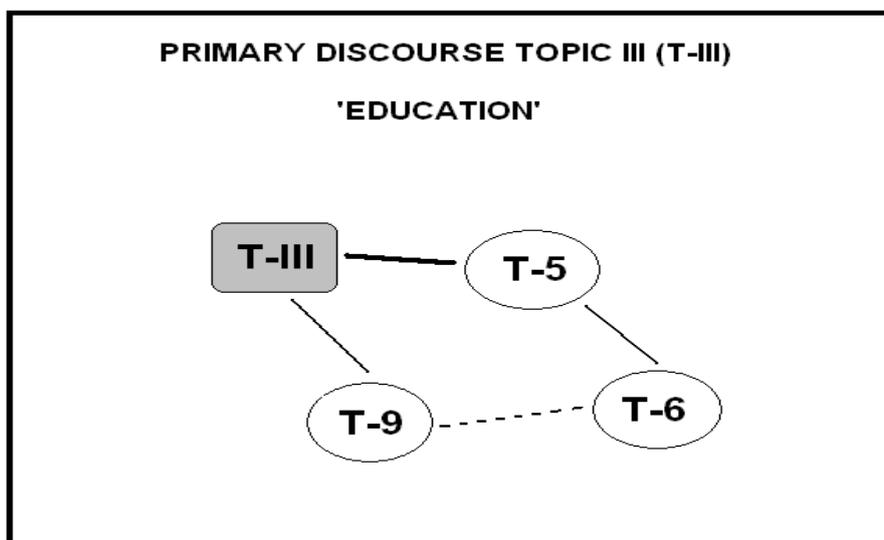
Figure II1: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic III (T-III).

Primary Topic IV (T-IV): *EXTREME RIGHT*

While discussing general issues regarding the extreme right (T-IV) most of the participants often referred, in various ways, to Austrian radical-right politics (T-7), further connected with either integration (T-9, stronger reference) or language (T-5, weaker reference). Some references were also made to the role of the media and the public sphere (T-8) and also to the topic of social contacts (T-1).
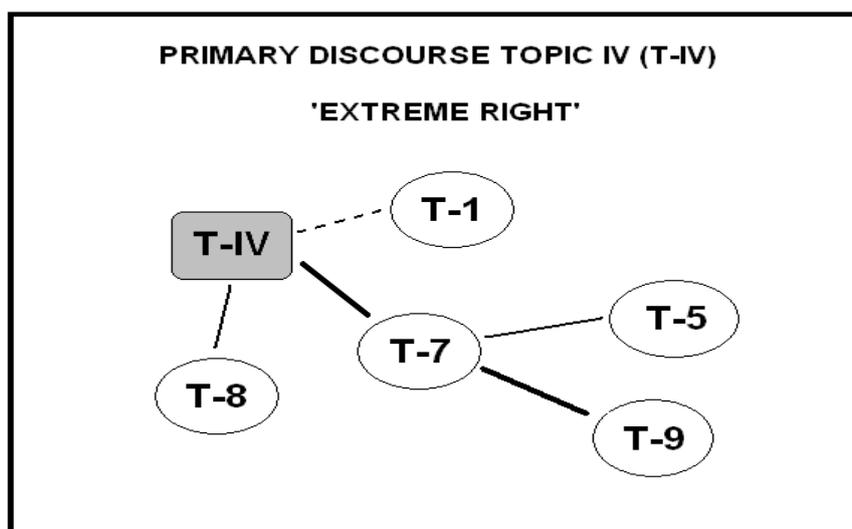
Figure 1V: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic IV (T-IV).

Primary topic V (T-V): *COPING WITH RACISM*

The primary topic of coping with racism was very often further connected, in various ways, with prejudices (T-6, very strong reference), which, on the other hand, led to supplementary arguments associated with either, ethnicity and religion (T-4), or, with media and the public sphere. Some references were also made to the issues of citizenship and collective identification (T-3), as well as language (T-5).
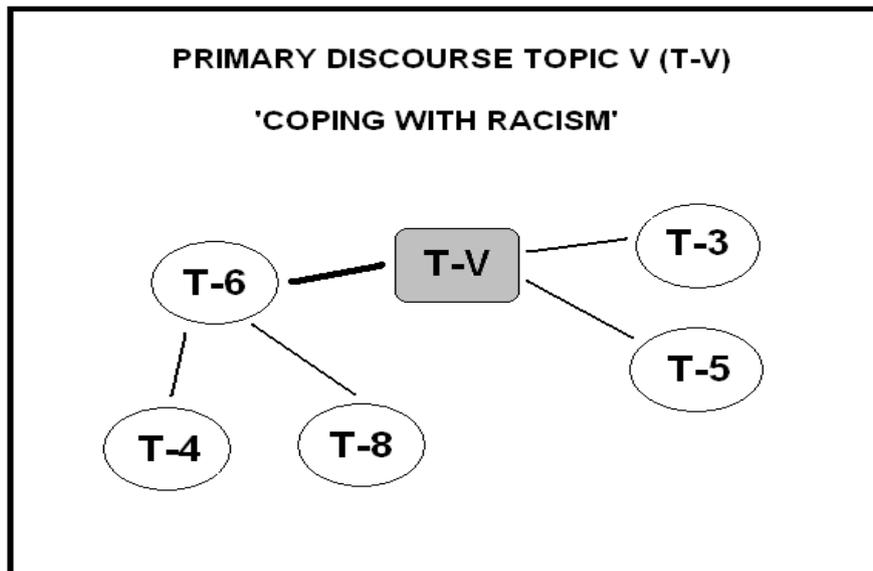
Figure V: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic V (T-V).

Primary Topic VI (T-VI): *IMPROVING TOLERANCE AND ANTI-RACIST INITIATIVES*

The issue of integration (T-9) was most often referred to when the primary topic regarding improving the tolerance and anti-racist initiatives was discussed. Integration was further strongly linked to T-8 (integration), which, on the other hand, was additionally interrelated with prejudices (T-6). Some rare connections were also made between integration (T-9) and language (T-5).
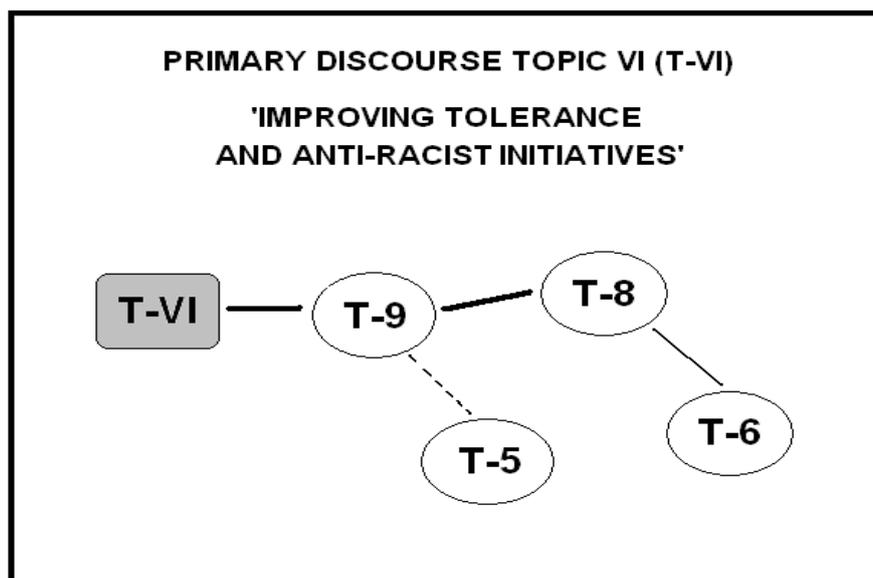
Figure 6: Thematic Interconnections of Primary Discourse Topic VI (T-VI).

4.2.2 Secondary discourse topics

Secondary Topic 1 (T-1): *SOCIAL CONTACTS*

The general consensus concerning frequency and the quality of contact with Austrian society is that they only have little contact which is mainly restricted to the workplace, school area, and public authorities. But still, the contact that the participants have is at least good contact. The reason why the contact is generally restricted to the three mentioned settings is connected to the foreigners' housing situation. Especially in Vienna, there are some districts which are highly populated by foreigners. Another reason why contact between foreigners and Austrians are limited is that foreigners tend to go to shops, restaurants, bars, etc. which are run by foreigners as well. The same is – from their point of view – generally true for Austrians as well.

Because of the fact that Austrians are a rather closed society, foreigners experience that they have to actively involve themselves to build relationships with Austrians. However, the participants are very aware that they somehow lack in taking any efforts to ease the situation.

Secondary Topic 2 (T-2): *PERCEPTION OF IMMIGRANTS*

Due to Austria's history, the country is still regarded as foreigner-hostile which is supported by the fact that Austrians are a closed society which is not only visible explicitly in distinguishing between an in- and out-group, but also in categorising and assessing members of the out-group due to other differences. This further sub-categorisation leads to definitions according to which some minority groups are more welcome than others, e.g. due to their colour of skin, religion, language, country of origin, etc. There are huge differences in the perception of migrants from European or non-European countries, as well as between Western and Eastern European countries. However, the feeling of being welcome in Austria has improved at least for European immigrants since Austria has become a member state of the EU.

Within Austria, there are also significant geographical differences regarding the perception of immigrants. Most immigrants live in urban areas, whereas most Austrians live in rural areas with or without infrastructure for the tourism industry (cf. Lebhart and Münz 2003: 364). This means, for the most part that Austrians live in areas with a small foreign population which also has an influence on the perception of foreigners.

Another factor is the educational level of immigrants: Those who are better educated – which mostly is also reflected in the level of knowledge of the German language (or other foreign languages) – are rather accepted and welcomed; they are perceived as more 'cultivated'. Most welcome are those who are not only educated to a certain degree, but come from a wealthy country and draw their living expenses from there. These people are not even perceived as foreigners.

Secondary Topic 3 (T-3): *CITIZENSHIP AND COLLECTIVE IDENTIFICATION*

Identity is a large issue among foreigners and especially among people of the 2nd and 3rd generation. Even when they have Austrian citizenship, many do not regard themselves as Austrians. Obviously, one's roots and the attached religion, language, traditions, etc. are more decisive than one's citizenship. The reason why they do not identify themselves as Austrians is not necessarily just a reflection of the perception of the members of the 'host country', it is what people really feel, probably because of being raised within certain cultural traditions. Of course, people who do hold Austrian citizenship, but 'look like foreigners' are recognized as such by the Austrian society which means restrictions in any respect.

Another fact which was mentioned in the context of citizenship is that holding a certain citizenship can have certain advantages or disadvantages. Not having an Austrian passport means hardly obtaining a job unless one is highly educated and/or works for an international institution. Keeping one's original citizenship, e.g. with regard to a child's future in holding two citizenships then, it can be of advantage because it paves the way for easy accessibility to the labour market and educational system in the country of origin. This consideration has to be relativized since Austria became a member state of the EU.

Secondary Topic 4 (T-4): *ETHNICITY AND RELIGION*

Ethnicity plays an important role in any sphere of social interaction between foreigners and Austrians. Austrians are reluctant to get into contact with people of a different skin colour. That is why non-whites are more often forced to do 'backdoor' jobs, whereas front office jobs are mainly reserved for whites. Most affected are Muslim women due to the garment they choose to wear, which is a head scarf for religious purposes.

Ethnicity is also an issue when talking about the attractiveness between foreigners and Austrians. According to the 'level of blackness', for instance, white men are more attracted by less black women, e.g. 'Latinos'.

Secondary Topic 5 (T-5): *LANGUAGE*

Language skills are regarded as the most crucial factor concerning integration in any respect. Without proper knowledge of German it is almost impossible to acquire a decent job, as well as to get through the Austrian educational system. It is true, that supportive lessons in German are an integrative part of the system, but finally – even being born in Austria – does not guarantee a proper command of the German language because of being raised as a bilingual. However, bilingualism is seen as a janus-faced feature which especially depends on the languages concerned. Furthermore, bilingualism is often reflected in an intermixed use of German and the mother tongue which generally is judged in a negative way by Austrians.

In order to improve one's language skills, courses are offered by different institutions for which sometimes there are grants available, but not as a rule.

Secondary Topic 1 (T-1): *PREJUDICES*

The following prejudices occurred frequently in the data collected and correspond to the provided main categories. The notion of prejudices combines beliefs about foreigners, as well as negative stereotypes which are often hard to distinguish (cf. van Dijk, 1984):

1. They are different.

    Foreigners are worthless.

    Foreigners are similar to dirt.

    Foreigners are only good enough for cleaning.

Foreigners are and behave differently from the majority group. They are primarily categorized by their physical appearance and mentality. Additionally, they are regarded as inferior in some aspects as a result of disdain of various nationalities and cultures.

2. They do not adapt themselves.

    Foreigners cannot speak properly.

    Foreigners demand special treatment.

    Foreigners do not work.

Foreigners do not make efforts to assimilate to the majority's norms and values because they do not have any respect for the majority's way of living.

3. They are involved in negative acts.

Foreigners tend to get involved in illegal activities.

Foreigners are made responsible for criminal and violent actions.

4. They threaten our interest.

Foreigners do not work.

Foreigners are all unemployed.

Foreigners take away jobs from Austrian people.

Foreigners are responsible for the unemployment rate in Austria.

Foreigners endanger the prosperity and stability of the country.

Foreigners endanger the majority's way of living and are a threat to our socio-economic security.

The minority's perception of the majority's negative evaluation can be summed up as follows: We are unwanted intruders who deviate from the majority's norms and traditions in many respects. Therefore, we are a threat to the social, cultural, and economic interest of the majority group.

Secondary Topic 7 (T-7): *AUSTRIAN RADICAL RIGHT POLITICS*

The institutionally grounded, negative attitudes towards foreigners and migrants are influenced by the actions of the Austrian government which is constituted of the ÖVP and the FPÖ. The electoral success of a party such as the FPÖ is – from the foreigners point of view – reflecting the fear of foreigners among the Austrian public. It reflects the way people are thinking, although the rise of radical right-wing parties is generally seen as a pan-European phenomenon. Other statements emphasise that the FPÖ's success grew out of the historical and general political landscape of Austria during the last couple of years. Furthermore, especially the growing power of Haider within the party is also explained by the historical past of Austria, as well as by the well trained communicative strategies he uses.

Secondary Topic 8 (T-8): *MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE*

The role the media plays concerning discrimination and integration of foreigners was not a large issue. However, two statements can be distinguished: First, as soon as the media gets

involved in any kind of institutional discrimination, the affected institutions tend to dissociate from further implicit xenophobic actions. Second, the media fosters the rise of radical right parties as it is the case not only in Austria, but also in other European countries which generally increases the feeling of social insecurity. The media's responsibility is seen in improving tolerance and building up a multicultural society which ideally should be free of stereotypes.

Secondary Topic 9 (T-9): *INTEGRATION*

The key to a more tolerant and multicultural society lies in deeper knowledge about other social/ethnic/national groups starting with the obtaining of opportunities for people to merge and to interact. Further, existing negative stereotypes which are the causing factors for racist and discriminating actions have to be reconsidered. As a starting point, especially the educational system must put more effort into multicultural education which will increase the pupils' curiosity about other cultures and traditions in order to become less prejudiced and more enlightened citizens. Moreover, the media can help to improve the level of tolerance and to diminish social functioning of stereotypes by providing better quality of information about minority groups. People have also to be aware of the fact that they can also contribute to a tolerant society on an individual and everyday basis. Stopping insulting or badmouthing foreigners would mean great strides for an improvement concerning xenophobic behaviour. Additionally, following the issue of peer pressure, to stop parroting each other would also improve the relationship between minorities and the majority group. Finally, the responsibility to remedy abuses is regarded as bilateral which means foreigners must also accept the norms and values of the majority group and actively try to assimilate better to Austrian culture.

Summarising the secondary topics, Table 5 (below) provides an overview on the secondary topics developed from the provided primary topics throughout our focus groups. There are two secondary topics – T-5 Language and T-6 Prejudices – which were developed most frequently within all six primary topics what obviously displays the importance of these issues in the context of institutional discrimination and everyday racism. However, T-2 Perceptions of Immigrants stemmed from T-1 which was central to the introductory question regarding the perception of the host country. Also T-7 Austrian Radical-Right Politics only developed out of the specific primary question on radical-right movements in Austria and the

governmental participation of the FPÖ. The other remaining secondary topics were displayed evenly throughout the focus group discussions.

	T-I	T-II	T-III	T-IV	T-V	T-VI
T-1	T-I	T-II		T-IV		
T-2	T-I					
T-3	T-I	T-II			T-V	
T-4	T-I	T-II			T-V	
T-5	T-I	T-II	T-III	T-IV	T-V	T-VI
T-6	T-I	T-II	T-III		T-V	T-VI
T-7					T-V	
T-8				T-IV	T-V	T-VI
T-9	T-I		T-III	T-IV		T-VI

Table 5: Thematic Interrelations: Secondary-Primary Discourse Topics.

5. Summary

1. As the presented analyses are predominantly based on qualitative methods of data examination, our material needs to be treated as indicators for certain tendencies, rather than allowing for its full representativeness. Our analyses, which point to some of the general tendencies in discursive representations of migrants experiences in both the everyday and institutional realms of the Austrian social reality, prove, however, that our distinction between (covert) institutional discrimination and (overt) everyday racism (cf. 1) seems to be more than just adequate. The analysis of semantic networks, viz. primary and secondary (macro)topics, further supports our main, theoretical approach.

2. As it has been shown, **the knowledge of the German language**, as a sort of 'key' allowing for one's full entry into various domains of social reality, is the most common issue brought into discourse by most of participants in all of the examined focus groups.

3. Various aspects (priorities) of the views on racism and discrimination can be traced as far as participants of different groups are concerned. Those priorities include:

   a) Basic differences between various immigrants, are most commonly based on the factor of one's place/region of origin, i.e. immigrant ≠ immigrant;

   b) Discrimination (most conspicuous in everyday domains) takes place according to ethnic and religious characteristics;

   c) Austrian citizenship does not protect anyone from being (overtly) discriminated – one is not perceived as a 'real' Austrian;

   d) Immigrants holding Austrian citizenship often do not identify themselves with Austrian society, i.e. they do not feel Austrian;

   e) The discrimination at the workplace and within the educational system is very conspicuous and easy to trace;

f) The Austrian educational system offers far too few possibilities of improving one's language skills (through, e.g., language courses, cf. point 2, above) and this issue is perceived as requiring a radical improvement;

g) The possible influence of the media on increasing/decreasing the level of xenophobia is generally perceived as very high. The media are also seen as the key to creating and developing a tolerant society;

h) Surprisingly enough, the knowledge of Austrian politics (these including radical-right politics) is generally very low;

i) Some minorities display a strong tendency towards establishing most of their social contact only among the members of their specific immigrant group.

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List of Abbreviations

EE   Educated Europeans

ENE   Educated Non-Europeans

INT   Interviewee / Interview

LEE   Lower-Educated Europeans

LENE   Lower-Educated Non-Europeans

SCH   Secondary Professional School

T-I   Primary Discourse Topic I: Perceptions of the Host Country

T-II   Primary Discourse Topic II: Labour Market/ Workplace

T-III   Primary Discourse Topic III: Education

T-IV   Primary Discourse Topic IV: Extreme Right

T-V   Primary Discourse Topic V: Coping with Racism

T-VI   Primary Discourse Topic VI: Improving Tolerance and Anti-Racist Initiatives

T-1   Secondary Discourse Topic 1: Social Contact

T-2   Secondary Discourse Topic 2: Perception of Immigrants

T-3   Secondary Discourse Topic 3: Citizenship and Collective Identification

T-4   Secondary Discourse Topic 4: Ethnicity and Religion

T-5   Secondary Discourse Topic 5: Language

T-6   Secondary Discourse Topic 6: Prejudices

T-7   Secondary Discourse Topic 7: Austrian Radical-Right Politics

T-8   Secondary Discourse Topic 8: Media and the Public Sphere

T-9   Secondary Discourse Topic 9: Integration

APPENDIX 1: List of focus-group discussions

Group	Location	Date / Time
Educated Non-Europeans (ENE)	Berggasse 11/1/3, A-1090 Vienna Department of Applied Linguistics University of Vienna	May 10th, 2003, 16:00
Non-Educated Non-Europeans (LENE)	Rennweg 5, A-6020 Innsbruck 'Gasthaus Löwenhaus' (rented facility)	May 16th, 2003, 13:30
Educated Europeans (EE)	Rennweg 5, A-6020 Innsbruck 'Gasthaus Löwenhaus' (rented facility)	July 2nd, 2003, 18:00
Non-Educated Europeans (LEE)	Berggasse 11/1/3, A-1090 Vienna Department of Applied Linguistics University of Vienna	June 2nd, 2003, 19:00
Berufsschule (SCH)	Längenfeldsgasse 13-15, A-1120 Vienna Berufsschule	June 6th, 2003, 09:00
South-Tyroleans (ST)	Rennweg 5, A-6020 Innsbruck 'Gasthaus Löwenhaus' (rented facility)	Planned for May 15th, 2003, 14:00 (cancelled on short notice).

APPENDIX 2: List of individual interviews

Interview	Location	Date / Time
Interview 01	Innsbruck (Gasthaus Elferhaus)	July 3rd, 2003, 13:00
Interview 02	Innsbruck (Gasthaus Elferhaus)	July 5th, 2003, 14:00
Interview 03	Vienna (interviewee's residence)	July 9th, 2003, 20:00
Interview 04	Vienna (Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Vienna)	July 11th, 2003, 13:00
Interview 05	Vienna (interviewee's residence)	July 8th, 2003, 13:00
Interview 06	Innsbruck (interviewee's residence)	July 5th, 2003, 17:00

APPENDIX 3: General questionnaire applied to focus-group discussions and individual interviews.

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

Department of Linguistics, University of Vienna

QUESTIONNAIRE / FRAGEBOGEN / ANKIETA

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(1) NAME / IMIĘ I NAZWISKO:

……………………………………………………………………………………

(2) CONTACT / KONTAKT / KONTAKT (TEL, E-MAIL)

……………………………………………………………………………………

(3) AGE / ALTER / WIEK: ……………… *YEARS / JAHRE / LAT*

(4) GENDER / GESCHLECHT / PŁEĆ:

ʃ *FEMALE / WEIBLICH / KOBIETA*
☐ *MALE / MÄNNLICH / MĘŻCZYZNA*

(5) NATIONALITY / STAATSBÜRGERSCHAFT / OBYWATELSTWO

a) ……………………………………………………………………………………

b) PREVIOUS / VORHERIGE / POPRZEDNIE ………...……………………….……………

**(6) RESIDING IN AUSTRIA SINCE / AUFENTHALT IN ŐSTERREICH SEIT /
POBYT W AUSTRII OD**

…………………………………………………………………………………….

**(7) KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN / DEUTSCHKENNTNISSE /
ZNAJOMOŚĆ JĘZYKA NIEMIECKIEGO**

ʃ *BASIC / GRUNDKENNTNISSE / PODSTAWOWA*
☐ *GOOD / GUT / DOBRA*
☐ *ADVANCED / FORTGESCHRITTENE / ZAAWANSOWANA*

---

(8) OCCUPATION / BERUF / ZAWÓD

……………………………………………………………………………………
ʃ *EMPLOYED / UNSELBSTSTÄNDIG BESCHÄFTIGT / ZATRUDNIONY-A*

☐ *SELF-EMPLOYED / SELBSTSTÄNDIG BESCHÄFTIGT /*
   PROWADZĄCY-A WŁASNĄ DZIAŁALNOŚĆ GOSPODARCZĄ
☐ *UNEMPLOYED / ARBEITSLOS / BEZROBOTNY-A*

(9) EDUCATION / AUSBILDUNG / WYKSZTAŁCENIE

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

(10) MARITAL STATUS / FAMILIENSTAND / STAN CYWILNY

☐ *MARRIED / VERHEIRATET / ZAMĘŻNA – ŻONATY*
   ☐ *TO AN AUSTRIAN CITIZEN / MIT EINEM ÖSTERREICHISCHEN STAATSBÜRGER /*
      Z OSOBĄ POSIADAJACĄ OBYWATELSTWO AUSTRIACKIE
☐ *DIVORCED / GESCHIEDEN / ROZWIEDZIONY-A*
   ☐ *WITH AN AUSTRIAN CITIZEN / VON EINEM ÖSTERREICHISCHEN STAATSBÜRGER /*
      Z OSOBĄ POSIADAJACĄ OBYWATELSTWO AUSTRIACKIE
☐ *SINGLE / LEDIG / WOLNY*

(11) CHILDREN / KINDER / POTOMSTWO

NUMBER / ANZAHL / ILOŚĆ: …………………………………………………………….
AGE / ALTER / WIEK: 1) …………………………... 2) …………………………
                          3) …………………………... 4) …………………………

OF WHICH / DAVON / Z KTÓRYCH:
……..   BORN IN AUSTRIA / GEBOREN IN ŐSTERREICH / URODZONE W AUSTRII
………   BORN IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OR PREVIOUS COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE / GEBOREN IM
          HERKUNFTSLAND BZW. IM VORHERIGEN AUFENTHALTSLAND / URODZONE W KRAJU
          POCHODZENIA BĄDŹ W POPRZEDNIM KRAJU ZAMIESZKANIA

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND HELP!!!!
DANKE FÜR IHRE ZEIT UND IHRE MITHILFE!!!
DZIĘKUJEMY ZA PAŃSTWA CZAS I OKAZANĄ POMOC!!!

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

Work Package 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

CYPRUS

By Nicos Trimikliniotis[2]

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1. Introduction

Since 1974 with the de facto division of Cyprus,[3] the prime recipients of racial abuse violence and discrimination, in other words the victims of racism are what can be referred to as 'subaltern migrants' (i.e. migrant workers from south east Asia, the middle east and eastern Europe). Discrimination is also faced by the few hundred Greek-Cypriot in the Turkish army occupied territories in the north, as well as Turkish-Cypriots residing in the Republic-controlled region, which is Greek-Cypriot dominated (see Kyle 1997, ECRI 2001). The Cyprus context, which has seen a long drawn 'ethnic/national conflict' continuing since the 1950s, has meant that the issue of racial discrimination remained under-researched. It is self-evident that underlying the historical so-called 'ethnic conflict' lies a politics of ethno-racial segregation and it is experienced in the 'everyday life' individuals of the two communities. Manifestations of racial discrimination vary and have been experienced by groups in society in the different shapes and forms it takes.

Labour migration to Cyprus is a relatively recent phenomenon since the policy decision for granting temporary work permits was initiated in the early 1990s. Migrant workers during the last decade so that the estimated total of about 70,000 represents 9.1% of the total population and 15.6% of the potential working population. The main areas of employment of migrant workers are: domestic workers, service industry (tourism, trade), manufacturing industry, agriculture and construction. A significant proportion of the total number of migrant workers, 10,000-15,000 are undocumented.

The policy assumption for the employment of migrant workers formulated in 1990s was that their stay was to be short-term, temporary and restricted to specific sectors, the developments of the past decade changed this scenario. Therefore a number of institutional devises have been designed with these goals in mind have resulted, by default or otherwise, in the following: (a) work permits takes place are granted on the condition that migrant workers be attached to specific employer without the freedom to change jobs unless the original employer gives consent. (b) Work permits are granted on an annual basis and with a maximum ceiling of six years in order to exclude the possibility of granting citizenship to migrant workers, structurally producing and reproducing a framework of precariousness and exclusion. (c)

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[3] Following a coup by the Athens junta and the fascistic EOKA-B, which closely followed the Turkish invasion and occupation of some 34% of the Republic territory.

Evidence of non-compliance by employers is abundant, whilst few initiatives have taken place to unionise migrant workers.

The process of accession to the EU has allegedly made Cyprus an attractive destination for migrants and asylum-seekers and the response of policy-makers was keenly to transform themselves to 'border-guards of Europe'[4]. Cyprus is a prime instance of a southern European country which "functions as the 'entrance hall to the EU, and often serve as a 'waiting room' for many migrants who have the Northern European countries as a destination" (Anthias and Lazaridis 1999: 3). New migration has created the conditions for the 'racialisation of migrant workers' (Trimikliniotis 1999) and the patterns of discrimination and ill treatment, particularly of migrants is well documented. The executive summary of the second ECRI report (2001) is illuminating:

> Problems of racism, xenophobia and discrimination persist, however, and immigrants appear to be in a particularly vulnerable position in this respect. The rights of immigrant workers, notably domestic employees, are often not respected and the remedies available in these cases are not always effective.

Discrimination occurs in the labour market, education, housing, media, it is an everyday experience for most migrant workers, as well other marginalized/ discriminated groups[5]. The process of Europeanisation is crucial as Cyprus laws are harmonized and attitudes appear to be 'Europeanised' accordingly[6], paving the way for a pan-European debate on migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia. The immigration model itself, which is primarily based the employment of migrant workers on a short-term, temporary and restricted-to-specific-sectors basis, is likely to remain essentially in place. The changes planned in harmonization with the EU aquis communautaire are to open up immigration and employment to European citizens; the restrictive approach is likely to continue when it comes to (non-European) 'third country nationals'[7]. Therefore, we could safely assume that the structural and institutional aspects as to the status of the bulk of migrant workers are likely to remain 'third country nationals'.

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[4] During his address to the EU summit in Thessalonica, the President of Cyprus referred to the experience of Cyprus dealing with migrants and asylum-seekers and offered to share 'expertise' with the Community.

[5] Various forms of discrimination are prevalent in spite of the international conventions and legislations available (see Trimikliniotis 2003)

[6] For a discussion on this contradictory process see Trimikliniotis (1999 and 2001c).

[7] See Nicos Trimikliniotis and Panayiotis Pantelides *Mapping the Discriminatory Landscapes of Cyprus: Ethnic Discrimination in the Labour Market and Education* (Work package 1) for more details on the employment and immigration model of Cyprus and how this *racialises* migrant workers.

The accession process has set in motion wider transformation processes to both state and society, and have generated the emergence of a new climate in macro- as well as micro-politics. Together with accession there has been a parallel UN initiative to coincide with the Copenhagen summit in the form of a comprehensive plan for the resolution of the Cyprus problem, on the basis of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation which has so far not led to a settlement due to its outright rejection by the Turkish-Cypriot side[8]. In spite of the stalemate following the collapse of that initiative the Annan plan remains on the negotiating table and it has generated some results by exerting pressure on the Turkish-Cypriot authorities to allow Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots to cross over the divide and meet.[9] Nevertheless, the recent climate of optimism, and the new potential for lasting peace, security and reconciliation between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, instead of having a positive effect on attitudes towards migrants, it has reinforced the insecurity felt by migrant workers with the vague suggestion that they may no longer be required as they can be replaced by Turkish-Cypriots.[10]

The lifting of some of the restrictions on movement by the Turkish-Cypriot authorities, which resulted in thousands of Turkish-Cypriots crossing over into the territory controlled by the Republic, may have symbolically improved the situation for the Turkish-Cypriots residing in the Republic-controlled area. The police authorities may no longer be able or interested in monitoring so closely the lives of Turkish Cypriots living in the south. In spite of the high-level decision makers' commitment to improving the position of all Turkish-Cypriots[11], mistrust, discrimination and unfriendly treatment by the authorities at least at local level has not altered dramatically, if at all[12]. In spite of this change in the mood[13], there is a resilience of

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[8] Held on the 12-13 December 2002. The plan contains a new constitution that, if implemented, will dramatically transform the current structure of government and constitutional provisions.

[9] Moreover, the decision of the authorities of the unrecognised regime, in northern Cyprus, to partially lift the ban on freedom of movement, allowing masses of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots to cross over, irrespective of the motives of the regime, has given an additional impetus to the impression that that the de facto division of the island may soon be over, even though the current state of limbo is certainly not a solution to the problem, it does open up possibilities for joint action by Cypriots, Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriots that can demolish the myth that wants peaceful coexistence an impossibility (see Trimikliniotis 2003, forthcoming).

[10] Statement by the then Labour Minster Mr. Moushoutas.

[11] The new Centre-Left coalition Government, elected last January is keen to promote a new image and approach towards Turkish-Cypriots. Also, a number of measures have been proposed to assist Turkish-Cypriots in the north.

[12] This was overwhelmingly the case from what the Turkish-Cypriots in the focus group reported. A mere visit at the district court is sufficiently convincing to sense the predominant attitudes: During a visit by the researcher to the Nicosia court, which has been since the partial lifting on movement restrictions by the regime now busy with Turkish-Cypriot applications and affidavits to obtain Cypriot passports, the civil servant, ignoring all the Turkish-Cypriots in front of her sighed: "at last a Greek I can talk to…" One local government employee has reported to the researcher that at the lowest level there is strong resistance to any change of attitudes towards Turkish-Cypriots for instance Greek-Cypriot public servants objected to Turkish-Cypriots using the toilets.

[13] One can easily sense the change of mood and attitude when the traditional nationalistic Right has now officially adopted rapprochement with the Turkish-Cypriots, competing with the Left and centre on which party is best suited to treat the Turkish-Cypriots.

the irredentism, nationalism and racism and xenophobia, which have now mutated into new shapes and forms. Traditional irredentism has mutated into fragmented new forms, such as a kind of 'versace nationalism' or an "irredentism lite", to borrow a term (Constantinou 2003) to be added along the old traditionally dominant versions of majoritarian nationalisms, '*enosist*'[14] and *partitionist*[15] irredentisms, all mixed, stirred and shaken with a new all-encompassing Euro-ideology (see Argyrou 1993, Trimikliniotis 2001, Constantinou 2003). Racism and xenophobia also seem to be Europeanised. At the level of ideology, the situation remains fluid, nonetheless the hard core of racism and discrimination against migrant workers remains in tact.

2. The Research Process

The research for this work package involved six focus groups and ten interviews from three towns in the south, the Republic-controlled area (see Appendix for the schedule of focus groups and interviews). Four out of the six focus groups were conducted in Nicosia (or Lefkosia), which is the capital and the largest town of the island. Group 1 ('Non-European' Highly Educated), Group 2 ('Non-European' Less Highly Educated), Group 3 ('European' Less Highly Educated) and Group 4 (Youth groups). The largest concentration of immigrants is within the inner or old Nicosia, inside Venetian walls of the historical centre, around the school and church of *Faneromeni*. However, other migrant communities are also scattered around the city and there are other 'pockets' of high migrant communities. Every Sunday and during the evenings, many migrants 'hang-out' in the central Eleftheria Square and the central pedestrianised streets, as well as the municipal park next to the central hospital, something that has caused 'annoyance' to some Cypriots, who find migrants to be 'too visible' and therefore uncomfortable with "creating yet another minority in free Cyprus, totally alien from religious and cultural traditions"[16], a prospect dreaded by the then education minister.

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[14] '*Enosis*' means union with Greece, which was the dominant Greek-Cypriot nationalistic project prior to independence. Enosis was pursued even after independence, but was gradually abandoned by the Greek-Cypriot leadership, and there was a definite rupture in pursuing enosis in 1967, when the junta came to power in Athens.
[15] Partition, or *taksim* in Turkish, was the dominant Turkish-Cypriot nationalistic project aiming to divide Cyprus between Greece and Turkey.
[16] These remarks are quoted in a small book titled "Cyprus and Aliens/Foreigners" (Κύπρος και Αλλοδαποί), which is a publication of a conference proceedings that took place in 1995, published as introductory letter by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Mrs Kleri Angelidou, congratulating the organisers for their conference.

Focus Group 5 was conducted in the small town of Paphos, located some 200 km from the capital, which has a high concentration of migrants, particularly Pontians in two areas of Kato Paphos and Mouttalos. Recently Paphos has attracted media attention due to small-scale riots and some racial violence incidents involving Pontian and Cypriot youths with local Police. The high concentration of migrants in poorer inner city sections is depicted as ghettoes in Paphos causing resentment among the locals. Pontians in particular are regularly blamed in the media, for the rise of crime rate and for not "respecting" the local customs and ethos[17]. Paphos town is the capital of a large mountainous region, traditionally with an important agricultural sector and recently a rapid tourist development. Among Cypriots it is considered to be 'less developed' and 'less cultured' with many jokes emerging about Paphians, typically depicted as 'backward'[18], stupid, naïve and untrustworthy[19] and are subjected to regional/social prejudice Paphos is stereotyped as the epitome of 'backwardness'[20]. Despite prejudices against Paphos and Paphians, it is often the case that in a region distant from the centre or capital that the local administration, police and local attitudes towards migrants may differ from those in the centre.

One focus group (Group 6) took place in Limassol (also known as Lemesos), which is the second largest town and the second most important financial and economic centre in the island. Group 6, which is an open focus groups, consisted of Turkish-Cypriots and Rroma (Kurbet) persons, residing in the old Turkish quarter of Limassol, who are Cypriot in terms of citizenship and belongingness. Since the 1974 coup[21] and Turkish invasion that resulted in the de facto partition and separation of the Greek-Cypriots from the Turkish-Cypriot population[22] the Rroma community are largely residing in the Greek Cypriot controlled south. We chose

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[17] See newspaper reports and featured articles in the most serious and popular newspaper *Phileleftheros* 16.1.2001, under the title "A boiling pot", with the subtitle "the situation with the Pontians in Paphos" («Καζάνι που βράζει στην Πάφο») which is an expression describing an explosive situation out of control, a loose canon. A featured article by Akis Ethelontis, titled "Social Unrest", describes the "social unrest caused from time to time by Pontians in Paphos" («Κοινωνική Αναταραχή»), *Phileleftheros* 16/1/2001. On another occasion, a leading commentary in the newspaper, by a well-known columnist and ex-MP, Mr. Katsambas, was titled: "The Greek-Pontians have to respect Cyprus" («Οι Ελληνοπόντιοι να σέβονται την Κύπρο») *Phileleptheros* 23.6.2001. the other newspapers follow a similar pattern; the more right-wing the more anti-migrant they become (see Trimiikliniotis 1999, 2001).

[18] Argyrou (1993: 8) refers to the Cypriot saying «Παφίτην αναγιώνεις, κατσόχοιρο μερώνεις» meaning "raising a Paphian is [like trying] to domesticate a hedghog" to Paphos and Paphians perceive as 'backward' and traditional by many Cypriots.

[19] Legend has it that St. Paul was flogged there and he is said to have remarked «Ανήρ Πάφιος ουκ εστίν αγαθός. Ανήρ αγαθός ουκ εστίν Πάφιος» ("a Paphian cannot be good man ; good man cannot be a Paphian".

[20] One joke has the Paphian region depicted as a different country from the rest of Cyprus that it is possible to buy duty free goods upon entry, whilst another refers to a political movement in Paphos for union (ένωσις) with … the rest of Cyprus. For an anthropological approach to these perceptions and attitudes see the splendid book by Argyrou (1993).

[21] The coup was organised and performed by the Greek junta and the local para-fascist group EOKA-B (see Markides 1977; Attalides 1978; Hitchens 1984,).

[22] For some more background information see Work package 1.

Limassol for this research because it is an important town, it has a number of migrants scattered around the town, concentrated in the central Limassol, near the Public Library[23], the municipal garden (zoo) and the old Turkish quarter and it is the only town that retains a concentration of Turkish-Cypriots and Rroma population since 1974[24]. Limassol with the legacy of being the town of leisure and fun has recently seen a rise of crime, and in particular organized crime. Limassolians are typically depicted as 'criminals', 'rough', 'crafty' and 'cunning', whilst women from Limassol are depicted as 'easy' and 'loose'. Nicosians on the other hand are typically depicted as 'softies' and 'mummy's boys' [what joke]. This attitude is relevant to the perceptions of migrants in Limassol who are resented for 'ruining' or 'destroying' the traditional life of Limassol. However, this is not new. A similar resentment was first directed against displaced Greek Cypriots from the north who sought refuge in the south following the Turkish invasion. Then there was resentment against the wealthy Arab community which resided in Limassol in the mid 1980s, – hence the violent rioting against them in 1987. Violence, in the form of (racial) rioting has occurred on a number of occasions. In 1998, local people together with police started beating up African asylum-seekers outside Pefkos Hotel in Limassol when they protested against their conditions of detention that received media coverage and condemnation by Amnesty International. Then in 2000, when few hundred Cypriot Rromas[25] or Gypsies (*Kourbet*) crossed the divide from the north to the south, there was a massive public outcry against their settlement anywhere in the south.

The particular group was chosen in order to investigate the extent to which the basis of discrimination is due to citizenship/nationality or whether ethnic background is an important factor and to find out if apparent patterns of discrimination[26] are similar or related in any way to those faced by migrants. The hypothesis here is that the 'other' or the 'outsider' or 'marginalized group' may well be part of the so-called 'indigenous' people due to historical, ideological, structural or ethnical differentiate from the rest of the population, these groups are

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[23] In 2002 some violent incidents occurred in Limassol involving Pontian and Cypriot youths with local Police near the public library with some youths being stabbed and rushed to hospitals. It is important to note that Limassol has the 'legacy' of having the first mass riots and violence against Arab migrants in the mid to early 1980s, when Lebanese and other better-off Arabs moved to Limassol following the invasion of Beirut by Israeli troops. It is generally acknowledged that the presence of this wealthy community in Limassol has largely contributed to the city's rapid economic development rendering it the most important trade centre of Cyprus.
[24] Estimated between 250 to 300 persons.
[25] The Rroma population of Cyprus, which is said to have been over a thousand, have chosen in 1960 to be part of Turkish-Cypriot community due to their Muslim faith (Williams 2000; Kyrris 1969, 1985).
[26] Reports show that Turkish-Cypriots residing in the south are discriminated against (see Kyle 1997, Second ECRI Report 2001, Trimikliniotis 2003) and Greek-Cypriots living in the occupied north are denied by the occupation authorities the right guaranteed by the Third Vienna agreement.

discriminated against and despite the legal prohibitions of such discrimination[27]. The focus group in Limassol consisted entirely of men, although women had also been invited. It was aimed at bringing together men and women from the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Limassol who are either Turkish-Cypriots or Rroma so that we could compare the treatment of persons of the Turkish Cypriot community and Rroma community to that of Greek-Cypriots and migrants.

Methodologically, there was gender balance in the Nicosia focus groups; however this was not possible in the case of the focus groups in Limassol and Paphos. Due to the difficulty arranging for women to attend focus groups 5 and 6, in spite of repeated efforts, it was decided to supplement these with in depth interview by a female researcher with women in their house at their convenience[28]. Similar problems were encountered with Turkish-Cypriot and Rroma women as with Pontian women in Paphos, with additional problems of language, educational and cultural barriers as most Rroma women are illiterate and are very reluctant to speak to strangers. The problem was similarly addressed by supplementing the focus groups information with relevant in depth interviews. In any case there were many Pontian and other migrant women in other focus groups, therefore the absence of women in the two workshops was not a major obstacle and does not leave a gap on gender issues, since these are addressed in a separate section.

A methodological issue that requires clarification is that of attempting to classify persons as 'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans' given the ambiguous and contested boundaries of Europe, an issue that manifests itself in the focus groups, even before the focus groups begin with the selection of participants in specific focus groups (see Appendix with Focus Group Schedule). The difficulty encountered was with the migrants from the former USSR, who are of Pontian-Greek origin. Some of them now have Hellenic Republic passports (i.e. EU passports) and hence qualify as 'European Union citizens'. However, many arrived with USSR (or constituent Republic) passports. They are in essence a genuine *diasporic* group that evades or transcends the categories European versus non-European; a similar observation can be made about the Kurds, whose history is that of oppression, fragmentation and scattering around and

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[27] The same syllogism may be extended to other grounds of discrimination such as gender, age, religion, sexual orientation etc, as recognised by the recent EU Directive 2000/78. In fact the Cyprus constitution itself prohibits any discrimination, as Art. 28 (2) prohibits "any direct or indirect discrimination against any person on the grounds of his community, race, religion, language, sex, political or other convictions, national or social descent, birth, colour, wealth, social class, or any ground whatsoever".

[28] On four occasions many Pontian women promised to attend the focus groups but then either cancelled it or failed to attend. The reason given was that it was impossible to attend due to their domestic duties, whilst it was easier for men.

beyond Europe, situated somewhere in between or right on the border of Europe and Asia[29]. One may notice the transient nature of their points of reference, argumentations, articulation and experiences. On some occasions when approaching people to participate in the focus groups they just told us their name and that they are from Georgia for instance. However, it turned out that they were of Pontian-Greek descent. However, we are of the view that the focus group 'core' does not change at all. A similar problem exists with Kurds who may have Syrian or Turkish roots: they may have lived in other European countries and in their discourse, structure and characteristic argumentation there is more in common with Europeans than with Latin Americans of instance. Similarly we would defend the selection and the process with the focus groups as the 'core' remained intact, even if there were some 'non-European' elements – a term thoroughly distasteful and exclusive – within the 'European focus group'

3. Perceptions of the Host Country

It would be mistaken to pretend that we start with no knowledge of the situation and of how many Cypriots feel about migrant workers[30]. As one highly educated person form focus group 1 noted from the outset:

> It depends on which country you come from, your skin's colour, your religion.
> These are some very important factors, which affect the way you are treated.
> [FG1, M1]

The more educated persons tended to speak out right from the beginning of the discussion in the focus group; similarly the youth group was frank from the outset. However, the other groups were initially reluctant to speak about discrimination and racism. Typical replies were those provided by some Turkish-Cypriots:

> The same they treat us very well. We don't have any problem. [FG 6, M1]

However, the same speaker would subsequently add:

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[29] Rom peoples also fall in the category of *diasporic* peoples (see Fraser 1995).
[30] As the ECRI Report notes: "…while sentiments of rejection and hostility vis-à-vis immigrants and foreigners cannot be said to be generalised in Cypriot society as a whole, there appears to be a growing tendency towards the perception of the immigrant and the foreigner as a potential threat to the Cypriot standard of living…"

The only problem we face is housing. We don't have a place to stay and even if we do it is in an appalling condition. [FG6, M2]

A Romanian woman who lives for over a decade in Cyprus appears initially similarly happy in Cyprus:

From the very first moment, ever since I got off the plane I felt that I belonged here. I came here with my family and the whole environment was very friendly, I personally think that after being here for 14 years it will be very difficult for me to choose another place to live (.) [FG3, F1].

Typical initial positive responses later on. Domestic workers were equivocal in the beginning by saying "some people are really friendly but there is too much racism in Cyprus". Soon afterwards the migrants would change tune; at some point, probably, when the migrants realised that the environment was safe enough and soon as they heard the experience of others that they could relate to.

We are foreigners here. We work a lot but we don't get paid well. Cypriots waste time at work and get more money than we do. We have no rights…[FG 3, M2]

The situation is described by one Pontian-Greek from Paphos who spoke about the way Cypriots would befriend migrants when they are alone with them, but would quickly 'gang up' with other Cypriots to start blaming and victimizing migrant workers:

They are a bit racist. When there is a Cypriot and Pontian, the Cypriot will say, "you are one of us, you are good, you are this and the other". If two Cypriots meet they will star blaming the Pontian. Cypriots form friendships only with themselves and have solidarity between them. [FG5, M5]

Racism and the colour black

In the case of Cyprus colour is an important signifier of racism, although not exclusively or necessarily. It seems from the focus groups conducted and from other evidence that the darker people are more *likely* to be the target of racism.

> That's very common. You walk alone on the street and they would shout "mavrou". I was in the street one day and there was a lot of traffic. Someone turned and said 'malakismeni[31] mavri' as if it was my fault [I1].

One Pakintani youth is convinced that "the darker a person is, the more he is discriminated" (FG4, M1); but to be called *mavro* seems a routine matter as darker skinned migrants state:

> They call me "mavros" (.) many times (.) When I'm walking down the street, in the coffee shop (.) in their language they call me names. [FG 4, M3]

Even in more 'multicultural' or supposedly enlightened institutions, such as the refectories and coffee shops of colleges the term *mavro* is routine:

> There is a Cypriot and an Indian guy where I work and the Cypriot calls him "re mavre" in a friendly way and the other one laughs (.) and I tell him why do you call him mavre? Why don't you call him by his name? You call me by my name, so call him by his name; his name is Sabouh (.) And he goes to me "he's laughing what's your problem?" and I say to him "this is not right and he laughs cause he can do nothing about it". [FG 4, F1]

What is also distressing, one may say more distressing, is the fact that even officials are discriminatory, as the second ECRI Report notes. This type of treatment is more upsetting for migrants:

> I don't mind if you call me *'mavrou'* because I'm one but when you see a group of people walking and you chose me to search only because I'm *mavrou* I could be a criminal, and that's what I don't like about it. [I.1]

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[31] A term of abuse widely used that literally means a person stupefied due to masturbation.

It is well-known that darker Cypriots are looked down upon, while being white, blond and blue-eyed is considered a virtue; even Cypriots who are black are treated differently:

> There are many black Cypriots historically but they don't have experience. (....) The problem here is that they are black and it is difficult for typical Cypriots to understand that someone can be Cypriot and black. I think the problem here is the colour. For being Cypriot and being Greek is not only the language and the religion. To them it also has to do with skin colour and also the hair type. It is easy for a Cypriot to just look and say by the way his hair is that he is not Cypriot. You have to be the way they look to accept you as a Cypriot. It's not just religion and language, it's the skin colour, the hair. [I.1]

Migrant workers from south-east Asia and Africa, but also Kurdish persons who are not even darker skinned than Cypriots, in the focus groups conducted have repeated, time after time, that colour is crucial in racial abuse. "They call us mavri (μαύρη) because of our colour", complained an Indian domestic worker, at times telling them that no such word exists:

> She shouted at me in Greek so that I cannot understand. Then I would say something and she said "mavri". But I don't know what that means. I asked her and she said there is no such word in Greek. I kept it in my mind and the next day I asked the teachers at the school "what's the meaning of mavri?" They said mavri means black. I didn't ask my madam because she [had] said there is no such word in Greek. [FG 2, F3]

Another domestic worker justifiably seemed very upset about the treatment she received:

> Some employers don't give time to rest. They call us mavro, mavro, mavro. They forget that in 1974 Indians came to Cyprus to help them. [FG 2, F4]

Apparently, even light-skinned migrant workers such as Kurds and Greek-Pontians are told,

> *"hey, you black" («εσύ ρε μαύρε»)* [FG3, F1]

It seems that migrants perceive racism in Cyprus in different ways: at times what comes out the migrant narratives resembles a kind of helplessness as Cypriot society seems impenetrable, as if they hit on a brick wall, 'Cypriots are racist'.

> …You get into the bus you sit down and everybody gets up and moves to the front. And you suddenly realize that you are just alone where you are. [FG 1, F1]

To conclude that,

> It's pure racism. The thing is that maybe we are trying to narrow down the definition of the word. I think it's broad. It's more broad than colour differences. [FG 1, F1][32]

The second, rather exceptional approach, I would say, is that there is no racism or that they have never faced any racism or discrimination. One of the very few Sri Lankans who happens to be executive said he has never faced any discrimination; however, hwn he was challenged about whether he socialises with anyone at work he said never [FG1, M4]. Also, a young secretary of Pontian origin who had gone to Greek school was adamant,

> I feel Cypriot. When I was at school they treated me very nice I was never discriminated. I have never faced any problems at school. [FG3, F5]

The dominant discourse amongst migrants is that there may be racism in Cyprus but 'Cypriots are (generally) good'; reflecting a kind of *ambivalence* or even a pathology, like a schizophrenia that cuts across what it means to be Cypriot: the debates over identity which have generated dichotomies such Greek versus Cypriot (and Turkish versus Cypriot take on a new spin vis-à-vis migrant workers. Some narratives attempt to rationalise, or even quantify this: "80% of Cypriots are good and 20% bad people" [FG 2, F3]. Similarly an Indian youth's account is quantified:

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[32] This was part of interesting exchange between the African female migrant and the Pontians in the focus group, who questioned whether the reaction of others to move away from where she is sitting is racist. She was simply dismayed.

I think it's 50-50. I'm from India. There are some people that say "very nice we like Indians" it's ok. There are those who react differently, they usually say 'ade re mavre' (enough of you, you blacky). [FG4, M4].

During the debate of this focus group a Pontian worker sought to interfere and he was reminded, "But your skin is white", his reaction was to also identify as the 'other':

My skin is white but I'm still a foreigner here. You came from Sri Lanka I came from Russia. I haven't experienced racism, though, to be honest.[33]

The other objection of the domestic workers towards the statement by the Pontian worker was that he is a man and that he speaks Greek, both elements made his experience significantly different, if not better.

The perception of the domestic worker as a stupid servant is widespread. One Indian female domestic worker described how a Cypriot family she was working called her 'Pombos' (Πόμπος), a well-known stupid joke character, and a ridiculous character people laugh at. She was not even allowed to ask what it means as the children were instructed by their mother,

"don't go there, they are mavri" [FG2, F1].

When asked by a female domestic worker if he had even faced racism in Cyprus his reply was rather stoic:

Racism is everywhere. I just don't argue with him, I keep quiet and stay with my family. I know a teacher from Keryneia who studied in Russia; even today the call him a foreigner (ξένο). If they call him this why should I bother when they call me foreigner? [FG2, M1]

However, any attempt at *relativisation* and comparison of racial exclusion to regional or other prejudice cannot be taken too far; there are degrees and there are qualitative differences between the various manifestations of racism. The focus group made up of Turkish-Cypriots from Limassol was vehement about the discriminatory treatment they receive; however, when

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[33] Interestingly, later on in the discussion he describes how he is in fact perceived as 'criminal' and untrustworthy due to the stereotype of the Pontian male.

asked to compare their experience with that of migrant workers they said that migrant workers had a worse deal than what they had: "they treat us a bit better" one Turkish-Cypriot said. However, another Turkish Cypriot complained that the reason they don't find regular work is due Arab construction workers who would take the jobs for less pay.

Religious Discrimination as Racism

Contrary to legal provisions that prohibit religious discrimination, religious discrimination was raised by migrants of Muslim descent. Even if they look Cypriot or 'behave as Cypriots do' they tend to be seen with suspicion. One migrant told of the incident where he told a colleague from work that he was a Muslim and noticed "not only was he shocked" but "almost horrified" [I.2]. Some opt to change their religion, but even that does not suffice to shelter them from religious discrimination:

> If you are Muslim they call you *Turk;* if you come from an Arabic country
> they call you Arab. (…) I am baptised Christian, I was christened when I came
> here. Nobody ask. As soon as you say that you are from Syria you are
> immediately a Muslim, you are a Turk. [I.6].

A Pontian migrant complained about the fact that employers deny them even the opportunity to communicate in their own language. In a construction site employing almost exclusively Pontians, who speak a Turkic-based dialect, were instructed by their employer to "stop speaking Turkish during their break", The Pontian migrant was quick to correct the impression of the employer that the particular dialect is not Turkish, but a Creole-type of mixed language, obviously desiring to distance Pontians from any Turkish connection. The migrant wondered:

> You cannot deny to a 50 year old the right to speak his language during the
> break; tomorrow, when Turkish-Cypriots will be employed in our village, who
> do not speak Greek, how will they speak to each other?" [I.3]

This is a form of discrimination at work, and not only, it is a denial of the right to speak the language of your liking which links different types of discrimination into one as the religious, cultural and language dimension are intertwined.

If migrant workers who are not Turks are treated the way they are because it is assumed that they have 'commonalities', such as religious, cultural and linguistic, with the Turks then important questions are raised about the Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish-speaking Rom themselves. It must be noted that these groups do not appear to be generally 'worse off', when compared to migrant workers. During the Limassol focus group the issue of religious discrimination did not feature directly. The issue of respect to religious freedom was indirectly raised when the Turkish-Cypriot and Rroma participants complained about the fact that they had nowhere to have their weddings and religious festivities[34] resorting even to cemeteries due to the high cost of places. They are certainly discriminated against in multiple ways and are regularly harassed by the Police; nonetheless, due to specific reasons their plight may be tolerable, when compared to that of migrant workers[35].

Linguistic and cultural barriers

The issue of linguistic and cultural barriers is a point brought up repeatedly. Most migrants who have been in Cyprus for many years and are now fluent speakers, have referred to the appalling treatment they had received when they first arrived and could not speak the language[36]. The language issue was brought up by the south east Asian domestic workers, who only speak English and are even denied the right to learn Greek in some occasions as a distinguishing point between them and the two construction workers, who are fluent Greek speakers. Their reply was that they could not speak the language either when they first arrived in Cyprus and it was tough. As one interviewee put it,

> The Greek language is definitely a barrier. (....) if you don't speak Greek if you
> are not an Orthodox.. You cannot be Greek if you are not born Greek. You

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[34] The only place they give us for weddings used to be a cemetery (.) and we go there and have our wedding [M3, Group 6].

[35] Firstly, they are Cypriots and this does mean something, even if it is not the same to all, it means something to Greek-Cypriots, who sharply distinguish Turkish-Cypriots from Turks descending from Turkey. Secondly, there is sympathy and historic ties of the Turkish Cypriots with the Greek- Cypriot Left (AKEL), the trade union (PEO) and local organisations allied to AKEL (see Attalides 1979). Thirdly, the treatment of Turkish-Cypriots in the Republic-controlled area is politically speaking highly sensitive, as it may reflect badly internationally, in the context of reaching a settlement, which means that the authorities feel that they have to be cautious and careful. It can therefore be argued that Muslim migrant workers may face a form of *transferred* discrimination due to the fact that they are seen to be related somehow to the Turks.

[36] For example Group 1: M2, Group 2: M1, M2, Group 3: M2, M4, Group 5: M2, as well as in the interviews.

cannot be American through religion. But to be a Greek is to speak the language to be an orthodox and to be a Greek descendent. [I.2].

It would be misleading to assume that all Muslims are treated in the same manner. There are subcategories as there are tensions within the various so-called 'communities'[37]. Many Turkish-Cypriots in Limassol, like their Greek-Cypriot counterparts, seem to resent the fact that Turkish-speaking Rroma are arriving in their neighbourhood and 'causing trouble'. As one Turkish-Cypriot interviewee put it:

> These are not Turkish-Cypriots, they are gypsies. And on occasions they do thing later reported in the media as done by 'Turkish Cypriots' and we Turkish-Cypriots get into trouble. Sometimes people hear stories [of bad things done] and they say immediately that Turkish-Cypriots [are to blame]. They should first investigate before drawing conclusions. Their attitudes are different from us. [I.7].

Not surprisingly, the Turkish-Cypriot interviewee wanted to distance himself from the Rroma. When asked whether he feels 'closer' to the Rroma, he replied that he 'prefers' Cypriots as if the Cypriot Rroma were not also Cypriots,

"I understand them and they understand me; we match".

Nonetheless, he pointed out that Turkish Cypriots in Limassol faced similar housing problems as the Rroma.

Identity Struggles: What's in a Name?

The habit of 'name calling' and 'nick-names' is the primary means of designating stereotyping[38] traits to persons and is intrinsically tied to prejudices[39] and their reproduction, amplification even (Wodak and Reisgl 1999).

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[37] This paper is highly critical of the notion of homogenous and 'essential' communities (see Anthias and Yuval-Davies 1992).
[38] The term "stereotype" is defined as "the verbal expression of a certain conviction or belief directed towards a social group or an individual as a member of that social group" and is "typically an element of common

Us Pontians we face many problems; firstly the word 'Pontios' [i.e. Greek for Pontian]. When people say the word 'Pontios' they say it ironically. If you say anything counter they tell you to go back to your country.[40] [FG5, M1]

Prejudices about what it means to be a Pontian are connected to long-held convictions[41] about how they ought to be treated. Being called a Pontian is seen by some Cypriots as being "amusing" in order to make fun at Pontians[42]. Most Pontians actually object to be called "Rossopontios", which means "Russian Pontian":

They call me Pontian but it doesn't bother me. I am from Russia. When they call me Rossopontio (i.e. Russian-Pontian) it bothers me. I tell them that it is better to be a Rossopontios than a Cypriot. I tell them this because they are worse than us. I had no problem; I came here in 1992 and from that moment I felt that I was foreign. [FG5, M2]

The shifting of attitudes about groups and identities is remarkably apparent in the narratives of Pontians when they describe how they have been perceived differently as the socio-political context altered or as they moved from the former USSR, first to Greece, then to Cyprus:

"In the USSR we were Greek. This is what we thought. This is what they called us. In Greece things were very bad for us in the beginning. They blamed us for everything… "Here come the Pontians again, watch out" they would say. But when the Albanians came they started blaming them – we somehow

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knowledge, shared to a high degree in a particular culture" (Wodak and Reisgl (1999) quoting Quasthoff, 1987:786; Quasthoff, 1978).

[39] Wodak and Reisgl (1999) define 'prejudices' "as mental states that defines (normally) a negative attitudes".

[40] The Greek text reads as follows: «σαν εμείς οι Πόντιοι αντιμετωπίζουμε πολλά προβλήματα πρώτα-πρώτα με τη λέξη Πόντιος. Όταν λένε τη λέξη Πόντιος τη λένε ειρωνικά. Κι όταν τους αντιμιλήσεις σου λένε να φύγεις από εδώ να πας στη χώρα σου, γιατί ήρθατε εδώ;»

[41] Wodak and Reisgl (1999) define 'convictions' as "ascribe qualities to others and often provide rationalizations for negative attitudes (e.g. that 'black smell bad')".

[42] A Pontian-Greek from Paphos adds: "…Some people just say to me: "Hello, you are a Pontian" and they grin. And I say what is wrong with that – they just smile and say "I just said it – I didn't mean anything bad. I was joking". I usually say to them that we are all Greek – but some will just say "no, I am a Cypriot". I will explain to them that you are from somewhere: you are Greek – look at your language, your culture, and your tradition. The more educated will say "yes, you are right I am a Greek-Cypriot". But some others would say "No, I am a Cypriot. This is my land and I can throw you out if I like." They never understand … They are so full of hate… [FG5, M1]

just became Greeks again … In Cyprus we are Pontians…Rosso-Pontians (*Ρωσσοπόντιος*)… I get so angry when they call me that". [FG 5, M1]

To be called a 'Russian-Pontian' (*Ρωσσοπόντιος*) seems particularly distressing to Pontians themselves as they feel that their ethnic origin is being questioned. One participant wonders why one should distinguish between Pontians from wherever they are coming from and not just call them 'Greek'. In fact this concern is not unfounded as there have been many media reports where the identity of Pontians has been questioned by the media, even school teachers insist on calling them 'Russian-Pontians' precisely because they question their ethnic origin, i.e. whether they are 'genuinely Greek'[43]. This questioning of their origin and Greekness is no peripheral matter, as it is then easier to make scapegoats out of them about rising crime rate and other 'social evils', of the type "it is all these strangers who are responsible for the rise in the crime rate".

In 1974 in Limassol they used to scare their children to eat their food by saying "eat your food before the refugee takes it from you", now they say "eat quickly before the Pontian takes it from you"... Even if get citizenship I will always be a foreigner here. [FG2, M1]

The issue of how migrants themselves rationalise what is actually happening and why, is interesting:

Each country has its own stereotypes. Cypriots have a lot of stereotypes, we think that Cypriots are that way, we classify people from England, I mean Greeks coming from England. I say that because I come from England and I've been stereotyped, they give us, they call us names. Everyone knows us by, eeee, you know (laughs) they call us 'Charlies' because they have this name in England. When I speak Greek I have this accent and they can understand that I came from England and people make jokes about it but it doesn't affect me. [FG 4, F1]

Greek-Cypriots who come from abroad, such as British born Cypriots are called '*Charley*' or '*Billy*' if they come from Australia or the UK. The implication of being a 'Charlie' or 'Charloua', for females, is that these persons, whose Cypriot parents have emigrated abroad,

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[43] See Trimikliniotis 2001a: 22-24.

particularly to the UK, have been Anglicised having lost their Greekness/Cypriotness, they have been '*de-Hellenised*' (from the perspective of the Greek-Cypriot nationalists) or '*de-Cypriotised*' (from the perspective of Cypriotists), or have retained a backward peasant/ villager's Greekness/Cypriotness and have thus become complete '*Charley*' (*τέλια*[44] *Τσιάρλης*), or worse they have been totally 'corrupted' having abandoned or lost their national characteristics to 'qualify' to be called the term of abuse for the *rowdy* and *yobbish* Englishmen, *complete* or '*total Billy*' (*τέλια Μπίλλης*). The British born Cypriot in the youth group was adamant:

> It is a form of racism. I've seen in England the way they react to Indian people or Pakistan people. There is a lot of prejudice in England; foreign people. I've seen that a lot. [FG4, F1]

4. Institutional Discrimination and Work

Discrimination at work is a highly complex issue requiring a multi-dimensional analysis. From the narratives of migrants in Cyprus a highly problematic situation emerges with very little, if any effective redress. Discrimination of different kinds at the workplace appears routine. Experiences of discriminatory practices are shared in *all* the focus groups, but the intensity, quality and type of these practices vary according to the particular context. The specific setting, the actors involved and the institutional framework regarding the employment of these migrants produce different *type* of *related experiences*. We can deduce with certainty that the focus groups and the interviews depict a gloomy picture about the treatment of migrant workers and a painful lot for migrant communities, as well as other marginalized groups in society who are also subjected to discrimination.

The vast majority of migrants in Cyprus are employed in sectors of the economy where there are labour shortages – primarily in jobs that Cypriots no longer want to do – in an institutional framework *actually designed* to sustain migrant workers in specific posts and control immigration flows in such a way that the characteristics of the system remain intact: it is a short-term, temporary, sector-based and employer-tied system. It is notable that these people are denied even the label '*migrants*' or '*immigrants*' and are referred to as mere 'alien

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[44] This is the Cypriot dialect of the term 'total' or 'complete', which n demotic Greek is *εντελώς*.

workers' or 'foreign workers'[45], despite the fact that the Cyprus Republic has ratified the 'Migrant Workers and their Families Convention'[46]. At the heart of this institution is a rigid, hierarchical and heavy-handed system that is designed to prevent human development, career change and alternative opportunities and re-training for the vast majority of migrant workers, given that their presence in this country is temporary and directed only towards carrying out the unwanted jobs, until they return to their countries. They generally enjoy low status and low pay, but these are apparently better than what they would get in their country of origin. With the exceptions of those (non-Europeans) who are married to Cypriots and have the right to abode, and the highly educated and skilled migrants, other 'third country nationals' are granted work permit to do for a *specific job*, for a *specific employer*, for a *specified time*. There is no room for change or career development upwards in the labour market hierarchy. The Pontians form a special category as the vast majority of them have Greek passports (i.e. they are European citizens) but are generally occupied in manual or low status jobs.

The narratives in this work package show the depth of discriminatory practices in the labour market and work place. Many domestic workers are denied basic rights – holiday money, overtime, rest time and are often subjected to all sorts of abuses. Domestic workers have perhaps the worse deal (together with agricultural workers and women working in the sex industry). They work at irregular times and are often forced to work overtime without extra pay. They often suffer psychological (and physical) abuse and the threat of expulsion is commonly employed as a disciplining device, a matter well documented elsewhere (Kadir 2001).

Non-Europeans who are highly educated are also subjected to discriminatory practices at different levels and on a variety of grounds. As explained in other sections, some migrant workers are denied the opportunity to practice their profession.

> I wanted to work but I couldn't work. I am a nurse, a paediatric nurse. The
> Ministry told me that we don't have paediatric nurses here. My diploma was
> accepted in Bulgaria." [FG3, F2]

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[45] In Greek called Αλλοδαποί ή ξένοι εργάτες.

[46] As well as a number of other conventions protecting the rights of migrant workers (see the official National Report on Anti-Discrimination in Cyprus and Trimikliniotis 2003).

The routine violation of basic rights, the differential pay and the terms of employment of migrant workers, when compared to Cypriots, seem to occur irrespective of the migrants' educational level.

> I am a civil engineer and now I work as a foreman at a construction site. I get paid CYP650. My employer is paying me properly but my previous employers still owe me money. If my probation period is satisfactory I will get a rise in six months [FG1, M6].

Of course discrimination is not better or worse if directed against highly educated persons: discrimination is objectionable wherever it happens. However perpetrators are most 'confident' and bold and there is no social pressure on them to 'retreat' to more 'subtle' forms of discrimination and this absence of fear of the social or legal consequences is both distressing and alarming. In fact discrimination appears to be so routinely practiced that it seems non-consequential, despite the constitutional and legislative instruments available[47]. So serious is the problem that one highly educated migrant considered that only if the government took measures the situation would improve.

Along with the 'raw' forms of direct discrimination, a number of subtle ways have also emerged. For example in higher education institutes, such as private colleges, the chances of promotion, if you are non-Cypriot, are significantly smaller. Scholarly works, particularly of the non-British and non-American tradition, are often looked down upon, something that results in discrimination against highly educated migrant scholars, as one college lecturer involved with the lecturers' union pointed out [I. 2]. Also there are reports of tenure being denied by the educational establishment to its foreign professors using the provisions of law on aliens as an excuse, which excuse is totally unfounded [FG1, M1]. Furthermore, due to job insecurity, on many occasions higher educational establishments pay lower salaries to their employees or do not fully comply with the contractual or collective agreement and college policies. [I. 2] [FG1, M1].

Non-Europeans who are less educated are also victims of discrimination – they are paid less and their employers do not always pay their share of social insurance required by the law:

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[47] See Trimikliniotis 2003.

We are foreigners here. We work a lot, but we don't get paid well. Cypriots don't work and get more money than we do. …. I work at the constructions and my employer doesn't pay my social insurance. We are foreigners. We always do the hard work in the constructions, in the farms, in the fields. I have a cousin working in a chicken farm that works from 5 o'clock in the morning until 9 in the evening. Neither the Ministry of Labour nor the trade unions have ever gone there to check on him." (FG3, M2)

Discrimination at work against Pontians has already been discussed. As for Turkish-Cypriots in Limassol, they seem to be ghettoised and many of them cannot find work owing, according to them, to prejudice and racism against them:

They don' t pay our social insurance; our wages are low. Greek Cypriots work for CYP50, Turkish Cypriots work for CYP30. Moreover, I had to do all the heavy jobs because I am a Turkish Cypriot, I had to do all the jobs Greek Cypriots refused to do. [FG6, M3]

Regularly migrant workers, even second generation migrants, who have been working in Cyprus for years are discriminated against because they are of foreign origin [I.4], or of other religion [I.2], or due to the colour of their skin [I.1] or due to the fact that their Cypriot employer has no confidence in their abilities because of their origin [FG5, M4]. A black applicant, who attended a job interview, reported having overheard her interviewer saying apologetically to his colleagues "She is good...but I don't think that a black person would be acceptable to the other members of staff" [I.1] [48].

5. Institutional Discrimination and Education

The focus groups and interviews confirm the picture painted in work package 1 recording discriminatory practice at an interpersonal, ideological and institutional level. Moreover, the discriminatory practices suffered by Turkish Cypriots in Limassol are in fact similar to those faced by migrant workers. It has to be noted however that 'intercultural education has been

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[48] The EU directives on discrimination 43/2000 and 78/2000 which Cyprus is obliged to transpose within its domestic legislation, specifically prohibit just justification; this direct discrimination according to the directive.

introduced recently – at local level where it is 'required' (Trimikliniotis 2001; Work package 1) which has improved matters.

There is a serious issue about the education of Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish speaking Rroma who face a problem of access to education. There are accounts of a nine-year-old and a seven-year-old at a Greek-Cypriot school that don't understand a word of what is happening in the classroom and the teacher ignores them [FG 6]. The result is that children, whose attendance at primary school is mandatory, are no longer attending school. For several years the Ministry of Education had announced that a Turkish school would operate in Limassol[49]. The Turkish-Cypriots in Limassol said that they had no one to talk to about their educational problems. The account pounded by one Turkish-Cypriot is particularly distressing:

> I had my children attending a Greek school. Everyday they came home crying. They were beaten either by the teachers or by other students. They were constantly sworn at: "you are a Turk, you are different". [I.7]

Migrant children who attend Greek-Cypriot schools face similar problems. A Kurdish woman described an incident when she was still at school where a teacher gave her the lowest mark in the class, even though another classmate had written exactly the same answer. The teacher was openly racist with her:

> "…you are in our country and you even want to step over us" [I.6]

She describes how awful she felt by the abuse she received but was ashamed to repeat the insults, which people used against her.

In primary schools matters can be particularly against migrants. The 10-year-old daughter of a Pontian interviewee, when asked how she got on with her classmates, she said that she had many friends – some Pontians and some Cypriots. But she complained that "some" Cypriot boys usually called her "Pontian" and told her that 'Pontians are bad!' When asked how she reacted she said that

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[49] The new Government has only taken officially in February 2003 but it is committed to open the school for September.

"when they call me a Pontian and they laugh at me, I tell them Cypriots are Turks…they leave me alone!" [I.5]

This reaction at a very basic level reflects the kind of *identity struggles* that are taking place in wider society, not merely as naming, stereotyping, labelling and excluding, which is certainly part of it, but it goes much deeper than that (see Castells 1997). It is a fluid and heavily contested practice about 'who *we* are' and what sort of society and 'with *what* sort of values *we* want to live in'. Migrant parents consider that what they and particularly their children face in schools is related to the way the media constructs the migrants in Cyprus, who stereotype them in particular ways[50]. In fact the portrayal of migrants on television and radio was repeatedly raised in the focus groups and interviews, as it is an issue of concern, bitterness even, amongst migrant workers themselves. They appear to consider that they play an important role in shaping views, convictions and stereotypes about migrants[51] [Interview with Pontian Worker]. The Pontian Greeks are particularly vivid on this issue.

"On television there is never anything positive about us. We are all bad, thieves, and evil people! I know there are bad people in my community, but isn't there a single nice person? Isn't there one, just one positive example? Never – we never see such a person on TV. This is why people see us as they do." [I.5]

At the level of vocational training or educational opportunities for adults, there are no courses available to migrant workers either to train, retrain or even to learn the language unless they attain Cyprus citizenship. Migrant workers are not even allowed *by law* to attend part-time courses at colleges, something which certainly hinders their career development. Domestic workers in particular tend to receive the worst treatment of all migrants in this department, as the domestic workers in the focus groups illustrate. There are additional studies that show routine violations of their contractual rights (Kadir 1999).

One Bulgarian migrant worker, who was a trained nurse, was very distressed at not being allowed to retrain so that she can practice her profession and was confined to being a mere cleaner [FG 3, F2]. Similarly, a trained economist migrant worked as a brick-layer in Paphos

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[50] For an excellent typology of stereotypes of migrants in Cyprus, see Chrysanthou 2000.
[51] This is what a Pontian migrant worker said: «Πιστεύω ότι πρέπει να δουλευτεί από πολύ ψηλά με πολύ μεγάλα προγράμματα που να ακουστούν. Το Ράδιο και τηλεόραση παίζει πολύ μεγάλο ρόλο».

[FG 5, M2]. The worse situation however is that of Pontian doctor who was only allowed to work as a nurse, not even at a sister's rank [FG 1, F1]

From the testimonies of migrants themselves, racial or ethnic discrimination in education against migrants and non-hegemonic groups manifest itself in multiple ways: from the more 'raw' and blatant direct discrimination and abuse, to more subtle indirect and institutional discrimination.

6. Racism and the Extreme Right

When asked about experience with violence by extremist groups, none of the persons interviewed had anything to say about racial violence from far right political groups. This is not surprising given that Cyprus has no significant organised neo-fascist groups.

There is a legacy of political violence in Cyprus that took place between 1958-67 and in 1974-75. Since then, there have been some sporadic incidents of political violence but of no significant scale, mainly due to the collapse of the Greek-Cypriot para-fascistic group EOKA-B[52] and since the leader of TMT (a Turkish-Cypriot paramilitary organization) now happens to be the 'President' of the 'TRNC' (the unrecognized "state" of northern Cyprus). The key characteristic of such outbursts of violence is that it has been directed exclusively against Greek Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. As a rule, EOKA-B would kill Greek-Cypriots alleging that they were 'traitors', 'communists' and 'un-hellenic' (ανθέλληνες), whilst TMT concentrated on killing Turkish-Cypriots dissidents. There is an incident of two trade unionists, a Greek-Cypriot and a Turkish-Cypriot[53] who were murdered in 1965 by TMT when riding in the car together on their way to a political gathering, hailed today by both the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot left as heroes and symbols of Greco-Turkish friendship. Additional violent incidents took place in the summer of 1996, in the course of the anti-occupation demonstrations by Greek-Cypriot right-wing motorists on the buffer zone, during which two Greek-Cypriot demonstrators were assassinated by the Turkish police. Interestingly enough, following these incidents, some Bangladeshi students were violently beaten up by Greek-Cypriot youths, because "they were Muslims, just like the Turks".

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[52] This was a paramilitary Greek-Cypriot organisation led by General Grivas, who had been a Nazi collaborator in Greece and later was involved in the Cyprus EOKA campaign under the political leadership of archbishop Makarios (see Drousiotis 2003)
[53] Mishaoulis and Kavazoglou

The response to this question by the persons in the focus groups casts light upon our insight into the kind of physical or psychological violence or the fear of violence which migrant workers and marginalized groups face in their daily lives. In Paphos the memory of the Pontian workers goes to the riots in 1998 when a group of Cypriots apparently attacked the Pontians youths, following a fight between a Pontian and a Cypriot

> About 50-60 organised persons holding bats came. And we were sitting on a bench and they came with glasses, iron bars, with no reason, we don't even know who they are and asked us 'are you Pontians?' and we said 'yes so what?' [FG 5, M6]

Others referred to more recent events involving knifings which took place during 2001, 2002 and 2003. The other another Pontian participant in the group stated that, in his view, many petty incidents occurred that do not take an inter-racial or inter-ethnic dimension.

Younger Pontians in Paphos referred to police violence[54]:

> They stop us for no reason (…) they can stop us 5-6 times per day without reason searching us for little things, so as to claim that we have done something wrong. These things are not right. Especially on the Pontians. [FG 5, M4].

Police violence was additionally referred to by the youth group, who also talked about violent incidents or rioting that took place in Paphos and Limassol.

> The Police, when they speak to a Pontian, they think that they are talking to a criminal[55]. [FG 5, M6].

The Turkish-Cypriot again referred to the treatment Turkish-Cypriots receive by the police, mentioning the case of the murder of a Turkish-Cypriot living in the south who was murdered but his assassin remains on the loose – implying that the police was implicated.

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[54] Police violence against migrant workers is a matter the second ECRI Report is particularly critical in the executive summary of the Report (2001).
[55] The Greek text reads: "η αστυνομία νομίζει ότι όταν μιλάει με ένα Πόντιο μιλάει με ένα εγκληματία."

They called a friend of mine a spy and killed him; in 1997 [FG6, M2].

Also he referred to the incidents in year 2000:

> There was an incident 3-4 years ago. It was the time Rom came here for the first time and there was this woman on Sigma TV saying, "These people came and took our houses over there (occupied areas) and now they took our houses over here, where shall we go, let them go to hell. When we are face-to-face they say nothing but they express their true feelings with the first chance. [FG 6, M3].

The migrant workers of Arab origin spoke about the late 1980s violent attacks / riots against them by a Greek-Cypriot angry mob in Limassol. [FG2, M2].

The Indian, Filipino and Srilankan domestic workers spoke about the sexual advances and the intense pressure they are under by Greek-Cypriot men - particularly older men, who take for granted that they are available for sex, at the 'right' price, which is usually the equivalent of 18 – 20 Euro.

> There was this man passing by in his car and told me "hey beautiful, where are you going? If you come with me I will give 20 pounds". Another time there was this old man he couldn't even walk and told me "you look very sexy are you coming with me?". And Cypriots, not all of them, think that if they give you 20-30 pounds you will sleep with them. [FG 2, F3]

Another typical response to violence by the participants was to underestimate racial abuse and dismiss it as mere acts of "just young people" undervaluing the danger which (racial) rioting by youth can have on the lives of people.

Last but not least, another form of violence, which, although alarmingly common and frequent, rarely receives media coverage: that of physical violence of employers against migrant workers. Although none of the participants made reference to having such an experience, the researchers are aware from accounts of other migrants who were unwilling to

come forward with their stories, that such type of violence is widespread, particularly against "illegal" migrant workers who, facing the risk of deportation, will seek no resort to justice[56].

For Cyprus then in all but name the picture painted by the report is particularly gloomy: excessive violence by the police; abuse and violence by employers; immigration offices abusing their discretion; remarks by public figures that lead to a xenophobic climate, all of which add up to the 'vulnerable position of migrants'. It is hardly surprising that the ECRI report (2001) on Cyprus is critical of the maltreatment of migrants and calls on the Government to take immediate action.

7. Coping with Racism

The question of *coping* with racism is by definition a complex matter. The response we received by migrant workers is diverse and at times contradictory, simply because it refers to daily choices about how to handle very different manifestations of racial discrimination in multiply contexts. It is essentially a multiple strategy and requires considerable effort in manoeuvring and tactical decisions depending on the situation. A common first reaction by migrants was "it's difficult" follow by a pause. An African female, who spoke about her daily ordeal, said that "she smiles", [perhaps this an ironic smile] and she goes running twice a day to survive:

> Well I do a lot of exercise; I do it every day when I'm alone. I do that because it calms me down. Secondly I have a doctrine; I smile a lot, I smile all the time, even if I get so angry I still smile. Now, I smile a lot, but those very racist people don't like to see happy foreigners, they don't like to see happy foreigners. That's how I cope with it, I smile, and I do a lot of exercise, I sing a lot, I try to keep my mind alert, I read a lot. I just try to keep my mind off it. Some people think that I must face it, I can't face it.

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[56] One such case was reported in an article in "Politis", a daily newspaper with the second circulation, on 26/7/2001. Citing the letter sent to the paper by a Syrian worker, the paper wrote: "…I spoke to my employer about the money he owes me. I spoke to him before many times and also spoke to his wife and his secretary about my unpaid salaries. This time he got angry, he grabbed me by the throat and hit my head on the wall three times. This was witnessed by three Cypriots [named] and his wife … who was petrified and was screaming to him to let me go and not to beat me to death …"

The response was that she survives "by working" – again response that contains a stoicism and irony [FG1, F1]. Another participant in the same group explained straight away:

> It is to an extent the fear the Cypriot has and is not tolerant to new things, new ideas, there even if you are right they will not tell you, you are right, well done. They want to do what they know. You are a foreigner, you have no right to say your own (opinion). [FG 1, M2]

So far we discussed more 'passive' approaches to merely surviving the daily ordeal of racism and prejudice. However there are also more 'active approaches'. One Pontian said that when he first arrived the mind repeating as many times as possible who he is, what he stands for, his values and ideas in order to convince 'narrow-minded' Cypriots. However, he is no longer interested as much to explain [I.3]. Another Pontian in Paphos was totally resigned – he thought that it was useless:

> … I am just tired of these people. I have just given up because I am fed up with them. I don't even get angry any more. I have given up, as they have given up. I just get on with my life. [I.5]

Highly educated Pontians appeared more open about what they demand, even if they were willing to forgive what they had suffered. One Pontian suggested that what was required was an organisation made up by all migrants, so they can speak with a collective voice – he was particularly vociferous on this issue [FG1, M5]. He then put forward a Christian religious agenda, apologising to non-Christians,[57] but expressed his dismay about the fact that his commitment to Greek orthodox traditions does not render him any respect, despite being more religious than ordinary [Greek] Cypriots[58].

There were only four, out of a total of forty-one migrants in this research package, who were unequivocal about being *happy* and 'successful' in Cyprus. One was a Philippino domestic worker who had passed through terrible experiences with their previous employers, but who now worked for a foreign embassy and hopes to get citizenship [FG2, F1]. The other two were Pontian women who did not say anything other than repeat that they were happy and had never faced any discrimination [FG3, F4, F5]

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[57] He reassured then that all religious have a similar stance. He referred to existence of '12 Plates', presumably the plates of Moses, which contain 'the truth' and must be followed.
[58] He apparently did cross more regularly and went to church more regularly than the Cypriots

A significant issue raised by all migrants is the difficulty in coping, dealing and communicating with the authorities – immigration, Police, local administrations, civil servants etc. Migrants are just ignored, whilst Turkish-Cypriots complained that they no listen to them, particularly the person in charge of Turkish-Cypriot affairs in Cyprus. They had to put all their claims by a Turkish-Cypriot person, who was not elected or legally authorised but was 'chosen' by the local administration and the Police as 'trust worthy' to act as the 'representative' of Turkish-Cypriots. Almost all the Turkish-Cypriots interviewed were particularly resentful of this practice and were preparing a petition to expose the matter. Also, a local committee has bee formed by Turkish-Cypriots to put forward demands about schooling, housing and discriminations in spite of similar initiatives having collapsed in the past.[59]

There is a general sense of helplessness to do anything to change the situation amongst both Turkish-Cypriots and migrant workers. However, the plight of migrant workers is made worse by the fact that very few are actually aware of the rights, who to approach and how to deal with problems, if indeed the possession of a theoretical way is any ways meaningful if it is routinely violated.

8. Possibilities for Multicultural Citizenship

The question of citizenship is intrinsically connected to both a notion of 'belonging' and some sort of legal identity, in other word some connection to the state (see Marshal 1953, Turner 1996). Migrants approach the question of 'belonging' in different ways depending on their 'strategy', if we could use such a term that implies considerable planning. From migrants and marginalized groups narratives, the kind of 'calculating' and 'well-thought out' schemes are not evident at all.

Turkish-Cypriots, who are citizens of the Republic and reside in the south strongly claim their citizenship in both the legal and the social sense when he was denied the right to a hunting licence:

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[59] Some Turkish-Cypriot participants were involved in another local initiative that consisted both of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots that fizzled out in the 90s, "the Committee for the Rights of Turkish-Cypriots in the south".

> We are Cypriots here. I have Cyprus passport. I am Cypriot. I have Cyprus identity I am Cypriot. I have Cyprus driving license. Why they didn't give me a hunter's license when I asked them? I have a Cyprus passport I have an identity. Why this discrimination on me? So we do have a difference. [FG6, M4]

The explanation provided is sought in the past turbulent times: "They still think about the past what happened in Cyprus". [FG6, M1] There is a claim at nostalgia of the pre-1974 situation, when the population of Cyprus was mixed [FG6, M4][60]. There are however strong claims to equal citizenship in the modern sense of equal rights

> We are a part of Cyprus' people. We must have the same rights as the others. [FG6, M1]

Others however, recognizing the fact that there are few Turkish-Cypriots in the south appeared to be holding back:

> We cannot say what we must do. There aren't many of us. It's not up to us. We can't do many things. [FG6, M3]

There appears to be a near unanimity about specific rights such the right to have a school for their children to learn their language, improvement of working conditions and that "employers must not be so violent/ vicious (αγριότητα)"; "Turkish-Cypriots mustn't beg for a job. The trade unions must help us". Moreover, they demand,

> The crucial political right. The basic rights [FG6, M3].

Points of Reference and Strategies of Resistance

Different strategies are adopted by different groups depending on individual character, ethnic, religious, social background, age, education and context. One ought to be cautious in

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[60] Between 1963-67 there was a fierce inter-communal strife and Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, following the withdrawal of the Turkish-Cypriots from the Cyprus administration after the Greek-Cypriot President Makarios proposed to amend the constitution (see Attalides 1979).

attempting to provide ideal types so as to avoid creating or reinforcing stereotypes – which is itself reproduction of racist discourses, ideologies and myths. Furthermore, the methodology employed (focus groups and interviews) is a qualitative method that certainly provides us with in depth knowledge and opportunity for discourse analysis, but not necessarily "representation" for at least accurate representation but a degree of representation is certainly provided in that the selection of persons interviewed was such that some representation is provided.

The strategy adopted by almost is to find connections of belongingness, a kind of strategy of belonging to Cyprus. However, different approaches are taken, depending on what they can more easily identify as the central cultural or social trait that they feel the can try to identify with or at least adopt. The first strategy takes the form of an adoption of *assimilationist versions* of different degrees. This refers to an assimilationist discourse of belonging whereby minority groups or migrants, stress the fact that they are in fact no different from Cypriots, they are or have become 'Cypriots', it is a claim to a *new* 'Cypriotness', presuming that this broad base is a vehicle of belongingness that is open and acceptable, or at least open to a re-interpretation of the their own. The assumption here is that Cypriotness can become a 'melting-pot' for accepting new members into society.

Turkish-Cypriots and Rromas (Kurbet) of Cyprus stress the fact that they are Cypriots, like the Greek-Cypriots and they have passport. This is connected to claim to citizenship, since they are citizens and extremely upset by the fact that they are treated differently from other Cypriots. However, there are another at least two types of narratives that are essentially claims to Cypriotness, as a cultural norm that necessitates citizenship: firstly, the narratives of younger members of migrants who have lived for many years in Cyprus, such as younger Pontian in Pafos or the young Kurd in Pafos; secondly, adults who have lived in Cyprus for may years and have contributed to economy and society via their work and through their love for the country. Another *assimilationist* strategy takes the form of attempting to find belongingness via being baptised and learning Greek, although this has not been a very successful strategy, as migrant workers themselves and Turkish-Cypriots who converted to Christianity suggest.

From some of the adult Pontian narratives, it is apparent that their claim belonging to Cyprus passes via their claim to Greekness, unites Greek-Cypriots and Greeks, in a similar manner a mainland Greek would. There is also a religious variant of this that claims Greek-orthodox

traditions as the key universal category. It has to be noted that the migrant Pontians in this research seem to consider these traits as essential elements of their *own* identity, which are then presumed to be *shared elements* with Greek-Cypriot culture/tradition. Disappointment is then expressed when they discover that many Greek-Cypriots only superficially adopt them [FG1, M5]. Migrant claims to Cypriotness tend to be marginally more successful than the equivalent claim to Greekness. Of course, migrants can only claim what they identify with. Pontians, for example would find it easier to appeal via their Greekness[61], as a quasi-universal (i.e. open) cultural commonality to identify with Greek-Cypriots. However, younger Pontians easily adopt Cypriotness, rather than Greekness, in the way a younger Kurd, Bulgarian or other migrant do. Simplistic cultural versions fail to properly appreciate the complexity of Greek-Cypriot identity cannot be reduced to binary understanding; it is highly fluid, contested, contextual and transient. It also has class, gender and regional dimensions that are complex and interestingly these are picked up quite successfully by migrants in Cyprus, whereas the complexity of the identity is something that very few, if any can actually appreciate, never mind find a successful strategy that works in most occasions in socialising with Greek-Cypriots.

Some migrants tie their hopes for a more tolerant society and multicultural citizenship with the changes accession will apparently bring:

> …We live with the hope for 2004 that it (Cyprus) will be a normal European
> country where foreigners coming here will have to be accepted [I.6]

The same migrant referred to the need that all foreigners who stay ling enough in Cyprus have the same rights at work, at school, at hospitals, at the government and government offices.

Those migrants who have stayed for years in Cyprus want to become citizens,

> I don't want to be foreign anymore, because I feel that Cyprus is my country.
> My children are here; my grandchild is here [FG3, F2].

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[61] One Pontian compared Greeks to Cypriots, suggesting that the latter: "In spite of how badly we are treated by some Cypriots, I think that they are much 'better' than the *Kalamarades*. There are more good people here…deep down the Cypriots are good. In Greece we have nothing – I know that things are better now but they don't have anywhere to go, no one to protect them. Here, I personally feel secure: We have strong unions and there are good laws that protect us – those who are members. As long as there are unions who fight for workers there is something for us. But they have to organise those are not unionised, for example my wife who works at Zorbas (bakery) There, there is nothing to protect them. They are at the mercy of their boss. He just tells them: If you don't like it, just go, whereas I can always claim my rights because I have a union behind me. I feel secure."

Those who do not have citizenship, as a legal status, despite having lived in Cyprus for decades, some of them are very distressed and find the experience of going through the immigration bureau extremely painful. A South American, who has lived in Cyprus for over 23 years, with children and a good job, is told by the immigration every year when he applies to renew his visa,

> Why are you still here? Why don't you go back to your country? [FG1, M2]

No illusions are sustained about the difference between 'legal'/formal citizenship and genuinely social citizenship, in the sense of belonging, acceptance and recognition in the words of a Bulgarian migrant

> I feel Cypriot, but Cypriots don't feel the same about me [FG3, M1].

Or as a Pontian women, who is about to get Cypriot citizenship said, that she may be getting citizenship "but I will be a foreigner" [Focus Group 3, F..]. Nevertheless, if they don't even have basic citizenship, they feel that they have nothing:

> I want them to give me citizenship (nationality), a passport to live better, to
> have a voice. I am a person who wants to have freedom, to have a voice [FG,
> M3].

This is because migrants feel that they are ignored, particularly when they go to Government bureaucracies. Another migrant who has citizenship having agreed that having a voice is important, whether Cypriot or foreign suggested that having the legal documents (i.e. nationality) has nothing to do with "how society deals with you",

> The paper says nothing; it simply gives you the opportunity to move easier.
> You don't need procedures, immigrations etc. The issue is how you are
> accepted by society. When they see you in your neighbourhood and say there's
> the Rumanian or the Bulgarian…It is important to have a voice and to learn to
> support you. This does not depend on ordinary people; it starts from high up
> [FG3, F1].

A Bulgarian woman was upset when she was apparently advised by a lawyer that it is easier for her to divorce her Bulgarian husband and marry a Cypriot to get nationality despite having lived in Cyprus for 10 years. [FG3, F2]

9. Analysis and conclusion

A number of analytical issues may be raised that relate to the very term discrimination as translated into Greek. The term *discrimination* (in Greek *διάκριση*) happens to be the same as *distinction*, but it is an altogether different concept, loaded with a completely different meaning. The origins of *distinction*, as an aristocratic, elitist concept *distinguishing* the aristocracy from the plebs, describe a type of discrimination. However, in modern English, at least at a level of popular discourse, the term "discrimination" carries negative connotations, whereas "to distinguish" is a more neutral term, at times a positive thing. Therefore to '*distinguish*' on the basis of colour is to *adversely discriminate* which is unlawful and unacceptable, but to be a '*distinguished*' person due to achievement is generally acceptable and indeed desirable. In Greek the same word *διάκριση* - unless one uses the adjective '*adverse*' in front of it – it generally means to *distinguish,* to *differentiate* and not to *discriminate*. The negative connotations which the term discrimination has in western, English-speaking traditions, reflects the historical struggles for gender equality, the women struggles and black liberation struggles; in Cyprus these struggles were only a distant ghost, being historically overshadowed by the burning 'national issue'. The absence of a genuine feminist movement as such and the weakness of the anti-racist movement, if one can call the initiatives of a few individuals as such, is reflected in the absence of a popular anti-racist discourse in Cyprus.

To contextualising racial discrimination and prejudice today requires an appreciation of these phenomena as part of social relations, within complex processes of the transformation of Cypriot society. The social scene of Cyprus, including Nicosia and Paphos[62], has seen a dramatic change over the years. Not only tourism has grown immensely, but also inner city areas, such as Faneromeni[63] and Kato Paphos, which were once hang-outs for Cypriots have

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[62] which is brilliantly described by Argyrou (1993), who conducted his fieldwork 1991-92, just after the policy change that allowed the introduction of 'foreign' labour into Cyprus

[63] The rightwing newspaper Simerini (21.3.03) carried the headline "Old Nicosia is a ghetto", quoting a Police chief who expresses 'concern' about the concentration of migrants in the area but expresses his assurances that the Police is 'prepared to take drastic measures'.

now become almost exclusively immigrant area. They have become new cities resembling inner European cities, on a smaller scale of course and with their own specificities.

The inherent difficulty in analysing racism and racial discrimination is that one must connect disparate fragments of everyday life to form a jigsaw in order to connect structures, social institutions to discourses, ideologies and praxis. Piecing together the migrants' voices means reconstructing complex ideological processes to lived experiences and then associating them with existing knowledge.   In this work package we analyse discourses of migrants themselves, as migrant voices, "to realize that racism, as a social practice and as an ideology, manifests itself discursively" but also to examine how "racist opinions and beliefs are produced and reproduced by means of discourse and through discourse, discriminatory exclusionary practices are prepared, promulgated, and legitimated" within the voices of migrants, but to explore the potential of anti-racist strategies within the very migrant voices (Wodak and Reisigl 1999). In other words, subaltern migrant voices can serve as important sources that would challenge, criticize, de-legitimate, and undermine racist opinions and practices.

Signifiers of Racism in Cyprus

Southern Asians, Arabs and darker skinned persons are routinely just called 'black' (in Greek μαύρος) as a term of abuse, sometimes with additional abusive words[64]. These instances are so common that many darker skinned migrant workers are just referred to as the "black" ("ο μαύρος), as if they have no name. Some Greek common expressions, regularly used before the wave of new migration, also carry racist connotations: the expression *"I work like a 'black [person]"*, used when someone works hard with little or no reward (a reference to the black slaves); or the expression *the fig-tree of the black [person]* («η συκιά του μαύρου»), which basically refers to a situation where the person is just picked upon by all, as if he is a nobody (a 'mere black'). However, the use of these terms has been invigorated, as they no longer refer to some distant events (slavery of the past centuries or apartheid); they are brought home now. In popular discourse such terms are found in casual talk among Cypriots. They are used as generic term of abuse against migrant workers.

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[64] Such as *shit-black* («σκατό-μαύρος»), or even worse *'fucking/puff –black'* («πουστό-μαύρος»).

Discrimination does not stop there: Even the state authorities have regularly been found to be discriminatory on the ground of colour. Immigration authorities, local state bureaucracies and civil servants routinely treat black people differently from whites[65].

The other important signifier that seemed to stand out is religion. Of course there are historic reasons that have rendered religion a symbol of ethnicity and nationalism, given the conflict in Cyprus between the Greek-Cypriots, who are orthodox Christians and the Turkish-Cypriot, who are Muslims. However, this is only a partial explanation. Recently we have all become witnesses to increased harassment and stereotyping of Arabs and other Muslims as a result of the September 11th events and the US so-called 'war against terror'.

(En)gendering Servitude: Domestic Politics of Shame

A Pontian male from Paphos explained that

"it is much harder for women migrants than it is for men as they also face discrimination because they are women and because they have the more responsibilities at home and are many times treated badly from their husbands". (I.6)

The memory or at least a kind of collective resentment of what was degrading experience shared by many Cypriot women, forced by poverty to work as a *dhoula* (δούλα) – a Greek work literally translated as 'slave' but in fact meaning a 'domestic worker' for another[66]. Even at this day and age there is shame associated with a woman working at another's house, having worked as a *dhoula*[67]. From the 1920s-30s women who were placed as domestic servants in houses were subjected to all sorts of abuses. "They were regularly overworked, starved, sexually assaulted or beaten (Argyrou 1994:32), whilst those who were seduced or

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[65] The second ECRI Report state: "Concern is also expressed at reports of discriminatory checks on the part of immigration officers of non-whites coming to Cyprus. Again, ECRI feels that further training aimed at preventing the occurrence of discrimination and discriminatory attitudes should be provided to immigration officers."

[66] . Other words used are 'para-douleftra' (παραδουλέφτρα), μισταρκοί/ος.

[67] In Argyrou (1993:32) a 68-year-old woman for instance is quoted saying " I don't want my husband to know anything about this. He doesn't even know that I was a *dhoula*".

raped by the employers would never return to their village – ended up in brothels[68] (Surridge 1930: 27).

What remains from this memory of shame is the legacy that developed into a modern institutional arrangement with domestic workers from Southeast Asia. Even younger persons would jokingly call their domestic worker the '*dhoula*' (slave); what is worse is that this transferred shame has *reproduced* and *modernised*, en mass, a new history of abuse based on the combination of race, class, gender and migrant legal status. The explanation provided by one domestic worker, who related the treatment domestic workers get with Cypriot family angst, problems and pressures maybe apt:

> I think people are good here. But they maybe have some personal problems
> they can't remove to their family so they throw it on us, that anger, because we
> are foreigners. [FG2, F4].

Pathology or not, the plight of south East Asian domestic workers, who by catering for "elementary coercive needs", which are "necessary for the mere conservation of life", to use Arendt's words [69], make it possible for Cypriots to taste what 'Olympian gods' enjoyed, is likely to carry on as the 'curse' of this type of labour is their job and society is unwilling to change.

The ambivalence in migrant narratives: Are Cypriots racists?

Migrant narratives present a picture of 'ambivalence' about Cypriots who are typically presented as '*good really*' or '*good at heart*' on the one hand, but '*racist*' or 'abusive' on the other. This may well be a surviving tactic of migrants who feel insecure in the presence of Cypriot researchers. An element of insecurity has indeed been observed, that pushes migrants to tactically attempt to appear 'even-handed': *'Cypriots are god, but…'*. Then, there is a shift

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[68] On scholar considered the high number of prostitutes in the Cypriot brothels in the 1920s-1940s was due to the fact hat poverty sent may village girls to work in rich masters' home, who took advantage of them "sending them to the gutter" (Lefkis 1984: 44).

[69] Hannah Arendt's words are compelling: "(…)As the elementary activity, necessary for the mere conservation of life, labor had always been thought as a curse, in the sense that it made life hard, preventing it from ever becoming easy and thereby distinguishing it from the lives of the Olympian gods. …People, who do nothing but cater to these elementary coercive needs, were traditionally deemed un-free by definition – that is, they were considered unready to exercise the functions of free citizens. Therefore those who did this work for others in order to free them from fulfilling the necessities of life themselves were known as slaves".

as the debate continues when they start by saying they are *happy* or that *'Cypriots are good'* and only when they feel secure enough, usually after others have spoken about their experience of racism, would speak out. But this may be only a fragment of the truth

Another explanation that supplements the above is that there is ambivalence within Cypriotness: a contested Cypriotness, a *mixed* and *hybrid* experience that contains both *solidarity-based*, *more open* and *universalistic almost* set of values, in a contradictory and transient symbiosis with *exclusivist*, *narrow-minded* and blatantly *xenophobic* and *racist* elements. It is the former elements that reach out, as a kind of solidarity that migrants identify as *'basic goodness'*. Gramsci's approach to *'common sense'*, which has a duality of *'good sense'* and *'bad sense'*, good sense being the positive, open and humane aspect of people and bad sense connected to prejudice and superstition of popular, wisdom applies here (Gramsci 1978). Migrant workers seem to identify with what they perceive as *'basic goodness'* of ordinary Cypriots, which may be explained as a dimension of a collective trait that generously reaches out as a sociability, collective generosity and hospitality of *philoxenia (φιλοξενία)*. It may well be a manifestation of survival of a collective memory of a community of a historically oppressed and discriminated *subalternity,* or it may genuinely be a kind of good nature', an ethics of a common humanity. On the other hand, there exists a class-ridden shame, that many Cypriots would much rather forget: the fact that not many decades ago a lot of Cypriot women were forced to work as domestic workers in wealthy houses, hence the contradictory attitude towards domestic workers- a total *dependence* to do the 'mothering'-and-cleaning entangled with a resentment and rejection of their descent, role and position in society. This is where Cypriotness turns into *xenophobia* and racism.

Interesting comparisons can be drawn between the experiences of migrant workers and Turkish-Cypriots and Cypriot Rroma. Turkish-Cypriots, who constitutionally enjoy a privileged position as a *community* in the *sui generis* consociational state[70], however, due to a combination of historical, structural and ideological reasons in fact face *similar* discrimination in the form of an adversely different treatment when compared to the Greek-Cypriots as a matter of routine in their daily lives. From the discourses of Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish speaking Cypriot Rroma (Kurbet) it is apparent that they are conscious of the different treatment and are very unhappy about the situation; nonetheless they are very careful not to appear to be blaming 'ordinary' Greek-Cypriots for this mal-treatment: *'the people are like*

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[70] See Trimikliniotis 2000 for more on the nature and constitution of the Cyprus state. For an analysis connecting the current Europeanisation process with a sociology of the socio-constitutional and ideological developments see Constantinou 2002, 2003.

us' («οι απλοί ανθρώποι εν σαν τζαι μας») or *'we are not complaining about the people'* *(«εν έχουμε παράπονο που τον κόσμον»)* are common expressions among them; their quarrel is with the State, with the way the authorities treat them, be these local authorities or Police, or ministries and courts. The narratives of Turkish-Cypriots and Rroma identify major structural problems such as bad housing, often in derelict state, disregard or inconsideration from the local welfare office, irregular work and unemployment. This last point contradicts the way they sharply distinguish *state* from *society*; but more sophisticated accounts by Turkish-Cypriots and migrants are quick to connect the *state* to *employers* or *capitalism*. However, it is apparent that most migrant workers face discrimination from their co-workers, which is attributed to a racist ideology, alienated from the 'universal' or 'internationalist spirit of workers solidarity'. Matters are of course much more complicated and racism is not only a structure that may bypass class, gender, ideological and discursive barriers; various mutations and manifestations appear, not to mention the historical failure of trade unions, political parties, social institutions and citizens' initiatives to properly protect migrant workers and marginalized groups[71].

Racial discrimination is connected to a wider endemic in society, that of social inequality and antagonistic relations between groups and individuals in society.

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[71] For an analysis of the Cypriot context see the section on employers and trade unions in Trimikliniotis 1999.

10. Summary

The analysis of the situation shows that racial discrimination, in its multifaceted manifestations, is abundant in Cypriot society, requiring a multiple strategy to make multi-cultural citizenship meaningful. The following are the key points that came out of the focus groups and interviews:

- The perception of the Cypriot society towards migrants and marginalized groups is ambivalent: Racism, discriminatory practices, stereotypes and abuse are regular, at the same time almost all migrants involved considered that '*Cypriots are good*'. Turkish-Cypriots and Cypriot Rroms are also discriminated, despite being Cypriot, so are citizens of foreign extraction. Signifiers of racism are colour, religion, language, culture, nationality and ethnic descent. Simultaneously, the process is highly gendered and class-ridden.

- In the labour market there is a strong hierarchical structure. The vast majority of migrant workers are concentrated at the lowest echelons of the labour hierarchy, employed in jobs undesirable for Cypriots. There is institutional discrimination *by design* as the framework for the employment of migrant workers is such that prevents career development, training and promotion; furthermore there is institutional discrimination *by default* in the policies are systematically failing to properly address violation of contractual terms, collective agreements and causing an ethnic fragmentation of the labour market. Despite the tri-partite agreement that migrant workers would enjoy the same terms and conditions of employment as Cypriots, there are routine violations by employers. At the various levels of the labour hierarchy there are different discriminatory practices against migrants:

  (a) Highly educated non-Europeans face direct, but primarily indirect and subtler forms of discrimination, as their chances of promotion and success is lower than that of Cypriots. Their qualifications, achievements and skills are not duly recognised

  (b) Less highly educated Europeans from eastern Europe are often paid less than Greek-Cypriots and social insurance is not always paid. Many are qualified to perform higher occupations but are forced to work as manual labourers.

  (c) Less highly educated non-Europeans, primarily domestic workers from south east Asia, work irregular hours, are often forced to work overtime without extra pay and suffer psychological (and physical) abuse. Construction workers from Arabic countries are routinely paid less than Cypriots, often their employers deny them

social security contributions and any are not unionised (unlike their Greek-Cypriot counterparts who are unionised).

(d) Migrant youths are often not recognised for the skills the have and are often forced to take badly paid part-time job, especially if their permits do not allow them to work.

(e) Turkish-Cypriot workers living in the south face similar discrimination at work; they seem ghettoised and many cannot find regular work owing to prejudice and racism against them.

(f) Pontians are stereotyped as criminals, unreliable and thieves and their education and skills are not duly recognised and valued. They are often paid less, their promotion chances are slimmer and are not allowed the same breaks as Cypriots.

- As far as education is concerned the migrant narratives describe widespread discriminatory practices at an interpersonal, ideological and institutional level. The few hundreds of Turkish Cypriots in Limassol face similar types of discriminatory practices, despite their supposedly privileged constitutional position. In fact their position on this issue may be worse than that migrant workers, as the Greek-Cypriot authorities have seen Turkish-Cypriot claims to right to separate education with suspicion, since the collapse of the relations between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, particularly since the 1974 Turkish invasion. Cypriot Rrom are seen with suspicion by both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots alike.

- None of the migrant workers or the Turkish-Cypriot had any experience with violence by extremist groups or far right political groups. However, all of the persons interviewed had something to say about violence and abuse they fear or have faced, as they had all experienced or know about a person who has suffered from 'violence', be they unwanted sexual advances by their male employer (domestic workers) or the Police if they were Pontian or other youths or Turkish-Cypriots. The 'vulnerable position of migrants' is confirmed.

- Migrants referred to the difficulty in coping with racism on a daily basis. People adopt different approaches depending on the context, the actors involved and their mood: from merely ignoring racism, to doing physical exercises as an outlet, or working hard, or even trying to explain those whom are bigoted; or merely hanging out with other migrants. There were very few exceptions that had no experiences of discrimination. Nonetheless there was a significant number who considered themselves 'successful' and 'happy'.

- Different strategies have been articulated as claims to citizenship, which reflects different traditions, ethnic and social backgrounds and lived experiences. Claims to citizenship came via different routes: other via some Europeanised or other version of Cypriotness, or via a diasporic Greekness and religion, or by appealing to common humanity. However, they felt they will always be foreigners in Cyprus, even if they felt Cypriot.

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APPENDIX: Focus Groups and Interview Schedule

Focus Groups

(FG1) Group 1: 'Non-European' Highly Educated - Nicosia, 13.7.03, 6.00 pm
(FG2) Group 2: 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated - Nicosia, 6.7.03 3.00 pm
(FG3) Group 3: 'European' Less Highly Educated - Nicosia, 13.7.03 3.00 pm
Group 4: Youth group (FG4) -Nicosia, 10th July 2003, 2:45 μμ
(FG5) Group 5: Pontians from Pafos - Pafos, Saturday, 11.7.03, 11.00 am
(FG6) Group 6[72]: Turkish Cypriots & Rroma in Limassol - Limassol, 5.7.03, 6.00

Interviews

(I.1) Interview with Highly Educated Cameroonian female -Nicosia, 6.7.03,
(I.2) Interview with Highly Educated Iranian Male -Nicosia, 6.7.03
(I.3) Interview with Milan - Pontian Male Paphos, 4.7.03,
(I.4) Interview with Alexandros - Pontian Male -Paphos, 4.7.03,
(I.5) Interview with Democritos - Pontian Male -Paphos, 8.7.03,
(I.6) Interview with Stella – Kurdish Female -Paphos, 18.7.03,
(I.7) Interview with Mihalis– Turkish-Cypriot Male -Limassol, 19.7.03,
(I.8) Interview with Shenai – Rroma Female -Limassol, 4.7.03,
(I.9) Interview with Anna – Bulgarian Female -Nicosia, 10.7.03

The Focus Groups analytically

Group 1: 'Non-European' Highly Educated

Nicosia, Sunday, 13.7.03, 6.00 pm [teaching posts, professional posts or are practicing skilled manual jobs in spite of their education and professional training.]

F1: Mayia, 6 years in Cyprus, Georgia
F2: Berryl, 3years in Cyprus, Cameroon
M1: Farid, 5 years in Cyprus, Iran
M2: Gonzalo, 23 years in Cyprus, Colombia
M3: Carlos, 10 years in Cyprus, Cuba
M4: Din, 1 year in Cyprus, Sri Lanka
M5: Elias, 11 years in Cyprus, Georgia(Pontian)
M6: Giorgos, 11 years in Cyprus, Georgia (Pontian)

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[72] Group 5 and 6: Open (groups that are of particular relevance to your research or perhaps specific to your country). These groups could have the same constitution as some of the earlier groups.

Group 2: 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated

Nicosia, Sunday, 6.7.03 3.00 pm, [Domestic workers, construction workers, English speaking]
F1: Remi, Philippines
F2: Melanie, 2 years in Cyprus, Philippines
F3: Appoleene, 9 months in Cyprus, India
F4: Lilly, 1 year in Cyprus, Srilanka
M1: Stefanos, Russia, 11 yr in Cyprus
M2: Abdul, Egypt 20 yr in Cyprus

Group 3: 'European' Less Highly Educated

Nicosia, Sunday, 13.7.03 3.00 pm [Pontian, Bulgarian and other east European workers]
F1: Antuanetta, Romanian, Years in Cyprus: 14
M1: Aggelos, Bulgarian, Years in Cyprus: 11
F2: Violetta, Bulgarian, Years in Cyprus: 10
M2: Marios, Syria (Kurd), Years in Cyprus: 8
M3: Etta, Syria (Kurd), Years in Cyprus: 7
F3: Vera, Georgian (Pontian), Years in Cyprus: 3
F4: Ellada Georgian (Pontian), Years in Cyprus: 9
F5: Maria Georgian (Pontian), Years in Cyprus: 9

Group 4: Youth group

Nicosia, Thursday 10th July 2003, 2:45 μμ
F1: Francesca, British-Cypriot, 20 years old
F2: Ma, China, 18 years old
M1: Adnam, Pakistan, 18 years old
M2: Khein, Egypt,19 years old
M3: Edgar, Kenya, 17 years old
M4: Amid, India, 18 years old
M5: Wang, China, 19 years old

Focus Group 5: Pontians from Paphos

Paphos, 08.07.03
M1: Dimocritos, 32 year-old, factory worker; Greek citizen, years in Cyprus: 7
M2: Dionisis, 25 year-old, trained economist but works as construction worker, Greek citizen, years in Cyprus: 5
M3: Nicos, 40 year-old, trained civil engineer but works as construction worker; Greek citizen, years in Cyprus: 6
M4: Milan, 27 year-old, trade unionist; Greek citizen, years in Cyprus: 6

M5: Petros, 20 year-old, waiter; years in Cyprus: 8
M6: Andreas, 24 year-old, chef; Greek citizen, years in Cyprus: 5

Focus Group s: Turkish-Cypriots and Rrom frrom Limassol

Limassol, 5.7.03, 6.00
M1: Salih
M2: Tasher
M3: Salih
M4: Salih
M5: Hussein
M6: Imbrahim

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The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of Racial Discrimination

WorkPackage 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

FRANCE

By

Brigitte Beauzamy and Myrna Insua-Belfer

Under the scientific direction of Jonathan Friedman

August 2003

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" Me acuerdo que en la dirección de la mano de obra extranjera de Nanterre, recuerdo que la directora me dijo textualmente: mi hija hace ciencias y no tiene cargo y yo no le voy a dar a usted permiso de trabajo hasta que mi hija no tenga cargo(AI remember that at the Nanterre foreign labour force Administration the director told me: my daughter studies sciences and she doesn't have a job. I won't give you a working permit until my daughter gets a post»)" Extract FG 1

Introduction

1. Some preliminary considerations

France has an ancient history of the restriction in immigration politics, as the year 1974 represents a turn with the advent of a politics of "zero immigration". This policy has been in place until the present even though two changes were announced: in 1999, the proposal of France, Germany and the United Kingdom, following a meeting of the ministers of justice and interior affairs in Luxembourg, of a common statement on immigration politics that rejected "zero immigration" and "total freedom of settlement". In 2002, Nicolas Sarkozy announced the necessity of reforming the "zero immigration" policy. Since the termination of legal extra-community immigration, in France, excepting the two first parts of the Miterrand seven-year term of office (1981-1986 and 1988-1992), the different governments -even that of the "plural left" of Lionel Jospin (1998-2002)- all assumed a restrictive policy on illegal immigration. This policy is expressed in procedures increasing the number of people returned to the border, the formulation of different criteria of regularization, a limitation on the right for individuals to domicile foreigners in their homes in France. At the same time anti-discrimination policies were formulated with respect to the immigrant population primarily the young- born of immigration. As a result, the was a creation of institutions devoted to the observation of discrimination issues and the gathering of complaints. Even though this politics remains constant, it appears that the possibility of an uncontrolled flow of immigrants continues to represent a threat for the French; this is one of the favourite themes of the National Front campaign.

Despite the content of the debates mainly from the medias concerning the question of immigration, the foreign population resident (legally) in France has been stable for the last 25 years. There has been a slight decline since the middle of the 80ths, especially the category of foreign resident legal immigrants, whether by "family reunification" or as asylum seekers. Nevertheless, even if the number of foreigners leaving France has not been statistically measured, it is estimated to be significantly inferior to the number of foreigners willing immigrate to France on a long-term basis. This demonstrates that the dogma of "zero immigration" has always been a pipe dream. But the inauguration of the policies referred to as "security measures" during the governments of Jospin and Raffarin helps to maintain an

atmosphere of suspicion toward the foreigners. They take place on a European community basis with increasing cooperation among the national police by means of organisations like Europol or through setting up bilateral cooperation agreements with the countries of origin. like in 2002 with Romania. They become concrete through increased control practices. Mainly through controlling identities or by closing squats, in which the homeless foreigners reside, with or without papers (legally or illegally), and by enforcing an intensification of the practice of escorting the rejected to the national borders. At the same time, the finance of this measurement has been accompanied by a reallocation of the resources, decreasing funding to associations dealing with integration assistance for immigrants.

2. The fieldwork. Its characteristics.

Two regions have been chosen to develop this part of the research: Ile de France, mainly Paris and the Rhône-Alpes region, particularly Lyon. As it is suggested in the *« Report on discriminatory landscape in the institutional areas in France »*, foreigners are unequally allocated within the French territory[73]. In this way if Ile de France contains a concentration of 38% of the foreign population, the Rhône-Alpes, centring on the region of Lyon which welcomes around 12% putting it in the second territorial position. For this main reason, also because of their socio-political history and for their economic potential we have chosen the Lyon conglomeration as our second fieldwork for the *Focus Groups*. (We will detail this subject on the following pages). Concerning the region of Paris, we have chosen it, obviously, because it is the largest region in France and since many studies have been concentrated in this region, we will here provide in advance some preliminary data before presenting the results of our research.

2.1. The region of Ile de France

A. The economy of the region

The region of Ile de France includes 8 departments: Paris (75) ; Hauts de-Seine (92), Seine Saint Denis (93) ; Val-de-Marne (94), Seine-et-Marne (77), Yvelines (78), Essonne (91) and Val-d'Oise (95). According to the reports presented by the regional Council "The region

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[73] Regarding this subject, see the first part of the WP 1 report by the French team.

of Ile de France has a first rank production system characterised by the variety of its functions. Apart from the farms, it includes about 550 000 firms in the fields of industry, construction, trade and services. This economic potential adds up to about 23% of the total of the country. A very large amount of these firms are small-sized. There are very few large-sized firms (0,1% of the total of the regional firms) but they employ 29% of the region's salaried workforce. They have a considerable power of decision making regarding the dynamics of the production network" The added value of the regional production system (measured in relation to GDP) amounts to 28,7% of the national wealth and 22% of the working population of the country. Ile de France ranks second of the European regions, after the London region.[74]

B. Population and immigrants

11 million people live in this region, that is 1/5 of the French population (20 % of the French population). Paris and the three departments of its inner suburbs (Seine-Saint-Denis, Val-de-Marne and Hauts-de-Seine) contain the majority of this population. The population of the region has grown by about 590 000 inhabitants between 1982 and 1990 with three noticeable tendencies: a slight decrease of the Paris population, an obvious slackening of the inner suburbs growth and a strong development of the outer suburbs of Paris (Yvelines, Val-d'Oise, Essonne and Seine-et-Marne)[75].

The immigrants - who are the only ones to be shown in the official statistics, as opposed to the "French born of immigration" (i.e. second generation) who do not - tend to live in the great urban centers: two immigrants out of three live in cities of over 200 000 inhabitants, Paris included, and only 3 % of them live in a rural area. The Ile-de-France region is home to the largest percentage of foreigners. In 1999, 37% of the population of foreigners residing in France lived there, which amounted to a slight increase since the last 1995 census. Between 1990 and 1999, it is in this region of France that the proportion of immigrants in the total population grew the most (14.7 %), but it is suitable to take into account the fact that this increase is parallel to that of the of the general population of the Ile-de-France region, which increased by over 16% in this period.

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[74] Source : Region Council of Ile de France.
[75] Idem.

C. Special case: the isolated foreign minors

Amongst the immigrants, mainly the illegals, there is the noteworthy case of the isolated foreign minors. Although our study does not focus on this particular situation, it is nonetheless important to mention that this is a growing phenomenon, which, for now, is only estimated at a regional level according to the budgets and political interests of each region. These children coming mostly from China, Africa or Romania, amounted to 209 in 1999 but in 2002, they were four times as many: 842 foreign minors who had left their families[76]. They usually come to Paris and other great cities where they face precarious living conditions, involved in illegal work, prostitution, delinquency. Sometimes, they spontaneously come to the services of Aide Sociale à l'Enfance (ASE / Social Assistance to Children), which led the City of Paris to initiate a system of protection of the children adapted to this situation. Once they are safe from this emergency situation, these children are directed to department places, either some association establishments, or welcoming families.

D. Citizens life: Systems for the creation of a citizenship of residence

In January 2002 a **Conseil de la citoyenneté des Parisiens non communautaires** (CCPNC, Council for the Non Community Citizens of Paris) was created in Paris in which men and women are equally represented (60 men et 60 women including 90 representatives and 30 subtitutes) coming from 36 nationalities outside the European Union. The Council Board is composed by 13 members and 8 thematic commissions focusing on: The access to fundamental rights, social affairs, international cooperation, economic development and training, information and communication, youth and culture, quality of living, equality between women and men. The Council meets for plenary sessions every week (the Mayor also has the power to call a meeting at any time) and up to the present, the Council has already made 40 innovating proposals regarding the entirety of the City life and not only the fates of the non-members of the EU. At the heart of the proposals lie the respect for cultural difference, but if we take into account, amongst other things, the small size of the budget (76.000 euros for a year), as the current president of the Council states: "It might take 10

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[76] Source : City Hall of Paris.

years until the proposals are carried out"[77]. On the other hand, quite a few *arrondissement* city halls have a similar system to allow the 10 % of Parisians be heard, who do not have the right to vote for local elections and allow them to express themselves regarding life in the city where these people work and pay taxes, as is the case in the 19th arrondissement, that we contacted for this project.

2.2. General characteristics of the region of Lyon

A. Economy of the city

The city of Lyon, capital of the Rhône-Alpes[78] region, is located in the South-East of France. (See maps 1 and 2 in the annexe). This conglomeration accounts for 10% of the national GDP, making it is the second of the country in terms of urbanization and economic potential[79].

The power of the economy of Lyon lies mainly in its extreme diversity. The region provides for itself from the activity of the various networks organised around the big groups but also from the numerous *PMI-PME* that are very innovative in both traditional industry, high technology, and services. "In fact, it is through the interweaving of services and industry that the metropolis is building its competitiveness" according to a report entitled *Grand Lyon Mission prospective et stratégie d'agglomération*[80] (*Strong Lyon, prospective mission and conglomeration strategy*). The economic position held by the Lyon conglomeration is also due to its geo-strategic position of the region, its outstanding communication network and an economy structure that has demonstrated an extreme adaptability over time. In some industrial branches " Lyon has an international reputation: mechanical, textile, chemistry and pharmacy, health. Traditional industry has in fact favoured the emergence and the expansion of the high

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[77] See the City of Paris paper, June-July-August 2003.

[78] In March 1999, 5 645 407 inhabitants were living in the Rhône-alpes region. The population growth of Rhône-Alpes is mostly due to a natural surplus for it explains the three fourth of the region growth. As to the age structure of the population, one inhabitant of the Rhône-alpes region out of 5 is over 60 or more. Source : Insee and City Hall of Lyon.

[79] Source: *"Métropoles Européennes en projet. Lyon "* (European Metropolises in project. Lyon) Mission prospective et stratégie d'agglomération, Millénaire 3. N☐ 15, septembre 2000. Lyon. (Prospective mission and conglomeration strategy, Millénaire 3, N☐ 15, September 2000, Lyon.)

[80] Idem, page 1.

technology: new materials, techniques of textile production, polymer treatment. The dynamism of tertiary sector completes this picture "[81].

Strongly linked with the dynamism of the economy, research has developed in a broad range of competence, primarily related to the new technologies and emergent scientific fields like biotechnology and digitally based research (new chemistries such as molecular, clinical research and human biology, neurosciences and cognitive sciences, biological and medical engineering, medical scanning, engineering sciences and applied mathematics)[82].

B. Socio-demographic composition [83].

The population of the city of Lyon counts around 445.000 inhabitants[84] growing to the unaltered rhythm of 0,4 per year. In this way it is ranked as the third city in France after Paris and Marseille. The demographic evolution of Lyon is explained firstly, by a surplus of births over deaths, secondly, by an upturn in the migration[85]. The Lyon population tends also

> **population renewal**: " 38 % of the inhabitants of Lyon previously resided in another city and one inhabitant of Lyon in 4 did not live in the Rhône region. One inhabitant is 2 was not born in the department "[86].

> **Rejuvenation:** " The newcomers are most of the time the youth that do studies or start their working life. Thus we number in within Lyon 61 856 students or students 15 years old or more when they were 48 231 in 1980, which represents a growth of 28, 2%. On the contrary, most of the people that left Lyon in the last ten years were in the category of the elder and left Lyon when they reached the age of retirement "[87].

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[81] Source: City Hall of Lyon and *" Métropoles Européennes en projet. Lyon "* (European metropolis in project. Lyon).

[82] " The actors of the research in Lyon belong to international centers of research, research centers from high educational establishments, public organisations of national research, hospital centers, technical centers and private centers of research and development. To advantage the interfaces between the laboratories and the firms, it exists the Présence Rhône-Alpes network for the diffusion of technology and the development structures and transfer " Source : City Hall of Lyon.

[83] See the boards in the annexe.

[84] " Between1990 and 1999, Lyon knew an increase of its population for about 30 000 people. 1990 : 415 479 inhabitants; 1999 : 445 274 inhabitants. " Source: City Hall of Lyon.

[85] The surplus of arrivals over departures is 6000. Source: City Hall of Lyon

[86] Source : City Hall of Lyon

[87] Idem.

To reduce the size of the household: " The average size of a household is today inferior to two people (1,99). Those living alone are more numerous: 101 362 in 1999, that is 26,9% more than in 1990, a majority being women. The households composed by only one person went in 9 years from 42 to 47 %, so more and less one over two. When the ones composed of three people and more decrease 54 014 (-0.8%)"[88].

Concerning the French average, it has a **socio-professional population composed by a little more of middle classes and more working-class**.

C. Socio-cultural profile of the City and immigration/immigrants

Today Lyon is governed by Gérard Collomb, senator and Mayor of the City[89]member of the socialist Party. However it is a municipality with high presence of with 25 members, United for Lyon 20 members, UMP 11 members, Communist and citizen intervention 6 members, The Greens 5 members, G.A.E.C. Alternative Left Ecologic Citizen 3 members and Radical 3 members). This particular situation is not to be forgotten when reading the reports about the socio-cultural profile of the inhabitants from the area . A study of urban area of Lyon was carried out by the Cofremca at the request of the Greater Lyon council based on a sample of 2000 people[90], provides some insights into the general profile of the area that are interesting in relation to our research. They represent a highly institutionalised discourse language on the website of the City and on various reports of Greater Lyon B Cahiers Millénaire 3). So, our interest regarding these results is based on a shared representation of these actors with respect to the problematic of our research

Thus among their conclusions the report states that one of the major characteristics of Lyonnais is " a true open mind for the others, although moderated, more centred on the

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[88] Idem.

[89] The City of Paris Mayor, Bertrand Delanoë, of Tunisian background, is also affiliated to the Socialist Party. The various political groups represented are: the Socialist Group and Left Radical (52 members),The Greens (23 members); the Communist Party (10 members); The Citizens Movement group (7 members) and for the opposition, the UMP Group (57 members); and the Union for French Democracy Group (12 members), plus 2 non registered elected members.

[90] For a better understanding of this survey, see the Methodology Introduction to the study *Socio-cultural analysis about the inhabitants of the Lyon conglomeration. Specificity and evolution, by Cofremca and Le Grand Lyon.* Prospective Mission and Conglomeration Strategy. Les cahiers Millénaire 3, N□ 2. February 1998

familiar on "one's own affairs". [...] The population [...] is subtly sociable: it is true-according to the report- that there are no signs of closure as an a priori rejection of anything alien, and that the various currents express the abundant diffusion of social networks amongst the Lyon population just as in the average French population [...] They are not closed to foreigners, but their restrained sensibility does not impel them to enjoy meeting a lot of different people and exchanging with them. "[91] The men and women from Lyon who were interviewed appear to be very sparsely "*connective"* but they embody in their overall profile some values, some idea that is close to the values perceived by average French people. In fact, to the question:" *I don't like people who do not share my values",* the men and women of Lyon answered "Quite, or More or less", 23%, as against 19%, for the whole of the French people, and "A little or not at all", 76% against 80% for the general sample. Equally, to the query: "*I find it nice that the foreigners who moved to France might go on living a bit like they used to live at home ",* 31% of the men and women of Lyon answered Quite or More or less, and 67% A little or Not at all, when the rest of the French people answered at 35% for the first option and 64% for the second. Over and above the questions that the method employed for this research would require, it will be necessary to analyse the data in light of the different testimonies gathered for our own research. We will try and do so in the following pages.

Finally, the fact that " the socio-cultural fabric of Lyon tends to have a growing gap between its progressive components and those poles incapable of any change"[92] is important to note because this gap has deep roots that one cannot attribute to some ordinary problem of generation conflict. According to the report data, everything seems to suggest that in Lyon, contrasts are very strong: the working-class are excluded from the evolutions of the larger society self isolating, the men who are more keen on authority and the young people who seem inexpressive are less "advanced regarding multiple-affiliations" than people their age group…

D. The Housing problem; difficult to eradicate in the area

The reports states that for about 10 years, public and private services have developed at an accelerated pace, and the total number of lodgings on the City area has increased by

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[91] Idem. Page 18 and page 51.
[92] Idem. Page 51.

15,2%: 251 279, that is 33 071 more than in 1990.[93] And yet, in 2002, the chasm between housing needs and the available housing in the City grew larger and the overall context of production and access to public housing has deteriorated, thus producing " some congestion at the end of the chain (hierarchy), that affects the poorest the most "[94]. This sounding of the alarm arises from the yearly report on *poor housing* edited by the Abbé Pierre Foundation for the Rhône-Alpes area. The number of requests for public housing increased and consequently, the delay for obtaining lodging has now increased to two years and it is considerably longer for large families or people with that are handicapped. This situation, bad enough as it is, turns to nightmare where asylum appellants are concerned (30% of the requests). This category of the population lives in a particular context of marginalization and fragility for, according to the Alpil's data: 2/3 do not have any income, are long term homeless, 1/3 live in a more or less stable lodging and close to 1/3 have only temporary (residence) status that remains unsure and might be questioned at any time[95]. Furthermore, the interviews we led made clear that in some cases entire families were living on the street.

Besides, in the case of young immigrants or young people considered to be second generation immigrants a study made by Annie Maguer, from the ISM-Corum, on the Lyon area, stated that amongst those leasing out residences, the tendency to move from an individual appreciation of the applicants for housing to a collective representation of the risk attached to a particular group whose cultural background becomes a "social risk"[96] needs to be taken into account.

E. Citizen life

In conclusion and in returning to the increasing individualism that seems to be a characteristic of the region, if we consider the conclusions of the study *Analyse socio-culturelle* (*Socio-cultural analysis)* commented upon above, we must underline the fact that the strong associative life and citizen values are significant marks of a City that has not forgotten its past as the " French capital of the Resistance ". Lyon has also a strong labor

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[93] Amongst them the official data counts 216 157 principal residences (+13,6%) and 7 988 secondary or occasional residences (-10,5%). In the other hand, the number of vacant residences has increased considerably: 27 134 instead of 19048 nine years ago, which means +42,5%. Source : City Hall of Lyon.

[94] *La Maison de l'Habitat*. Alpil Bilan d'activités 2002. Page 2.

[95] Idem. Page 13.

[96] Voir *Les difficultés d'accès ou maintient dans un logement des jeunes immigrés ou issus de l'immigration. Identification des discriminations* dans <u>Migrations Etudes</u>, février 2002, N□ 105. See: *The access difficulties or preserving into a housing the migrant youth or young-born of migration. Discrimination identification* in <u>Migration Studies</u>, February 2002, Page 2.

movement tradition, mainly anarchist, with the silk workers of the Croix-Rousse slope, remaining an active centre of militancy [Pessin : 2001].

Moreover, on the 27 of June 2002 the City of Lyon signed *Charte européenne des Droits de l'homme dans la Ville,* (The European Charter of Human Rights in the City), a fact that provided a new dimension to the networks of associations/State. After this signature, neighbourhood boards were created in each arrondissement and the work of the Lyon council for the respect for rights was strengthened. Members from diverse associations compose the neighbourhood board. One of these workgroups works on Integration and Citizenship[97].

It is noteworthy, with respect to the networks of associations, that they are so numerous that it becomes difficult to identify them. For example, in the *Association directory of Rhône-Alpes* (*L'annuaire des associations de Rhône-Alpes*) edited for the International Association Forum, Rhônes-Alpes contains 7740 associations for the region.

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[97] In the working group Integration and Citizenship the main axis are: Right of vote for non communitarian foreigners; Integration and citizenship; Racism, discrimination; Relations with the centre of the Resistance and the Deportation; Sans-papiers (people without papers).

II The research process

1. Composition of Focus Groups

Differentiation between various Focus Groups was made according to a few composite variables: perceived "ethnic" origin on the one hand (european vs. non-european) and a socio-economic variable "educated" vs. "non-educated" on the other hand. The actual implementation of these variables in the composition of Focus Groups led to some observations: first, apparent ethnic origin is an ambiguous category used by the actors -both for racists and for victims of racism - to characterize symbolic relative positions within the field of xenophobia and discrimination using comparisons and it is subject to significant displacements according to the position of the speaker. Migrants from Latin America may be perceived ambivalently because of their non-alien appearance coupled with strong linguistic and historical particularities ; on the other hand, physical appearance is a factor which is taken into account by migrants themselves in order to determine their own position on the scale of discrimination, thus participating fully in the definitional field of racism. When they use (post-)colonial frames of analysis, they tend to choose North African as the most discriminated against category of migrants or minorities. The educational variable also appeared to be less a descriptive tool than a useful means of underlining the specific contradictions experienced by migrants : for instance, first-generation migrants are likely to work in positions which do not reflect their actual educational level because of the unfavorable French academic equivalence system, specially in the fields of health care and education. This is obviously true for illegal migrants, who due to their legal situation are bound to work in unqualified jobs no matter what their educational background may be, but the migrant population as a whole is likely to be employed in positions which do not reflect their actual educational level.

The age variable, which is obviously paramount in approaching different experiences especially in relation to family matters, also proved to be over-charged with symbolic significance due to the existence of a strong stereotype concerning young male North Africans, who are perceived both to be the subject of the most repressive policies, and also the potential subjects of political resistance against these policies. However, this construction of "youth" as a category of migrants concerned in a specific way with discrimination and xenophobia should not be considered to be entirely transparent due to the difficulty of

providing an objective construction of such a category [Bourdieu]. The construction of youth as a political subject [Marcuse], although put forward in militant views of how to struggle against discrimination in some circumstances, is also the subject of much debate, and organizations specialized in dealing with discrimination against migrants living in the suburbs expressed their reluctance to place this category at the centre of their analysis, for fear that the stereotype would absorb and silence other problematic of discrimination.

The choice of ethnic and social groups represented in the Focus Groups aimed to retranscribe the migration situation in France and to make evident the most debated issues related to the "immigration question". That is why it appeared important to us to allow the questions like those concerning the "sans-papiers" or the "jeunes des quartiers" (neighbourhood youth) to enter into the discussions. We were only able to approach incidentally the once violent debate on the " Islamic veil " [Khosrokhavar & Gaspard 1999]: it is the little educated or very well educated Algerian women who approached the question of the visibility of woman in Islam, but none of them was wearing the veil. We failed on inserting a group of Chinese contractors specialised in the textile industry and which has a very visible communitarian presence in the XIth arrondissement in Paris that raised a vigorous debate: in terms that evoking social ecology, they were accused of causing the exit other industries because of their monolithic concentration on textile production; they have also been accused of creating via clandestine migration of the South-East Asians and their exploitation in the illegal workshops, all of which is organized by mafia like networks. Despite the conflict with the "socialiste républicain" (socialist) Mayor of the XIth arrondissement, which drove these familial contractors to organize a collective action by forming a professional syndicate, they refused to participate to the research.

1. 1. Paris and its suburbs

A. Group 1 : Educated non-Europeans

A choice was made to select in this group people who had to deal with a severe linguistic handicap when they arrived in France: therefore first-generation non-European migrants were selected in ethnic groups with no previous experience of the French language B namely outside the former French colonial empire. The linguistic question is paramount specially to obtain the French nationality, for which applicants must take an "assimilation

(sic) test" which, in the process of evaluating the linguistic capacities of migrants, also aims at informally evaluating their potential for "integration" within French society according to "cultural" variables B including religion, with some cases of specific discrimination against Muslim women.

Once the non French speaking immigrants come through the first step of life in France, to master another language than the one spoken in their home country can become an asset, but also a fence which is only reducible in a very long term. However before continuing, we have to underline that the problematic on preserving the mother/father tongue for immigrants, concerns as much the immigrants than the welcoming country. The language heterogeousness use and bringing close the languages, like the familial transmission of languages and idioms, have been taking such an extent in France, that in 1999 was created the *Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques* (the Observatory of linguistics practices) which aims to locate the grammatical consequences of the multi-language and also the consequences over the scale of linguistics and cultural politic.

Considering the previous statements, the group that we constituted, was set up by immigrants from various Latino American countries who came to France in several influxes. **We decided to overtake this group in the immigrants mother tongue: Spanish without interpreter**. We have tried to bring into play, as a motive for discrimination, the variable of mastery the French language crossed with the variable completed studies: with studies carried out in the home country and studies carried out in France. We also tried to test the different styles of hospitality in France, concerning the exiles and the immigrants for other reasons than political. The reason for this, is that compared with the other countries of the continent, Chile received special assistance from the French government for its exiles whose effects are still visible today. We enforced our group study through interviews with the Latin American councils. The reason for this, is that the immigrants of Latin American origin are a minority group among immigrats in France, to such an extent that in the INSEE statistics, the whole of these countries appear undifferentiated and amalgamated with the other continents under the category: " other countries «. We also did another interview with an immigrant of Tunisian origin at the same level of studies since we started our research based on the suggestion that cultural difference and the category-type are possible ingredients in the discrimination cocktail. (Does an Argentinean, generally, have more chances of success than a Chilean immigrant or Colombian? Does it have the same consequences, in everyday life, to be " Latin-type " or " Arab " ?

B. Group 5: Illegal immigrants

The choice of a group of illegal immigrants was made because of the political prominence of the theme of "*sans-papiers"* in France. As a stable yet invisible population, they are the ground upon which much of the racist discourse is constructed: because their number and characteristics they cannot be precisely evaluated. Extreme-right politicians conjure up images of "floods" of illegal immigrants entering France each year. Because they are bound to work illegally, they are also considered to provide unfair competition against the legal working population, and may not receive support from militant organizations such as trade unions concerned with the rights of workers. They are a very unstable population which is difficult to approach outside the field of militant organizations: due to their precarious situation, it was hard to plan any meeting with the participants of the Focus Group well in advance, since they are always likely to cancel at the last minute when they are offered a couple of hours of job opportunity.

Unlike the interpretation we had of it before we began our research, the "*sans papiers"* when they find themselves in a situation of exclusion regarding whole sections of the French society, do not find themselves outside the sphere of institutional racism. Their relationship to the French authorities is varied and conflicting, and the core question of how to obtain papers is linked to work and housing.

1.2. Lyon and its suburbs

A. Group 2: Non -European Less Highly Educated

In order to organize this group, we decided to tackle with a variable that is very important within the context of immigration in France: **the situation of discrimination and racism that the immigrants from the former French colonies have experienced, most particularly those coming from Algeria.** The importance of this subject if confirmed to us for the first time when interviewing the group of *"sans-papiers"* for it is at this time that we understood through their accounts the macabre legal consequences of the special Algerian regime: Some women born in France, and doing their studies in France, who left one day to Algeria to respond to familial obligations, would come back to France and suddenly find

themselves with no rights. No specific access to residency is provided for these returns to France and all these women (and men) are considered first-arrivals. In some cases, they came back threatened, asking for asylum[98]. Moreover, in order to develop their lives as women in a different way, they decided to stay in France after all, notably the divorced mothers or the single women with one child. The individual interviews and the Agora-Divercité group took us back to this subject.

In order to obtain French nationality, Algerian men and women were conditioned by macro-political strategies. Indeed, their legal situation has evolved over time. Algeria was quite a special French colony: the presence of the French dates back to 1830, and was transformed into a department, thus Algeria was part of French territory and its inhabitants had French nationality. Several different standards for nationality have been implemented whose effects have lasted until today: the double "droit du sol" (jus soli) for children born in France of Algerian parents born before the independence, the "droit du sol" was confirmed by the law dating from January 9th, 1973, then substantially weakened by the law of July 22d, 1993, before being restored by the March 1998 law and between these, several bills that aimed, in part, at limiting the influx of Algerians or at avoiding the regrouping of families. Their history thus is crowded with ups and downs that could be summed up by two historical-political conceptions. Up until the 80's, a conception prevailed that developed around the special relation between France and Algeria. Then a second arrangement was introduced that erroneously considers Algerians to be just like any foreigner, by trying to bring their rights in line with the general laws, a situation that, by the way, never fully occurred. In short, getting French nationality for the Algerians is so complex that we find in accounts where 8 siblings are of French nationality, while one undocumented[99].

In order to put together a group in terms of this complex situation, we collaborated with the 1901 association " **Collectif de soutien à la démocratie et aux victimes de la violence politique en Algérie** " (Collective for the support of democracy and of the victims of political violence in Algeria) as well as the lady coordinator and the members of the **group for women's speech**. We met a few women from this latter group, that derives from the permanent leadership of the Collective and has been active for two years. At first, every week, and then twice a month. Then, they published a book of accounts, *"Identités volées"* (Stolen

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[98] Given the complexity of this subject, we recommend a look at the document about the various cases of asylum in France in the annexe. They are also valid in relation to group 3.

[99] For further information, see Christian Bruschi s'article, *Historique de l'accueil des Algériens en France (1962-1994)* dans Droit d'asile, devoir d'hospitalité, Mario Mella Publisher, Lyon, February 1999. Pages77 to 88.

identities), telling of their experience as " broken women". In other words, we found ourselves facing people who were "used to " answering questions posed by interviewers. Yet the emotions and various events that occurred in these women's lives between the time the book came out and the day we met allowed for a very satisfactory framework for listening and discussion, and it definitely met our expectations. This led us to continue with this research. Moreover, from this group emerged the theme of the veil. This problematic is topical in France and also has certain particularities that we will study **further** in the following pages.

B. Group 3: European Less Highly Educated

When we had to put together a group of " non-educated " Europeans, we thought of Roms (nomads, semi-settled or settled) for they are a stigmatized, belittled group or in the best of cases, simply ignored by most of the French people. According to the Commission consultative des droits de l'homme (Consulting Commission for the Human Rights), " the Gypsies, and travellers[100], rank second amongst the groups arousing antipathy, with 41% as opposed to 49% for the North Africans. But they only rank 4th of the groups considered to be victims of racism»[101].

The Rhône-Alpes region in 1995 adopted a departmental scheme aiming to provide structures for the accommodation of the " travelling peoples" for short stays. In 1998, the city of Lyon requested a study-action to implement these structures in the developed areas. However discrimination is common and the Roms have to face inequalities of opportunity. Besides, looking back to the WWII, Gypsies who were victims who filled the prisoner convoys to the Nazi camps, experienced the consequences of discrimination and xenophobia in that city, a history that both, gypsies and Lyon, still remember. Indeed, in the Museum of The Resistance and Deportation of Lyon, a section of the permanent exhibition is dedicated to the account of the gypsy case, marked with an orange triangle in the camps. For Gypsies, the use of the word "nazi ", when they use it to refer to their fears, takes them back to this past that cannot be erased.

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[100] "Gens de voyage" (travelling people) is a French law denomination.
[101] Quote: *France pays des droits de Roms*, by Xavier Rothea, Carobella ex-nature, Lyon, 2003. Page 40.

C. Group 4 : Youth group

This group was organized with the help of the Agora-DiverCité association, an organization that focuses on different aspects of the suburban issue. The group included young university graduates, who raised the issue of insertion of the highly-qualified youth in the French labor market. The respondants, " second generation immigrats ", compared their own trajectories to those of their parents, who had come to France as " immigrant workers ", and to their " little brothers ", still studying, who have to develop new strategies when confronted with the failure of the French model of integration.

2. Questions of place

The suburban dimension

For each locality, Focus Groups were organized both downtown and in the suburbs, close to where participants live. This choice was aimed at understanding the prevalence of spatial discrimination against people living in the suburbs, and especially against young male North Africans. Immigrants are more likely to be living in public housing (HLM) which tend to be situated in some suburbs where the immigrant population is perceived to be a threatening majority [Begag : 199]

The question was raised of where the interviews will take place. There were three possibilities:

- in academic locals
- in militant or NGOs headquarters
- in social aid or welfare (public) institutions

Each one of these possibilities has both advantages and drawbacks. We decided against academic locations, for fear that the participants in the Focus Groups might feel uncomfortable, but local offices of militants induce another type of behaviour and/or signification, especially if all the participants do not come from the same background with regard to these political issues. Institutional buildings may induce a link between the project and some institutions which participants may criticize or be dependent on for aid.

Finally, concerning practical matters, the Focus Groups were organised in the associations' offices, when their organisations were based on the activities of such associations, and in academic offices or at their homes of the researchers, when the groups were constituted entirely by the researchers. It appeared, that in a general context, where group composition differed ostensibly from one occasion to another, holding the interviews in the association offices led to increased instability. The groups organised in the offices of the associations were more receptive to the environment, militants were likely to walk through the room, to look for a document, or to make a phone call. This situation limited the possibility of establishing the Focus Groups as a space of discussion, relatively disconnected from the requirements and difficulties that the participants were involved in more generally.

3. Questions of time

Because of the time frame of the Work Package, all Focus Groups had to be conducted in a short period of time close to the moment when the report was due. This schedule induced several effects: the period from April to July 2003 in France was, for the militant world, a period of tension and hectic activity. The organization of an anti-globalization counter-summit in Evian at the end of May mobilized a large proportion of the NGO's forces and attention from March-April on.

For example, the MRAP ("*Movement against racism and for friendship among peoples"*) and Agora DiverCités, Droits Devant!, were present at the counter-summit in Annemasse. This constitutes an indicator of the importance within the context of anti-globalization mobilization for the anti-racism struggle or the general themes of the discrimination against immigrants and second generation immigrants. In the same logic, the meeting organized by the Farmers Confederation to celebrate their 30th anniversary of the settlement in Larzac in August 2003 and mainly the European Social Forum in St Denis in the 2003 autumn, have mobilized an important segment of these associations, for which reason they were unable to help us completely to organize the groups.

Besides the seasonal changes, which represented an obstacle to the use of the associative context for setting up the groups - many immigrants or people born of immigration went back to their home country for school holydays - the political calendar in France had an important impact over the perception of our research. In fact, the mobilization in June against the

retirement reforms attracted the attention of the militant world in general. Even though the associations of immigrants and/or second generation immigrants perceive the question on retirement from a different perspective, compared to the view of the unions who are invest a great deal in the protection of the " social benefits ", from which they are often excluded, the organic link between the diversity of different worlds of mobilization B materialized through the participation in meetings like the " anti-globalizationists " - have as consequence a strong permeability of the agendas of such associations. The political events, whether in France, in the home countries or international spaces of struggle, for example the Isreal/Palestine arena are perceived as connected, and play a part in the perspective that defines the priorities chosen by these associations; they are put together very quickly.

The limitations of time have usually been evoked as a reason for those associations, that expressed interest in the project but finally never decided to participate. Nevertheless, the time link concerned several ethnic or social groups whom we wanted to include in the Focus Groups, do not seem to indicate that an extension of the time limit would have guaranteed a more substantial presence in the interview sessions. In fact, if several preliminary contacts and negotiations are necessary, for the question on immigration, to convince the mobilised associations for helping us to set up a group and to obtain their agreement for helping us to get in touch with the potential respondants, the direct contact with the latter requires less time. In most cases, a formal agreement, worked out many weeks in advance, for participating in the groups, did not guarantee the persons' presence. Only when they were contacted just prior to the planned meeting could they sometimes be encouraged to show up. Immigrants commonly withdraw themselves at the last minute. We realized that the militants of the associations did not have better luck at this than ourselves. Beside the unknown factors, specific to any research, it is possible to understand this problem of meetings as a constituent aspect of Focus Group methodology in such circumstances. Such variations reveal different significances according to the different groups involved. For example, people living in a precarious economic situation - beginning with "illegals" and the recently legalized - are likely to cancel at the last minute because their fragmentary rhythms of work always entail unexpected demands/opportunities implying a high degree of uncertainty in their schedules. Social workers explained to us that seasonal variation is an obstacle to the organisation of the excluded group -as well as drug addicts, ex convicts- because the omnipresent reference to holydays induces a stronger experience of exclusion. On the other hand, a last minute change in schedule does not show the same signification in all groups. For example, the group of educated Latin Americans experienced fluctuations caused by the political events - the visit of

the Argentinean president -highlighting the differences in the political positions of the participants in the interviews, which made it impossible for them to take their places at the same table.

III. Perceptions of the Host Country[102]

The way French society is perceived changes according to the story of the repliers regarding immigration. The main cleavage appears between the primo-arriving and the " French born of immigration ", the second generation. They all share the impression that life in France is tough for the immigrant people.

1. France as a place of given opportunities or "reef land"

The first arrivals, when they first got to France - legal or not - had a representation of a country in which opportunities were given, or at least in which they were entitled to hope for a better standard of living: " *If I don't get a job, it's pretty tough. But when you're in France, you always manage. There's always a way, honest, you're not gonna go out on the streets.*" (A, Algerian woman, "sans-papiers") These expectations, though deluded, are still apparent in their representations, mixed with the description of a merciless world. " *Some have nothing, they just get here in the country thinking, France is going to open some doors for us. And when you stay and stay longer, you see more doors closing on you than anything else. And you see people taking advantage of you. " " But then, you're no longer in a world with solidarity, you're no longer there. You're in a world where everyone takes advantage of on another.* "The myth of France as an arena of success for the immigrants is maintained by the descriptions they give to their families, who stayed in the country they came from: " *We always say, Paris is wonderful. No big deal, it's no problem. When you go back home, you don't complain, you always say, everything's fine.* "Moments of hope and moments of deep despondency follow each other: " *Some days, you just want to stay home, not see the day, go away from France. Then you get a hold of yourself, you tell yourself you'll get away from that shit, it's just a piece of paper that simply says, you are legal. You don't ask for more, this is no big thing. Sometimes you want to kill yourself, in the sense that it's not worth it anymore. When we win the fight, we don't know what will become of us next.* »

The « French born of immigration « - second generation of immigrants B see their stay in France in a more sceptical, less passionate way: « *I came on a scholarship, as a student, and I got used to life here. It's the routine, the routine.* » (W, Moroccan man) They have no

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[102] The extract of the Latin American FG are presented in their original language (the one in which the purposes were exposed), as for their translation into French.

problem thinking of leaving France for another destination: they might have thought B without accomplishing it B of going back to their home country, seen in an idealistic way B « *I remember, this is no joke, when I was 12 or 13 years, I would beg my parents to send me back to Algeria* » (H., a Frenchman of Algerian background). The variations perceived in the given economical opportunities have them thinking about a possible new migration: « - *We have friends, who go, who go to Australia, some people who go to Singapore, who leave for South America, Peru. (...)*

- *We haven't given great consideration to that yet, but of all the people I know who graduated, there's an impressive number who left France. It's my case, I am working on my departure.*»

Immigrant women, especially the non-educated, mentioned France as a country where they were able to develop strategies to get around the social role assigned to them in their home country: « *When I first got here, I liked it. I got married in Montpellier[with a man from Mali], and then I was with him for eight years. It didn't work. After I got divorced, [I came back to] be free as a woman* « (F, Mali woman, sans-papiers). But the immigrant women who were educated in France, in particular the Algerian women, reported that the young girls are under particularly close surveillance.

2. Being French

The question of legal status, of residence permits or the acquisition of French nationality, are central matters that distributes around the contrary positions. Does being a French man/woman means having French nationality? Is it to have gotten one's education in France? Is it to participate to collective life? Those of the second generation do not hesitate to consider themselves French even if they mention that this was not the same for their parents' generation, who stayed in France for 30 years without considering themselves as " *at home"* : " *I have a resident card, I am a French citizen"* (W, Moroccan). But they don't hesitate to distinguish this notion from nationality: " *You're going to be shocked but I have a resident card, I never asked for it [French nationality]. I'm not proud of it, but I consider myself a citizen of France* ". Being French differs from other kinds of membership because of the number of foreigners living in France: « *nobody can't award certificates of "frenchism". When you say, I'm not, it reminds me saying we are Arabs. Let's say that I am a French citizen, I am French. In Morocco it means something, there are practically no foreigners*

there. But the notion of being French has exploded in the current situation. » Consequently, if the fact of being a French man/woman has altered its meaning, there may be a conflict about the interpretation of this question, for which the foreigners in France have an opinion: « *if I have my resident card it doesn't bother me to say that I am French, it doesn't bother me. As a personal concern, if being French means to be implicated in French society, in public life, etc..., I've been successful in being more French, this country we know it better than most of its inhabitants. We have to tell ourselves that French, has completely disappeared, whether they like it or not. Unless we consider that being French it's the French of the beaufs, (...) It is to do them a favour to help them to turn a new page by saying. 'I am more Algerian, more Moroccan than French.* » To take on French citizenship can then represent for the immigrants a political act of asserting their rights.

Possessing French nationality embodies a more ambiguous signification for the second generation in which they emphasize the discrimination suffered by second generation immigrants who remain attached to the identities of their countries of origin: « *H: For everything else, I consider myself as Algerian even if I also have French nationality [laughs around the table]*

W: no, really!

H: no, I would like that someday here in France we could be able to be Algerian and still have French citizenship. I am against the fact of linking nationality and citizenship. That is to say that I try to see how to describe myself or how to present myself, I would never present myself as French. It is a matter of survival. You seem surprised!

M: You have dual nationality. You are French here and Algerian in Algeria.

H: dual nationality is theory. I am French over there and Algerian here.

M: You take the nationality of the country where you live, that's all.

H: no, you don't give a damn about it. »

We note that the new arrivals manifested a stronger desire of staying in France than the French citizens born of immigrants B obtaining the French nationality consists for certain immigrants a step toward increasing mobility.

This ambiguous aspect of French nationality reflects the dual cultural identity shared by the « second generation » - whether they have they stayed in France with or without their immigrant parents or gone back to their home country and thus lost, for legal reasons, their right of residence in French territory. This is the case of second generation women descendant of an Algerian families who immigrated to France in the 60's and 70's, who were educated in

France and who were sent back to get married in Algeria. When they manifested their desire to come return to live in France, with or without their families, they discovered with surprise that they had lost all rights of residence in France. They were considered as new arrivals which placed them, because of the drastic restriction on the asylum procedures since 1974, in a precarious situation as asylum requesters or even "sans-papiers". It is this group that has asserted with most vehemence their French identity, which constitutes their principal argument for hoping a re-establishment of their resident rights: « *I came because for me it is my native country, I tried elsewhere but it didn't work, so I came back towards the country of ties. Even if I have two cultures, my first culture is France. The second comes in second place, it is certainly the culture of my parents but we don't adapt to it completely, that's the problem, we have two personalities. We are in a country where you are not entirely recognized because you come from elsewhere and you come back to your country where you were born, where you lived and they reject you because you are not completely like them.* » These respondents, first underlined the strange experience that they had when they lived in Algeria B explaining to us for example that they didn't try to master the language B insisting on the fact that they felt completely comfortable in French society. It is only then, they explained, that their status of immigrant daughter had in the same way led to feeling of estrangement. Returning to France, in an illegal situation, they were confronted by the paradox of being able to "pass" as French people in many ways B being able to speak French without an accent - while being rejected and relegated to the category of the other because of their different phenotypes and because of their different legal situation.

This example illustrates the legal complexity of the structures of French nationality, even though often described as more easily accessible than other nationalities of the European Union: « *But in France, in Europe it is the most liberal legislation. It is there where the nationality is the easiest to obtain, it is not a question of pride, but in Germany nationality depends on blood (Jus sanguinis)* ». This belief is a motivating factor to come to France, for example for Yugoslavian Gypsies. But the legislation, the product of the colonial past of France, contains many special cases that separate the applicants for nationality according to their country of origin, as well as their date of birth: « *The Algerians, are a specific case. On the other hand, I come from Morocco, I marry a French woman, I get French nationality immediately.* » The twists and turns of the legal apparatus create inextricable situations: « *there are people, from zero to thirteen years old, they are stateless people. I know someone, it happens to be that, his father didn't recognize him as his son, his mother is from Morocco, but since nationality in Morocco descends via the father, not the mother, he is nothing at all.*

There are thousands like this. And we will know when he is thirteen years old. (...) Well, this guy, he doesn't have the French nationality, he can't leave. » The incoherence of the procedures of access to French nationality, underlined by the respondents, accentuate interpretations expressed terms of discrimination: « *Institutional discrimination is clear and distinct. I remember a funny fact that the family of a Lebanese friend told me. They had been in France for two or three years and to my great astonishment and surprise, I discovered that they possessed French nationality. My father (...), he commented: it is in fact incredible, I am in France since 1957 and I do not have the French nationality, and you've been here for two or three years and you all have French nationality. And from that I discovered that that Marronite Lebanese Christians had French nationality automatically when requested at their arrival.* » This information, that doesn't concern the legal devices but the largely arbitrary way in which they are applied, are not an source of consensus among the respondents: « *But I don't think for Christians, for the Africans it's really hard. But it's true that there are texts. I know some Algerians they arrived six months ago and they discovered that they were French, because their grand-father, I don't know, he had a certain post, if he was a deputy elected or not, they had French nationality.* « But the complexity is interpreted as a will of the French State to select the immigrants that it wishes to integrate B far from a universality ideology: « *But for this government, as soon as you've lived here, as long as you speak French, as long as you are integrated, even for the foreigners there are categories. This one that comes from Algeria, this one that comes from Morocco, all this, we see it.* « That introduces comparative elements between immigrants, who will try to evaluate their chances of disposing, some day, of a legal residential rights in France, depending on their home country and their personal background: « *That is when the people who came late as I did will certainly have more facility to gain French nationality than the people who have been here for a long time.*» In this way some "sans-papiers" being conscious of not corresponding to the legal criteria to become regularised prefer to wait clandestinely for ten years rather than exhausting their possibility for appeals.

Competition is then created in relation to technologies of access to the nationality. Strategies are created concerning these representations: « *But, your French nationality, if you have one million euros in your account you have it. And there is even a privilege, what we call kingly, that the president of the republic can give to some people, it has already happened; it is true that this is not at all satisfactory.* » This impression, of a legally arbitrary access to national citizenship, doubled with the discrimination that is felt, introduces a certain instrumentality to the question on nationality. It is not approached then by the respondents in

symbolic terms: being suspicious towards the ideology of integration, some North Africans - first and second generation- do not hesitate in stressing the purely pragmatic character of requesting French nationality: « *I hesitate to look French after ten years, as there are some advantages. The government has declared that foreigners do not pay taxes in France.* " " *There are people who would like to be Moroccan or Algerian, but if you have a practical spirit, to make deals, you have to be French.* " A new arrival from North Africa summarizes the general position of the group as disillusioned: " *There is always discrimination. That is why we assume totally that is possible to become French by necessity or for an economic reasons or profit (…) Anyway this today is journey of the struggle to become French.* »

Otherwise, respondents perspectives on nationality is also subject to political considerations: "Yo no pertenezco en particular a ninguna, yo non necesito de ninguna nacionalidad, no tengo un problema de identificación, no lo tuve nunca con mi familia, y todo lo demás...si me dicen que soy no sé, a mi no me interesa pedir determinada nacionalidad. Yo soy del país donde estoy y lucho, y lucho por varios(I don't belong to any nationality, me, I do not need any nationality. I don't have an identification problem, I never had it with my family or anyone else. If they ask me what am I, I don't know, I am not interested in demanding any specific nationality. I am from the country where I stay, and I fight and I fight for many)."

3. Inflexible administration, materialization of a France that rejects immigrants

This feeling of rejection many interviewees have experienced is concretely expressed in relations to the authorities - the district (prefecture or police district) where residence papers are concerned, and social welfare administration for access to rights. « It doesn't go the way we wish. Every door we go to, in the administration, or at the employment agency, nobody will see you because, automatically, there is a problem of ID. » recounts a "sans-papiers" woman.

Very often, the two forms of administration are experienced as the aspects of a single repressive politics: « I don't know what a social worker is. I only went once to ask what I had to do regarding the prefecture. They told me, nothing, just go back home. I went back to my home country, I was so pissed, I was totally disappointed, and I thought, 'so that is a social

worker?' Well, goodbye! » Some repliers tell of the possibilities of pitting one immigrant against another because there are clearly some possibilities of conflict.

The complexity of the institutions and the great number of interlocutors also requires, on the part of the immigrants, the acquisition of specific know-how in order to find their bearings and make the most of the particular possibilities. From the immigrants point of view, the structures of assistance associations and the state administrations form a continuum in which they need to know how to proceed. Hence the following dialogue, regarding the housing issue:

« A: You went to the HLM (council flat)?

X: Sure, I did everything, OPAC, HLM, everything, everything. And I work with the city hall of the 19th arrondissement!

A: And they don't provide anything.

X: They give nothing. Nothing.

A: Did you go and see Droit au Logement? No. [An association that fights for the rights to be relocated, especially for people who have been evicted] »

In their relations to the administrations, the interviewees B including the second generation - mention unfair treatment, very often in relation to the central issue of the nature of the residence permit for France: « *For the handicapped people, you had to be French to be able to get the Coderep. Foreigners who had their accident here was not entitled to the coderep payments, just like any other handicapped person. They've made their whole life here, but they're told, 'you have to be French to be in the Coderep. Later, this problem was solved, France was found guilty by the European authorities of unequal treatment.* « The feeling of discrimination is materialized via unequal rights: « *it is clear that you define yourself in relation to the society you live in. I cannot claim being French when, vis-à-vis the legal issue, I don't have the same rights as everyone else.* » But you also find, amongst the French descendants of immigrant parents, a feeling of being the object of impersonal treatment mechanically implementing some legal devices regarding nationality, without even having the possibility to make themselves heard: « *When I turned sixteen, I realized that, being sixteen, I needed some id papers. I had an Algerian id card, but I was told it didn't work, that I needed a residence permit or French id card. They told me, you were born in France, your parents live in France, you **are** French. I had made a request for a special procedure in order no to obtain French nationality. I thought it was not normal for me to be*

French. It was natural. All the people born of immigration, a lot of people in our generation, have tried to employ this procedure and have been rejected because it was not acceptable".

This image of « a France of rejection » appears in a contradictory way amongst highly-qualified Latino repliers. On the one hand, they mention the suffering due, for them, to the fact that they are dependant, in every aspect of their lives (health, education, work), on having temporary residence papers (6 months, one year), experience fear every time a letter arrives from the prefecture, and have great difficulties in justifying the incomes required for a new residence permit. On the other hand, they repeatedly mention the Andean features or the features of Latin American people as a cause of discriminating differentiation in the way they are treated. N., a blond man with light-coloured eyes, states: *« Me trataron bien, la policía me trató bien, nunca me pararon en la calle. Claro con la pinta de gringo que tengo no me pueden parar. Desgraciadamente los hermanos latinoamericanos peruanos, bolivianos, mejicanos tienen un biotipo, igual que los negros, bueno desgraciadamente, bueno es así (They behaved well with me. The police treated me ok, they never stopped me on the street. Of course, with my gringo face, they won't stop me. Unfortunately, our Latino-American brothers, Peruvians, Bolivians, Mexicans, have a biotype, like the black people, well... unfortunately, that's the way it is)".*

4. Calling into question the myth of France as a welcome land for the immigrants

The ideology of France as a refuge or a welcome land is questioned by most of the repliers, who distance themselves vis-à-vis the symbols of the national republican identity: *« In a program, they asked young people what it meant to be French and they answered, one hundred and sixty Francs, because it was the price of the government stamp. Same wise, Liberty equality fraternity was a one Franc coin. »* But once again, the terms are different according to migratory background: second generation people are most sceptical regarding this ideology, and show some distrust when this speech is invoked by immigrants in order to justify their choice of France as a receiving country, which seems hypocritical to them: *« He'd say that the Armenians had migrated to France because it was the land of Voltaire, which is not true at all. Most of them, if they'd been Swedish, they'd have landed in Sweden, so it's got nothing with Voltaire, or Rousseau, they landed in Marseille, and if Marseille had been Italian, they'd be Italian. And he said the problem with the people from North Africa,*

just like that, uh, they try to keep the French identity for economic reasons, and for the papers. »

The new arrivals, especially those who have no identity papers, are more willing to prove their good faith, which incites them to insert into their accounts the « bad immigrant » figure towards which the French authorities might rightly act in a firm way: « *All the people who are here are not delinquents. That is not the problem. If they believe they are all thieves, as I say, if they have papers and are legal, those who steal, they have papers, it's when they* **have** *papers. They are French. Well, these people, you should send them back to their parents' home country. So they see what it's like. Some parents did that. When their daughter was into drugs or stuff. They sent their daughter back for a year. She begged them to come back to France. She saw what is was like over there, she begged like a dog. To teach her respect. And I can tell you she never did it again. She's married and with a kid now, and she says, why did I get into this? It was real punishment for her, and it was difficult for her to obtain papers again after a year.* » This kind of respondents has no problem admitting the idea that a residence permit can depend on proof of good behaviour in French territory, and might go as far as using the anti-immigration discourse himself even though it condemns them: « *There are a lot of immigrants in France, it's the truth, it's a real problem.* » says an "undocumented" Algerian woman, who would obviously prefer to become legal in a personal capacity B and possibly on the basis of exceptional rules B rather than claim collective legalization, i.e. without any individual solutions, following the political line of the association that was this host to this Focus Group.

We note that amongst the respondents, and without taking into account the group to which they belonged, we always find couples of opposed examples of the good and the bad foreigner. Some stories of immigrants who deserve help from France and do not get it, and others who, on the contrary, do not deserve it and have managed to get some advantages from the French state. This feeling of inequity in the way people are treated is so strong that is even comes through in exceptional situations, such as the 70's exile: « *Nuestro exilio fue una cosa atrozmente difícil. Difícilmente conseguíamos HLM, difícilmente conseguíamos trabajo, siempre los que teníamos un nivel profesional bajábamos aY Yo puedo dar fe que no hubo una inmigración, una colectividad más privilegiada en Francia que los chilenos en cuanto a obtener departamento, trabajo, al mismo nivel profesional, sin examen previo y sin documentoY los chilenos disculpe compañero pero yo no quiero ofenderlo, pero las cosas son las cosas. Fue una inmigración privilegiada (Our exile was extremely difficult. It was very*

difficult for us to find an HLM, or work. Those of us who had good qualifications, we'd always go down (in the sense of downward mobility)Y I can attest that when we had to get work at the same level, without taking any prior exam and without having an Id, there was no substantial immigration, no other community that was more privileged than the Chilean. The Chileans, I wouldn't want to offend you, but I'm sorry, compañero, things are what they are... Yours was a privileged immigration «). A discussion amongst Argentinean, Chilean and Colombian repliers.

The respondents, especially those of the second generation, attribute a broader meaning to the questioning of the representation of France as a welcoming country, by identifying some recent tendencies to closure: « *France is composed of the people who live there. It thrives on openness, and at the same time shuts the borders and turns in on itself.* » The Republican principles and their translation into a policy of integration then appear to be some hypocritical formulation: « *The truth is that, under cover that France is Republican, it does not grant recognition to communities. But that's what we want! Just as they do 1negative discrimination, that's all there is in France, discrimination. When it suits them, they go on with their big principles.* » Second generation immigrants, when they have a legal residence permits, or French nationality, are not faced with the same fear of rejection or fear of being evicted that the new arrivals have to face, in particular those who are undocumented. Therefore, they experience in a more direct way the policies of integration as a violation of their identity through a prescription of assimilation. Furthermore, they feel it denies the old colonial violence their fellow countrymen had to suffer, and the discriminatory treatments their parents had to face, when they came to work in France: « *This is where there are plenty of things to reconsider. We have our disagreement with France, with the State of France.* »

5. 25 years later, the exiles became immigrants?

During the 70's, for the Latin American militants of the left wing and for threatened artists, coming to France was a way of surviving and continuing to work. Even though, obtaining nationality had been easier for them than for the Gypsies and Rumanians at this time (we realized that some Yugoslavians had even paid 100 euros to specialists to make up papers that were totally worthless), this has not always been easy, even for the persons who came to France as political refugees. M E., Argentinean, mother of three vanished children, says: « *En el año '76 yo estaba en Francia y me refugié, después obtuve la nacionalidad*

francesa porque soy de origen francés. No me fue nada fácil obtener la nacionalidad francesa precisamente por mi condición de refugiada, a pesar de que yo soy hija de franceses y estaban obligados a dármela, me correspondía automáticamente. Era un trámite que no podía discutirse, sin embargo obtuve la nacionalización en el añoy, más de los años de los que tendría que haber llegado, porque la Prefectura rebotaba continuamente los trámites. Era la parte más dura .porque me tenía que presentar cada tres meses a pedir un récépissé. Graciosa la situación, porque por sangre tenía el derecho a vivir acá. Pasé por circunstancias, por ejemplo mi compañero de ese momento, que no tenía origen francés les daban el récépissé por un año, el séjour por un año, pero él no tenía antecedentes políticos, ni situación especial. Y yo tenía informes del consulado y me hacían esperar con gente del Africa del norte, que en ese momento era gente que se expatriaba automáticamente (Trad. In 1976 I was in France and I became a refugee. After, I obtained French nationality because I have a French origin. It was not easy for me to obtain French nationality mainly because of my refugee status and this even if I am daughter of French parents so that they were obliged to accept me. It was an automatic right. It was a procedure that should not have been discussed and even so I only obtained it after a year.. it took longer than it should have because the Prefecture constantly refused to follow the procedures. It was the harder part because I was obliged to present myself there every three months to request a permit. Funny situation, because by blood I had the right to live here. I experienced strange situations, for example, my friend at that time, who was not of French origin, obtained a permit for a year, residence for a year, but he did not have political qualifications nor a special situation. And meYeven with letters from the Consulate they would make me wait with people coming from North Africa, whom at that time where people that were exiled automatically».

The respondents assert that during at least 15 years, their life was completely tied with the feeling of coming back, even in banal situations like buying the furniture for the house. In the 80's, motivated by the hope that means the return to the constitutional democracy of the South American countries, a very important part of the immigrants of the 70's and exiles went back home. At the moment of returning the refugees lose their statute. Many of them stayed a very short time in their countries and came back to stay in France definitely: L, married with a Frenchwoman. *« Yo vengo a Francia porque es mi deseo, Francia no fue a buscarme a Chile, Yo vine para acá por mi interés personal. Entonces si yo vengo con un interés personal a una sociedad que no es una maravilla, que es la sociedad francesa, yo tengo que adecuarme a los marcos franceses, hay una legislación, hay una constitución, hay una reglamentación, si no sería una anarquía. Si estoy de acuerdo o en desacuerdo, eso me lo va a determinar el*

período por el cual yo pienso que voy a estar en este país, tendré que participar socialmente en la sociedad francesa para cambiar lo que yo creo, o para participar en un cambio en lo que creo que socialmente no estoy de acuerdo («I come to France because it is my desire, France did not come to look for me in Chile, I came here out of personal interest. This being the case coming to a society that is not simply marvelous, which is the case for French society, I have to adapt to the French frames of reference, there is legislation, there is a constitution, there are regulations the contrary would be anarchy. Whether I agree or not with life here will determine how long I will stay in this country. I would have to participate socially in French society if I want to change things on, or to participate in a change that I believe in»). We stress that for the respondents, this shift in the legal status (from political refugee to immigrant), is not felt as a real change. They remain exiles.

IV. Institutional Discrimination and Work

Many of the respondents have mentioned the difficulties in finding a stable job corresponding to their qualifications. If we find in the interviews different cases that vary according to the possession, or not, of work permits in France -the "sans-papiers" and the asylum seekers are a particularly vulnerable population in the labour market. We have to underline that the feeling of being either exploited in, or excluded from, the labour market, is very strong in all the cases and no matter what one's position on the social scale.

1. The experience of precariousness and unemployment

This experience forcefully confronts the "sans-papiers", who live from day to day, disallowed any possible projection of a future life, which is anyways uncertain due to anguish of being expelled: « *no we cannot buy through credit but we could not afford it since we don't have permanent jobs.* »(A, Algerian) The fact of being employed from day to day does not allow them to anticipate beyond survival: « *But it is true that arriving at the end of the month thinking that we will spend the night outdoors, thinking that we won't be able to eat, thinking that we won't be able to buy anything, because women always have needs concerning their own persons, it is nonetheless a problem that we confront every day. God makes the sun rise and that we are here asking ourselves, what is going to happen today. «, » Every month I have to manage to put together 305 euros, with the housekeeping paying 10 euros or 5 euros per hour to be able to accumulate 305 euros, to eat and live like other women. «* (F., Malian)

But the young second generation women are also contronted with higher unemployment rates higher than the rest of the working population and perceived as very elevated by the respondents. They explain that unemployment is a new situation for the immigrants, even if the flow of labor immigration from 1950 to 1970 was not supposed to open any career perspectives for immigrants: (W, Moroccan) «*The first generation, there was no problem, there were all kind of jobs, they were all workers*». (M, French of Algerian origin) «*Wait, my father was a dustman, he remained in this subsidiary position his whole life. He came form Algeria mainly for that.* ».

2. Unrewarding employments

The respondents mentioned the fact that they were forced to accept, even for the more qualified, uninteresting jobs, not considered, or at least quite unrelated to their professional qualifications. « - *And so, we always have to do the jobs which are jobs that the others don't want!* » (Exchange between undocumented women) But even these precarious employments are not easy to find, as was stated by the members of the "Collectif Algérie à Lyon".

3. Immigrants as preys for unscrupulous employers

The group of "sans-papiers" recounted very intense stories of daily life, particularly the woman, «which ever their abilities, are confined to service tasks while the men « do the markets « or work in the building industry « *And we see the people abusing us. Either women or men. The Monsieur want many things, telling themselves it is a good time to take, and the ladies want a washing machine, a dishwasher and laundry. All the delicate things, is for its little Portuguese or its little Arab. You see it's things like this, the little African, all that needs attention.* «. The threatening expulsion allows to the indelicate employers for not paying correctly their "sans-papiers" house employees: « *The most the person knows what is wrong with you, the most she will take advantage from you. Like I see some people working for months and who have not been paid. And when they speak, if you speak I denounce you and you will be expulsed.* «. Concerning the cases where the immigrants were accommodated in their employers home, in families with bourgeois status, the accommodation conditions were described as horrifying: « *And people take advantage of this, and mainly the people who are very well placed, that's what hurts the most. There is people who are in a scale where they cannot be reached and this people pretend to know the Human Rights but in my opinion they don't know anything at all because when they see a young woman, they take advantage in not giving here a room and the survive. They give her a mattress for the floor or what ever, and they ask her to wake up early in the morning telling her, tomorrow I invited people, you have to do this, you have to do this. I think that it is a real abuse of the people who are there and who mainly need help, because we are strong, we have reached a age in which we can survive, in which we can say no, but the young girls who arrive at the age of 15 or 20 and who say a door got open, we'll able to sleep and we'll have a shelter, that is profiting at 100%. Dogs wouldn't live like"* .

The immigrants or the French born of immigration are understood by the repliers as representing a resource for certain sectors for profit, for which they are essential. A replier tells a conversation with a recruiting officer from a temporary employment office specialised in precarious work and who don't hesitate to recruit the ex-convicts: « *I discussed, I saw an audience over there, I was used to seeing it in the juridical duty. An audience that is usually rejected from all, from all, from all the authorities and companies. I was discussing and he told me, well we take everybody. I asked him why. He told me, it is an audience that suits you best. It is an audience without any culture in firm, any chance that they will get interested in promotions, etc, etc, they have a contract with the person that hired them, they only know the person that hired them. He is paid through a catapult, he doesn't complain and they have time.* »

4. Racism at work

The repliers clearly feel some discrimination at work. They perceive this discrimination at various levels: first as some ordinary racism on their employers' part: « *I had the experience, I was tutoring, for Italian (...) via some company (...) the secretary, she told me, well, we'll let you know quickly, there are some swells, we are careful, you won't get enough calls, because these people, they turn down people from North Africa.* « But it is also perceptible in the way they get treated in the public agencies such as the employment agency (ANPE), or in the public city policies: « *But picture this now, at least, if you want to be cynical, let's have the words out (...) There's an employment agency in Vaux-en-Velin that said, I'll do it. When we get a resume, I write, some employers have told me, he's told that in front of the TV, some companies have told me, you shouldn't send me... Arabic people. Only white people. He said so, and he wrote so, as it is, if I were you, I wouldn't send your resume. And it goes even further, when you see some Mayor, writing to 5000 companies to tell them, don't stigmatise the youth. It's the best way to stigmatise. This came on top of features discrimination, and spatial discrimination.* » The argument for realism, or the anti-discrimination policies, might both be seen as racist as well, just like the republican pro-integrationist arguments preventing any statistical research that would take into account the dimension of ethnic belonging: « *Using non-discrimination as a pretext, they prevent any acute study. Because they're gonna say, in France, there's ten per cent of executives who won't find work, people with Ph .Ds, etc. But who are these ten per cent? This is the image of*

of French society. There are thirty per cent of workers, there are percentages. And for the immigrants, there are percentages as well but in general they go the other way round, they're not the same. »

5. The institutional discrimination facing employment and retirement

It limits the access for strangers to some functions, by denying them the access to public services or public services companies, for which French nationality is required: « *And the problem with para-public is that in France, sending a letter and delivering a letter, it comes within national sovereignty. Unbelievable. That means you have to be French".* (W.) This situation is the result of a lack of solidarity amongst the salaried employees of the public services and the foreign people residing in France: « *the CFDT, the CGT, when you tell them now, why don't you go on strike and get France stuck to tell them your immigrant brothers have to be able to enter the SNCF? What do they think, it's fucked up. Because it will give them the possibility to hire and pull the prices to a lower level. If we ask for them to be able to have access to the SNCF or the French Post Office, the collective agreement is going to fall apart and we will lose the social entitlements. There you go. And all the while, I cannot be a railroad man, I cannot be a postman. I cannot.* » (W., a Moroccan man)

There's also the problem of pension for the salaried immigrants, who are the victims of a discriminating treatment: « *foreign pensioners have to check in every three months. Otherwise, they lose their pension earnings* » tells us a Moroccan man whose father lived in France as an « immigrant worker «. The second generation people compare, on this point, their situation to the one of their fathers, former immigrant workers: « *As to pensions, honestly, I wonder what we will assert. Thirty-seven and a half years out of work or thirty-seven and a half years' work? Today, all the baby boom generation is forty years old. All of our parents, there's not one of them who's reached pension age, not one of them who can prove forty years' worth of work. They've worked for forty years, but in the 60's, they didn't have the right pay slips. I realized it when my father went to settle his pension. (...) There's something wrong, there are more or less six per cent of us, immigrant people, and there's probably about eighty per cent of us who receive l'allocation du minimum vieillesse. But they cannot get their pension earnings in their home countries. Even after working thirty-two years, you don't get your pension money. I told her [the employee], don't bother looking for*

the papers, it's no use. They can tell we're going to fill in a form for the allocation minimum vieillesse.»

6. Access difficulties to employment for immigrants and French born of immigration

The repliers mentioned specifically the difficulties to find a job, which doesn't presage working relations, once the job is obtained and that they have proved themselves: « *Then there is the access to a job and the working world, these are two different things.* » (W, Moroccan) « *But anyways, at this moment it is true that we have problems in acceding to the labour markets.* »(M., French of Algerian background). Some identical difficulties were put in concern for finding a simple training course for the end of the studies, as the story told by a Frenchman with Algerian background: « *It is someone with a BA (Bac «4), in banking insurance and the guy looked for a training course and there was nothing to be done. He would even ask in small agencies, as a simple employee, they didn't want him. In Geneva, it happened to be that one day he was walking around the Genreli UPF in Switzerland, he had a resume with him and he told himself, I have never looked in Switzerland and he left his resume. Three days after, three days, he was immediately hired for a training course at Generali, getting paid two thousand five hundred francs for the training course. Today he get precisely thirty thousand francs per month in Genrali, when the shuty small insuring banks in the French side didn't want to take him for the training course.* » The exceptionally discriminatory nature of the French firms is evident comparing to other countries, in which it is still possible to envisage a « success story ».

7. Hiring discrimination towards graduates

The young graduates born of immigration meet particular difficulties acceding to an employment that reflects their qualification level, like the personal case told by a French of Algerian background: « *But anyways, nowadays actually it is true, we have difficulties acceding to the labour market. I take my case personally, it is, I finished three years ago. I did first a DUT on marketing techniques, I did then a year in England, I did then my Minor and my Mayor, my Master that I did in Italy then I have experiences in Italy, then I didn't find, in Italy is more and less the same situation than here. I couldn't find a training course for the*

end of the studies, it allows, it allows to access to a job, getting hired follows normally, and then, so I came back since three years that I am looking for a job, I always had difficulties. They give me precarious jobs or what, they give me precarious jobs. I was able to do some translation, I don't know little things, let's say, that anybody take. It is to tell you that I had a precise project at the beginning, that was to working in my field, that is foreign exchange, it never worked out. I needed to access to the training course at the beginning, since I didn't really have any experience. Well the ANPE never accepted, etc, the budget was to high. Second project, I had a rescue project, what, the training, same, I passed many replies to small advertisements, it didn't work neither. I think that the only solution for young born of immigration remains the public service, I passed the examination, well... » The hiring discrimination against young graduates finds its echo in the orientation councils towards to the French born of immigration, in which certain services are not advisable to them: « *There is a friend, Hannan, a brilliant girl, a girl who has her degree in Law, she did her training course in Switzerland, she got an offer from Canada, and she preferred, she wanted to be a lawyer in France, at least a DESS to try the examination. This girl, I just learn it this week, the teacher calls her, it is always on the phone, I would like him to recall so we can register because he doesn't want to write to her, they are three. He tells them, anyways, don't do this DESS because you are from North Africa you won't find a job. After being accepted in the examination, she wants to go into justice.* « These discriminatory realities are interiorised by the repliers themselves, who declared to take in account this fact for their orientation choices: « *Then I got in to a branch, it forced me to find a way that allows me to get a job.* » Explains a French of Algerian background, doctor, concerning his field choice.

This hiring discrimination takes part in incomprehensible situations, insane, that the repliers declared as facing. They don't get to believe on it: « *And for coming back to M., (...) what I find totally crazy is that I know all his promotion, because they were in Italy, and from all his promo, it was him who, at the level of language level, was the best in Italian, the most interesting profile. (...)Et (...) he is the only one who failed. How someone, in the marketing field, how someone who has diplomas in translation, in French, in English, in Italian, who finishes by a marketing carrier, he has all the fields! How can we pass on the side of it, I find it incredible, and, and the real problem, is found there, it is that since the time where there isn't professional gratitude that goes with it, but it is the open mindness to all, I mean to all the consequences, because people are not fulfilled with what they do, then it is a matter of survival, there is people who don't find a job, how can we live without working in this society, there is no social link other than the institutional solidarity, at work and at the firm.* »

Attributing to a racial discrimination the cause of the failure, throws back into question the interpretation of what was considered to be the codes and the values of the French society, as a reference to the « *social link* » or to the « *institutional solidarity"*..

This hole tends the project of studying to become sometimes, to the eyes the repliers, derisory: the most educated do not hesitate to say that they could be more successful with a lesser level of education and less scruples towards the law: « *I know some young people, that where help up from going farther for reasons, because they did not have the will, because the parents, etc, I have some friends, they don't even have a CAP, they do well, it depends. But there is some people, they do affairs, they work. They work in a parallel economy, etc* «. To be successful, they develop strategies with the use of trickery with the precariousness: « *Since here we come back to discriminating them, to that establish the law of the jungle, we created mutants, which means this guy, I see him, he even became, they took him as, many young people, they prefer a CDD, because you say me, I prefer to work during three or for months and then I request for unemployment during three months, then I find another job, for a while, either I go travelling, that's* «.

8. Hiring discrimination towards graduates with a professional career in their home country

The difficulties to find a work that is worthy and in accordance with their level of study calls into question the very worth of education for young people. But for some adults with a great professional experience, it is difficult to overcome the impossibility to find some work that fits their training. « *Osvaldo consiguió un trabajo como bibliotecario...y luego de varios años validó su título de médico... Susana era abogada y vendía pan en una panadería (Osvaldo found some work as a librarian and after several years, he was able to validate this doctor's degree. Susana was a lawyer and she worked in a bakery.). Estaba el grupo de abogados exiliados argentinos en Francia, que eran unos 40 y pico de abogados argentinos, la mayor parte de ellos trabajaban con argentinos. Por varias razones, para ser abogado en Francia necesitás ser francés, ninguno pudo revalidar su título, ninguno de los 40 y pico, y cuando digo cuarenta y pico eran la mayor parte gente con muchísima experiencia. El que mejor consiguió un trabajo fue como asistente social, pero fue el top. Como fue toda una comunidad, el grueso vivían con los stage. Como funcionaron como asociación, entonces peleaban stages A (There was a group of exiled Argentinean lawyers in France, about 40*

Argentinean lawyers. Most of them worked with Argentineans. For various reasons, in order to be a lawyer in France, you have to be French, so none of them was able to validate their title. None of the 40 and something, and when I say 40, I mean in general people with a great experience. The one who was the most successful found a job as a social worker, but he was the top. Since it was a whole community, most of them lived on practices. And working as an association, they fought to get practices.). The French Law ruling the access to National Education, Health and several other domains, present significant restrictions for all of those who are not of a French background or naturalized French. *« Yo no podía trabajar en la educación porque no era francesa...[...] Como nunca tenía permiso de residencia de más de tres meses, siempre los trabajos que conseguía eran, nada que ver con mi profesión, nada que ver con mi vida profesional, limpiar un sanatorio o cualquier cosa. Y después cuando tuve la nacionalidad francesa pude trabajar en Montreuil, en la Mairie, que es una muy buena Mairie donde esa discriminación no existía..."* *(I could not work in education for I wasn't French. Since I never got a residence permit for more than three months, the only jobs I would get had nothing to do with my vocation... Cleaning a lunatic asylum or whatever. Then, when I was able to get the French nationality, I worked in Montreuil, at the City Hall, a very good City Hall where there was no place for this kind of discrimination.)".*

On the other hand, for a good number of immigrants, getting the French nationality does not change their situation but only on a very long-term basis. K, a Tunisian man: *« I am the victim of my own race. Why? I am an Arabic man, in spite of my nationality, I am still Arabic. In relation to work, I ask myself. Why won't it work? Why some of my French friends, who have done the same studies I did, with me, now have good positions and me, with more [training] than the French people, I am in this situation. Why? Why? There's a discrimination problem. It really exists in the area of work.*

-Have you experienced some situations of discrimination?

-Yes, for instance, when you go through interviews, first you send a resume, then you are asked to attend, and after the interview... Because they've seen your face ... You can't hide it...».

When they are repeatedly experienced, situations like the one we've just described are at the origin of a loss of self-esteem or psychosomatic diseases.

It occurs sometimes that those who have papers but did not ask for French nationality are the object of discriminations, even when they are in a very good position, on the labour

market as well as financially. JE, Research Supervisor at the CNRS, "*En el CNRS, el 10% del personal investigador es extranjero.... El año pasado yo formaba parte del comité científico de la grande vacación de la ciencia y de la mar en coche, y yo llego a la provincia, al lugar en donde se hace la reunión, y era un lugar con mucha vigilancia. Llegué un poco tarde, se ve que ya los que entraban en la reunión habían entrado, y el tipo de la vigilancia, y me dice, bueno me pide el documento, primero le di mi carta del CNRS, mi carta del CNRS es una carta de funcionario, aunque seas extranjero, es una carta de funcionario. Entonces me dice, no una carta de identidad, esto no es una carta de identidad, es una carta profesional, y entonces le saco mi carta de séjour, primera contradicción. Esa era una carta de francés y después una carta de extranjero, ya no funciona esto, es la excepción a la ley. Entonces el tipo me dice, argentino, llama por teléfono y viene el jefe. Entonces me dice:*

-"Usted, de dónde viene?"

-"De Paris"

"No, no usted acá viene de Argentina."

"No, no, yo vengo de Paris, yo no vengo de Argentina, yo soy argentino."

El tipo era realmente un facho, y yo me empecé a calentar, el tipo armó un quibombo, al rato viene la persona que me había invitado estaba re molesta, armó quibombo con este tipo. Yo dije, yo me voy, acá no me quedo. Entonces hubo cartas, idas y vueltas, disculpas y no disculpas, y entonces en un momento quise marcar que mi situación no era una situación particular, entonces empecé a buscar datos para ver la cantidad de extranjeros que hay en el CNRS, en el CNRS está publicado, digamos que está en la página web que se llama bilan social del CNRS, está por nacionalidad, por categoría El 10.6% si no me equivoco del personal CNRS es extranjero, mi situación es la del 10.6%. («At the CNRS, 10% of the researchers are foreigners. Last year, I was part of the scientific committee and there was a meeting in the provinces. I got to the place of the meeting, the place was well watched over. I got there late, the colleagues were already in, so the guy at the security asked for my id card. At first, I gave him my CNRS card. My CNRS card is a state employee card. Even if you're a stranger, this is a state employee card. So he tells me, « This one, no ... Some id card. This is not an id card, this is a card from your work «. So I take out my residence card. First inconsistency. According to the first card, I was French, and according to the second, a stranger. It doesn't work. An exception to the Law. So the guy tells me, Argentinean. He makes a phone call and his superior comes. And he tells me: Where do you come from?*

-Paris.

-No, you come from Argentina.

- No, no I come from Paris, I don't come from Argentina, I am Argentinean.

The man was really a fascist and I started to get angry, he started to miss everything up to make up a hole story. After a little while, comes the person who invited me, he was really angry. He started fighting with this man YI told myself, I leave, I won't stay here. Then there were letters, going and coming, excuses and not excuse. And so at one point I wanted to stand that my situation was not a particular situation, so I started to look for information concerning the number of foreigners working at the CNRS. It is published in the CNRS, lets say in the web page social assessment of the CNRS, it is written by nationality, by category...If I don't mistake, 10.6% of the CNRS staff are foreigners, my situation concerns the 10.6%)".

9. Working interdiction: living interdiction in France?

Concerning the asylum appellants appears a very particular situation. In one hand, they are forbidden of working during the appeal is on the way. In the other hand, they receive some income for a short time. But this help is not enough and the administrative process takes longer than the period covered by the social action, consequently, they are forced to choose the surviving strategies close to the ones of exploitation or not working.

This last option is possible in general if a member of the family brakes the rules and starts working. To take a decision in this direction is not an unanimous choice for the repliers. So we heard form some woman that they would go working while their husbands staid at home waiting for a reply form the French Administration.

For others, the fear facing the threatening of expulsion, puts them in a contradictory position: *Dialogue between X. Tzigane and M militant of Médecins du Monde*
« -Have you got, yet the possibility of working?
-Ouu ! I would like to work but that's not what the law tells
-For you, what does the law tell?
-I don't know what the law tells but the people tell me that when we are in asylum we cannot work. I am waiting the papers from Paris so I get a regular situation. My husband would like to work...
-What would you like to do as a job?

-I have a hairdresser training. My husband is a driver, mechanic and plays from all the music instruments in the restaurants...but at school, his training is driver
-He didn't find a job in the black market
-It is not good!
-So, he doesn't have a job?
-No, he didn't find, even in the black market «.

An even more softened situation, but difficult to live, is the one that touches the immigrants that came to France with a student permit. For them, it is forbidden to work but the Prefecture can give a limited permit for working few hours (20 hours per week). This situation drives this population to accept unwell remunerated jobs and mainly precarious posts. And then, when they finish their studies and decide to stay in the country, they can find themselves in an illegal situation from one day to another, it is the case of a man and a woman "sans-papiers" from the FG. Since transferring a student permit card into a working permit card needs a working contract, that for this job there is no French candidates available and the agreement of the employer who has to pay a high amount of money to concretise the process.

V. Institutional Discrimination and Education

In approaching the accounts of our s on the issue of public education and the discrimination of foreigners, we first had to separate the different degrees of the education system and consider separately several systems of reception for immigrants as well as the condition of the new arrivals as well as those born of immigrants. Indeed, the <u>immigrant children</u> seem to be the most exposed to institutional discriminations whereas the <u>immigrants' children</u> go through their years at school without any particular traumatic experience. As for adult immigrants, they sometimes decided for to take the major step of departing from their country in order to go and study in France. For those who are born in France, on the other hand, the value of studies is valued by their usefulness on the work market. This is why youth, looking at the models of their elder brothers, appear more sceptical than the latter.

1. French for foreigners, a first educational contact for the non-French speakers.

All foreigners who do not speak French agree that mastering the language becomes for them the first problem to solve after getting to France and sometimes even before. Language is a necessary condition but it's not a sufficient one, as shown by the great number of s who do speak French and have great difficulties in finding work or have to content themselves with poor jobs; for a great majority of immigrants, knowing French is perceived as the key to living in France. We might imagine that from the State's point of view, this perception is quite accurate for it is at this level one encounters the major issues of reception. Furthermore, no short-term solution seems to exist in this domain, as if it were a variable restrictive of immigration.

Learning French is reserved for immigrants who have high incomes and time to start studying[103], or those who are in a situation of "special protection", such as refuges and the asylum seekers whose requests have already been accepted. For those who are not in this category, the task is divided amongst the volunteers' associations. X, a Gypsy man, *« The kids speak good French because they go to school. I don't speak French because I don't have any contact with the French. We only say hello, hello. The people who live here don't speak French. The women I'm talking about, the ones who only say hello, hello, they're the mothers*

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[103] The two major schools for French for foreigners are : Sorbonne III and Alliance Française. For each of them, the monthly cost for the classes is about 350 Euros. Ranking third come the City Halls' classes, less expensive but in general have no places available compared to the enormous number of existing applications.

from my daughter's school. It's normal because I don't speak French, I don't understand what they say…

-But are there no French classes?

-Yes, but the ones who teach the classes are volunteers, and there are loads of people. But when you're statutory, you have the right ».

Y, a Gypsy man, « At school, in Yugoslavia, I learned German. I learned to speak and to write, and if they gave me only 6 months, if they taught me, after 6 months I'd be able to read and speak a little and then, everything would be fine…» We notice that the vocabulary of administrative situations is one of the first to be mastered by the immigrants, even when they are in a very precarious situation.

Furthermore, to take French classes as for the majority of public and private classes, it is necessary for prospective students to prove that they have a regular resident card. That is why the case of a woman « sans papiers » who had managed to study three years at a university appeared to be quite exceptional to us and her luck, so we believe, might have been related to some administrative shortcuts. *Z: « When you have a situation like the one we have in my country… So I told myself, [regarding the university registration] I'll keep fighting till I get it, even without the papers. If it works, it works. And it worked. It was the first time…»*

Language is also notable, for the people who do not speak French, as the first source of discrimination. On the other hand, the will to keep one's home language in some cases appears to be the ultimate cultural refuge [Taylor 1994: 52sq] (We will further study this in the aside about multiculturalism)

2. The messenger kid

According to V. Repaire[104] university researcher who has worked on the Gypsies, « in France for bringing the kids to school, there is lorries that go out in "the field", into untamed terrain, where there families, normally, have no rights of settlement. And you have the school-busses, there are also schools on the parking lots, they are parking areas, lots provided for by law. These are peculiar schools because there are only Gypsy kids there (…) These are schools that don't exist elsewhere else. Normally, they can afford to welcome whoever wants to come. But, the kids from the neighbourhood won't come to these schools. ». The Gypsy

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[104] This interview was made by Nelson Belfer as part of his Masters in "pedagogy" in Paris X-Nanterre.

families with whom we were able to set up a discussion group, do not send children to school because they lead, at least in a transitory way, a semi-sedentary life. Just one of them had their daughters in the neighbourhood public school. The others seemed to want to follow this example.

The educational investment for this family (succeeding in providing schooling for their daughters has not been an easy task) is doubly justified: to have a child at school, mastering the French language is a means of social insertion and one of the aims for leaving their former country. X, « *Everything goes very well at school, very well. They play with the other kids. For the kids it's better to live here than in Yugoslavia because they can go to school, we can buy the books, the clothes, the food, all that. In Yugoslavia it's not possible. There is the crisis, there is no money for the clothes and there is no money for anything… In Yugoslavia the crisis affects everybody but for the Roms (gypsies) it's worst. For the Gypsies the crisis is worst.* ».

Once these kids learn the French language, they rapidly become and at a young age, *messenger kids* (Muel-Dreyfus : 1998), the right hand men of their parents, the establishers of the link between the inside world (the home, the community) and the outside world (the neighbourhood, the public administration.

3. Immigrant children and public school. A universal model without place for cultural diversity?

From the rather serious examples of incomprehension and abuse, which have affected the Latino groups, the inadequate nature of their treatment at school became evident, mainly in the case of the non French speaking immigrants. We note that these examples do not come from special classes but from kids placed in «ordinary» classes. Other s also confirmed that the family-school relationship could become a nightmare when the parents do not speak the language either., the women s in particular, who are most exposed, evoked the powerless feeling they have in relation to school. S, « *Están los problemas cotidianos por no conocer el francés …. Sentirse insultado cuando entraba a algún almacén a comprar una cosa, me sentía maltratada…y también los problemas con mi hijo. Recuerdo uno muy grave, y era porque él tampoco sabía francés, recuerdo él tenía cuatro años, y en la escuela la única forma de comunicarse con los niños era, empujándose, jugando un poco fuerte. Y la profesora le pegaba, le pegaba al niño y tuvimos un gran problema en la escuela, en esa*

primera escuela en donde entró, y ella simplemente nos contestaba que el niño era malo, y que la relación con los demás niños era agresiva, era una relación de agresividad y nosotros le tratábamos de explicar que el problema era el idioma que no conocía y que se estaba adaptando. El hecho fue que lo cambiamos de esa primera escuela, luego nos cambiamos de distrito, pasamos bastante tiempo para conseguir un apartamento donde vivir, muy complicado, pero que esos problemas le toca incluso a los mismos franceses, pero por ser latinoamericano todavía más difícil. Pero en esa segunda escuela nos cambió la vida, excelente, nos acogieron muy bien. Les contamos el problema que habíamos tenido, El niño logró adaptarse, aprendió perfectamente el francés, y bueno en este momento pues estamos muchísimo mejor ya nos volvemos a Colombia". (Trad. «There come the daily problems that arise for those who don't know French…To feel insulted when entering a shop to buy something, I felt abused…and also the problems with my child. I remember one. It was very serious. He didn't know French neither. I remember he was four years old, and at school, the only way to communicate with the other kids was by pushing each other around, of playing hard. And the teacher would beat him; she would beat the kid and so we had a big problem at school, at the first school were he was placed. The teacher would simply tell us that the boy was bad and that his relationship to the other kids was aggressive, an aggressive relationship. And we would try to explain to her that his problem was that he didn't know the language and that this was his way of adapting. Finally we moved him from that first school, and then, we moved to another district. We spend a lot of time looking for an apartment. It was very complicated. French people also have these problems but as Latin Americans it was even more difficult. But that second school changed our life, excellent, we were very well welcomed. We told them the problem we had. The kid adapted himself, he learnt French perfectly and well, right now we are more at ease. We are already going back to Colombia. »).

But French francophone s as well, who are placed in another cultural category, than the one prevailing in France, provided other examples that suggest the difficulties at school in facing the traumatic experiences faced by some of these kids. In this way, an Algerian explained to us the difficulty she had in making the teaching staff understand that the immigrant kids might have experienced serious traumas in their countries of origin: *« He saw my parents getting slaughtered in front of him. He was at home that day. He told everything at school. Everyday it is the same but the teacher didn't believe him because he speaks about his mother and the mother it's me. She replies that the kid watches lots of TV. One day, she*

called me and I told her that it was true. She said to me, 'excuse-me, I don't see any marks on you'. I told her, 'the one he saw was my mother. He used to sleep in her bed.».

Should what has just been recounted, be considered as problem on the structures of accommodation or a cultural problem? If we add that immigrants kids coming from unprivileged environments go to school in priority zones; the inequality existing on the opportunities or multiple inequalities (Dubet : 2001) are at the heart of the problematic on the failure of school.

4. Studying in France, a door opening onto the world?

Many of the s assert they came to France to go on studying, in particular the most recent wave of North Africans and Latinos. W., a Moroccan man: *« I came here because of my studies and then I stayed. It's true that I don't have the same background as my father, who is a former immigrant who came to make a living and save our life back there. He worked here. I came on a scholarship, I was a student, and then I got used to life here ».*

A few of them had to face quite a number of bureaucratic barriers and also the difficulty to have the degrees they got at home credited: S., a Colombian woman, *« Yo tuve problemas a nivel institucional a primera vista. Como estudiante de doctorado, yo soy antropóloga, venía con una maestría en historia en la universidad nacional de Colombia, y el primer problema que tuve en Francia, o no se particularmente en la escuela, hay como una nivelación académica. Si uno viene con un título académico latinoamericano, de por sí no vale mucho, entonces dicen usted tiene un nivel de una licencia, entonces debe hacer un DEA, el DEA es un postgrado, yo tendía un postgrado que era pesado a otro nivel, pero eso no es un gran problema, porque es una oportunidad también de aprender el idioma y muchas otras cosas. Pero de todas maneras eso choca bastante, que seas latinoamericana y de una universidad latinoamericana, el nivel del DEA no lo reconocen". ("Then, I had problems with the institution. As a Ph.D student, I am an anthropologist, and when I got here, I already had a Master's Degree in history from Colombia's National University, and the first problem I had to face in France, or maybe it was just at the school, was that there is some kind of academic levelling. When one gets here with some Latino-American degree, which in itself is not worth much, then they tell you have a Master's Degree, so you have to do a DEA. DEA is postgraduate studies, and I already had one that was hard enough from there. But this is not such a big problem because it is an opportunity as well to learn the language and many other*

things. But anyway, this was quite a shock, the fact that being Latino-American and you've come from some Latino-American university, they won't acknowledge your DEA level…) The weight of the academic bureaucracy further burdens us with underestimating assumptions about other education systems, in particular those of the Southern countries: the geography of « good universities » coincides with an ethno-centric vision that is in fact discriminatory.

5. People born of immigrants, converging perspectives

As opposed to the last quotes from the newer arrivals, and if they haven't been living in their parents' home country and have been fully educated in France, for the people who were born of immigration, the questioning of the French education model is also a way of express the pride they feel in the country of their ancestors: H, *« And it's funny then when people who've come from the village, who've just arrived, they do better. If only, because, very often, they have better qualifications.*
W: But that's when they come.
H: No, the average level of education of Algerians in Algeria is far superior to that of Algerians in France ».

Within the context of this Focus Group, composed in part of men of aged 25-35, education was rather considered as an avenue to social mobility. H: *For instance, I come from Haute-Savoie, from a small village of eight hundred inhabitants, and there are, about ten families from North Africa, and it's interesting because the level of studies of the kids is generally a B.A. (bac plus quatre, baccalauréat plus 4 years), but it's rather amusing, they are kids who come from families who, for the most part, have no education, or are illiterate, as far as French is concerned at least, and they did very well with their studies.*
……….
W: Today, it's impossible to find any explanation regarding immigration, some people with a B.A. or even postgraduate studies, many of them were very bright at university, but meanwhile, I don't know, some people with a poorer school background are doing better now.
M: No…
W: Yes! I am sorry, I know some youth who were prevented from going the farthest possible for some reasons, because they didn't have the will to, or their parents, etc. I know some

friends who don't even have a Vocational Training Certificate and they're doing better, it depends.

Possibly the product of daily discrimination, this widely diffused imagination of « My son the doctor », is changing for the next generation. To such a degree they could want to leave France. Even more than the vocation, the principal questions are for them: Can a North African do well thanks to his studies? Is it enough? What becomes of the graduates? *W: What is happening now is that in subsequent generations, there are more and more people who do not want to have degrees. A little like the French twenty years ago. You have your « baccalaureate » (high-school degree), that's enough. Because post-graduate studies mean sacrifices for the family, studies that need financing, and in the end, there is nothing. They started to get it. They saw our fathers; they were illiterate because they were workers. And today, they see the second generation, with two or three years of higher education. They're the people you see delivering pizzas, working as security people, and they're Ph.D students, and to finance their studies, they do mail order selling, working in call centres ».*
« W: We'd like to find out, in Lyon II, not far from here, there's a branch that's called AES – it's-
M: Administration économique et sociale (Economy and social administration).
W: In AES, five years back, 80% of the class was people from North Africa, people born of immigrant parents. The same proportions are found in Law schools, and others. Anyway, we'd like them to take a whole class and follow them for one or two years. It's called research».

6. Our school, your school. Our kids, your kids

Another type of cultural pride was perceived when listening to the Latinos. It is in this case to compare the values, particularly the values that the school transmits in France and in the Latin American countries. Then, it is the relation to this subject, and only on its concern, that we assisted to a global and integral US, in the case of the Latinos.

ME, 4 children, three got their education in Argentina and one in France. *« Con respecto a mi hija, la estructura de su personalidad, su formación no la misma que la de sus hermanos que se habían educado en la Argentina con la misma madre, es decir esa hija es hija de la misma madre pero no del mismo país, de la misma cultura y de la misma*

educación. Ahí establezco los componentes del fenómeno educativo que son el país en donde se inserta, la familia y la educación oficial, y la época fundamentalmente. Pero efectivamente esta cultura forma individuos, y esos son nuestros hijos de características diferentes de las que pueden ser las de una cultura latinoamericana, aún siendo los mismos padres. Entonces hay características de, una mayor por ejemplo un manejo vamos a decir groseramente, lógico de tipo cartesiano que no lo tiene ningún joven latinoamericano, hay una diferencia de tipo, yo no hablo del caso de mi hija, pero hay una diferencia de tipo emocional que pesa mucho. Es decir, en este país con esta cultura que valoriza fundamentalmente el desarrollo de miles de estudiantes en lo lógico, en lo analítico es decir en todo lo que hace al cerebro, a la inteligencia y una cultura latinoamericana…, seguramente hay en otros países yo no soy especialista en eso, tiene componentes emocionales y tiene vivencia el chico de tipo emocional que pesa mucho. Por ejemplo un niño de Paris, de Francia, qué oportunidad tiene de ir a la escuela con un chico muy pobre, cuando hablamos de muy pobres nosotros sabemos diferenciar lo que es un pobre en Francia y un pobre en Latinoamérica. Entonces nuestros hijos por más que sean hijos de gente vamos a decir de izquierda o de una estructura de pensamiento distinta, viven una realidad que no hemos vivido nosotros. No viven una realidad como la que vivieron en el caso de mi hija sus hermanos, es decir van a la escuela publica, pero van a una escuela publica que le da de comer a todos los chicos por igual, una comida que es la misma en la cantina, la de chico malghrebin o la de chico africano o la de chicos franceses, esos chicos comen todos la comida de la cantina. Nosotros sabemos que en nuestros países, y pobrecita la Argentina, los chicos le dicen, como salió en los diarios el año pasado, señorita a qué hora comemos". (" *Concerning my daughter, her personality structure, her education is not the same as that of her brothers, who were educated in Argentina and with the same mother. I mean that this daughter is of the same mother but not of the same country, not of the same culture and not possessing the same education. That is when I establish the components of the education process, which are: the country in which it takes place, the family, the formal education and the time period in which it occurred. In effect, French education educates individuals,in what can be called a Cartesian tradition of logic, which is something that no Latin American children are used to. Then [we can see] that here there is a greater use of a, let's call it roughly logic in a Cartesian sense, which is not used by any Latino American youth. There is a difference in type, I am not referring to my daughter's case, but there is a difference with respect to emotional types. What I mean by this is that, this culture fundamentally values the development of thousands of students in logic, in analytical thought, the work of the brain, the the intelligence. But in Latin American culture, and there are certainly other places, but I am*

not a specialist in this topic, you find that it(education) has emotional components, and the life experiences of the children play an important role in education.

This is also a school system that separates classes under the cover of republican universalism. *As an example, a kid from from France, when does he get the opportunity to go to school with a very poor kid? When we talk about a very poor person, we know how to differentiate between what means to be poor in France and in Latin America. So our children, even if they are children of the left or from a different way of thinking, they live a reality that we haven't experienced. They don't live a reality like one of my daughter's brothers, it means that they go to a public school, that gives everyone the same quantity of food, a food that is the same in the cafeteria. We know that in our countries, and poor Argentina as the boys call it, as it was written in the newspapers last year, miss* at what time do we eat»).

This French school perceived as hypo-Cartesian is also a school that separates the social classes, under the cover of republican universalism: *« For example, which are the possibilities for a French kid to have very poor friend at school? And when we speak about the poor, we know how to differentiate between what is a poor in France and a poor in Latin America. But our children, even if they come from left wing families, live here a reality that we haven't lived….»)*

………..

L, a girl educated in France and in Chile: *mi hija en Francia en Colombes, va a una escuela pública, y está completamente epanuida [sic] epanuit, yo no le veo ningún pero, ella hace su clase, llega a la casa, contenta, estudia, tiene su organización, y me digo por qué un chico chileno no podría tenerlo, organizarse. […] Acá mi hija está en un colegio público y va al colegio con un programa y se podría decir que me gustaría que esto fuera transformado a Chile, con la única diferencia que acá se piensa que el francés es cartesiano, la forma es tan lógica, tan racional y que nosotros los latinoamericanos, o para el caso los chilenos, no lo tenemos" ("My daughter in France, in Colombes, she goes to a public school and she lives completely content, She goes to class, comes back home, she studies, she is organised and I ask myself for the reason why a Chilean child cannot have this. […] Here my daughter goes to a public school and she is in a program something that I would like to be applied in Chile. With the difference that over here we think that the French are so Cartesian, the form is so logical, so rational and that in our concern, for the Latin Americans, at least for the Chileans, we don't have anything like it. »).*

………….

S, a son educated in Colombia and in France: *"la situación fue más diferente en la nueva escuela aquí nosotros ya conocíamos más el sistema. Al principio nosotros no lo conocíamos, expusimos los casos, sabíamos ya cómo hablarle a la gente acá también, acá la gente habla duro y si uno le empieza a hablar no duro se ponen peor, y no así todo suave y suavecito como viene uno de Colombia".* ("The situation was different in the new school. Here, we already knew the system. At the beginning of course we didn't know how it worked. We had been through it with our son; we already knew how to speak to the people here. People speak loud and if you don't speak to them in the same tone they get even louder. And you don't have to speak as gently as we do in Colombia... »). Knowing how the school system works, being able to get through it, requires specific competence that the immigrants take time to acquire.

Almost all the s agree that the ideal combination will be the Latin culture at school and the financial resources that French national Education disposes.

Finally, some interpreted French education as the target of their anti-capitalist refusal *« Ese grupo de Cilenos que llegaron acá, acá se les abrieron las puertas, se les ofrecieron todo, porque como tu dices acá se estaba generando la experiencia del proyecto común entre el Ps y el Pc, en Chile, eso repercutió mucho acá en Francia, y por ende, se ha brindado una suerte de solidaridad muy inmensa con la experiencia que se ha desarrollado. Entonces acá se les brindó todas las posibilidades, posiblemente fueron cuadros profesionales acá, y después en el 89, llega la pseudodemocracia, llegan a Chile formados con altos títulos de grado, grado, grado y grado, y hoy en día son grandes funcionarios de las grandes transnacionales mundiales, son los interlocutors directos del FMI, son unos verdaderos funcionarios del gobierno chileno, y en realidad no estan ejerciendo nada que venga a solucionar los problemas de la población normal y corriente del país, nada, los que se formaron acá yo creo que personalmente, que les sirvió más para que se transformen en unos verdaderos utilizadores del conocimiento, para subyugar mucho más al pueblo.»* («That group of Chileans, who arrived here, here the doors were opened for them, everything was offered to them, because, as you say, here was getting generated the experience of the common project between the Socialist Party and the PC (Communist Party) from Chile. This was reflected in the French situation and that is why, luckily, very deep solidarity was expressed in the experience of those involved in this development. So here all possibilities were offered to them, they might have been professional managerial staff here, and then in 1989, pseudo democracy came to Chile, they went back with loads of higher degree. Today, they are the functionaries of the big global trans national firms, they are the spokesmen of the*

IMF and they are real bureaucrats of the Chilean government. They aren't doing anything to find solutions to the problems of the ordinary population of the country, nothing. I think that getting educated here was profitable only to themselves, it helped them to become real manipulators of knowledge, to subjugate people even more.»).

VI. Racism and the Extreme-Right

It might seem surprising that the issue of extreme-right was not raised spontaneously a little more than a year after the Front National candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen succeeded in getting to second round of the presidential elections in 2002. But it appeared that the political representation of racism of the s did not coincide with the common image of the extreme-right, but, rather with the parties in power, the so-called respectable parties; the current government right wing (UMP) and the plural left of Lionel Jospin's government (Socialist Party, Communist Party and the Greens), and this was true in all the groups.

1. The faces of extreme-right in France

The respondents touched on three distinct dimensions of extreme-right. Apart from the political figure of the Front National, which was not spontaneously touched upon, they mentioned on one hand the small neo-Nazi groups involved in violence aimed at immigrants, and the persistency of a xenophobic feeling within French society.

The Roms mentioned the extreme-right violence to which they are subjected, relating the story of an attack of which they were the victims of in the night from the 10th to the 11th, last January - a car that was burnt down in front of the squat where they lived. *X « Since we've moved here [the squat] the only problem as been this fire, the bus that was burnt down in front of the door. We had no problems, we don't know why this happened. We got scared, we thought of many things… We called the police but as nobody speaks French… ».* The Gypsies explained that they did not know if this aggression was imputable « *to the Yugoslavian mafia or the Nazis* ». For a group such as the Roms, who were the victims of deportation during WW2, the violence to which they are subjected to is interpreted as a single historical sequence that links together the Nazis from the past to present-day neo-Nazis, who are consequently labelled simply 'Nazis'.

The extreme-right ideology existing in some parts of French society is considered by the s as a basic sociological fact it is simply necessary to take into account. A Moroccan thus explained « *Well there are always going to be reactionary bosses, Front National, who knows, I don't want this worker or that worker* », before stressing the fact that the institutional discrimination found for instance at the ANPE was a more worrying sign of some creeping

presence of an ideology hostile to the immigrants within the French institutions. The political classe hostile to migrants is considered to be a reflection of a xenophobic mentality shared by a poorly educated and chauvinist lower class: « *Unless you consider being French is being is being a French « beauf », a Raffarin French, a Jean-Marie Le Pen French, the collaborationist socialist left wing, etc.* »

2. Hostile policies toward immigrants, beyond the cleavages left-right

The s interpret the current right Government as enacting a politics that is generally hostile to the immigrants, even though it was elected against the National Front. The politic figure of discrimination and rejection of the foreigners is incarnated specifically by Nicolas Sarkozy, the actual Interior Minister, whose name pops up spontaneously in the texts of the s: « *And monsieur Sarkozy allows himself to judge other people's lives, he should try to provide solutions instead of doing what he does !* » « *What I say is that as long France doesn't accept, when I say France I mean the society, it's not Sarkozy who is going to decide, I deny his right to decide, Sarkozy is even more of a foreigner than I am.* » He is known for his repressive positions on security matters– he is one of the instigators of campaigns of expulsion particularly of Roms, even though at the same time, he has also proposed a reform of the double penalty, a limitation on the expulsion of foreigners who have broken the law if those have particular family ties in France. The general perception of the "sans-papiers" or people denied rights of asylum, those who are at risk of expulsion is very negative. This also expresses an anguish that especially paralyzing for "sans-papiers" of Algerian families. Even if Nicolas Sarkozy announced an abandonment of the policy of zero immigration, allowing in this way for the entry of young people in the scientific fields, which represents a significant political change since 1974, the actual immigration politics of the government is perceived as more repressive. The respondents mentioned the limitations on the right of asylum introduced by the reform of the plural status of asylum seekers and the suppression of the demands for territorial asylum, a procedure that does not leave any possibilities for the people concerned and provides little chance of regularising one's residence in France. This device was perceived as directly discriminatory since, in particular the employees of the police directed certain people, especially Algerian and Yugoslavian citizens, to such procedures. They would not receive any information on the conventional asylum rules which to which other refugees had access. Territorial asylum was at the time conceived as a device meant to control people

perceived as « *faux réfugiés* » (false refugees) which affected the way on which their requests for asylum were dealt with.

If the respondents quote « *We are under a right government no question about it* », they unanimously insist that the rupture with preceding policies is not clear. The presence of right wing elected candidates in diverse organs of the State, who have oriented government policies and the legal process' towards increasing closure and repression is not a new fact. Then the respondents mentioned the production of official reports as a way for obtaining a reorientation of policies: « *If we take the Mariani's report [UMP deputy, ex-RPR of a tendency close to the extreme right], he is racist, he is racist, I invite you to look at his report that dates from 95. I think, he wanted to prove that immigrants cheated on allocations. The report proved quite the opposite. And didn't come out. It is a report that should have proved that immigrants..*

T: cheated

W: yes, they showed a report, they wanted to prove that immigrants take advantage of all that is social, social protection, health insurance, they don't benefit from any of the rights, and these are mainly the immigrants who have worked, for example, they don't have the right to retirement pensions, and they forget the contrary fact, which makes me say that they don't take advantage of the social stuff, but that their contributions represent a surplus. »

If such repressive politics is understood as preceding the electoral visibility of the extreme right, the respondents insisted on the fact that it doesn't only come from the right wing in the government now. They underline vehemently the role, in this way, of the last government, which had labelled itself the plural left. Those who are familiar with anti-racisist militancy – the second generation of the group that Agora-DiverCité helped us to set up in Lyon – vigorously criticize the orientations of the anti-racist organisations close to the PS (socialist party), mainly SOS-Racism. Even if they underlined the good faith of the slogans formulated at time of the « Marche des Beurs » in 1980 – which constituted the first political appearance of second generation immigrants – they did not hide their disgust towards the actual orientation of an organisation understood as a Trojan horse of the PS. « *We won't go back over history, but the people born of immigrant parents have a several number of attitudes, of strategies. For example, the generation of SOS Racism of the* **beur** *movement in the 80's, use to say: we are all beautiful, we are all nice, we have differences but it's cool, it's really cool, that's it. France is like a moped, it works on mixture, just some nice sentences. Well. It can work in a context that allows it. And in France, there is no such context. We are*

not in that situation today. We are not in a state of spirit that breathes such life into things. So it couldn't work out. ». (T., French with Algerian background).

That is the reason why they clearly manifest their absence of feeling towards the presence of the FN candidate at the second round of the presidential election in 2002. Second generation immigrants affirmed that they had predicted it publically and that they find this evolution perfectly logical. In general, the respondents clearly affirmed that, considering the situation of the migrants, the left-right cleavages were not pertinent. Since the plural left – political tendency that was unanimously held in contempt in the Focus Groups, more so than the FN-, since they had, openly repressive policies, after engaging themselves to do the contrary. A respondent reminds us of the promises that were not respected by the Government of Jospin: « *The French nationality must be earned, as Pasqua said in 1986, to whom Jospin replied that French nationality is to be given. As a result, today it is an obstacle course to become French.* ». In the same way, the vote for foreigners residing in France was not set up. Concerning the participation of the French born of immigration to the political life, the Socialist Party is even expressly designated as more reticent than the FN itself, to include white candidates on the election lists. *The FN does not hesitate, underlined ironically the respondents, to place North Africans or Blacks in the head of the list*.

VII. Coping with Racism

1. Different kinds of racism

The respondents identify different kinds of racism. They can make out on one hand some racist behaviours that would correspond to the underlying xenophobia of a part of the French population: this, according to the respondents, might be identified to a poorly educated community – **« *les beaufs* »** - **or** on the contrary to some ruling bourgeois class: « *but in the end, when you get there, Madame thinks you should fetch her glass of water, it hurts you somehow. Because you think you've really sunk really low, just because of some administrative card (that has categorized you as it has).* » In the first case, discrimination leads to a situation of exclusion and dismissal, in the second one, to exploitation. But the respondents have difficulties explaining where this xenophobia comes from: « *It is a matter of education, a racism that you don't see, trying to convince people that racism is not good is contrary to ethics, or religion, I don't know.* ». (W., a Moroccan man). « *That's the issue of representation within French society. You just have to turn on the radio or television in the morning to get insulted, and be depicted as the absolute Evil in society, as the trouble makers of everything in France, as the super terrorists of the world* » (H., a Frenchman with Algerian background).

On the other hand, the respondents point out a State racism inscribed in the institutions: « *Institutional racism is more serious than ordinary racism.* » The former feeds on the very anti-discrimination policies that are supposed to be the cure: « *W: But it becomes dangerous when in the public and para-public, at least to become a state employee, you take a competitive examination, it's more egalitarian. This being said, they actually put handicapped people, or genetically different people, because apparently, some positions are so egalitarian that you cannot have access to them! Ca, on peut pas nous la jouer. On peut pas le dire (got to check this out…something like… they can't do this to us. They can't talk about it.*

T: That is to say that some are more egalitarian than others.

W: Exactly. ”

The integrationist dogma works as an injunction to adopt a certain definition of French identity: « *What is integration, when you just need to survive? These are people, very French,*

who live in France and are immersed in its political social and cultural practices. » (W., a Moroccan man).

This institutional racism is all the more distressful as it is hidden: « It is a blatant discrimination, there's no room for the least discussion, but the worst, for us, is that people deny it, they deny it, the institutions, etc., no, there's no discrimination. » (T., a Frenchman with Algerian background).

2. The issue of cultural identity

Racism also encompasses the refusal to acknowledge the migrants' cultural orientations, in particular where the family is concerned – a discrimination that affects women especially. Migrant women are blamed for having too many children: « *We're not going to wait to make children. Despite the fact that in the administration, they look at you with a look, but why do you have children. But it keeps us alive to have a child.* » (A., a « sans-papiers » Algerian woman). The choices the mothers make in the education are also criticized, they are allegedly incapable of bringing up their children. One respondent, a French woman of Malian background, thus describes a visit to the social worker: « *Because there are children there as well, they even have day care for when you are with the social worker, and games, and she tells me, your children, they're not playing with the games, and I said, oh yeah, because my children are dark skinned, what's the problem? You see, it's because my boy is really restless, he's always running around. We were there till 4 p.m., 4:30 p.m.* »

Being a migrant modifies the actual identity of an individual: the « sans-papiers » mentioned the denial of identity because of their situation: « *At least when we have papers, we'll have more freedom, we'll have an identity, having no identity is terrible, because no one knows who you are, and you can die this way, and be buried like a number* » (A, an Algerian woman). On the other hand, the second generation immigrants explained the discriminatory nature of the fact that people would systematically stick them a migrant identity: « *W: It's not a quest for identity, it's a multiple identity. And the one that's dominant is the one you're always reminded of. I am more Muslim, more Algerian, more North African, more Moroccan than anything else.*
M: But if its not by discrimination.
W: It doesn't work. It's insulting, even. ».

3. Experiencing the denial of human pride (dignity)

Racism deprives the men and women who experience it of a certain number of attributes, which they experience as a denial of their human self-worth. Being a migrant and in a situation where they find themselves at the bottom of the social ladder leads to a lack of recognition for one's personal life history, the best days like dramas: « *And these ladies indulge in talking trivialities when we're around, when we've also had a former life, we were rather wealthy, had a childhood that others, maybe, didn't have, you shouldn't complain all the time* » (A., a « sans-papiers » Algerian woman). The « sans-papiers » in particular emphasized the fact that they are reduced, regardless of their abilities, to a few basic duties or functions– according to gender: « *In the end, you know you are whole as a being, that you have abilities, you have a memory that, you can think like everyone else and so on, and that you are capable of doing something very different.* ». Because of their precarious economic situation, they are totally assimilated to the tasks they carry out, or to some imaginary vision of what immigrants are supposed to be, regardless of their other skills: « *these women are strong, when once they've reached a certain age, they can move on through life. And that's what the French people don't understand. They say, oh, this is nasty job, when they see me, they thought I was going to take their husband away from them or something.* ».

This denial of humanity reveals itself in insulting gazes: « *I go there, and she [the social worker] gives me this look (from top to bottom [up and down]. I didn't even look at her* » (X., a Frenchman with Mali background). The respondents mention the physical experience of bowing one's head: « *We're trapped in this thing of French economy and having to bow our heads, bow our heads. When we really don't want this. We want to raise our head* » (A., a « sans-papiers » Algerian woman).

The denial of dignity prevents the immigrants or the French of foreign background to get involved in the nation's life: « how can one consider oneself as a member of a society, and enjoy the nationality of a society in which you are constantly reduced to some degrading, humiliating image? Now it's above all a question of dignity. I cannot say « I am French » if being French means accepting as well the lack of dignity. This is impossible. » (H., a Frenchman with Algerian background).

4. Experience of degrees of discrimination among the different groups

The respondents draw up a set of hierarchies of discrimination, that they explain with the help of different factors. « Discriminations, who does it affect the most? The Arab, and also African populations who arrived with the immigration from former colonies » (H., a Frenchman of Algerian origin). Respondents of North African origin share this representation: « It's a fact that regarding immigrants, those from North Africa is the one that has the hardest time. The Vietnamese came after the Turkish immigrants, that's the point today, does France accept that. » (W, a Moroccan man).

The second generation immigrants or the long-time foreign residents (except for Latinos) are grieved by the impression that recent arrivals, even when they are in a precarious situation, are doing better than they themselves have done – perhaps an erroneous impression as they themselves put it: « *Anyway, at first, what they call Sonac – Sona Cotra. Lately, one of the « sans-papiers » who was on hunger strike, which I find very good, now he's got his papers, since the end of last November, he's got himself a small apartment.* » (W, a Moroccan man)

This hierarchy between the different groups of immigrants is ascribed to deliberate calculation by the French authorities: « *H: All the Christian Arab people, not the Muslim ones but the Christians, automatically get the French nationality. I know one Christian Syrian who got it automatically.*
W: Really?
H: There are tendencies(dispositions) in the institutions that are totally illegal, but in a logic that is really perverse, which is to blow up the whole of the Arab world. It is unbelievable that afterwards, the same people will comment, that the Christians want to get away from the Arab world. It's not only the Christians who want to get away from the Arab world, everyone wants to get away from the Arab world because there is a situation of crisis, but the Christians get a visa right away and they obtain French nationality as soon as they get here. (…) There's a whole plan, there's an entire hierarchy, that depends on the origins and denomination, which are things that have, that have to be exposed. »

The Latino-Americans admit that, in general, they do well, even though in the last few years the number of illegal immigrants from this origin has increased by three or four times.

Trying to go unnoticed seems to be the strategy that many of them adopt. And yet they admit that this strategy is always of limited success: L. *"En tanto que refugiado político, con los estudios que he tenido y con la forma que yo me he organizado, no he tenido problemas de ninguna índole, tanto con la administración, jamás he tenido, ha habido roses, eso es natural, conduciendo bueno con la policía siempre hay problemas, cuando uno es extranjero, es extranjero, no? ("As a political refugee, given the studies I had done at the time, and the way I'd organized things, I had no problem of any kind, not with the administration either, never. Well, I've had some misunderstandings, this is natural, when you drive a car, there's always trouble with the police, when you're a foreigner, you're a foreigner, aren't you? »)*

If the identification of different degrees of day-to-day racism, over and above institutional racism that was evoked a few times by the majority of the Focus Group participants (as far as the Gypsy refugees are concerned, we note that the current discrimination is felt by them to be more bearable than their previous life in Yugoslavia), from the Latinos group emerged for the first time some strong self-criticism regarding their own racism against other communities: *« Si he visto mucho racismo contra otra gente, que es algo que me preocupa y que he tratado de alguna forma combatir. Hacia mi personalmente no, en mi forma de pensar hacia el latinoamericano no hay racismo en Francia, no hay ese racismo como lo hay contra el árabe, contra el argelino, porque son históricas, colonialismo y otros que mucha gente no conoce. Y lo que es más grave, yo veo es que entre los mismos latinoamericanos hay racismo, hacia otra gente. He visto gente de diferentes nacionalidades que tiene un racismo bastante bastante fuertes, hacia otras culturas de otro país. Muchos latinoamericanos hacia otras culturas. Hay una anécdota, ya que tu hablas de elecciones, una chilena comentó en las elecciones pasadas cuando Le Pen quedó de segundo: " yo voté por Le Pen porque tiene razón aquí hay mucho inmigrante", una chilena con nacionalidad obviamente." (" I've seen a lot of racism against other people, which is something I am concerned with, and I've tried to fight it somehow. Against me, personally, I think myself that there's no racism against Latino-Americans in France, there's no racism like there is against Arab people, against Algerian people, because there are historical…, colonialism and stuff that people don't know about. And worst of all, I see, is that Latino-Americans themselves are racist towards other people. I've seen people from different nationalities being very racist toward other cultures from other countries. There's an anecdote, since you've mentioned the elections, of a Chilean woman who thus said of the past elections when Le Pen was second: "I voted Le Pen because he is right, there are too many immigrants here", obviously, a Chilean woman with French nationality").*

VIII. Possibilities for Multicultural Citizenship[105]

In France, the outlines of interculturality have replaced multiculturalism. Underneath veneer of a false notion of equality, the demand for recognition, made by different groups and communities of immigrants, is still very limited, or worst, directly rejected. Then, facing this denial of recognition, one of the common traces of all the groups set up for this research, was identity conflict. It was either consciously expressed: *« I want to establish difference »* or expressed in strong contradictions in language usages: *Us the French, US the Algerians*.

1. The *return* to identity

To be accepted as « I am » is for many of the respondents an impossible game. Many appear to have a conflict with themselves, in not loosing their identity space or maintain a continuing family line. The immigrants who had believed in the possibilities that were offered to them by the universal integration model, express their deception: K. *« I am the man of paradox, because for me, when I requested French nationality a city councillor, an elected official, told me to change my first name. My initial first name Bechir means precursor, bringer of good news. I didn't want to change it. When I told him that my application for naturalisation was ready, he told me, 'for your application you have change your first name'. I changed the first name: Bernarb…Bernarb. When I realized that with Bernarb as my first name I didn't obtain anything, so when my daughter was born, I modify my first name by birth, and with my kids I used Arab first names for my daughters. Why? Because I am disappointed, disappointed. I am now going through the procedures to recover my initial first name »*.

Dialogue between North Africans of the second generation: « *T: So, it didn't work out. And the result is US, so. There are people who even changed their name, who went very far in that direction*

W: nothing changed. And now we have no more requests of the tribunals to…

T: to go back. Let's say that they were people who went very far in the desire of demonstrating their will to integrate. But in spite of this, today, people return naturally to their identity, the people of immigration, I am French-Algerian and all that. ».

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[105] The question of the veil is not mentioned here, since as we commented it before, I came upon the discussion from woman who does not wear it.

We read in the words of our speakers that the applications for citizenship do not correspond to the demands for recognition. The latter move in the direction of origins and cultural difference. Requests for nationality, on the other hand, are oriented towards the concrete properties of citizenship. There is a dual and contradictory strategy at work here between the abstract republican universe and the particularity of cultural identity: *W: « My family is Spanish, French, I am Moroccan. Which means that with respect to globalisation we don't need any lessons. It is not a search for identity, it is a multiple identity. And the one that gets the upper hand is the one that people constantly remind one about. I am more Muslim, more Algerian, more North African than anything else. ».*

……

H: « I cannot say 'I am French' if being French means to accept the absence of dignity. It's impossible. And then, there is also the personal link to what we call the country of origin. There are very different personal stories; there are people who haven't been to Algeria for twenty years, who don't know at all, absolutely not, their own families. For me, there is also the fact that when I was very young I would spend every summer in Algeria. I want to tell you a little anecdote. In 1984-85, I was in second or third grade of primary school, I would wake up at one or two in the morning to watch the Algerian team playing on TV, then it is not for no reason at all». The respondents play then with a group of different identities that correspond to the various prescribed roles: the « good immigrant » wishes to get integrated and adapt to universal French values, but the « good son» stays close to his culture of origin.

…..

Identities are increasingly difficult to think in the context of the Nation State as coinciding with a nationality that assembles a nation; one people endowed with specific values. The waves of succeeding immigration, forbidding the mythology of purity of origin: *W: « But the notion of being French has exploded on its actual definition. The France that had its roots on the Catholicism, is bullshit, it is dated. We can add the Buddhists and the Muslims, because they are more numerous than the Jews and in practice more numerous than the Catholic. It's true, this story of Frenchism, French or not French, identity. Me too, I am Moroccan, I am Algerian, I am Turkish, by solidarity with the French colonial past. But it is because there are family links, etc. […] The reality is that, on the pretext that France is a Republic, the communities are not recognised. ».*

The French Republic is then conceived as this Universal that exists through a particular, that takes its place: The communitarian negation, the negation of what is different (Zizek : 1998, Laclau :1998).

2. French people do not understand us

The trajectories of the immigrants have sometimes been presented to us as a road built on the basis of wounds and bitter feelings: *« I think that all the woman, whether Africans, form any country or North Africans, I think that they don't want this because they are intelligent. They have all the assets, even more than others, because they have always been surrounded by small problems. From their youth, they dealt with these things, parents, grandparents, these woman are strong, reaching a certain age they know how to move on in life. And this is what French people do not understand. »* and *« But there are some people who are lucky in this misfortune because they have a family, at least, that protects them. There are some who don't have anything, who arrive, there, in the field, telling themselves: France is going to open the doors for us. […] So what I think is that, no matter the nationality to which we belong to, what is needed is a little tenderness because these people they have tenderness, but for whom? Only for their family, their great children, their children. The wellbeing of these people is very important but for the rest, they don't care ».* (Sans-papiers Woman).

…..

A: *« In 1998 [arrival date to France], things were a little easier, but I didn't I didn't handle it well because there was nobody to encourage me in this way, so I left after three months, I couldn't hack it».* So, for the immigrants, the family appears to be an important dimension to live a successful route, mainly for the people who know the most precarious situations. The necessity of counting on family solidarity is partly the result of the loss social structures of the country of origin, mainly the matrimonial structures and the gender relations in general, but these tend to be strengthened in a situation of enclavization, or falling back on the family. To withdraw into the comforting family space pulls the migrants – mainly the woman- to the necessity of conforming to the rules prescribed in the name of the home culture.

3. Me, I don't understand them

To compensate (if this is the case) for discrimination some people use an « offensive » style. There is no possible suffering because in appearance is they who « refuse French people » *N. "Yo creo que yo estoy muy reticente con los franceses, es una cuestión mía personal, no los entiendo y no los voy a entender nunca…Me cuesta entender el funcionamiento, me cuesta entender su humor, son muy malhumorados, atienden muy mal, pero son así desde chicos, la escuela es tenés derecho o no tenés derecho, viste, entonces son caracteres cuadrados y van a*

terminar así, pero es una característica de esta cultura, que no se puede cambiar y bueno". ("Me, I think I am reticent with the French, it is personal matter, I don't understand them and I will never understand them. It is hard for me to understand how things work, it is hard for me to understand their humour, they are too bad tempered, they are poor at welcoming but they are like that since they are just kids. It is characteristic of their culture we cannot change it, it is like that. »).

Nevertheless, at the origin of this refusal there is again the fear of loosing one's identity: L « *Yo no he tenido ningún problema de integración, el problema de integración que tengo es que tengo mi cabeza en Chile"* (" I haven't had any problem of integration. My only problem of integration, is that my head is still in Chile. »).

……

N: "Yo llegué con 43 años, no llegué con 25, por lo cual la adaptación de un tipo que se reivindica, y que soy absolutamente porteño y que vivía en Rivadavia y Riobamba, y no hay manera de comprender muchas cosas que pasan en Francia con las costumbres francesas. Estamos hablando cuáles son los rechazos que tiene ellos contra nosotros, para mi ninguno, yo tengo rechazo. Lo cual también es una cosa del otro lado, hay cosas que yo no entiendo cómo funcionan, y creo que no las voy a entender nunca, eso hace que yo no me afiance en el idioma". (" I arrived when I was 43 years old, I didn't arrive when I was 25 and so the adaptation for a guy, who claims some self-esteem, and me, I am absolutely porteño (from the pear) and I lived in Rivadavia and Riobamba, it is very different. There is no way of understanding many things that happen in France, concerning French habits. Some may ask about the way they refuse us. For me, there is no rejection on their part, it is I who refuse. This is to understand the other side. There are things that I don't understand about how they work and don't think I will ever understand. As a result, I do not try so hard to learn the language").

4. Solidarity

The appeal of solidarity (communitarian, political and associative solidarity) appears to be omnipresent for the respondents.

A sign in all groups was the appeal of solidarity as the best way to overcome the difficult moments: *N: "There, I have a friend who went through same troubles, she has me, it's really,*

it's great, we cannot say that everybody is nasty. There are people who are thoughtful even when you have troubles. It is important".

"X: your friends, your parents. It is not related to where you live.
In the building, there are Senegalese, there are Malians, there is everything, there are Pakistanis.
Us: different cultures?
X: there are no problems, there are Guineans, Comorians, there are no problems. Anyways
A: you are all in the same trouble
X: That's it, you got it..
A: nationality doesn't matter".

Here, the respondents insist on the importance of a solidarity based on the situational identity: sans-papiers and sharing the "troubles".

But for some of the respondents, solidarity is only possible between peers of the same culture, since it is interpreted as a cultural product. It is then convenient to denounce vigorously the universal discourse and to allow the communitarian discourse to fully express itself*: H: "I see in the definition, in the denunciation, I see discrimination, mainly institutional. And I believe that it is necessary that more and more people become conscious of these realities. Because the evil of this education is to spoil the brains of the kids by telling them, we're all equal with everybody. All this bullshit doesn't correspond at all to French society. It creates very important traumas. We tell the youth that if they study they will be successful in life, that if they conform to the system they will find openness in the French society, even if this is not the truth. It would be better to prepare them by telling them: 'that's it, you live in a society were it will be very difficult for you, you will be able to count only on yourself, so you have to be predisposed to take account of all these realities and adopt realistic "strategies". I see my young brother; we didn't educate him as for example I was or the others, well. He got conscious, firstly, that he was not French, secondly,*
W: No, no, he is really French!
H: To count in these lies, when they tell you, French society, France, etc…it goes in one ear and comes out on the other. Today, we are Arabs, we don't have the right…
W: But...
H: No, but it's true! Today, in the French society, extra institutional solidarities, do not exist anymore. In the North African societies they exist, there are things that are worth holding in high esteem.

…….

ME: *« por lo tanto qué es la palabra solidaridad en un caso y en el otro. En el caso del niño latinoamericano es una cosa concreta visceral, mi compañero no tiene zapatillas, mi compañero no…y acá en cambio la solidaridad es una cosa mucho más abstracta, se les enseña debemos ser solidarios con los pueblos pobres, los pueblos pobres es la cosa in mente la entelequia, no es el chico que se sentó al lado…"("By the way, what does it mean the word solidarity, in one case and the other. In the case of Latin American kids, it is a concrete deeply rooted thing, my friend doesn't have shoes, my friend doesn't…. Here, on the other side, solidarity is a more abstract thing, they are taught to show solidarity to the poor people; the poor people is something for the intellect, it's not the kid who sits next to us…. »)* There is then, an homology between the abstraction of universality and the abstraction of the solidarity mechanism set up in the context of the republic.

5. The question of langue as a cultural refuge

The question of mother tongues appears differently depending on the group, even for the non-French speakers. It is an inspiration, an objective, for the Gypsies to live with a « dual language » (the country of origin and the host country). For a woman respondent of the "Collectif Algérie", to speak in French becomes the window of her condition as French, while, for here kids, even if they speak Arab and they practice it at school, to refuse to speak it at home as a way of refusing the return and the misfortunes suffered in Algeria. For the Latinos, to maintain theirs is, at the contrary, a mark of difference to be preserved and that is how they want to appear to the world. *N: "Por fin un ligar en donde se habla en español!.Yo he trabajado en el Liceo francés (en Argentina), andá a ver si hablan en castellano porque viven allá! jamás. Laburé en colegios alemanes, hablan en alemán en las reuniones y si no sabés alemán, jodete" ("Finally a place where they speak in Spanish! [Concerning our FG.] I worked at the French school (in Argentina), go and check if they speak Spanish because they live over there! Never! I also worked in Germen schools, they speak in German at the meetings and of you don't speak German you are done").*

For the second generation, the use of the mother tongue is not a obstacle for feeling North African. Even though, sometimes, this is interpreted as a denegation. *« H: Despite everything, there are situations where the integrationist talk looses out. The Turks, for example, do not integrate themselves, they don't speak French but they do well economically.*

We were talking earlier about this integrationist ideology, what marked me, because I have a friend, Argentinean in fact, she used to tell me, I am surprised because you speak in French among yourselves. I told her, really, why? Because in our case, even if we are in France, we all speak in our home language. And she is right so how, it's wonderful as a way of denial. And then, it is funny to see that people from village, who have just arrived, do better than we do. »).

So it appears that the language constitutes, without any shock value, a fundamental claim for the immigrants, who aim to perpetuate their cultural identity. But his language practice –sometimes valorised with pride, sometimes rejected- reflects the complexity of the situation of the subject, who moves through different universes of identity. It would be premature to deduce the vigorous criticisms formulated concerning the French integrationist model that the majority of migrants wish to be changed to a multicultural politics. The will to recognition–manifested strongly among people who have the most cultural capital, even if present in every body- doesn't lead to a demand for « cultural fragmentation » or identity withdrawal. [Wieviorka 1996: 17]. Some respondents deplored that a housing politic, in fact, encourages the communitarian ideology by reproducing identically the small *bled* (home town) that favours, in this way, the social control, in its own way of home culture. They manifested their bitterness in that the republican model, that requires from them the sacrifice of cultural difference, does not hold their promises and since they appear powerless on removing the consequences of these differences on its more racist acceptation.

IX. To be an immigrant without dying while trying to be one

The strategies that the respondents expressed for being a successful immigrant in France, concentrate particularly to two issues: in one hand, financial autonomy, on the other education. Leaving is also contemplated by second generation immigrants.

1. Solutions to fight discrimination

The respondents manifested little hope on the anti-discrimination politics that reproduce the self-same mechanisms of discrimination. « *W: But it becomes dangerous when in the public and para-public, at least to become a state employee, you take a competitive examination, it's more egalitarian. This being said, they actually put handicapped people, or genetically different people, because apparently, some positions are so egalitarian that you cannot have access to them!* ». Some mention the mechanism market as the only capable of reversing the habits of the discriminatory behaviour: « *That is where I am convinced, the capitalist logic it's profit, the profit, you ask them tomorrow, it's beneficial, there are not many people around, there is not much line, they will take you.* ».

This same capitalist logic extends the limits of competition beyond national borders and the firms can be the motor of an immigration targeted towards certain professions. This is underlined today in the new orientation of Nicolas Sarkozy's politics: « *An engineer school brought them here, all the new arrivals, people form the Polytechnic of Morocco, they got resident permits for one year, a contract saying that they would not bring their families, a contract saying that they get paid twelve thousand francs, in Morocco, they will go for two thousand francs. A French polytechnic starts at thirty five thousand francs, if he doesn't leave for the United Sates right now.* ».

Then, it is the logic of exploitation itself that is designated as a way to get away from a situation of discrimination ending in exclusion: « *And there are people, they have become profitable to the capitalists who really want to suck them dry, they don't care for their looks that they don't care fro their nationality, that they don't care for their background. All that interests them is capitalist logic. And there, I am convinced; it will be in almost all the private sectors.* » « *The logic, the capitalist logic is something else. We understood it in this sense.*

Now in France Telecom, the 3/4 of their new members pass an examination. There is where we see what is going to happen. What is the particularity of this people? They accept to be underpaid. It's amazing. » The immigrant or second generation immigrant workers are, in effect, less integrated in the practices of making demands: « *In these cases, the second and first generation immigrants, we don't see them in the protests, in the CGT, and the CFDT.* ».

2. Hopes of success: becoming contractor

The vision of a successful future coincides on the perspective of economic normality, mainly for those who are marginalized because of their illegal situation: « *we don't ask for anything, we simply request to have decent pay like every body else does, to pay taxes, to pay what we owe, we do it anyway since we buy, we are in the normal economy and we want, even when we work, to declare(taxes), because we know that we have to pay something to society.* » The possibility of getting out of the assistance system, that the respondents find particularly heavy, is finding an employment sufficiently remunerative to afford the living costs.

Because of discrimination at the point of hiring, of which they are victims, the dream for many respondents –first and second generation- consists on starting their own firm: « *I conceive as the way of giving work to some people and without problems. But, of not confronting French society and requesting anything. There are many women who are in the same situation as mine, if they had the possibility of being regularized, they would like to give somebody a job; they need jobs,and to create jobs is not easy.* » (A., Algerian sans-papiers) Being an entrepreneur allows us to blame or congratulate ourselves for the causes of success and failure; it's a surer way to succeed: « *He has to get ready for a trajectory where you put some money aside, open a firm, to count on yourself.* », declares a French man born of the Algerian immigration concerning his young brother.

In this perspective, the second generation immigrants have assets that those of « French stock » do not have: « In the today's French society, extra-institutional solidarities do not exist anymore. In the North African societies they exist, this is something that is of great value. They know how to invest in our competence, when we set up a firm, we don't need to borrow money from the bank. ».

But for foreigners, even if they have a work permit, it is put into a question by the existence of rules that forbidden certain activities: « *But nevertheless, State domination today*

to own a bar. To understand it, excepting the Algerians who are supposed to be in favourable situation because of the Evian agreements, foreigners do not have access to a lot of functions and activities. » (W.)

3. Another project: departure to another country

For the second generation French, amongst the other possibilities of success there is departure to another country. This is contrary to the case of the new arrivals who demonstrate their will to stay in France –as costly as it can be for the sans-papiers-, the second generation appeared then to be a more mobile population: their family is multinational, they do not hesitate to go to another country for their studies and they envisage emigration for work: « *we haven't taken into account all the aspects, but amongst the people I know who are graduates, it is amazing to see how many of them left France. It is my case. I am preparing my own departure.* »(H., French with Algerian background). Any destination seems to be preferred: « *We have friends, they are leaving, they are leaving for Australia, there are people going to Singapore, who leave for Latin America, for Peru.* » (W.).

X. Conclusions

To conclude, we would like to go back over some of the results of this research, which seem to us to reveal the current specificities of the French case:

1. Algeria

The Algerians or French with Algerian background appeared to us to be the ones who showed the strongest contrasts in the French situation. Three of the Focus Groups included some Algerian people: the "illegals", the legals and the French of second-generation immigration. They had very different positions regarding the way they perceive their stay in France, depending mostly on their legal situation.

Algerian men and women form a group of its own in the broader category of North African immigrants: their legal situation itself, because of the multiplicity of legal rules related to the condition of their admisson, to residence and to French nationality sets them apart from the rest of the migrants. The women who found themselves in a situation of new arrivals or "sans-papiers", after losing their right to residence in France, had the most integrationist way of talking; on the contrary, the second generation Algerians were the most critical towards this very policy, and spoke out in favour of some form of multicultural politics.

2. Cultural capital, a variable of adaptation stronger than legal status?

Some immediate results demonstrate the central role played by legal status in the trajectories of migrants: for those who do not have a valid residence/work permit, it becomes the core of their daily experience. Obtaining papers becomes the goal that organizes everything they do, to the point that some of them experience psychological collapse once they've reached this goal. But, with or without the papers, it appeared that the experiences of the migrants in France largely depend on the nature of their cultural capital: those who were already familiar with French culture, be it because they had already lived there before their migration, or because their home culture shared something with French culture (that is the

case with the Latino-Americans) do better than the nationals who never had any contact with French culture before their arrival.

Of course, mastering the French language is part of this sharedness, as was made clear, in totally opposed ways, by the Algerian women who were educated in France and speak the language without any accent, and the *travellers* who cannot speak the language at all. This variation in cultural capital also influences the perception that the different groups of migrants have of each other: the fact that some of the migrants do not understand the accents of people from other countries, or their perception of variables such as traditional clothing – or the veil in some cases – to give an interpretation of individual stories, shows the existence of some implicit, but very clear, mental cartography of the different communities for the migrants themselves.

3. Different ways of relating to the country of origin

The relations of the migrants with their country of origin depend on the trajectories of the individuals, and may vary from proximity, perceptible for instance through the comings and goings between the two countries, to virtually totally breaking all bonds with the country of origin. But it became clear that there was, apart from this variable of intensity of the relation, different ways of experiencing the relation to their country of origin. One of them is to perpetuate family bonds, taking part in family gatherings in the country of origin, sending money to the relatives who remain back home, up to matrimonial strategies aiming to keep alive the ties with the countries of origin and within the group and prepare some future return home. Another is the continuity of some political interest in the country of origin, the feeling of being a citizen of that country – which is the case for some of the second generation migrants, who have never lived in the country where their parents came from – and, yet, become actively involved in its future.

4. Housing

In Paris just like in Lyon, we noticed the same problems: a close relationship between being a foreigner and having a hard time finding a decent place to live. It is true that the problem of housing also concerns French people but it affects them in a different proportion:

18% of the immigrants are housed in some priority districts, 80% of them come from countries outside the European Union, they live in housing of poorer quality and 39% of them live in overpopulated housing.

For the poorest, this issue adds to other obstacles, due to a lack of financial resources. These obstacles display at least three aspects: first an <u>insufficient number of opportunities for « public housing » and residences that are unsuitable for families</u>. The residences ("foyers") are conceived primarily to host a population of single male immigrants, which is far from being the reality of the last waves of immigrants. Besides, several accounts mentioned that it was a real obstacle course in relation to the social workers to get some temporary housing, for just a few days. Besides instability (for the immigrants, changing residence is almost always involuntary), to live in some hotel allocated by the social services becomes very expensive for these families. This is how, faced with situation of utmost precariousness and urgency, squatting appears like a feasible solution. This reality increases in a significant way the criminalization of the population and the families are exposed to major risks. Through our research, we have observed that this occurs mostly to the "sans papiers" but also to those who are legal or French with North African or African features.

This last case, found in the account of a woman married with three kids, all three born in France, but who cultivate their African culture, crudely sent us back to a second aspect: <u>the stigmatisation of immigrants, in particular in the private housing estate.</u> Having an Arab family name, an Arabic or a black face on top of being young may be the reason why some housing seekers cannot find any place to rent. But this also does harm to a particular social group. It happened for instance to the Mexican consul. She told us of her difficulties in finding some diplomatic housing because « Mexicans are considered to be loud and high livers ».

Finally, a third burden on top of the impossibility for many immigrants to pay the huge deposit required to rent an apartment is the lack of references and personal guarantees. For this reason, many immigrants, including some salaried ones, are dependent upon various social networks (networks of fellow countrymen, friends or associations…). We heard the account of a man, with a salaried work, who had completed postgraduate studies, who had to move 5 times in one year. Where children are concerned, the situation gets more and more complex because school is related to the address: children are assigned the closest school to their home and to change and find a new opening in another school, the families have to show some written proof.

In short, the right to housing is a real struggle, every day, for a very large part of the immigrants of every social stratum. For the poorest, there is a double handicap when it is related to a request for asylum, and triple when they belong to a community, such as the Gypsies. For the latter, there are specific laws. (On that subject, the reader should consult the annex).

5. Integration, what is the price?

The various groups made us to think about the issue of *integration*, knowing that in the case of France, it is a pattern of individualistic universalism (the immigrants are treated as individuals and not as being part of a community). The *integration* pattern seriously undermines the whole of the migratory process, the whole of the immigrant trajectory [Sayad: 1999]. Sometimes *integration* leads to the denial of differences (associations disguised as integration) and forces immigrants to hide part of their identity or suffer from its consequences (the instance of the woman who, because she wears the veil, cannot find any work, and the man who changes his Arab last name in order to be more easily accepted). In other cases, to integrate requires one to make huge sacrifices. Indeed, « once placed in the context of immigration, it is the entire condition of existence of the immigrant, all of his life, that is the locus for the intensive work of integration, an entirely anonymous, underground, almost invisible work, very much alike a real work of inculcation or of a second socialization »[106].

The group we called the « well educated Latinos » exemplifies this example: regarding this group, there is a conception according to which it is a group that *integrates excellently* into French society because, as we've said *above* between Latin America and France there is a certain closeness and significant cultural connections. And yet, for them just as for the people from North Africa, to adapt also means giving up the status they acquired in their country of origin and find some work that is somehow related to their previous studies. Almost all the people who took part in the discussion groups found a job that was below their professional qualifications (We heard one teacher who was working as a cleaning lady and one man with a postgraduate degree who works in the manual distribution of publicity). This situation is reversed when they obtain French nationality. On the contrary, a few similar examples turned

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[106] La double absence. Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré de Abdelmalek Sayad. Seuil, Paris, 1999. Page 315.

up in the Agora-Divercité group, but in these cases, nationality was an independent variable and the scale of discrimination take on a different, more perpetual and open logic.

6. Racism and discrimination

To conclude, we would like to draw attention to the fact that racism and discrimination, though distinctly different one from the other, as was made clear through the various accounts, tend to be conflated in the social imaginary that part of the French people have constructed about immigrants in the last decades. Imaginary the one that reflects in everyday interactions between the French and the ones who are considered as non-French. This confusion is also present amongst some groups of immigrants for whom the effects of a discrimination based on social condition can hardly be differentiated from true racism.

This racism/discrimination that justifies the refusal of the foreigner is none other than putting into action the thought « we do not share the same values ». Thus, experiencing pain and injustice, the victims find themselves bound to invent the Other in the scale of his/her invisibility [David : 2001]. But this Other is simply not « the social racist », the « xenophobic bucolic ». Quite the contrary. This is « everyday racism » or « ordinary racism » ("banal racism) [D'Apollonia: 1998] – a faceless racism, that usually leaves no evidence and can live and feed on democracy – and to which immigrants are unequally confronted. Like the headmaster of a school asking some parents who do not speak French to speak only French at home, or the owner who will have only French tenants, the man behind a counter who pretends he cannot understand what a group of Asian people is asking for. Much of this is a discrimination as an effect of structures of differentiation.

One way to get over the nausea this daily racism might give rise to, for a good number of respondents, consists in asserting – sometimes in a cynical way – that they are also a source of economic incomes for the « host » country on several levels. Most of the immigrants' work is located in the construction and building industries and in cleaning, as well as research in the natural sciences, all places or jobs for which there is a great deficit of French workers. Finally, there is also a whole network of moonlighting that is not inconsiderable and all the purchases made by the foreigners with a credit card that is less than 5 years old have to be based on immediate withdrawal (ie as bank cards) since they have no access to any kind of bank credit.

So, in the future, we will have to ponder as well about these kinds of consequences of contemporary discrimination.

We would like to sum up our observations and conclude by quoting I. Wallerstein: « Universalism and the racism/sexism do not make up a thesis and antithesis from which we should expect a synthesis, but rather a network of domination and liberation reflexes that history commands us to overcome and to understand our own ambiguities »[107].

The larger theoretical issues here that need to be taken up with respect to the concrete and practical problems are the relation between social and political structures which are always based on categorizations and often on different scales of ranking and the discriminatory effects that they engender. Racism in the institutional sense is problem of this type. It needs to be separated from cultural constructs of difference which are often historical products such as colonial regimes of the past projected in a situation of migration from fomer colonies. Here as well the issue of the nationalist parties needs to be seen in a perspective that takes seriously the discriminatory politics that is produced in the respectable centers of power whose own self-image is the mirror image of such discrimination. Here Taguieff's notion of mirroring might be developed in institutional terms. Here the question of the interconnections and dialectical relations between cultural construction, practical identification and institutional form needs to be worked out more clearly. This is evident in this material where hierarchical differentiation is reproduced within immigrant communities (to say nothing of their countries of origin).

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[107] Race, nation, classe. Les identités ambiguës de Etienne Balibar et Immanuel Wallerstein. La découverte. Paris, 1988. Page 308.

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XII. Annexes

Annexe 1. Quelques données socio-démographiques des régions Ile de France et Rhône-Alpes

Plans des régions Ile de France et Rhône-Alpes

Plan 1. Ile de France
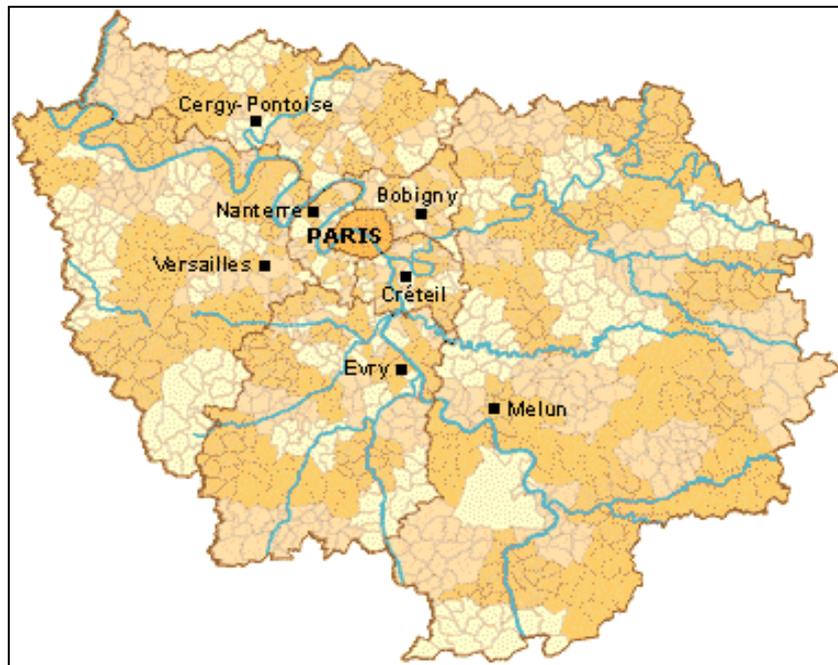
Plan 2. Rhône-alpes

Plan 3. Lyon

Ile de France. Chiffres clés du recensement INSEE en 1999

Recensement INSEE en 1999, résultats provisoires

Population		
	1999	**1990**
Population sans doubles comptes :	10 930 244	10 660 554
Densité (nombre d'habitants au km^2) :	910	887

1 281 communes

Nombre d'habitants par commune	Nombre de commune(s)
- 2 000	771
2 000 - 4 999	166
5 000 - 9999	105
10 000 - 19 000	89
20 000 - 49 999	120
50 000 - 99 999	28
100 000 - 199 999	1
plus de 200 000	1

Logements		
	1999	**1990**
Nombre total de logements :	5 082 655	4 745 780
Nombre de résidences principales:	4 510 369	4 232 691
Nombre de résidences secondaires et logements occasionnels :	162 795	201 595
Nombre de logements vacants :	409 491	311 494

Evolution démographique	1968 - 1975	1975 - 1982	1982 - 1990	1990 - 1999
Naissances :	1 128 246	1 068 281	1 289 663	1 480 228
Décès :	605 208	595 209	653 290	696 797
Solde naturel :	+ 523 038	+ 473 072	+ 636 373	+ 783 431
Solde migratoire apparent :	+ 106 896	- 278 578	- 48 878	- 513 741
Variation totale :	+ 629 934	+ 194 494	+ 587 495	+ 269 690

Taux démographiques (moyennes annuelles)	1968 - 1975	1975 - 1982	1982 - 1990	1990 - 1999
Taux d'évolution global :	+ 0.95	+ 0.28	+ 0.71	+ 0.28
- dû au solde naturel :	+ 0.79	+ 0.68	+ 0.77	+ 0.81
- dû au solde migratoire apparent :	+ 0.16	- 0.40	- 0.06	- 0.53
Taux de natalité pour 1000 :	17.0	15.2	15.6	15.2
Taux de mortalité pour 1000 :	9.1	8.5	7.9	7.2

Evolution du nombre de

logements					
	1968	**1975**	**1982**	**1990**	**1999**
Résidences principales :	3 292 191	3 689 078	3 966 957	4 233 830	ND
Résidences secondaires* :	130 093	133 680	148 597	202 873	ND
Logements vacants :	163 556	275 248	307 394	309 162	ND
Ensemble des logements :	3 585 840	4 098 006	4 422 948	4 745 865	ND
Nombre moyen d'occupants des résidences principales :	2.73	2.61	2.48	2.46	ND

Structure selon la tranche d'âge en 1997

Tranche d'âge	En %
0 à 14 ans	20,0
15 à 24 ans	14,0
25 à 49 ans	40,2
50 à 59 ans	10,2
60 à 74 ans	10,3
75 ans ou plus	5,2

Région Lyonnaise

Région Rhône-Alpes

Population : 5 645 407 habitants (1999)

Superficie : 4 369 392 hectares

Communauté urbaine de Lyon

Population : 1 164 733 habitants (1999)

Superficie :

-fleuves inclus : 4787 ha

-fleuves non inclus : 4575 ha
55 communes

Département du Rhône

Population : 1 605 847 habitants (1999)

Superficie : 321 497 hectares

Composition socio-démographique de la Ville de Lyon

	Aire urbaine de Lyon %	Ensemble Français %
Hommes	49	49
Femmes	51	51

	Aire urbaine de Lyon %	Ensemble Français %
15-24	22	20
23-59	32	31
40-59	32	32
60 ans et plus	14	18

	Aire urbaine de Lyon %	Ensemble Français %
Cadres supérieurs, professions intellectuelles supérieures et professions intermédiaires	23	18
Employés de services	17	16
Ouvriers	17	13
Retraités	11	18
Autres inactifs	28	29

	Aire urbaine de Lyon %	Ensemble Français %
Communes de moins de 20.000 habitants	40	31
20 à 100.000 ha.	24	13
100.000 à 200.000 ha.	8	7
Plus de 200.000 ha	28	21

Annexe 2

Focus Groupes : Guide des groupes de discussion

Proposition de guide d'entretien

Séance 1

1. Est-ce que vous pouvez tous vous présenter, nous dire depuis quand vous êtes là et pourquoi vous êtes venus en France ?

2. Où vivez-vous ? Comment êtes-vous arrivés là ? Comment avez-vous choisi votre lieu de résidence [en centre-ville, en banlieue] ? Comment ça se passe dans le quartier ? *Nous choisissons d'introduire la discussion par le thème du logement, qui est le premier problème dont doivent s'occuper les immigré(e)s quand ils arrivent en France.*

3. Avez-vous fait vos études en France ? Est-ce que vous avez des enfants scolarisés en France ? Comment ça se passe ?

4. Comment avez-vous obtenu le travail que vous occupez actuellement ? Comment ça se passe ? Comment ça s'est passé dans le passé ?

(30 minutes par thème)

Séance 2

(la séance commence par la relance des thèmes éventuellement non traités lors de la première réunion)

1. Quels rapports avez-vous avec l'administration française ? Est-ce qu'il y a eu une évolution ?

2. Les personnes immigrées [ou perçues comme telles] qui s'en sortent bien, comment font-elles ?

3. Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que la situation des immigrés en France a changé au cours des dernières années ? (*Tout le monde va répondre « oui » à cette question qui insiste sur l'aspect du changement. Ce qui nous intéresse ici est moins la perception de la mutation que le contenu qui y est associé.*)

4. Que pensez-vous du contexte politique de la France en ce moment ?

5. Qu'est-ce qui à votre avis devrait changer en France pour bien accueillir les immigrés ?

6. Pour vous, qu'est-ce que c'est que le racisme ?

(30 minutes par thème)

Annexe 3

Focus Groupes : Questionnaire de contrôle (Modèle)

FG :
Date :
Lieu :
Participants :
Enregistrement audio :
Enregistrement vidéo :

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">1- Nom :</td><td colspan="3">Prénom</td><td>Genre</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Age</td><td colspan="2">Etat civil</td><td>Enfants :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Pays d’origine</td><td colspan="2">Nationalité</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Date d’arrive en France :</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Dernier occupation :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Education (pays d’origine):</td><td colspan="2">Education (en France) :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Logement :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6"></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">2- Nom :</td><td colspan="3">Prénom</td><td>Genre</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Age</td><td colspan="2">Etat civil</td><td>Enfants :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Pays d’origine</td><td colspan="2">Nationalité</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Date d’arrive en France :</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Dernier occupation :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Education (pays d’origine):</td><td colspan="2">Education (en France) :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Logement :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6"></td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">3- Nom :</td><td colspan="3">Prénom</td><td>Genre</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Age</td><td colspan="2">Etat civil</td><td>Enfants :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Pays d’origine</td><td colspan="2">Nationalité</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Date d’arrive en France :</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Dernier occupation :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Education (pays d’origine):</td><td colspan="2">Education (en France) :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Logement :</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6"></td></tr>
</table>

4- Nom :	Prénom		Genre
Age	Etat civil		Enfants :
Pays d'origine		Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :			
Dernier occupation :			
Education (pays d'origine):		Education (en France) :	
Logement :			

5- Nom :	Prénom		Genre
Age	Etat civil		Enfants :
Pays d'origine		Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :			
Dernier occupation :			
Education (pays d'origine):		Education (en France) :	
Logement :			

6- Nom :	Prénom		Genre
Age	Etat civil		Enfants :
Pays d'origine		Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :			
Dernier occupation :			
Education (pays d'origine):		Education (en France) :	
Logement :			

7- Nom :	Prénom		Genre
Age	Etat civil		Enfants :
Pays d'origine		Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :			
Dernier occupation :			
Education (pays d'origine):		Education (en France) :	
Logement :			

8- Nom :	Prénom		Genre

Age	Etat civil	Enfants :
Pays d'origine	Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :		
Dernier occupation :		
Education (pays d'origine):	Education (en France) :	
Logement :		

9- Nom :	Prénom	Genre
Age	Etat civil	Enfants :
Pays d'origine	Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :		
Dernier occupation :		
Education (pays d'origine):	Education (en France) :	
Logement :		

10- Nom :	Prénom	Genre
Age	Etat civil	Enfants :
Pays d'origine	Nationalité	
Date d'arrive en France :		
Dernier occupation :		
Education (pays d'origine):	Education (en France) :	
Logement :		

| Observations |
|---|
| |

Dépenses (Contrôle interne)

Personne à l'origine de la dépense	Cause de la Dépense	Montant en euros	Date	Payé par l'EHESS ou avancé de notre argent

Annexe 4

Focus Groupes :Questionnaire (Quelques résultats provisoires)

DISTRIBUTION PAR SEXES

33%

67%

F
M

DISTRIBUTION PAR AGE

51,85%

29,63%

7,41%

7,41%

3,70%

| 15-24 | 25-39 | 40-59 | 60 | S/D |
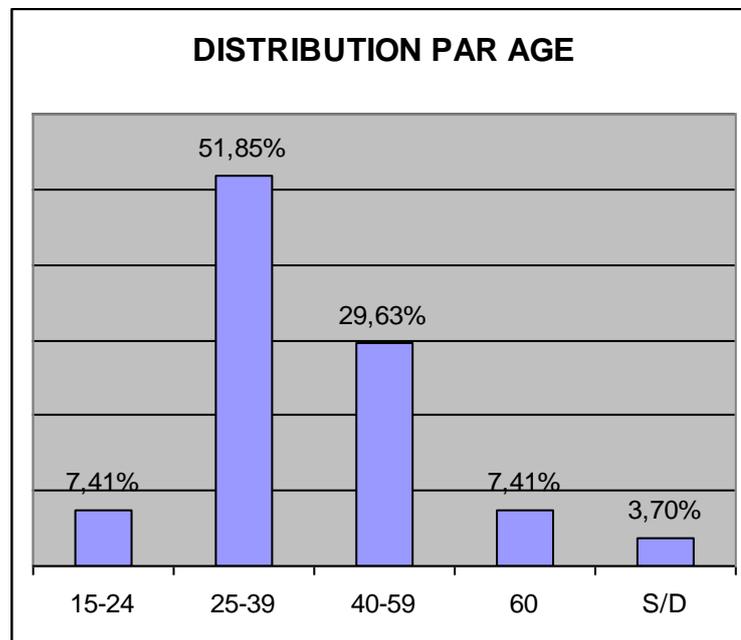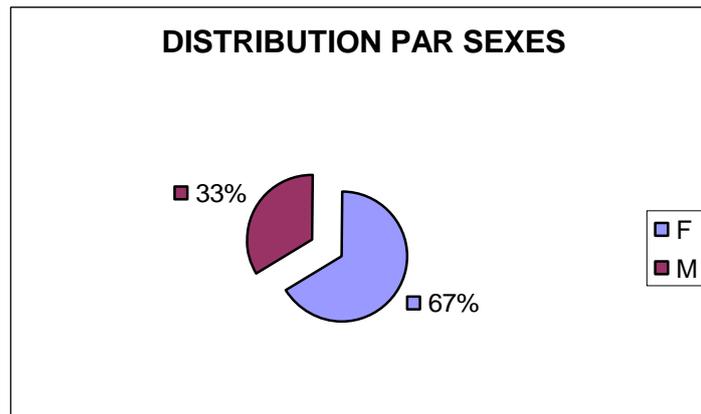
Documents complémentaires à l'analyse des groupes 2 et 3.

Document Droits Dessus 10 - Asile et réfugiés : Etat des lieux - novembre 1999. Lyon

ASILE ET REFUGIES : ETAT DES LIEUX

La question des réfugiés est un problème mondial qui touche un nombre toujours plus important de personnes et de pays. Le Haut Commissariat pour les Réfugiés comptabilise dans le monde un peu plus de 13 millions de réfugiés statutaires auxquels s'ajoutent les personnes, déplacées internes (près de 5 millions), les rapatriés (plus de 3 millions) et tous les demandeurs d'asile, réfugiés non reconnus avec des statuts différents (plus d'un million). Ils fuient l'insécurité politique, les persécutions et violences, la guerre, des conditions de vie précaire... L'Afrique et l'Asie en fournissent, mais en accueillent également, le plus grand nombre. Les flux de réfugiés ont connu une progression continue et forte depuis 1985 même si actuellement la tendance est à la diminution.

Dans le cas de la France, on constate une augmentation des demandes d'asile depuis le milieu des années 80 avec un pic de la demande en 1989 puis une diminution rapide depuis cette date (en moyenne, 20 000 arrivées par an depuis 1995) qui s'explique par un arsenal de mesures et pratiques décourageantes pour les nouveaux demandeurs qui préfèrent ne pas venir en France ou rester dans la clandestinité. Le taux de reconnaissance en France, toutes nationalités confondues, est actuellement d'environ 20% (avec de fortes variations selon les pays d'origine). A titre de comparaison, il est intéressant de noter qu'en 1976, avec un nombre de demandes comparable à celui d'aujourd'hui, le taux de reconnaissance était de 95%. Selon la Convention de Genève (adoptée en 1951 par les Nations Unies), "... le terme de réfugié s'applique à toute personne... qui... craignant avec raison d'être persécutée du fait de sa race, de sa religion, de sa nationalité, de son appartenance à un certain groupe social ou de ses opinions politiques, se trouve hors du pays dont elle a la nationalité et qui ne peut ou, du fait de cette crainte, ne veut se réclamer de la protection de ce pays". Outre l'asile conventionnel, d'autres types d'asile ont vu le jour (voir p. 2).

Inégalement confrontés au phénomène des flux migratoires du fait de systèmes d'accueil et de protection encore très diversifiés (parmi les plus accueillants, on trouve l'Allemagne, le Royaume-Uni, les Pays-Bas, la Suisse... tandis que la France se démarque par sa frilosité), les pays européens tentent néanmoins d'adopter progressivement une approche commune de ces questions. Initiée dans un cadre intergouvernemental, cette coopération conduira désormais (depuis l'entrée en vigueur du Traité d'Amsterdam) à l'adoption d'actes juridiques dans un cadre communautaire qui viseront une harmonisation notamment en matière de conditions d'accueil et de reconnaissance du statut, de procédure et de protection temporaire en cas d'afflux massifs de réfugiés. Dans le contexte de la libre circulation des personnes en Europe, une Convention européenne (Convention de Dublin) établit déjà des mécanismes pour déterminer l'Etat responsable du traitement d'une demande d'asile. On peut cependant regretter que la plupart des actes adoptés en commun aient jusqu'à maintenant plutôt été marqués par un caractère restrictif et basés sur le plus petit dénominateur commun. Il faudra que les institutions communautaires récemment renouvelées (Parlement européen et Commission européenne) soient animées d'un grand volontarisme et que les Etats membres sachent donner une impulsion politique forte à ces questions, notamment lors du Sommet européen d'octobre dernier. L'occasion est unique pour tirer les leçons de l'accueil réservé aux réfugiés du Kosovo et construire une Europe plus ouverte et plus solidaire.

ASILE : DES STATUTS DIFFERENTS
L'asile conventionnel : une institution en crise

La définition du réfugié nous est donnée par l'art. 1" A. 2 de la Convention de Genève de 1951: " *Le ternie de réfugié s'applique à toute personne... qui... craignant avec raison d'être persécutée du fait de sa race, de sa religion, de sa nationalité, de son appartenance à un certain groupe social ou de ses opinions politiques, se trouve hors du pays dont elle a la nationalité et qui ne peut ou, du fait de cette crainte, ne veut se réclamer de la protection de ce pays.* " L'Office Français de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides (OFPRA) a pour double mission de reconnaître la qualité de réfugié à ceux qui la sollicitent et d'assurer la protection juridique et administrative des réfugiés et apatrides. L'instance d'appel est la Commission des Recours des Réfugiés (Crr).

Malgré des réformes visant à réduire la longueur de la procédure pour que celle-ci ne dépasse pas six mois, la moyenne est plus proche d'un an. Les mesures visant à empêcher les étrangers de demander l'asile en France ne

cessent de se développer : Convention de Dublin (le 1er Etat signataire traversé par le demandeur d'asile en est responsable), traitement rapide des demandes de ressortissants originaires des pays considérés comme sûrs, amendes aux compagnies de transport, notion de demande manifestement non fondée ou dilatoire. Outres ces restrictions quantitatives, existent des restrictions qualitatives : obligation d'être persécuté par son Etat, excluant de fait les ressortissants de pays n'ayant plus d'Etat comme la Somalie ou ceux persécutés par des groupes non étatiques. De plus, bien qu'en théorie l'apport de preuves ne soit pas nécessaire, en pratique celles-ci sont indispensables et une suspicion généralisée plane sur les allégations des demandeurs d'asile ainsi que sur l'authenticité de leurs documents.

L'asile constitutionnel : protection en trompe l'œil ?

Inscrit dans la loi Chevènement, il reprend l'al. 4 du préambule de la Constitution de 1946 *: " Tout homme persécuté en raison de son action en faveur de la liberté a droit d'asile sur les territoires de la République. "* L'Ofpra et la Crr sont les organismes compétents pour accorder l'asile constitutionnel. Les droits et avantages attachés à ce statut sont les mêmes que ceux octroyés aux réfugiés conventionnels. Plutôt que de compliquer le schéma des procédures, n'aurait-il pas été plus simple d'abandonner une lecture restrictive de la Convention de Genève sur l'auteur des persécutions, comme le recommande le HCR depuis de nombreuses années? Ces conditions restrictives (avoir été persécuté et ne plus seulement le craindre, nécessité d'être un militant actif et non plus une victime passive) ne vont-elles pas en faire un statut élitiste ? Enfin, l'appréciation de l'action en faveur de la liberté introduit une forte subjectivité dans l'application de cet asile. A notre connaissance, la Crr n'a reconnu qu'une personne au titre de l'asile constitutionnel (CRR, 22/12/98, Haddadou) : un Algérien, militant activement au RCD et ayant subi des agressions par des groupes extrémistes. Avant de se prononcer, la Crr a vérifié les buts poursuivis par le RCD et les moyens qu'il emploie pour y arriver.

L'asile territorial, un fondement légal pour une pratique discrétionnaire

L'art. 13 de la loi relative à l'asile de 1998 (Loi "Chevènement") dispose: *" Dans les conditions compatibles avec les intérêts du pays, l'asile territorial peut être accordé par le ministère de l'Intérieur après consultation du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à un étranger si celui-ci établit que sa vie ou sa liberté est menacée dans son pays ou qu 'il y est exposé à des traitements contraires à l'article 3 de la Convention Européenne de sauvegarde des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales. "* Dans l'esprit du législateur, cet asile vise principalement les Algériens. L'étranger qui souhaite en bénéficier doit faire la demande à la préfecture de son lieu de résidence qui transmet son dossier au ministère de l'Intérieur.

Avancée positive, cet article donne enfin un fondement légal à une pratique déjà existante. Mais comment ne pas souligner la persistance du caractère discrétionnaire de l'octroi de cet asile dont le refus n'a pas à être motivé, et dont le recours n'est pas suspensif. Enfin, le droit au séjour n'étant accordé initialement que pour un an, certes avec droit au travail, la protection qui en découle reste encore bien en retrait par rapport à l'asile conventionnel ou constitutionnel. Dommage que cet asile territorial soit accordé au compte goutte et n'ait pas servi à supprimer l'asile au noir.

Cet Algérien est arrivé à Lyon en 1998 avec un visa de 30 jours délivré par l'Espagne. Il est célibataire et âgé de 40 ans. Il exerce le métier d'ingénieur d'Etat dans les Communications algériennes. Il est membre du Rassemblement culturel berbère. Il a toujours refusé de collaborer avec les islamistes intéressés par ses compétences. Dans sa demande d'asile territorial, il a raconté comment il avait été enlevé par les islamistes, séquestré, battu et violé. Libéré après deux jours, il n'a pensé qu'à fuir, atteint psychologiquement mais aussi physiquement. Dès son arrivée à Lyon, il se rend à l'Hôpital E. Herriot où son état de santé nécessite, une opération d'urgence et le placement d'un ami artificiel ; l'hôpital fera un certificat médico-légal, corroboré par l'Institut médico-légal. 23 avril 1999 : refus du Ministère de l'Intérieur d'accorder l'asile. Ce dossier passera incessamment devant le TA de Lyon. Le mémoire du MI est consternant : arguties concernant le droit de la France de s'opposer si "les intérêts du pays" s'y opposent, entrée en France par une voie détournée : il n'a pas sollicité la protection des autorités algériennes, situation de violence généralisée en Algérie, il peut être soigné en Algérie, sinon là où il habitait, du moins dans une autre région...

L'asile au noir : le dernier refuge (extraits d'un article rédigé par Olivier BRACHET, directeur du Crardda pour la Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 1997)

Des procédures d'asile restrictives d'une part, l'impossibilité ou la difficulté de renvoyer les demandeurs déboutés dans leur pays d'origine d'autre part, entraînent le développement en France, et ailleurs en Europe, de ce que l'on nomme parfois l'asile au noir. On entend par asile au noir, le maintien sur le territoire de personnes qui n'ont pas le droit d'y demeurer, mais qui y sont tolérées de fait. Dans la pratique, il se caractérise par l'absence permanente ou chronique de titre de séjour. Cette situation est fréquemment tolérée dans l'attente d'une réponse d'une instance ou d'une autre, ce qui permet souvent à des déboutés de suivre leur dossier auprès des services préfectoraux, qui estiment leur faire une faveur en ne les arrêtant pas sur place. Le plus souvent cet avantage gracieux ne fait que dissimuler l'impossibilité technique, sociale, logistique, politique ou diplomatique d'une reconduite à la frontière. On ne dira jamais assez combien de tels "arrangements" sont destructeurs non seulement pour les personnes concernées mais aussi pour la crédibilité de nos administrations. L'asile au noir est donc la réponse "pragmatique" de la France, contrairement à la pratique des permis humanitaires d'autres pays. Il s'inscrit dans une politique de dissuasion migratoire qui, à défaut de pouvoir être assumée jusqu'au bout, vise à rendre très précaires les situations de ceux dont on pense que, de guerre lasse, ils partiront ou disparaîtront.

Connus des services sociaux et administratifs, inexpulsables, ils viendront reconstruire le stock d'irréguliers qui dans quelques années fera l'objet d'une nouvelle régularisation.

Dispositions spécifiques pour les Kosovars : un particularisme de plus

Les premières instructions ministérielles datent de mars 1998 suite aux exactions dans la Dreniça. Comme il l'avait fait en 1992 pour les Bosniaques, le ministre de l'Intérieur suspend toutes les mesures d'éloignement à destination de la Yougoslavie pour les Kosovars. A partir d'octobre, les Kosovars arrivés en France après mars 1998, bénéficient d'une autorisation de séjour de trois mois sans droit au travail. Enfin, en mars et avril 1999, de nouvelles directives créent un statut véritablement protecteur : autorisation de séjour de trois mois puis de six mois ou un an avec droits sociaux et droit au travail, faculté de demander l'asile conventionnel à tout moment tout en conservant le bénéfice des droits acquis. Seul avantage refusé : l'accès au RMI.

L'asile territorial vient d'être créé, pourquoi ne pas l'utiliser dans cette situation ? De plus, la nécessité d'être arrivé en France après mars 1998, écarte de fait tous les Kosovars présents en France depuis plus longtemps et souvent déboutés de ces procédures classiques de l'asile. La France, une fois de plus, se prive d'avoir une politique d'accueil généreuse jusqu'au bout et ce faisant de faire coïncider ses actes avec ses discours.

L'ACCES AUX SOINS

La prise en charge des soins varie selon le statut, les titres de séjour et leur validité.

Pour les demandeurs d'asile hébergés en Cada (Centre d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile) ou en centre de transit.

Les demandeurs d'asile en attente de titres de séjour bénéficient d'une prise en charge des soins, dans les établissements hospitaliers (Convention DDASS / Hôpitaux) lorsqu'ils ne peuvent justifier d'une résidence stable et en l'absence d'une couverture sociale. Les personnes en possession d'une Autorisation Provisoire de Séjour, d'une validité d'un mois, sont admises à l'Aide Médicale de l'Etat. Elles bénéficient de la prise en charge totale des soins par le biais de prescriptions hospitalières.

L'admission est prononcée pour un an maximum sans avance des frais des soins dispensés par un établissement de santé, y compris en cas de consultation externe ; les prescriptions peuvent porter sur des médicaments ou des soins paramédicaux. Le récépissé de dépôt de demande d'asile, qui a une validité de trois mois, permet l'adhésion pour un an à l'assurance personnelle et une admission à l'Aide Médicale de l'Etat. C'est une prise en charge totale des soins et des traitements hospitaliers et extra hospitaliers.

Concernant les personnes hors-centre d'hébergement

Depuis le 1er septembre, une domiciliation Crardda permet l'admission à l'Aide Médicale de l'Etat, pour les demandeurs d'asile en possession d'une APS. Les bénéficiaires de l'Allocation d'Insertion sont admis à l'assurance personnelle et bénéficient d'une aide médicale octroyée par le département de résidence. Les réfugiés statutaires ont droit à une prise en charge selon les règles applicables aux nationaux. En général, les demandeurs d'asile en attente d'une APS peuvent bénéficier de l'Aide Médicale Hospitalière, permettant la gratuité des soins et de la délivrance des traitements exclusivement au sein des hôpitaux.

Médecins du Monde rencontre lors de ses consultations médico-sociales beaucoup de demandeurs d'asile. Un nombre important de ces derniers sont depuis peu en France. Ils ont souvent un rendez-vous à 3 ou 4 semaines en Préfecture. Ils ne sont pas encore en possession d'un titre de séjour régulier. Ils connaissent souvent une situation sociale précaire : absence de ressources, pas toujours de solution d'hébergement, barrage de la langue, angoisse liée à leur situation... L'accès à l'hôpital n'est pas facile pour ces personnes. En effet, en possession ni de carte d'assuré social, ni de moyens de paiement, le bureau des entrées des hôpitaux reste un cap difficile à franchir pour ces patients. A ce titre, soulignons les situations particulièrement délicates de femmes enceintes de plus de 6 mois et récemment arrivées sur le territoire français. Lorsque ces patients parviennent à passer l'entrée administrative des hôpitaux et lorsque la demande d'Aide Médicale Hospitalière a bien été faite, les patients repartent très souvent avec une (des) ordonnance(s) du médecin hospitalier. La loi en vigueur prévoit qu'en cas d'hospitalisation ou de consultation externe, l'Aide Médicale Hospitalière inclut dans sa prise en charge les frais pharmaceutiques, les frais d'analyses et d'examens de laboratoire pour ne citer que ceux-ci. Dans la réalité, les patients se retrouvent très souvent sans aucune information et sans aucune solution pratique, munis d'ordonnances qu'ils ne sont pas en mesure de suivre. Médecins du Monde est quotidiennement sollicité afin de pallier ce dysfonctionnement.

Tziganes. Les Lois en France

Décembre 1986 Circulaire N° 86-370

La liberté d'aller et de venir a pour corollaire le droit au stationnement sur le territoire de chaque commune.

133- Cas d'urgence exceptionnels. Le recours direct à la force publique pour procéder à l'éviction des nomades ne peut être envisagé qu'au vu d'une décision de justice, référé. Le juge se montre rigoureux dans l'appréciation de ces conditions. L'expulsion est considérée comme voie de fait.

1121-Dans l'arrêt " ville de Lille " du 2 décembre 1983, le conseil d'État a jugé que l'autorité de police générale ne peut " réglementer le stationnement d'une façon qui aboutirait en fait à une impossibilité pour les nomades de stationner ". Il doit y avoir une capacité d'accueil suffisante.

Dans le cas contraire la décision du Maire devra être regardée comme une interdiction générale de stationnement et devra être annulée par le juge, de l'excès de pouvoir. Il importe que le terrain de passage prévu pour les caravanes soit signalé comme tel et qu'un dispositif adéquat permette aux intéressés de se diriger, dès leur arrivée dans une commune, vers les terrains réservés à leur intention.

1122-...par ailleurs, je vous demande d'insister auprès des autorités municipales afin que les terrains de passage soient non seulement salubres et pourvus d'un minimum d'équipement, mais également afin que les emplacements choisis permettent à de jeunes enfants d'accomplir sans difficulté et sans fatigue excessive le trajet qui les sépare des établissements scolaires.

123- Le stationnement doit être toléré ou autorisé dans chaque commune conformément à la jurisprudence. Cette durée doit être susceptible de varier au-delà des limites fixées, entre autres : Aux délais pour l'accomplissement des démarches administratives . A des cas de maladie ; Au respect de l'obligation scolaire ; A la réparation de véhicules.

132-Stationnement sur le domaine privé : saisir le juge judiciaire, seul compétent pour prononcer l'expulsion des occupants. Stationnement sur le domaine public : saisir le juge administratif.

133-Le recours direct à la force publique pour procéder à l'éviction des non-sédentaires ne peut être envisagé, conformément aux règles générales applicables à l'exécution des actes administratifs, qu'au vu d'une décision de justice le prescrivant, notamment par la procédure de référé, ou si l'urgence et la gravité du danger constaté le rendaient absolument indispensable. Le juge se montre rigoureux dans l'appréciation de ces dernières conditions faute desquelles l'expulsion est considérée comme une voie de fait.

CIRCULAIRE N°86 du 18 Mars 1986
Code de l'urbanisme

1.1.3-L'autorisation de stationnement (articles R.443-4 à R.443-5-3)

L'article R.443-4 dispose que tout stationnement pendant plus de trois mois par an, consécutifs ou non, d'une caravane est subordonné à l'obtention par le propriétaire du terrain sur lequel elle est installée, d'une autorisation délivrée par l'autorité compétente.

Décret du 29 mars 1984

Considéré sous l'angle de la protection des populations utilisant le caravanage comme mode de vie, le décret du 29 Mars 84 a maintenu l'existence d'un régime privilégié pour les caravanes dites" d'habitat permanent ". Par ailleurs, l'autorisation de stationnement délivrée au titre de l'article R.443-4 n'est exigée, pour les caravanes qui constituent l'habitat permanent de leurs utilisateurs, que si le stationnement de plus de trois mois est continu.

La mise en œuvre de la règle de droit : Les exigences de la liberté d'aller et venir et de l'accueil des nomades nécessitent un comportement nuancé et compréhensif à l'égard de ces populations dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre de la règle de droit.

LOI BESSON
Article 28, loi du 31 mai 1990

" Un schéma départemental prévoit les conditions d'accueil spécifique des Gens du Voyage, en ce qui concerne le passage et le séjour, en y incluant les conditions de scolarisation des enfants et celles d'exercice d'activités

économiques. Toute commune de plus de 5 000 habitants prévoit les conditions de passage et de séjour des Gens du Voyage sur son territoire, par la réservation de terrains aménagés à cet effet.

Dès la réalisation de l'aire d'accueil définie à l'alinéa ci-dessus, le maire ou les maires des communes qui se sont groupées pour la réaliser pourront, par arrêté, interdire le stationnement des Gens du Voyage sur le reste du territoire communal ".

Extrait de la circulaire du 16 mars 1992

Analyse des besoins

Elle comprend l'étude des flux habituellement constatés, des itinéraires et des calendriers de déplacements traditionnels ainsi qu'une photographie de la présence des Gens du Voyage à différentes périodes de l'année, en fonction des éléments spécifiques de leur mode de vie et leurs activités économiques. Il convient en particulier de repérer les besoins stables et les causes éventuelles d'évolution. Cette analyse sera complétée d'une évaluation des capacités à mettre en place dans les principales composantes des actions d'accueil:

- stationnement de longue ou courte durée sur terrains privés ou terrains publics, intégration dans la ville et l'environnement naturel et proximité des équipements publics,

- - Scolarisation des enfants,

- - exercices d'activités économiques.

Extrait de la circulaire du 16 octobre 1991

1.2. Le cas des communes de plus de 5 000 habitants.

Pour les communes de plus de 5 000 habitants, la loi précitée du 31 mai 1990 (article 28 alinéa 2) apporte une double innovation - une obligation légale vient confirmer et préciser la jurisprudence administrative,- l' accueil des Gens du Voyage doit être assuré par la réservation de terrains spécialement aménagés. Toute commune doit prévoir les conditions d'accueil en ce qui concerne le passage (halte de courte durée) et le séjour. Une commune qui désignerait des terrains de passage ou de séjour, sans rapport avec la fréquentation habituellement constatée ou dépourvus d'équipement spécial ne satisferait pas à son obligation légale. Les caractéristiques de ces terrains ont été décrites aux points 1122 et 312 de la circulaire précitée du 16 décembre 1986. Le choix du terrain par rapport à son environnement immédiat devra s'effectuer dans le respect de la dignité des Gens du Voyage notamment en ce qui concerne les nécessités de l'hygiène, les conditions de scolarisation des enfants et d'exercice des activités économiques. Conformément aux instructions données dans la circulaire du 16 décembre 1986 précitée, il est préférable de prévoir plusieurs aires de petite taille que de grands équipements, dans les cas où les besoins locaux sont importants. Vous devrez veiller, à l'occasion de l'élaboration ou de la révision des plans d'occupation des sols des communes concernées, à ce que toutes dispositions soient prises afin de permettre le stationnement des Gens du Voyage sur des terrains publics ou privés, dans des conditions compatibles avec les besoins locaux habituellement constatés et conformes à la réglementation en vigueur (emplacements réservés, simple localisation, rédaction du règlement du POS..).

Lois du 5 juillet 2000

J.O. Numéro 155 du 6 Juillet 2000 page 10189 .LOI no 2000-614 du 5 juillet 2000 relative à l'accueil et à l'habitat des gens du voyage (1) NOR : EQUX9900036L L'Assemblée nationale et le Sénat ont délibéré, L'Assemblée nationale a adopté; Le Président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit :

Article 1er

I.Les communes participent à l'accueil des personnes dites gens du voyage et dont l'habitat traditionnel est constitué de résidences mobiles.

-II. Dans chaque département, au vu d'une évaluation préalable des besoins et de l'offre existante, notamment de la fréquence et de la durée des séjours des gens du voyage, des possibilités de scolarisation des enfants, d'accès aux soins et d'exercice des activités économiques, un schéma départemental prévoit les secteurs géographiques d'implantation des aires permanentes d'accueil et les communes où celles-ci doivent être réalisées.

- Les communes de plus de 5 000 habitants figurent obligatoirement au schéma départemental. Il précise la destination des aires permanentes d'accueil et leur capacité. Il définit la nature des actions à caractère social destinées aux gens du voyage qui les fréquentent.

- Le schéma départemental détermine les emplacements susceptibles d'être occupés temporairement à l'occasion de rassemblements traditionnels ou occasionnels et définit les conditions dans lesquelles l'Etat intervient pour assurer le bon déroulement de ces rassemblements.

- Une annexe au schéma départemental recense les autorisations délivrées sur le fondement de l'article L. 443-3 du code de l'urbanisme. Elle recense également les terrains devant être mis à la disposition des gens du voyage par leurs employeurs, notamment dans le cadre d'emplois saisonniers.

- III. - Le schéma départemental est élaboré par le représentant de l'Etat dans le département et le président du conseil général. Après avis du conseil municipal des communes concernées et de la commission consultative prévue au IV, il est approuvé conjointement par le représentant de l'Etat dans le département et le président du conseil général dans un délai de dix-huit mois à compter de la publication de la présente loi. Passé ce délai, il est approuvé par le représentant de l'Etat dans le département. Il fait l'objet d'une publication.

- Le schéma départemental est révisé selon la même procédure au moins tous les six ans à compter de sa publication.

- IV. - Dans chaque département, une commission consultative, comprenant notamment des représentants des communes concernées, des représentants des gens du voyage et des associations intervenant auprès des gens du voyage, est associée à l'élaboration et à la mise en oeuvre du schéma. Elle est présidée conjointement par le représentant de l'Etat dans le département et par le président du conseil général ou par leurs représentants.

- La commission consultative établit chaque année un bilan d'application du schéma. Elle peut désigner un médiateur chargé d'examiner les difficultés rencontrées dans la mise en oeuvre de ce schéma et de formuler des propositions de règlement de ces difficultés. Le médiateur rend compte à la commission de ses activités.

- V. - Le représentant de l'Etat dans la région coordonne les travaux d'élaboration des schémas départementaux. Il s'assure de la cohérence de leur contenu et de leurs dates de publication. Il réunit à cet effet une commission constituée des représentants de l'Etat dans les départements, du président du conseil régional et des présidents des conseils généraux, ou de leurs représentants.

- Article 2

- I. - Les communes figurant au schéma départemental en application des dispositions des II et III de l'article 1er sont tenues, dans un délai de deux ans suivant la publication de ce schéma, de participer à sa mise en oeuvre. Elles le font en mettant à la disposition des gens du voyage une ou plusieurs aires d'accueil, aménagées et entretenues. Elles peuvent également transférer cette compétence à un établissement public de coopération intercommunale chargé de mettre en oeuvre les dispositions du schéma départemental ou contribuer financièrement à l'aménagement et à l'entretien de ces aires d'accueil dans le cadre de conventions intercommunales.

- II. - Les communes et les établissements publics de coopération intercommunale intéressés assurent la gestion de ces aires ou la confient par convention à une personne publique ou privée.

- Article 3

- I. - Si, à l'expiration d'un délai de deux ans suivant la publication du schéma départemental et après mise en demeure par le préfet restée sans effet dans les trois mois suivants, une commune ou un établissement public de coopération intercommunale n'a pas rempli les obligations mises à sa charge par le schéma départemental, l'Etat peut acquérir les terrains nécessaires, réaliser les travaux d'aménagement et gérer les aires d'accueil au nom et pour le compte de la commune ou de l'établissement public défaillant.

- Les dépenses d'acquisition, d'aménagement et de fonctionnement de ces aires constituent des dépenses obligatoires pour les communes ou les établissements publics qui, selon le schéma départemental, doivent en assumer les charges. Les communes ou les établissements publics deviennent de plein droit propriétaires des aires ainsi aménagées, à dater de l'achèvement de ces aménagements.

- II. - Le 31o de l'article L. 2321-2 du code général des collectivités territoriales est remplacé par deux alinéas ainsi rédigés :

- « 31o Les dépenses occasionnées par l'application des dispositions des articles 2 et 3 de la loi no 2000-614 du 5 juillet 2000 relative à l'accueil et à l'habitat des gens du voyage ; « 32o L'acquittement des dettes exigibles. »

- Article 4

- L'Etat prend en charge les investissements nécessaires à l'aménagement et à la réhabilitation des aires prévues au premier alinéa du II de l'article 1er, dans la proportion de 70 % des dépenses engagées dans le délai fixé à l'article 2, dans la limite d'un plafond fixé par décret. La région, le département et les caisses d'allocations familiales peuvent accorder des subventions complémentaires pour la réalisation de ces aires d'accueil.

- Article 5

- I. - Dans l'intitulé du livre VIII du code de la sécurité sociale et du titre V de ce livre, les mots : « Aide aux associations logeant à titre temporaire des personnes défavorisées » sont remplacés par les mots : « Aides aux collectivités et organismes logeant à titre temporaire des personnes défavorisées ou gérant des aires d'accueil des gens du voyage ».

- II. - Avant le premier alinéa de l'article L. 851-1 du même code, il est inséré un « I ». III. - L'article L. 851-1 du même code est complété par un II ainsi rédigé :

- « II. - Une aide forfaitaire est versée aux communes ou aux établissements publics de coopération intercommunale qui gèrent une ou plusieurs aires d'accueil de gens du voyage. Elle est également versée aux personnes morales qui gèrent une aire en application d'une convention prévue au II de l'article 2 de la loi no 2000-614 du 5 juillet 2000 relative à l'accueil et à l'habitat des gens du voyage.

- « Une convention passée avec l'Etat fixe, compte tenu de la capacité effective des aires d'accueil, le montant prévisionnel de l'aide versée annuellement à ces gestionnaires. Cette convention détermine les modalités de calcul du droit d'usage perçu par les gestionnaires des aires d'accueil et définit les conditions de leur gardiennage. »

- IV. - A l'article L. 851-2 du même code, les mots : « L'aide est liquidée et versée » sont remplacés par les mots : « Les aides sont liquidées et versées ».

- V. - A l'article L. 851-3 du même code, les mots : « Le financement de l'aide » sont remplacés par les mots : « Le financement des aides ».

- Article 6

- I. - Les modalités de mise en oeuvre des actions de caractère social mentionnées au II de l'article 1er, dont le financement incombe à l'Etat, au département et, le cas échéant, aux organismes sociaux concernés, dans le cadre de leurs compétences respectives, sont fixées par des conventions passées entre ces personnes morales et les gestionnaires des aires d'accueil prévues par le schéma départemental.

- II. - Des conventions passées entre le gestionnaire d'une aire d'accueil et le département déterminent les conditions dans lesquelles celui-ci participe aux dépenses de frais de fonctionnement des aires d'accueil prévues au schéma départemental, sans que cette participation puisse excéder le quart des dépenses correspondantes.

- Article 7

- Le deuxième alinéa de l'article L. 2334-2 du code général des collectivités territoriales est ainsi rédigé :

- « Cette population est la population totale majorée, sauf disposition particulière, d'un habitant par résidence secondaire et d'un habitant par place de caravane située sur une aire d'accueil des gens du voyage satisfaisant aux conditions de la convention de l'article L. 851-1 du code de la sécurité sociale et aux normes techniques en vigueur, fixées par un décret en Conseil d'Etat. La majoration de population est portée à deux habitants par place de caravane pour les communes éligibles l'année précédente à la dotation de solidarité urbaine prévue à l'article L. 2334-15 ou à la première fraction de la dotation de solidarité rurale prévue à l'article L. 2334-21. »

- Article 8

- Le code de l'urbanisme est ainsi modifié :

- 1o Au 2o de l'article L. 111-1-2, après les mots : « Les constructions et installations nécessaires à des équipements collectifs, », sont insérés les mots : « à la réalisation d'aires d'accueil ou de terrains de passage des gens du voyage, » ;

- 2o Au premier alinéa de l'article L. 121-10, après les mots : « la satisfaction des besoins présents et futurs en matière d'habitat », sont ajoutés les mots : «, y compris ceux des gens du voyage » ; 3o Le chapitre III du titre IV du livre IV est complété par un article L. 443-3 ainsi rédigé :

- « Art. L. 443-3. - Dans les zones constructibles, des terrains bâtis ou non bâtis peuvent être aménagés afin de permettre l'installation de caravanes constituant l'habitat permanent de leurs utilisateurs. L'autorisation d'aménagement est délivrée dans les formes, conditions et délais définis par le décret en Conseil d'Etat mentionné à l'article L. 443-1. »

- Article 9

- I. - Dès lors qu'une commune remplit les obligations qui lui incombent en application de l'article 2, son maire ou, à Paris, le préfet de police peut, par arrêté, interdire en dehors des aires d'accueil aménagées le stationnement sur le territoire de la commune des résidences mobiles mentionnées à l'article 1er. Ces dispositions sont également applicables aux communes non inscrites au schéma départemental mais dotées d'une aire d'accueil, ainsi qu'à celles qui décident, sans y être tenues, de contribuer au financement d'une telle aire.

- II. - En cas de stationnement effectué en violation de l'arrêté prévu au I, y compris sur le domaine public, le maire peut, par voie d'assignation délivrée aux occupants et, le cas échéant, au propriétaire du terrain ou au titulaire d'un droit réel d'usage, saisir le président du tribunal de grande instance aux fins de faire ordonner l'évacuation forcée des résidences mobiles.

- Sauf dans le cas où le terrain appartient à la commune, le maire ne peut agir que si le stationnement est de nature à porter atteinte à la salubrité, la sécurité ou la tranquillité publiques. Le juge peut, en outre, prescrire aux occupants, le cas échéant sous astreinte, de rejoindre l'aire de stationnement aménagée en application de la présente loi à défaut de quitter le territoire communal et ordonner l'expulsion de tout terrain qui serait occupé en violation de cette injonction.

- Le juge statue en la forme des référés. Sa décision est exécutoire à titre provisoire. En cas de nécessité, il peut ordonner que l'exécution aura lieu au seul vu de la minute. Si le cas requiert célérité, il fait application des dispositions du second alinéa de l'article 485 du nouveau code de procédure civile.

- III. - Les dispositions du I et du II ne sont pas applicables au stationnement des résidences mobiles appartenant aux personnes mentionnées à l'article 1er de la présente loi :

- 1o Lorsque ces personnes sont propriétaires du terrain sur lequel elles stationnent ; 2o Lorsqu'elles disposent d'une autorisation délivrée sur le fondement de l'article L. 443-1 du code de l'urbanisme ; 3o Lorsqu'elles stationnent sur un terrain aménagé dans les conditions prévues à l'article L. 443-3 du même code.

- IV. - En cas d'occupation, en violation de l'arrêté prévu au I, d'un terrain privé affecté à une activité à caractère économique, et dès lors que cette occupation est de nature à entraver ladite activité, le propriétaire ou le titulaire d'un droit réel d'usage sur le terrain peut saisir le président du tribunal de grande instance aux fins de faire ordonner l'évacuation forcée des résidences mobiles. Dans ce cas, le juge statue en la forme des référés. Sa décision est exécutoire à titre provisoire. En cas de nécessité, il peut ordonner que l'exécution

aura lieu au seul vu de la minute. Si le cas requiert célérité, il fait application des dispositions du second alinéa de l'article 485 du nouveau code de procédure civile.

- Article 10

- I. - Les schémas départementaux établis en application de l'article 28 de la loi no 90-449 du 31 mai 1990 visant à la mise en oeuvre du droit au logement, publiés antérieurement à l'entrée en vigueur de la présente loi, font l'objet d'un nouvel examen dans les conditions et délais prévus à l'article 1er ci-dessus.

- II. - L'article 28 de la loi no 90-449 du 31 mai 1990 précitée est abrogé. Toutefois, dans les départements qui ne disposent pas d'un schéma départemental approuvé dans les conditions définies à l'article 1er ci-dessus, les deux derniers alinéas de cet article restent en vigueur.

- Article 11

- Un décret en Conseil d'Etat détermine les conditions d'application de la présente loi. La présente loi sera exécutée comme loi de l'Etat.

- Fait à Paris, le 5 juillet 2000.

- Par le Président de la République :Jacques Chirac ; Le Premier ministre, Lionel Jospin ; Le ministre de l'économie, des finances et de l'industrie, Laurent Fabius ; La ministre de l'emploi et de la solidarité, Martine Aubry ; Le garde des sceaux, ministre de la justice, Elisabeth Guigou ; Le ministre de l'intérieur, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, Le ministre de l'équipement, des transports et du logement, Jean-Claude Gayssot ; Le secrétaire d'Etat à l'outre-mer, Jean-Jack Queyranne ; Le secrétaire d'Etat au logement, Louis Besson, La secrétaire d'Etat au budget, Florence Parly.

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

WorkPackage 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

GERMANY

Project Coordinator: Professor Helena Flam

University of Leipzig

XENOPHOB - Report Nr. 2, Part 1***

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Work: do employers prefer German Employees? Have You Experienced Discrimination?

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***This report has two parts. When single persons are cited in the following text, the name of the town in which they participated in a group discussion is listed along with the country of origin of their parents and their own gender: Leipzig - 1, Poland/F. The name of the country does not necessarily correspond to their self-definition which is often time- and situation-dependent. When a conversation among several group participants is cited, the name of the city in which they were interviewed is listed above the citation. It is followed by the single voices, each marked by the name of the country from which the parents come and their own gender. An overview of focus groups can be found on the last page of this report (report2, part 1, p.35). The major findings are printed in bold.

What does it Mean/How does it Feel to Be Foreign/ A Migrant?

Burden and Barriers

In answering the first question "What does it mean/how does it feel to be a foreigner/migrant?" the most straightforward answers named the burden of having to prove yourself and the barriers associated with being foreign in Germany, even if at times this burden was lightened in some ways and barriers could be overcome. In each group there was one person who denied having sensed this burden or having had any negative experiences at all, but the dominant argument sounded like this:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: . . . it occurs now and then that one meets people who insult one . . . As a foreigner one must constantly prove oneself. One always has to enlighten people. This is a burden. . .

Köln - 1, Italy/M: Even if you are 2nd generation, being foreign means many barriers. One faces occupational limits, one is asked about a work permit. . . Even though I speak without a trace of an accent, I meet with lacking understanding and sympathy [Verständnis means understanding and sympathy].

Köln - 1, Iran/F: . . . I studied computer sciences. . . had it more difficult than everybody else. . . and now at work. . . I have to achieve more than everybody else. I work in a male occupation and as a woman and a foreigner. . . I see that it is harder. . . On the other hand, I notice the curiosity of my colleagues about me. I am different from others and this makes me in a way more interesting perhaps.

Leipzig - 3, Russian-Jewish/F: I have to prove that I am as good as the Germans, can work as well as they can.

At the Beginning and Now - A Digression

A distinction was often made between 'at the beginning' and 'later on/now'. In the beginning one 'did not feel well' since one did not know the language, felt uncertain whether or not one would manage, everything was unfamiliar. The people seemed cold/distant. One felt often victimized and misunderstood, could not defend oneself against cutting remarks. 'Later

on/now' means having a good command of the German language, feeling settled [eingelebt], being able to defend oneself if need be, but also encountering coldness, punctual lack of acceptance, mistrust, clichees, stereotyping, even rejection. Earlier one suffered and hid the hurt inside, now one externalizes it. This is a chapter in itself, but for the sake of brevity just two examples:

Leipzig -1, Poland/M: At first my German was quite miserable. . . But now I do not think that I am thought of a foreigner. The people, they are work-mates. They look whether you work properly or not, and then the thing that you are a foreigner is no problem. I also think that we can contribute with our other ways of thinking. . . (many simultaneous 'hms' and 'yes, it is so' in support of this statement)

Leipzig - 2, Cuba/F: In the beginning I was very anxious since I thought that I would never manage... the climate is cold... It is cold, the people here are cold. Everything here . . . was strange. . . and the people here, they are not relaxed.

More in Köln than in Stuttgart, but in fact in both, the miserable living conditions of the parent generation/one's own as a child and the hard childhood and school years played the role of 'at the beginning'. Later on most things turned out to be just fine. . .

The Power of the Human Gaze: Stares and Scrutiny

Already Charles Horton Cooley suggested that our self-definition and emotional well-being is a composite of how we see ourselves, how others see us and how we think others see us (Cooley 1970:184). He named his concept of identity 'looking-glass self'. In the past hundred or so years, the reflected self has become ever more prominent. Not only because of the mass production of mirrors and glass windows which project our bodies back to us on a daily basis, but also because our day-to-day interactions with others have become more frequent, if not more intense. Sartre as well as Foucault wrote about the power of the human gaze (Foucault 1994; Sartre 1991). The gaze can turn into an instrument of superiority and contempt, of surveyance, control and discipline. In encounters between Germans and foreigners the gaze becomes an instrument of control, domination and rejection.

Even though Leipzig and Stuttgart are the opposites in many ways, in both cities migrants and their children suffer from the force of penetrating, critical stares. Group participants tell that

Germans subject them to critical eye-inspections. But Germans do not stop at staring: Either they comment on one's ethnic group in pejorative terms (Leipzig) or they ask critical questions concerning the land of origin of one's parents or grandparents (Stuttgart):

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: When one is with the family in the stores or the street, then one senses often that one is stared upon. . . a stupid remark comes. . .

Leipzig -2

Cuba/F: . . . my sister. . . lives in Saxony-Anhalt in a small village. . . I went there once and the people stared at me as if I were an alien. Really. This does not happen in Berlin or Frankfurt, but here in Leipzig in the beginning and there. People still look at me, ask where I come from. This irritates me.

Angola/M: Yes, this happens a lot. . . .

Russian-Jewish/M: . . . I have a good friend from the US who is Chinese. She is married to a German. . . Upon her arrival she faced immediately problems, even though she herself is a diplomat, an educated woman, who works in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. . . She says 'At the Ministry everything is fine, but in the supermarket, it is a catastrophe.' So it is. At a specific level we all have problems. . .

Leipzig -3, Vietnam/F: Before the *Wende* it was better because there were fewer Vietnamese. One asked us what we needed. Now when we speak loudly in a supermarket, they look at us so meanly [so böse].

Stuttgart - 1,Turkey /M: I can second the idea that one has no problems among peers. One is on the same wave-length. . . But when it comes to older people, prejudice dominates in fact. I experience this often that I am critically stared at [kritisch beäugt] and then critical questions come and this is always disturbing. Because I am born and raised here. . .

Discrimination can take the opposite form, that of an averted gaze. While the penetrating, cold or hostile gaze makes makes its object cringe and diminish, the averted gaze causes invisibility, a sense of total humiliation and powerlessness:

Leipzig - 2, Cuba/F: . . . I was in a store and the saleswoman waited on clients who came much later. I was treated like so much air [wie Luft behandelt]. In such situations I feel so powerless...

The least one can say following Cooley is that the wounds inflicted by the hostile or averted gaze do not allow for healthy personality development. No wonder that migrants or their children treated this way feel diminished, stunted.

'They': The Germans

Most foreigners with whom we spoke think about Germans as a heterogenous population, in which some individuals are uninterested in or even hostile towards foreigners, while others are open and nice. Only some group participants stack to the opinion that Germans are cold and reserved and opposed those who argued that they are warm-hearted and generous. An interesting finding is that foreigners whom we interviewed do not perceive racism, at least not in a way German linguists do.

Cold, Reserved, Uninterested, Rejecting-Inquisitive, Mistrustful, Fearful

In Leipzig some group members argued that Germans are cold and reserved. They do not know the virtues of hospitality and show little interest in foreigners.

Leipzig - 2, Angola/M: . .. . I have been in three different churches here in Leipzig . . . I find the same in each church - only the minister . . . approaches me. . . Every Sunday a small meeting is held at the church. If I do not approach people, nothing happens. Sometimes I organize multicultural themes which I offer also to this church. Then conversations develop. But if I do not say anything, then nobody speaks to me. This reserve I find relevant.

In Stuttgart one group member argued similarly that Germans show little interest in foreigners and foreign affairs (see also further below for more), while others voiced the opinion that Germans are inquisitive, but about wrong issues. Their very queries indicate rejection:

Stuttgart - 1, Croatia/M: . . . I have not made the experience that Germans want to know what goes on in Croatia. People are rather indifferent and have no understanding/sympathy [Verständnis]. They do not want to know. . .

Stuttgart - 1

Turkey/M1: One is often asked about current problems and held responsible for what is going on in Turkey. I must justify myself, deliver reasons. This demonstrates to me that the acceptance is not always complete. . .

(several in-between interventions, then:)

Turkey/M2: The issue is that we are identified with the problems in the countries of our parents. . . When I always have to confront what went on or is going on in Turkey, then I cannot ever feel as a co-citizen, as an co-habitant [Inländer]. I have my problems here: school and educational problems, work problems, etc. One should discuss this more and report this more in the mass media. For me this is where discrimination starts. When after 40 years one is still defined by one's land of origin, then something is wrong.

In Köln some group members argued that Germans do not accept foreigners as friends. They are indifferent to other cultures and people as testified by their habit of going abroad for vacation and never leaving the compound (see below). They mistrust and fear foreigners. They fear for their money and jobs:

Köln - 1

Iran/F1: Relationships between Germans and foreigners are not accepted, does not matter whether in kindergarten or on the job. One gets this depressing feeling. . . The anxiety is there for Germans as well as foreigners. It it not taken away.

Italian/M: When I meet somebody new, I see immediately mistrust in their face: 'What does he want? Has dark eyers, dark skin, dark hair, ups! Where is my money purse?' More or less so, not in this extreme form, but. . .

Iran/F2: . . . they fear that I will take their jobs, their money and everything. . .

In Leipzig, even when one is accepted and part of a group, ethnic jokes and clichees about foreigners inevitably come, as if they did not hurt. They question the very acceptance by the group:

Leipzig -1, Poland/F: The people with whom I worked or whom I met through friends - I never heard anything against me. They did say, well... Poles and car-theft. When jokes about Poles are not made, then something is amiss . . .

Flexible Germans

On the other hand, if one proves oneself, Germans are either willing on their own or forced to by their superiors to move from stereotype-based rejection to acceptance:

Stuttgart - 1, Greece-Italy/F: I have made this experience with older people really that when one tells them one is a foreigner then they subject you to a close scrutiny [genau angeschaut worden ist], say when you as a student do little jobs. At first there was this rejection. But when they noticed that we were completely normal. . . everything was OK.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/M: They look whether you work properly and then the thing that you are a foreigner is no problem.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: Mostly it is so that one proves oneself in the immediate surrounding and then everything is OK.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: When people at my place of work heard that I am a foreigner, then it was funny because they were torn out of their clichees a bit: 'Really? OK.' [They normally think:] 'The Poles, the thieves, the drunkards, etc.', but when they meet [foreigners] and see that they are completely normal people, just as they are, then they change their minds.

A Russian-Jewish woman, whose major intent was to tell us how happy she is here, has a teaching and an engineering degree from Russia and has been working as a hair dresser in Leipzig for the past 8 years. She described how at her place of work a co-worker kept making loud, scathing remarks about foreigners who come and take other people's jobs. She kept crying a lot while this went on. But at some point she and/or her clients went to her boss and told her what was going on. The boss saw to it that the co-worker's verbal harassment stopped.

Racist Germans

Only in one group the word 'racist' fell once. The speaker portrayed Germans as racist, but in a way much softened by the humour and paradoxes inherent in the example that he provided. As Carl Friedrich Graumann notes, openly racist statements of the type 'All Jews are greedy' or 'Negroes are lazy and dumb' have receded from everyday conversations since World War II. This does not mean that racism and hostility towards foreigners subsided   (www.uni-

heidelberg.de/presse/rc8/3.html, p. 2). Racist statements take instead a more hidden or more implicit form of 'You are not lazy, you are an exception' or 'She is Turkish, but honest and clean'. Such statements imply collective knowledge/history or a shared situational context. The listener has to know certain shared assumptions about foreigners and their sub-groups to be able to understand what the speaker says.

In a group in Köln this new type of a racist statement followed the theme of German indifference to other cultures and actually constituted an attempt to introduce a further category to be added to the differentiation between 'nice-and-interested' and 'indifferent-uninterested' Germans. The third type of a German is hostile to foreigners, and a racist too. The example provided in support of this argument contains a bundle of true-to-life paradoxes. It is told with amazement and much humour:

Köln - 1, Turkey/M/student: I would like to differentiate Germans who have something against [foreigners] from those who have nothing against [foreigners]. . . I have a mate [Kollege] who openly says that he is a racist and hates foreigners, and . . . I say that I am also a foreigner: 'You are different.' he says. (a female voice interjects: Yes, one hears this a lot). He is really super nice. We understand each other well. . . he also works for an Italian. (Flam: laughter) So he says, he hates foreigners. (a male voice: He hates the other foreigners.)

Köln - 1, Iran/F1: 'You are different' one hears this a lot, I believe everybody has heard it. . . 'Ach, you are different, I do not mean you', but . . .

In a group in Stuttgart the issue of what scientists identify as implicit racist statements was introduced by a 2nd generation male with Turkish parents in the context of a discussion about adjustment vs. integration in which he was told by a Dutch group participant that he could pass, since he did not look Turkish at all. The so-addressed young man responded - without any seeming awarness that such statements imply racism - that Germans who tell him he constitutes an exception indeed define him as German, while they at the same time refuse to accept his Turkish background. Instead they want him to adjust fully to the German society and to give up the Turkish part of his identity:

Stuttgart - 1

Turkey/M1: One hears this often. 'You constitute an exception. You are one of us.'

Q: Why is it so? Why does this sentence, this statement come?

(Another participant): ....Because it follows the norm. . .

Turkey/M1: This shows that acceptance is missing. It is said that one should integrate, but what is meant is adjustment. As soon as I say that I am Turkish, I am no longer accepted with my identity. I am born here, I feel well here, but I would also like to have my Turkish background accepted, a background which I do not want to deny.

Interesting is not only that group participants who introduced these statements into discussion implied the hurt such seemingly innocent sentences inflict, but also that only one recognized and denounced them as racist. Thus it seems that the meaning attached to these statements by the German linguistics studying racism and the meaning attached by migrants and their children that we interviewed do not necessarily correspond. Only when equipped with the scientific interpretation of the meaning of these statements as racist, can we say that in both cases group discourses did in fact touch upon racism. If we just follow the discursive flow, only in the first case the overt theme is 'racist Germans' and in the second case the explicit issue is 'limits of integration'. Moreover, the figure of the German racist sketched by the group participant in Köln is made not credible and thus the racist becomes harmless, almost hilarious: he is portrayed as only a 'verbal racist' or 'passive racist' who does not act on his words. Despite his views, he works for an Italian and relates well to the Turkish speaker telling the story. The Stuttgart speaker, similarly, introduces the statement 'You are one of us. You constitute an exception' to indicate the limits of integration rather than to address racism per se. His concern is to show the normative pressure to adjust by denouncing one's heritage exercised through such statements. Finally, of interest is that there are always one or more group participants who support the speaker of the moment by loud interjections or supporting murmurs - they indicate that they recognize the statements he speaks about as well as their overly accepting, yet in truth rejecting force. But none of them volunteers the remark that these statements are in fact racist.

Racism - German and Ours

In several groups the issue of skin and hair color and of general appearance was raised while discussing the first encounters with Germans, acceptance by and/or integration into the German society. In each group the consensus was that people with darker or different skin/hair/eyes are more easily identified as non-German and thus confront much more reluctance, resistance and outward discrimination:

In Leipzig the issue was raised as a sort of introductory qualifier by a group participant who wished/went on to argue that one should not generalize about Germans and that they are very generous (the anecdote with the Christmas tree, see below). An Angolan man confirmed the view that skin color matters. Later on he supplies anecdotal material in its support (see education, for an example).

Leipzig - 2

Russian-Jewish/M: . . . our colleagues who belong to a different ethnic group than Germans, who are of color or come from Asia, have more problems and more [problems with] prejudice. One sees immediately 'Aha, these are foreigners.' If I keep silent, then nobody notices that I am not German. It [=our appearance] is an advantage. One should not put everybody in the same pot. . .

Angola/M: . . . Of course, when somebody has a different skin color, it is a disadvantage. In my case one can see already at the distance of 200 meters that I am a stranger [Fremde], this is something else indeed.

In Stuttgart the issue of color was introduced by the Dutch group participant who could not relate to the argument that Germans show indifference towards foreigners and even reject or attack children of migrants by questioning disputable issues in the politics of the Turkish state. His intervention, drawing attention to 'invisible', well-integrated, highly-educated foreigners, initiated a brief discussion about color and appearance (note that his second sentence in the citation below implies that he associates Turks with lower educated strata). Everybody agreed that color matters and that Germans rank-order and stereotype different nationalities: a Swede or a Dutch person does not count as a foreigner, which is a negative term, but Turks, Greeks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenians do - only to those groups specific stereotypes are attached. After the rank-order issue, the Dutch participant went back to his initial assertion that 'visibility' plays an important role when he turned towards another participant to tell him that one cannot tell that he is from Turkey. Before he had a chance to continue, however, the designated young man asked: 'Should I treat this as a compliment?' indicating the inappropriateness of this remark. This was seconded by a supportive general laughter which released us all from embarrassment. The Dutch man, slightly off balance, continued by saying that he did mean it in a positive way. The designated young man, without indicating any knowledge that such statements are racist (see the previous section), closed this discussion round while opening another by saying 'One hears it often. "You constitute an exception. You are one of us."' To my mind this encounter shows that not only Germans, but

also some non-Germans living in Germany are racist in a sense that they react to skin color/ethnie and associate specific traits with it.

Stuttgart - 1

NL/M: There are people not only from Turkey [in Germany]. There are quite many Swedes: dentists, etc. highly educated people. Here everything is seen in a negative light, but not only Turkish people or people who are here present are the issue. I am Dutch and have no blond hair which can be seen in the street. I do not smoke. I do not know what else is thought of me. There are quite many other co-citizens - the word foreigner I do not somehow like - who integrate themselves quite normally, who are not visible. I am Dutch and I have almost nothing negative [to say about Germans]. Most of them do not even acknowledge that I am from the Netherlands. Well, Turkey and Yugoslavia stand more in the center of the news, but I doubt it they therefore are treated worse. I believe that people here are making a living and can do so quite well, when they want to. One has to adjust.

Supporting voice: . . . I quite agree.

Turkey/M: Adjustment and integration are two different concepts.

Croatia/F: To adjust means to put away one's cultural identity and to live only with the German identity. Integration would mean cultural exchange and mutual understanding. And one had to do more of integration-politics.

Croatia/M: In my opinion there are different integration possibilites. Germans have the image of Greeks who constantly dance Zirtaki (laughter). . . The Yugoslavs drink tons of Slivovitz. These are clichees about foreigners. . . You as a Dutch person have perhaps a different view, but a Dutch person is no foreigner for Germans, just as a Norwegian or a Belgian. . . The term 'foreigner' has a pejorative meaning.

NL/M: Well, it depends. For example, (he looks at the man opposite him) one cannot see that he comes from Turkey.

Turkey/M1: (with bitterness) Should I treat this as a compliment?! (supporting laughter from others)

NL/M: I mean it in a positive sense, one would not even think of it.

Turkey/M1: One hears it often: 'You constitute an exception. You are one of us.'

In Köln a similar encounter took place, only the person designated as having the option of passing seemed quite a bit more pleased at the thought. His alter-ego described himself as the European, Mediterranean, 2nd generation Italian. Also in this case the issue of color was introduced after the indifference of Germans to other cultures was discussed and followed

(rather than preceeding as in the Stuttgart discussion) the anecdote about a German racist and references to the widespread use of 'You are different' phrase by Germans. The child of Italian migrants (who in this way perhaps indicates that he also hears this phrase a lot) wishes to contrast the efforts of foreigners at integration with German response - mistrust. In this context he raises the issue of color. His argument implies that 'darker people' encounter more distrust in Germany than 'lighter people'.

Köln - 1

Italy/M: They often overlook that. . . the foreigner does much for the integration. Everyone of us, each of us (supporting murmurs from others) works his ass off [reißt sich sozusagen den Arsch auf], pardon the expression, that we will become accepted and integrated, that we swim along, live along and. . . When I meet somebody new, I see immediately mistrust in their face. 'Wha' does he want from me? Hast dark eyes, dark skin, dark hair, ups!, where is my money purse?' More or less so, not in this extreme form, but. . .

Turkey/M: A German?

Italy/M: Yes, Yes, precisely. About you, I find that you are rather fortunate that your skin is quite light.

Turkey/M: Yes, eh, nobody can tell that I am somehow a foreigner.(others agree) Although my father, for example, he is really quite dark, that is, has quite dark hair. One can really see it [that he is a foreigner]. My mother is really light just as I am.

Italy/M: Well, you do not always show up with your father. You lead your own life. He is [even] more of a southerner than I am. . .

As these two contrasting examples show, some of those to whom racist thinking is applied and who become 'whiter' through the eyes of the observer, accept the option of joining the racist majority (Köln). Others opt for confronting racism rather than taking the option known as 'passing'. They refuse to pretend that they do not belong to racialized groups (Stuttgart).

One could interpret the two discussions as a mere reflection upon German evaluation criteria, upon German racism. But I believe that they show more. Foreigners bring with them or internalize the evaluation criteria of their host society. Those with lighter skin/hair/eye color have the option of passing and elevating themselves above those who do not, while those of darker skin/hair/eyer color have no option of passing. It requires some extra self-reflection and resistance against societal pressures to reject the 'passing-option'. The excerpt from the discussion in Stuttgart shows how this can be done even within a short communicative encounter ('Should I treat this as a compliment?'). The excerpt from the discussion in Köln

shows the temptations of passing. Both discussions indicate the multiple temptations and pleasures of passing: starting with the pleasure at the compliment ('You are light skinned, you could pass' followed by 'You constitute an exception, you are one of us.') and ending with the pleasures and benefits of successful integration. The price is that of betrayal. Forgetting one's darker family and its origin. A body in the integration closet.

But German racism does not stop at the skin, hair or eye color. An average German racist thinks that non-Germans are not capable of learning the German language. They associate the good command of the German language with German blood and citizenship, with belonging (Jäger 1992:137). In contrast to justify their rejection of Turks or other foreigners they point out to their alleged native inability to learn German (no thought devoted to the fact that most guest workers were brought in to work and never given an opportunity to learn German). As Siegfried Jäger shows, for many German 'every-day racists' it is astonishing that foreigners can speak German at all! Blacks speaking German give them a long-lasting shock (Jäger 1992:130). Yet another symptom of racism is that even when foreigners speak good German, racist Germans fail to understand it - accustically, of course (this is an intended put down of the German expression: 'I have not understood it accustically.'):

Köln - 1, Greek/M: . . . This is a special problem with Germans. . . I speak correctly and the other does not understand what I say anyhow. Because he assumes that he will not understand what I mean. This is of course a matter of prejudice. In general I believe that it is expected that one speaks German well, that one speaks good German. And then there is this prejudice that a foreigner, well, foreigners cannot for sure speak German correctly. And so one [the German] cannot hear at all, what the other one [the foreigner] says.

As the section about looking for a work will also show, this assumption has profound negative consequences for foreigners. 'Racist' employers simply assume that foreigners a) do not speak German well b) will cause communcation problems in the enterprise c) should not be hired. As we just found out (Axel Philipps' new report on the law and the labor market), however, German law makes employers responsible for failures due to language problems of their employees, so it is hard to say to which extent discriminating employers express typical German racism, such as the studies of Graumann or Jäger or Link uncover, and to what extent they are just unduly cautious in the selection of their employees. Group participants could not make such fine distinctions - they felt discriminated, period.

Friendly, Generous Germans

On the other hand, sometimes the same, sometimes other group members argued that Germans are friendly and generous:

Leipzig 1 - Poland /M: . . .In general - and I have been here 25 years - I can say that Germans are friendly towards foreigners. I have barely experienced anything bad. . . Perhaps I had luck, perhaps (a self-conscious laughter) I have been surrounded by people who are intelligent. I do not know. I have not had a single bad experience, ignoring real small things - which can happen anywhere. In general I would say that Germans are not unfriendly towards foreigners.

Leipzig 2 - Russian-Jewish /M: . . . I have only had good experience. When I came [to Germany] it was Christmas. I had no money and came here with my wife and two children. And during the first hour somebody knocked on our door and our neighbour stood in front of us. He said that he had heard that a family from Russia would come and asked whether we had a Christmas tree. 'No'. 'Then we will bring you one.' It was 1990, the GDR. People did not have much money themselves. They had their own problems. Nevertheless the whole house collected money to buy us a Christmas tree.

'We Should Not Generalize' - Arguments against Generalizing

In many groups the argument came inevitably that one should not generalize and thereby create stereotypes and clichees about Germans similar to those with which one oneself was confronted. In some groups it received much support and closed the discussion, in others it provoked more discussion.

After a long discussion in which several Poles argued that it is difficult to sustain an image of a good, respectable Pole since there are also many criminal Poles who confirm German stereotypes, a male group participant countered with:

Leipzig - 1:
Poland /M: Germans are also like this. Not only Poles steal or are imprisoned.
Poland/F: That is why one should not speak of Poles, Germans or Russians. . . There are good and bad, nice and not nice, stupid people. I know as many, or even more since I live

here, nice Germans as Poles. I have decidedly as many friends here as there. One should not generalize. . .

Leipzig - 2, Russian-Jewish/M: One does not have to throw everybody in one pot: all Germans are cold, all Germans are reserved. Just as not all Cubans are friendly. A person is a person [Mensch ist Mensch]. I have only had positive experience. . .

Köln - 1, Iran/F2: . . . We also have our prejudices. . . (confirming sounds from others) . .
 I would not like to characterize in a general way. . . since in each place there are different people. And I have concluded that depending on their education and culture. . . it is completely different how they treat me and how they behave towards me. (one woman makes a supporting sound).

'Mixed Bag' Germans

Although for analytical purposes splitting anecdotes/arguments into different categories, such as good, bad, flexible or racist Germans, seems justified, in fact most group participants articulated mixed feelings about Germans. In other words, they see them simultaneously in positive and negative light:

Leipzig 2 - Vietnam /M: Well, in the first round the topic was experience. Hm, I have been quite long in Germany, more than 30 years. How can I summarize my experience in one sentence? . . . Hospitality is very important. Germans have been very good hosts over many years [über die Jahre gastfreundlich]. To enjoy this hospitality has been very nice. And my people and I are very enthusiastic [begeistert] about this hospitality. We receive much help. . . Somewhat critical for me is . . . that the German society had treated us only as guests and nothing more. This blocks the integration. Germans are friendly, but this society is not for us.

Köln - 1, Croatia /M1: . . . even though I was born here, and have lived in the same apartment for the past 20 years, [the institutions and businesses] want to see the confirmation of my residence registration . . . for every little thing. . . I am really quite well integrated, have many German friends. . . but. . . there are two groups of Germans, I would say. Some have nothing against foreigners and others definitively say, 'foreigners out' [Ausländer aus]. . . [they] mistrust foreigners. . .

Leizig - 1, Poland/F: I do not want to generalize because I never do. . . There are many nice and friendly Germans, and there are also those that are not nice. And - this we have for sure all experienced - it sometimes begins so that one is in a store with a fellow countryman and speaks Polish and many people - as if they heard foreigners for the first time in their lives - react so . . .

'We':The Foreigners, (Foreign) Co-Citizens, 2nd Generation, People with Migrant Background

The word 'foreign' as applied to those present became an object of dispute. In Leipzig and to some extent in Köln our first question was accepted, while in Stuttgart several people emphasized that they do not feel like foreigners at all. Older people stressed that they instead feel like co-citizens or like foreign co-citizens [ausländische Mitbürger]. Younger people responded with 'I am 2nd generation' as a way of introducing themselves and their answers. Notably, they omitted the world 'immigrant' which this phrase implies, as in, 'I am 2nd generation immigrant'. As this omission and as their subsequent statements confirm, they do not 'basically' feel as immigrants at all, only when they ocassionally are treated as such. In Berlin it is apparently not proper to say 'foreigner' since it is a pejorative terms and instead the elephant-term 'people with migrant background' [Menschen mit migrantischen Hintergrund] is used.

Just one example of how our question 'What does it mean to be a foreigner in Germany' was rejected in Stuttgart by some, but not all participants, followed by the rejection of this term in Berlin:

Stuttgart - 3
Italy/F: I feel Italian, not as a foreigner. I am an EU-citizen.
Greece/F:. . . This is not a concept for me. I am a citizen. . .
Turkey/M1: I have lived in Stuttgart since 1961. Since about ten years I do not feel like a foreigner. I have become integrated - this word stands for mutuality. . .
Turkey/M2: I have been in Stuttgart 35 years. . . To be a foreigner means constraints concerning voting rights, culture, work. If one cannot vote, one cannot articulate oneself. This means discrimination.

Berlin, Iran/M: Excuse me, but I find the concept 'foreigner' discriminating. . . former ombudsman for foreigners [Ausländerbeauftragte] . . . changed this terms to 'integrated co-citizen' or suchlike. . . Discrimination starts with the concept 'foreigner' for me. Even if I have lived here for 25 years, I learn again and again [that a distinction is made between] 'you' and 'us.' . . . I would see myself fully integrated into this society, but this always becomes stressed nevertheless.

The overall response to the first question is that as a foreigner/migrant one feels a mixture of principal contentment with one's life and disturbing unease about punctual confrontations with expressions of lacking acceptance or even outright rejection. This mixture involves both cognitive dissonance concerning one's own identity and a lot of emotional hurt. It is typical of most migrants and their children, but will here be demonstrated on the '1.5 and 2nd generation' because, arguably, this particular group should already be exempt from this rule. They should be free to determine their own identity. But even their very first responses to the first question show that this is not the case. Often a single speaker addressed both contentment and disturbing unease. At times, however, one speaker argued for contentment and was countered by another speaker who addressed disturbing unease. Whereas contentment was usually presented first, the sensitive, dissonant cords would often be touched upon first after the discussion got really going. Whether within or between persons, the positive and the negative view of what it means to be a migrant or a child of a migrant in Germany mixed. Mixed experiences and feelings were articulated both by those who at first stressed that they want to belong (I), and by those who feel integrated but want to hold on to their cultural heritage (II).

(I) For those who said that they want to melt with the German society (without having to fully renounce their Turkish background, see further below), contentment about their lives mixes with unease about not being fully accepted:

Stuttgart - 1
Turkey/M1: I am. . .2nd generation. My parents come from Turkey. I can say that I feel well here, personally have had few difficulties. But there are these moments . . . One is often asked about current problems and held responsible for what is going on in Turkey. I must justify myself, deliver reasons. This demonstrates to me that the acceptance is not always complete. . . I am a citizen here, several years now, and cannot influence things in Turkey. . .
Turkey/M2: . . . people with migration background in Germany should be seen as co-citizens who have their problems and chances here in Germany. When I always have to confront what

went on or is going on in Turkey, then I cannot ever feel as a co-citizen, as a co-habitant [Inländer]. I have my problems here: school and educational problems, work problems, etc. One should discuss this more and report this more in the mass media. For me this is where discrimination starts. When after 40 years one is still defined by one's land of origin, then something is wrong.

Even at the work place, where one's work-mates should know better, one is always confronted with the assumption that not Germany, but the country of one's parents or grandparents is one's home country. Germans simply refuse to treat one as German and always assume that for vacation one goes back to one's parents' country of origin. This is a common experience, even though, as some participants chime in, it is perhaps due to the fact that for earlier guest works vacation time was reserved for going home:

Stuttgart - 1

Croatia/M: . . . One only notices the difference [between German work colleagues and oneself] when one goes on vacation and one is asked whether one goes home. One thinks as a matter of fact [eigentlich] one is German and then the colleagues think that one goes home. For them one is not home here. . .

Greek/M: My mother always said she went home.

Croatia/F: People take the clue from us [nehmen einem das ab].

Turkey/M1: One is at work mostly judged based on occupational qualifications. But about vacation I have experienced the same. For my colleagues it is self-evident that I will visit Turkey. And when I then say that I go somewhere else, they look at me strangely [wird schon geschaut].

These statements question Yasmin Soysal's (1994) argument. It is true that she speaks of institutional incorporation via ethnic associations and interest representation, while these group participants speak of day-to-day life. But the group material shows the limits of incorporation: in the course of every day life children of migrants are occasionally jerked into another, undesired state of awareness - they are not Germans, they are Turkish or Greek or Italian - after all these years.

A similar identity-unsettling example comes from Köln. It also demonstrates just how much good and bad experiences mix. One's feelings of overall successful integration as evidenced among others by good German friends are juxtaposed with discomfort caused by mistrustful institutions/businesses and mistrustful/hostile Germans:

Köln - 1, Croatia /M1: . . . as far as institutions are concerned, when I, for example, have to renew my library I.D. or such like, even when I have been a member for a longer period of time, it does not do. . . They really want the confirmation of my residence registration, even if I am registred there, even though I was born here, and have lived in the same apartment for the past 20 years, they want to see the confirmation of my residence registration for all possible things. . . for every little thing. . . But as far as integration is concerned, I am really quite well integrated, have many German friends. . . but . . . there are two groups of Germans, I would say. Some have nothing against foreigners and others definitively say 'foreigners out' [Ausländer aus]. . . [they] mistrust foreigners. . .

(II) For those who persist about wanting to uphold their parent-related identity, contentment mixes with unease because one's ethnic mix is being ignored or hits against a wall of indifference and/lack of understanding/sympathy [Unverständnis]. A group in Köln illustrated the indifference of Germans towards foreign cultures and fellow-beings from other countries by speaking about Germans who spend their vacation in foreign countries, but never leave the compound. In a group in Stuttgart in contrast the same 'thesis' was illustrated using 'uninterested-indifferent' German acquaintances or work mates as examples. Some migrants and their children argue that they want to hold on to their national roots, even if they adopt German citizenship, but that, sadly, this wish separates them from the German society. As far as the history, culture or language of their parents' home countries are concerned, Germans show neither interest nor much knowledge. This makes one sense the experiential divide. Difficulties and breaches in everyday communication testify to the problem of upholding one's chosen, mixed identity among people insisting on one identity - the German.

The 'opening statement' of this group participant was extremely positive:

Stuttgart - 1, Croatia /M1: Personally I am now the 2nd generation in Stuttgart. My parents are now retired and back in Croatia. One feels like a co-citizen. For the people who have settled [sich eingelebt], who have engaged culturally. . . there are no problems in the region. I have had a few or no problems. . .

Later on in the discussion, however, the same person said:

Stuttgart - 1, Croatia /M1: . . . I have met no Germans who understand or want to understand the issue of the Yugoslavian war. For them the Balkans are out there. . . Even though I feel naturalized, I am a foreigner and I do not want to force Germans to understand. I try to tell

them in a witty way what's up over there. . . (continues after an exchange between the others in which integration with and without emphasizing one's roots is dicussed): I have not made the experience that Germans want to know what goes on in Croatia. People are rather indifferent and show no understanding/sympathy [Unverständnis]. They do not want to know the issues involved between Kurds and Turks or Croats and Serbs. They want the solutions, but without understanding the issues, you cannot create any solutions.

To differentiate herself from the '2nd generation' forced to identify with Turkey when feeling German, the next speaker accentuated her reluctance towards being sucked into the German society although she feels Greek and Italian at times:

Stuttgart - 1, Greece-Italy/F: I sometimes also have to say: 'Hallo! I am not German!' . . . I believe that the 2nd and 3rd generation is integrated. That we instead have to say: 'Stop, I live here, but I have also other identities'. . . (is contradicted but continues) I think that the later generations have the problem of defining themselves. I have integrated myself but for this reason I am not German. Personally I experience the home countries of our parents still as my home [Heimat]. It is a matter of definition.'Yes' to integration, but one should keep one's own characteristics.

Foreigners and the Media

In several groups it was said that the mass media carry the reponsibility for spreading prejudiced images of foreigners (see *Discourses of Respectability* next for more). The role of the media came up often already in response to the first question, but sometimes when right-wing radicalism was discussed. Everybody agreed that only negative things are reported about foreigners. Stereotyping prevails. If a crime is reported, the nationality of a foreigner is always listed. The Harald Schmidt Show makes its own strong contribution to societal prejudice since Schmidt loves to tell vicious ethnic jokes, especially anti-Polish jokes for which he apologized twice already. Since the prejudiced view spread by the German media is a well-known matter, here just one excerpt in support:

Stuttgart - 1, Croatia/M: Television and radio create the foreigners' environment - these reports which always show such bad things. The factual, as it is lived by the people there, is neither shown nor understood.

Stuttgart - 1, Turkey/M2: I think that we have a general problem in the German society: a foreigner becomes associated with Turks in the first place. . . Foreigner=Turk=Islam. . . Done . . . I believe that events play a role. Turks and Muslims have had big problems in Germany after September, 11th. . . They do not attack you personally, but the Turks or the Muslims as such.

Discourses of Respectablity: We, the Hard-Working,Clean, Respectable Foreigners

In two cities - in Leipzig and in Köln - group members became involved in explicit discussions about their own morals. In both cases they engaged in arguments to demonstrate that they are not as bad or as immoral as Germans think of them or German mass media and politicians portray them. They tried to demonstrate that they are willing to work hard and in fact find unemployment and social assistance shameful. They praised their own cleansiness and law-abiding nature. They are neither dirty nor criminal (compare to Galliker et. al. 19924:211 or Jäger 1992).

The defense of own respectability came in Köln in the context of a discussion about work. The main group argument stood the prejudiced view of foreigners on its head: not foreigners, but Germans are happy to live of social assistance. Foreigners are willing to take any which job - even much below their qualifications - to avoid this kind of parasitary existence.

Köln - 1

Italy/M: . . . many academics, Persian academics, have no work permit, so. . . they have to drive cabs. . . And these are academics. . .

Croatia/M/student: . . . unemployed foreigners have a completely different attitude towards unemployment than unemployed Germans. I know some unemployed Germans who tell themselves: 'Well, the state pays anyhow. Why should I then work? It is then better that I stay home and receive decent money.' No foreigner would say a thing like this. . . everbody I know does everything possible to get a job, anywhere. They would do anything to simply be able to work. . . That is the difference between a German and a foreigner. I really do not know any foreigners who just sit around the house and say 'Well, the state pays' - none does.

Iran/F2: I know Iranians who are unemployed and they look for jobs. They are dentists who drive a cab or work in a newspaper stand.

Croatia/M/student: Exactly, they are willing to do anything.

Iran/F2: . . . does not matter, they do not want to stay home. They do not want to be fed by the state. And, yes, many pizza cabs, perhaps 80%, which you now find in Köln are run by Iranians. These are all those who cannot get a job they want and in spite of this do not want to remain unemployed and somehow want to take part in life. This is my experience.

In the same group the first two speakers addressing the question about the situation of foreigners on the housing market, asserted that landlords assume that Turks, Greeks or Iranians are dirty which is false. In fact they are very clean. One should not judge based on the looks of Turkish or Iranian towns or cities which authorities do not manage to keep clean. One should judge based on people's apartments which are in meticulous order. In Germany it is the other way around: Germans keep their streets, but not their apartments clean:

Köln - 1

Turkey/M: . . . I went to the landlady, had clarified everything in a conversation. Since then I have had a one-room apartment. . . And then she asked me whether I can hold my room clean. At first I did not quite understand what she meant. . . [so I asked her what she meant]. She said: 'I have not had any Turkish tenants, so I do not know how you [people] are.' I thought I was in a wrong film. What does this mean? I know so many. . . my neighbor, for example, he is German and I cannot step into his room because there is no room, everything lies on the floor. Had she seen his and my room, she would perhaps have changed her mind.. . But she thought that Turks cannot keep their rooms clean.

Greece/M: I believe that in our houses in Greece, Turkey or Iran it is very clean. On the street the town and community authorities do work on it. . . In Gemany (a female voice: it is the other way around) one makes perhaps the garden clean, but in the house everything is in chaos (somebody contradicts). Or not. At least one has this impression. And they say in our homes it is not clean which is not correct. . . One has to take into consideration that the migrants here, they have tried to save, that is, have tried to find cheaper housing. . . But they keep it orderly...

In Leipzig the 'all-Polish' group very early on engaged in a respectability discourse, trying to contrast its self-image as decent, hard-working and orderly people with the prejudiced view of Poles as poor and criminal drunkards, a view which confronted them in daily conversations and in the mass media.

Anecdotal material was mostly about hurtful putdowns by strangers. These often stare when they overhear Polish/Slavic languages or comment negatively about Poles. They immediately say: 'Poles are lazy drunkards, thieves and criminals' or 'Oh, you are Polish. Aren't you glad to be living here?' [this query seems to have been prevalent before the *Wende*, when the GDR did better than Poland in economic terms]. Discussion participants, once sure that we knew what they meant, inserted these statements in an abbreviated/compact form, like a refrain, in their narrative: 'Poles, lazy drankards, aren't you glad...' to indicate that they come often and are a constant irritant. The glaring and the comments of this type seem to cause most hurt. Also hurtful is when a German person assumes that Poles know no German and therefore one has to address them slow and loud.

The defense of Polish morals encountered a real-life obstacle: the drunk and disorderly Poles, and Polish (car) thieves. One finds it hard to deny their existence, since one, for example, oneself had a car stolen while on vacation in Poland. Another group participant counters this by pointing out that also Germans fill prisons and then argues that if he was brought in by the German authorites, then this is the best proof of his high morals.

Leipzig - 1:
Poland/F: There are reasons for this [prejudice]. Let us take my most recent vacation. Just managed to cross the border and my car was immediately stolen. I beg your pardon, but then it is no wonder that such opinion about [Poles] develops.
Poland/F: It happened to me too that I had to come back by train (shared laughing understanding)
Poland/M: Germans are also like this. Not only Poles steal or are imprisoned. . . When I [am allowed] to come here, then I am a decent person [ordentlicher Mann]... always have been, no *Rowdy*, no drunkard, as many always portray Poles - as if one drank much only in Poland, but not in Germany... when I am an honest man, then nobody can tell me anything, but they do. .

The second discourse of respectablity in the all-Polish group in Leipzig related to work: German employers do not discriminate. Defying all prejudice in the host society, Poles are in fact good, disciplined and reliable workers. Employers appreciate this. That is why they even prefer them to Germans sometimes. That is why a disciplined Polish worker always has a job:

Leipzig - 1: Poland/F: I am glad that I work now as I did earlier. I was never unemployed and I hope that I will make it until retirement.

The discursive hindrance this time around was one female participant in the discussion group who is unemployed. Excepting a couple of moments, whenever she voices her contrary views, she is explicitly ignored, but anecdotally put into place. The main themes of the group are: 'If you know German well, then you will find work' and 'We are hard-working, disciplined Poles'.

In the third group in Leipzig a Russian-Jewish woman developed a discourse of respectability in similar terms. Her narrative asserts that foreigners are hard working, do want to work, and are even willing to take menial jobs below their educational level in order to avoid the shame of living on social assistance. It also points out - as the left-liberal politicians and business often argue - that foreigners take jobs which Germans are unwilling to perform. Finally, it argues against Germans that she had no choice but to come here - in order to escape persecution and bad treatment in her country of origin. She also had no choice, but to look for work, since her feelings of shame about living on social assistance were so intense. As other foreigners, she is no taker, her monologue implies. Contrary to the popular and media image of foreigners, she did not come here to live from social assistance. It was also not her choice to work as a hairdresser. The Work Mediation Office advised her to. She also makes explicit the price of social downward mobility ('What was I to do?') she had to pay for a 'better future' (work, apartment, education for the children) here in Germany, a price that she had no choice but to pay:

Leipzig -3, Russian-Jewish/F: The Germans, the clients say that foreigners take away jobs. Our hairdressing parlor is very big, we have lots of clients. They say: 'Foreigners take jobs. We do not mean you.' My husband had worked on a construction site for 5 DM/hour. Germans do not want such jobs. . . Foreigners exert themselves, they want to work here. I have more regular clients than many Germans. . . I did my work experience and the boss wanted to keep me on. A colleague, very primitive, spoke badly of foreigners. I cried a few times. Then I talked [later on: my clients spoke] with the boss. I am a qualified engineer and have a teacher's diploma in math, enough for *Mittelschule*. But at the Work Mediation Office they said I did not have a chance. What was I to do? Was on social assistance two months, was given an apartment. . . but felt so ashamed. This is why I wanted to work. In the Ukraine we had to move seven times, even lived in a garage with no electricity or heating. Compared with that, it was good here. The children could go to school immediately. . . I learnt a new occupation [Lehre ... gemacht] as a hairdresser. . .My husband works at a Jewish cemetary.

We have an apartment at the cemetary. As I always jokingly say - an apartment in a quiet neighborhood. (based on notes!)

Reflecting upon this material made it clear to me that in Germany foreigners cannot win: if they live of social assistance, they are objects of condemnation because this proves their egoism and poor morale, but if they work, they are also condemned as undesired competitors who take Germans the scarce jobs away (see Galliker et.al. 1994:211). This is beautifully illustrated by the rebuttal of a Turkish truck-driver, a divorced, militant ('one has to fight until the end of one's life, just as one has to eat and work!') mother of four:

Köln - 2, Turkey/F: They say that we are lazy. Excuses! I took work as a garbage collector. Then they said: 'Foreigners take our jobs away.' If one wants to work, one finds work. It is nonsense [Quatsch] when the Germans say that we take their jobs. I do not find it nice.

Work: Do Employers Prefer German Employees? Have You or People You Know ever Experienced Discrimination?

Finding a Job - A Contested Issue: 'The Burden of Proof Rests on the Foreigner'

In Leipzig in both the 'all-Polish' and the mixed groups two arguments collided with each other. The argument that if one knows German well, one will have no difficulties in finding employment confronted the counter-argument that as a foreigner one faces additional barriers: even if one knows German, outright discrimination and the priority law [Vorrangsrecht] favor Germans as potential employees.

The only difference between the groups was that in the 'all-Polish' group only one - unemployed - person made an issue of unemployment and the indifference of the Work Mediation Office towards her, while others - who had been in Leipzig much longer and had long-term 'German' work experience - emphasized the ease with which they found jobs shortly after the re-unification of Germanies in 1990. They even came with anecdotes which were meant to prove that their employers prefer foreigners or Poles because these are good, disciplined workers.

In the second group, in contrast, only one person defended the view that employers do not make any difference between Germans and foreigners, and that German employers/law are in the right when they give priority to other Germans. The other discussion participants tried to illustrate the view that foreigners face discrimination and argued that this is unjust. Even a quick look at the personal data of the group participants reveals that none of them worked in their 'native' occupation - not even the defendant of the priority right for Germans. The examples which the defender of no-discrimination thesis provided in support of his thesis came all from arts - a work area well-known for its high tolerance to otherness. This speaker saw disrespectable foreigners (see also *Discourses of Respectability*) and not the German society as a source of problems for successful foreigners:

Leipzig - 2, Russian-Jewish/M: I am here today to contradict. The head of Siemens comes from India.The director of *Gewandhausorchester* [the philharmonic orchester in Leipzig] is an Italian. . . The head of the ballet ensemble at the opera in Berlin is a Russian. Fifty per cent of all dancers in Leipzig are foreigners from Russia, Poland, Spain, Israel, Turkey, etc. One has to see this 10% . [Foreigners] are no homogeneous mass. There are those who offer something and the German society accepts it with joy [nimmt gern]. We who are respectable and make an effort with our occupational knowledge to integrate ourselves. . . we have problems because some of us cause us problems, not the German society.

In both groups at least one person mentioned that high regional unemployment could be a reason why foreigners found it so hard to find jobs and that they perhaps shared this fate with the unemployed Germans. Interestingly, the single unemployed woman in the first group did not adopt discrimination as her only analytical frame to explain her unemployment situation. She moved between it and several other 'perhaps', such as, 'bad luck', 'poor language skills', 'I cost the state nothing as a wife of a well-earning German', to explain her difficulties in finding a job or having a job mediated.

The following discussion from Leipzig touches upon almost all issues raised in all groups, except in the young and optimistic - exceptional - group in Stuttgart. For this reason a digression about Stuttgart is necessary. That we encountered an optimistic group in Stuttgart was expected. Unexpected was that their optimism upon some more reflection is unrelated to the general, relatively low unemployment figures in Stuttgart, but rather to their high educational levels. When we look at the newest unemployment statistics of the Federal Bureau for Work ('Der Arbeitsmarkt.Im Juni 2003' www.arbeitsamt.de) unemployment rates in Leipzig (18.6%) and Köln (11.7%) are much higher than in Stuttgart (6.3%). Based on

these figures one could expect foreigners in Stuttgart to do well and be more optimistic than in other cities. But when one looks at the unemployment rates among foreigners, the picture reverses itself: 3.7% in Leipzig, 29.5% in Köln and 36.4% in Stuttgart. So if unemployment had strong influence on the well-being of foreigners, they should feel miserable in Stuttgart, which was not the case. To explain this one has to recall that well-educated people according to our first report face much less discrimination than their counterparts with lower education. For the group in Stuttgart, moreover, diploma recognition or language skills were not an issue, since these were acquired in Germany.

As the excerpt from Leipzig shows the main issues are finding a job despite the law/discrimination which sets priority on Germans, not having one's qualifications recognized and lacking enough 'German' work experience to be offered a job. Yet another issue mentioned in each of the eight groups is the advancement on the job.

Leipzig - 2

Cuba/F: . . . I wanted to work, it was very important for me. In Cuba I was a teacher, but here it was not easy to work again in my occupation, so I applied for sales clerk positions. . . I received one answer to my five applications. Perhaps Germans make a similar experience, I do not know. . .

Russian German/M: As a foreigner one has no chance to further develop in one's occupation.

Russian-Jewish/M: . . . One has to know German first and very good to boot, so that one can communicate with German co-workers. Or one has to find an occupational area where one does not need German.

Russian-German/M: I have enough friends who know German and still do not find a job. The reason for this is the regional unemployment so high that even Germans find no jobs. . .

Angola/M: . . . As far as unemployment is concerned, it is often very hard on foreigners. Even in law it is so. . . [politicians saw to it before the elections] that the German people should have no fears about foreigners as far as work is concerned: first the German and then the foreigner. The German has precedence [Vorrang]. . . When I have the same qualifications, I should get this job, but I do not since I am a foreigner. It says so at the Work Mediation Office. I have a German wife, belong to a German family. If a German gets the job and I do not, how should I support my family? I find this really critical. . .

Russian-Jewish/M: . . . But why should you be accepted for a job when you have the same qualifications? . . .

Angola/M: . . . I applied for a job for which I had top qualifications. . . Both languages [the dialect in the area and Portuguese] and the excellent knowledge in this area. But in the end they took the German who could speak Portuguese but not the dialect. He was preferred. . . We should not minimize [relativieren] these things. It is really bad what sometimes happens. . . It is discrimination and not only by the employer, but also by law.. .

Q: . . . But why should a foreigner get a job when both have similar qualifications? A German was born here, has a family here. . .

Angola/M:. . . As a foreigner I would not necessarily want the job if there is a German who has better qualifications. But in many cases only the pretence is there that the German had better or similar occupational qualifications. In reality he is less qualified but is given the job nevertheless. . .

Vietnam/M: . . . The burden of proof that a foreigner is better qualified for a job than a German is always on the foreigner. . . The foreigner law . . . was made to prevent the integration of foreigners. Much more would have been achieved without this law. . .

(much later)Russian-Jewish/M: . . . it is not just a German problem. That is quite normal protection of the labour market. Why should it be otherwise? We have to prove our qualifications more than others because we came voluntarily. We made this decision on our own. . . People, it was our free decision. We can always go back. . .

In Leipzig a Vietnamese man with little education (group 3) and an Angolan highly educated man (group 2) found that even if they find jobs these are of short duration. The Vietnamese man has spent long stretches of time being unemployed since 1991 - he would get a job for 8 months, then go on unemployment, then again find a job, etc. He argued that: 'There are too many unemployed. The foreigners get the worst jobs. The better jobs go to Germans. I do not find it right that Germans get the jobs first. . . some public servants at the Work Mediation Office give jobs only to Germans.' Later on he added that 'We foreigners, when we get a job, we have to show what we can. . . We have to work more and harder than others because we are new, foreigners and cannot speak German well.' Foreigners have to prove themselves on the job, those with irregular employment have to do so anew with every new job (see also p.2)

Finding a Job and Discrimination: Employer and Institutional/Vorrangsrecht

Foreigners face two kinds of discrimination when they look for jobs - institutional discrimination and personal discrimination of the potential employer.

The prejudice and discriminatory treatment are even more apparent and hurtful to those born or raised here who speak 'native' German, but the same pattern of prejudice applies to them as to more recent migrants. The typical prejudice pattern is 'foreigner, broken German, communication problems' (see Jäger 1992:130):

Köln - 1, Italy/M: . . . when I send an application, I receive immediately a letter. Then I am called up: 'Are you of foreign origin?' - since I only write basics about myself, no nationality. 'Are you of foreign origin? I would guess, Italian?'. 'Yes, I am Italian.' 'Really? You are Italian! One cannot tell at all.' And then comes my question: 'Why? Did you expect broken German?' This is a very frequent prejudice: Foreigner, broken German, does not understand what I say. . .

In Berlin a young Polish woman married to a German and therefore bearing a German last name told us that she had looked for a job a couple of years before she finally found one - asking for the knowledge of the Polish language. Whenever she spoke with the potential employer, they would at some point hear her slip from her excellent German and ask where she came from. As soon as she answered, they would end the conversation. The job was actually already given away, they would hasten to say.

In Köln participants argued that being a foreigner, of a wrong kind to boot, a woman, and of 'false' religion constituted three big barriers to employment. As the latest research results on this project (Axel Philipps on the law and the labor market) show German employers are responsible for any failures due to language, even if their employees were at fault. To what extent they know of and act on this law and to what extent they are racist is hard to tell. At any rate their reactions to foreigners speaking German are identical to those documented by Graumann, Jäger, etc. for German racists. Moreover, as Axel Philipps also found out, religious institutions are granted legal autonomy concerning their hiring politics by the German state. Although this causes friction, it gives these institutions the freedom to hire people of their own religious denomination for their administration or social service institutions. When the Iranian woman said that the third sector employers look at the religion of the applicants, she probably meant the third sector ran by religious authorities:

Köln – 1

Iran/F1: I have sent many job applications. I now work two hours a week in Caritas. And then I have another job. I do try, do you understand? I do not wait for work but rather move myself. But there is nothing.

Iran/F2: Would a German have a chance that you do not have?

Iran/F1: I cannot say. But when I get phone calls. . . It is always a question whether they will want to take one because of language. There is no such thing for Germans. Secondly, the Work Mediation Office is of the opinion that first Germans, then EU-citizens, and then others [should be told about vacancies]. Yes. Then you see that [being Iranian] is a disadvantage after all.

Italy/F: And to top it you are a woman.

Iran/F1: Precisely. And in the service sector religion plays a role. One says: 'if you are not Catholic, then we will not take you'. The others prefer Protestants. . .

The topics of work experience and diploma recognition caused the same reactions in all groups, except in the 1.5 & 2nd generation group in Stuttgart. The bottom line is that German authorities do not recognize most foreign education types, diplomas and work experience. The first excerpt below shows the hurt, disappointment and frustration associated with the single interview in the course of which one's entire future fate in Germany is decided. The second excerpt draws attention to how painful it is to fail to gain recognition for one's suffering as an unemployed person and/or as a political refugee. Equally painful is total indifference to a gendered individual life trajectory: the fact that women cannot delegate being pregnant and raising children to their husbands. Both excerpts show the great sense of unfairness, disappointment and sadness:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: . . . the woman read my documents and then asked me to tell her exactly what was my work experience. I did tell her. She then asked: 'Have you worked in Germany?' 'No' - I answered. 'Then you have none' she said. 'NONE?! But I just told you how much work experience I have.' 'Well, we can only enter *sales clerk.*' I do not think this is fair.

Köln - 1, Iran/F1: . . . we have no work experience. This is a disadvantage, especially for us women, foreign women. When we come to Germany, we have to learn German, then attend *Studienkolleg*, we have children and our on-the-job-training sometime in-between, and then we have no real work experience. . . and this is very important when entering the labor market. . . I send so many applicationd and always receive the same answer, so I think that I

have no chance. HOW THEN? I do no have any work experience, this is true. But my history, how I came here and what I did, have left me no time to acquire work experience. Now when I have a chance, I do not get it. I fail to understand this.

This is not only a question of gender, however:

Leipzig - 2

Russian-German/M: When I come to a job interview I am asked about qualifications for the job. They are fine. But when I am asked about work experience in Germany, which I do not have, I do not get the job. . . (much later:) I would really, really want to work, but find no job...

Cuba/F: I find this question ridiculous. If one does not give people a chance to work. . . how can one ask for work experience? HOW? HOW?

In Germany occupational specialization is built into the education system and the labor market. This is one reason, so the group participants in Köln, why neither Italian nor Greek general education finds acceptance. In those two countries the labor market is oriented to people who because of their general education can be set to different tasks. In Germany the gate-keeping and work-mediating institutions as well as employers believe in the virtues of specialization. The effect this belief has on migrants' lives and emotions is of no importance to them:

Köln - 1, Greece/M: There is a *de facto* discrimination, not just [shown by] court cases, but also in the attitudes of politicians and of employers . . . I believe this is a real problem. . . when one has good qualifications, has good general education or is specialized, one can always manage a different job. This is not appreciated enough. . . one invests very much effort and in the end tastes bitterness [bekommt einen bitteren Geschmack].

From the very beginning until the very end one feels how differently one is treated and in effect 'learns to walk the tightrope' from which one could fall down at any time. One learns to handle the precariousness of one's own living conditions and the constant, accompanying feeling - that 'one is alien in this land':

Köln - 1, Greece/M: One learns to walk the tightrope, for example, where work permit is concerned. . . One senses own alienness when one applies, so that one is allowed to stay or work here or have a diploma acknowledged or at a big factory, where one thinks that it is something impersonal and still one sees, in politics too, that one is an alien in this land.

EU-Citizens - 1st Class Foreigners

Perhaps the antisemitic German slogan 'Turks are the Jews of Germany' is not far from - admittedly - up-dated reality. Compared to the EU-citizens, Turks are miserably treated. EU-citizens in contrast are 1st class foreigners. They do not have to fight for the residence or work permit, are told about vacancies directly after the Germans, and are treated much better on the job.

Köln - 1, Italy/F: . . . I have not had these problems, never. Perhaps as Italian less, since EU-citizens have a different status. One has to add 'compared to Turks or Iranians' . . . they simply have a completely different status (others murmur in support). And EU-citizens have completely different rights. . . Compared with others, we are 1st class foreigners. . . Compared to others we have a different social rights. .. Receiving a work permit takes little time which is not the case for Turks. They have to apply for a work contract which for us is not the case.

Only Performance Counts - Once You Have A Job

Just as in Leipzig, in the all-Polish group, where working people constituted a majority, so in Köln and in Stuttgart it was proposed by those employed that work performance defines relationships at the place of work. If one knows the language, then there are no problems. At work one is deemed according to one's work performance, is a work-mate. Foreign-ness recedes from everybody's awareness. One is treated as 'one of one's own'. One's positive sense of worth derives from the workplace. One faces no problems with co-workers or bosses, except when one suddenly turns out to be a Turk:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: It depends very much on language skills. (Many confirmations come in the form of simultaneous 'Yes's). Also job experience is important... The first firm for which I worked was closed and then I found my new job. I really think language skills play a role. When somebody thinks that there would be communication problems, then... and performance counts. When one convinces through performance, then it is independent of whether one is a foreigner or a German. . .

Stuttgart - 1, Greece-Italy/F:. . . My mother applied with many other unemployed and she found something immediately via limited-time firm. She was paid according to her performance and she had no problems due to her origin. The emphasis was on achievement.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: After the *Wende* I immediately found a job. I have to say, I sometimes said 'I cannot discuss [this] with you, I am a foreigner' and they would say 'No, you have been such a long ime here, you are one of us.' That is why I can describe my work years as very nice years.

Stuttgart - 1

Turkey/M1:There are no differences [in treatment]. One only notices [the difference] when one goes on vacation and is asked whether one goes home. One thinks as a matter of fact that one is German and then the colleagues ask whether one goes home. . .

Croatia/M: One is mainly judged based on occupational qualifications. As far as vacation is concerned, I had experienced the same. . .

Blocked Career Opportunities

The issue for some children of migrants as well as for migrants are blocked career opportunities: 'I hear again and again that one does not move up. One works at the same work place until retirement and one does not advance. This I do not want, I want always more, more, more. . . to be a boss one day.' (supportive noises) (Köln 1, Turkey/M/student).

While in Köln the argument about blocked career opportunities gained supportive murmurs from everybody, in Stuttgart it became contested in the first but not in the second group. One sensed a great deal of optimism among the predominantly young people assembled around the discussion table. The counter-argument was that the children of migrants actually have an advantage while looking for jobs because of their multicultural background. Now they are still too young to make an impact, but once they graduated, they will make it into the echelons of power. Many examples of successful foreigners were spontaneously listed. After a short exchange everybody agreed that it was not the presence among entrepreneurial leaders, but rather the spread to may professions and some positive media visibility which counted as a success.

Turkey/M1: Concerning job search, there are no problems. On the contrary, one has also advantages when one applies for jobs at international firms and can show intercultural competence. . . I mean German firms which are active internationally, such as Siemens or Daimler.

Greece/M: Much is defined in terms of achievement. But one does not advance. Own people are then preferred. Especially among the bosses it is not usual to find foreigners. I am doing my Ph.D. right now and looking for jobs with big companies. I have this feeling that Germans are preferred.

Greece-Italy/F: We are the young generation, we have studied and have a perfect command of the language. And this will come. These are the reasons why the higher posts are still not occupied by us.

Turkey/M2: I believe that she is right. This will come. We have the first TV actor [Fernsehkommisar] the first comedians and in different enterprises among the bosses there are people with migrant background. The people who came here forty years ago did not have the education. Young people now have a chance to move in.

Q: What are typical success stories?

. . . Most are successful as self-employed. Mostly in the service sector, restaurants, etc.

Turkey/M1: . . . It has spread all over different branches. Even in science and arts.

Turkey/M2: It is not even so important that they all are in among the bosses. The point is the spread to all societal areas.

Croatia/M: Or the police. These we have, however, first since 3-4 years.

Greece/M: Are they still foreigners?

Croatia/M: I believe that they now can [work] with a foreign passport.

Greece/F: But only as a regular employee, since Germany is the only state with the public servant status [granted first of all to specific position-holders within the state administration who have to be German citizens]

Turkey/M1: I know one police woman here in Stuttgart. She is mainly accepted because she can investigate with ease cases in which Turks are involved. That is why these people are highly respected.

Discrimination by the Public Authorities

In Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln and Leipzig we were told that foreigners encounter discriminatory treatment at the work mediation, social services and foreigner office. In Leipzig the Vietnamese are treated in a disrespectful manner, observed the all-Polish group, although they are the second largest foreigner group in Leipzig. In Köln, we were told, the city has little money, so public servants do not consider or reject applications under the smallest pretext. The foreigners, who can defend themselves the least, fall victim to this practice. In Berlin public servants are also overworked and arrogant. They treat foreign applicants badly - as if these wanted things to which they have no right. Everywhere foreigners have to know their rights and have to fight for them too, since public servants are not willing to simply apply the rules. The situation in Berlin is so bad that the city goverment initiated a campaign to improve the conduct of the city employees. Here some examples from various German cities. They point to arbitrariness, discriminatory treatment and habitual disregard for the rights of the clients - these have to stage virtual battles to wrestle out their basic rights:

Stuttgart - 2, Bosnia/F: There is this group of immigrants. Only those who had to go through this know what I mean. One thousand rules and regulations, everybody can interpret the law... Even the naturalization application varies from place to place. . .

Berlin, Poland/M: . . . here one arrests for some little thing and [people become] directly deported and forbidden entry allegedly because of illegal residence or work. . . We fight with this all the time, our organization with the foreigner office [Ausländerbehörde] . . . . .

Berlin, Iran/M: . . . the conduct of public employees towards [me] has nothing to do with law. . . I have to prove myself, my identity, then they behave. . . I always have to fight so that I can have my rights.

Stuttgart - 2, Italy/F: I had done three occupational courses [Umschulungen]. No problems there. But then this public employee said: 'Go back to Italy!' To which I replied: 'I will go back when I want to! I will go to the director, I know my rights.' (Bosnia/F: She did try! /laughter/). (based on notes)

Leipzig - 1, Poland, F: . . . when I went with the passports of my children to the City Hall after the *Wende* because they still did not have their German citizenship. . . the public servant said to me: 'The first names of your children indicate foreigners. . . I could make Thomas out

of Tomasz and Lucie from Lucyna.' . . . This is for me a case of discrimination because a German may be called Mike but a Pole cannot be called Krzysztof. This weighs me down. . .

Leipzig - 1, Poland/M: I see it as discrimination. I go to the central library to borrow a book and I am told that my German wife should come instead. This cannot be true!!! A passport does indeed play a role.

Denial of Basic Rights

Local German 'foreigner offices' are notorious. They persecute foreigners showing no respect for their basic human rights.

Stuttgart - 2
Bosnia/F: They wanted to deport my husband because he was a student.

Kurdistan/F: If he were married to a German woman, this would not have happened.

Bosnia/F: The foreigner office started a paper war with us. It terrorized us. It was its wedding present for me. 'We are a family' I said. 'No' they said. 'Students have no family.' (later on) It hurt so badly when they said that we were no family. One is also a human being. (based on notes)

Even if laws stand behind them, foreigners are often treated in a demeaning way. A Polish woman married to a German citizen and so - one would think - entitled to permanent residence, so comments the public authorities in Berlin:

Berlin, Poland/F: . . . I have only had negative experience with authorities. I have to accept this, I cannot do anything about it. Since I need a residence permit, I have to let them humiliate me. There is no choice. I have to stand in line five hours, for example. . . . .

Education – Points of Discrimination

Migrant children who now attend and 2nd generation kids who in the past attended schools dominated by Germans found it hard, but learn(t) German better and quicker than children who attend schools dominated by migrant children:

The support of the parents was/is very important since they cope(d) not only with mastering school subjects in a foreign language but often also with prejudiced teachers or co-pupils. Migrant parents are a great resource to the extent that they appreciate the value of education and do possess some knowledge of the German, multi-truck, school system. Only those foreign children whose parents back them daily, help with homework and motivate them, have a chance of making it - attending better-track schools and even making it to the university level. As German research shows it is also true for German children that if they have parents who argue their case with the teachers, their chances of moving on to better-track schools are better. But this is crucial for foreign/migrant children who have greater difficulties in making themselves heard (for more on 'fighting parents', see below)

In an individual interview in Köln a 1.5 generation Italian woman told a story about her brother and his school as part of her own life and family story. This story upset the entire family and had influenced her life profoundly, so 'it had to be told'. It shocked them all into awareness that they were foreigners after all. Her brother learnt German in kindergarten. He was clearly fit for *Gymnasium*, but their parents did not know the difference between different tracks and so he was sent to *Hauptschule*. A teacher there terrorized him and would not let him go onto *Gymnasium*. When asked for reasons, she answered: 'He must learn an occupation, not laze around and study'. The brother became sadder and sadder. The family felt well in the apartment and had many, German and Italian, friends. But when the story with the brother unfolded, '...we felt like foreigners.' The family approached a befriended priest. He then contacted somebody who checked her brother's skills and confirmed his suitability for *Gymnasium.* This saved them. The teacher was reprimanded, but she did not want to give in. 'The entire situation was a great shock.'. In the end the narrator's brother was given a permission to go on to the *Gymnasium*, but the narrator - still when she was working on her final university thesis some years later - tried to understand what had happened then. There were many parallels to her own difficulties with the educational system, the unwillingness of schools to take her on. Her conclusion: 'The CDU did not want then that we become integrated, saw to it that we did not become access to better schools or occupations. It was a painful discovery, a shock.. . . I then saw that the story with my brother was no chance happening. One did not want to give us a chance. . .' The Italian government wanted to get rid off us to cover up unemployment. The German government did not accept us either, she said. She felt betrayed.

In several groups similar stories were told - of racist or hostile teachers, of encouraging and 'fighting' parents, of institutional barriers to the educational advancement of migrant/foreign children. Here two more excerpts told from the point of view of the children:

Stuttgart - 1

Greece-Italy/F: In the beginning I was with only three foreigners in *Gymnasium*. It was really bad. I did not want to go to school anymore and cried and ran around the school five times before I went in. I had a class teacher who definitely had something against foreigners. It started with a theft: 'Well, it could only have been the foreign cleaning ladies.' Or when I braided my hair and then let it lose, so that it acquired more body: 'Ha, foreigners do not have combs.' Such things and the entire time on a confronation course. [Ich bin dann auch abgegangen] because this was terrible for me. And this was a completely normal *Gymnasium*. (later on) My mother sat down with me evening after evening to learn Latin letters. She worked but she did it nevertheless. If I had not had my parents, I would not be where I am now. A lot depends on parents. I saw it on my neighbors: a Turkish girl - when she came from the school, she had to help with housework. She finished *Hauptschule* and then married right away. It depends on how parents motivate. (later on in the context of counter-strategies:) My parents had always said to me and my brother 'You should not stick out, you have to be better because you are foreigners'. . . This was so because we had 'minus points' for being foreign...

Croatia/F: When I came here I was 15 years old and I reacted to prejudice in such a way that I decided to graduate from *Gymnasium* even though I was placed in *Hauptschule*. This goal I set for myself because I wanted to be the same as others. . . I wanted to manage exactly the same as I would have in Croatia. OK. I must say that it would not have been possible without the support of my parents. Parents play a great role. Also when they motivate one: 'Your notes are improving, you will manage'.

Kindergarten

The problem begins in the kindergarten since migrant children do not learn much German there since there are too many of them (see below). Or the kindergarten personnel assumes that since the parents do not speak good German, their children do not know much German either. As Jäger shows German 'every-day racists' cannot understand that a migrant child is able to speak perfect German although her parents do not because their prejudice is that foreigners are incapable of learning German. 'For many Germans the ability to speak a

specific language is . . . associated with the skin color. If black children speak good German, they cannot stop wondering.' (Jäger 1992:130). Since in Germany the kindergarten personnel can have a say in whether the child is 'mature' and can move on to the primary school, this has severe consequences. A Polish mother of a Polish-German boy had to fight against his negative evaluation by the kindergarten:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: [They simply assumed that] since I am a foreigner, then my child must be too or. . . is dumb: 'He cannot do it, he will not manage.' They did not let him go ahead. . . But he is now in the 3rd grade and has proven that he belongs to the advanced group. He is a good pupil and has no problems. . . If I do not have a good command of the German language, this does not mean, however, that my child does not and therefore should not be allowed to attend school. Well, he could not understand Saxonian, but that is another thing. . .

As the first part of the report showed in Germany the view prevails that a healthy development of children demands that they should master one language fully before they start learning another language. Many German pedagogues and linguists contributed to the diffusion of the view that children speaking more than one language do not learn any of them properly and are impeded in their development (Riemer Magisterarbeit 2003:50). Only recently some critical voices have been raised against this very widespread view. A group participant in Leipzig, who was confronted by this view and nevertheless opted for bi-lingualism, also opposes this view:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: Many argue that children should not be raised with two languages. That one should not confuse children. They should only learn German and when they know it well, then they should learn the other language. My kids speak both languages and have no problems, but this opinion is widespread that children should not learn the other [native] language so that they will not remain behind.

Language and Special Schools

The first project report briefly depicted, based on the well-known 'Bielefeld'-study of institutional discrimination (Gomolla and Radtke 2002), how discrimination at school works. The critics of this study deny its any generalizability. Discussions in focus groups, however, support its findings.

Many migrant children are diagnosed as lacking language proficiency (often based on no or very impressionistic evidence). They are then sent into special preparatory classes or special schools - the latter sentencing them to lives with no real chances or opportunities, since these schools are for children with true learning disabilites (note that the German school system is very hard also for German children in this respect: even dyslexic children are put in these schools with little chance of returning to regular schools). Again the role of the 'fighting' parent came up as one 1.5 generation Italian recalled:

Köln - 1, Italy/M: I have had a problem insofar that I came here to Germany when I was six years old. I spoke no German but was sent to school following standard procedures [wurde eingeschult]. Since I did not know the language it was decided that I should go to a special school. But my mother fought against this, taught me the little German that she knew. In the 4th grade I was told that I could only attend *Hauptschule*. So I did, but I was the best in my class in grades 5-7, then level and year best in grade 8, and after the 10th grade I switched to *Gymnasium*. . . Had I attended this special school, I would not be where I am today, but sharpening something [in a protected work place].

A group participant in Stuttgart informed us about the current local situation concerning special schools. He emphasized that with extra help most foreign children manage to escape special schools, only this extra help is often not in place:

Stuttgart - 1, Turkey/M2/student: . . . based on the projects on which I worked, I can say that we have special schools with 30-40% Turks and Italians. They have problems related to language-problems. Compared to Germans there are 3 to 4 times as many. For a Turkish youth the chances to be deported [abgeschoben] to the special school after the primary school are very high. The question is whether they are so dumb and have such learning problems or instead their potential skills are just left hanging and never used. . . I see it in our association that when these children receive some support, then we see a certain improvement in school successes. A [school] recommendation to attend *Hauptschule* turns into a recommendation to attend *Realschule*, which gives the child a chance to study later on.

Multiple Causes of School Failure

As already indicated, most groups made a distinction between then and now - when they or their children studied, the schools were still dominated by Germans and so learning German was hard, but one had no choice. Today in mixed classes, German can be rarely heard and one has the choice of falling back on one's own language, so even extra hours of German do not help. In addition the group in Stuttgart pointed out that a) residential segregation which can be said to be caused by the white-flight into the suburbs b) large school classes and c) resigned/overwhelmed teachers unprepared by the study programs for the multi-cultural challenges that await them reinforce each other to produce school failure. But, they pointed out, the problem begins earlier. There are too few kindergarten places and pre-school childcare is very poor. Foreign children, who often entirely depend on the pre-school education for learning German, do not learn much there.

Then

Leipizig - 2

Russian-Jewish-German/M/pupil: When I came to Germany there were very few institutions which helped integration. Now I found out - there are many more foreign children in our school - that one does something for them. . . But I notice that they manage worse than I did then when there were no language courses, etc. They speak Russian with each other. This slows down the tempo in which they learn German. Therefore being left to your own devices turned out to be beneficial.

Russian-Jewish/M: The same goes for my daughter. She was alone in her class, I believe, even in her school. She speaks like he does, so that I did not realize that he comes from Russia.

Then and Now

Stuttgart - 1

Croatia/M: When I went to school the proportion of foreigners was not so high as now in the school of my children. The problem today is not that teachers do not accept children, but that they give up. . . they have no control. They just go automatically through the school material,

they neglect pedagogy. My son is now in the first class and in this class 60% of all pupils are foreigners of second and third generation. The children vary greatly in the knowledge they bring with them, so that teachers spend the first half a year just trying to hold them together. The teachers have no longer any interest in teaching. . . There are schools outside Stuttgart which are better. The worst are schools in city districts with highest proportions of foreigners.

NL/M: This is because foreigners concentrate in specific city parts. . . And the aboriginees [Ureinwohner], the Germans (general amused laughter). . . the Bio-Germans are no longer found there. . . This has nothing to do with teachers. In suburbs where there are not so many foreigners, there are automatically more Germans in the schools. . .

Croatia/M: It has to do with schools. A teacher cannot determine the school program. I know a family which moved to a suburb. . . In the suburbs [their son] could not manage because the entire material was a year ahead.

Turkey/M1/student: Understanding and sympathy for children with migrant background is missing. I was one of the two in the entire school. It was more personal. When I visit schools today, I see that they do not provide personal care. Schools with high proportions of foreigners also lack integrating efforts. I recently heard. . . that Intercultural Teaching which was earlier obligatory at the Institute for Pedagogy is now only a matter of choice. It is wrong to let a young teacher go, unprepared to deal with classes with 70-80% foreigners. No wonder they are not up to it.

Croatia/M: I attended a teacher-parents conference at the school of my daughter who is now in the 7th grade. A young female teacher. . . positioned herself in front of us and told us that when children do not listen, they receive more work as punishment, etc. I asked her what she would do, if they behaved. She looked at me and asked: 'Why? Should I go with them to a public festival? [Volksfest] [This is wrong] somehow, one should teach children relying on rewards, not on punishment. Such people then teach the children. They do not care about the children and whether they learn anything or not. . .

Croatia/F: Politicians have to do something. Not foreigners, but the education of teachers is wrong. More inter-cultural courses have to be offered.

Croatia/M: This has nothing to do with culture. One should simply abolish these big classes with 35 children in one classroom. Such classes autonomatically create murmuring and a climate in which one cannot live. . .

Turkey/M2/student: Better individual care, better teaching support must come for classes with large proportions of foreigners. The Pisa Study has triggered a discussion about the educational standards which can only help. . .

Turkey/M1: I believe that the situation in *Haupt-* and *Realschulen* is much worse than in *Gymnasium* since in *Gymnasium* the proportions of foreigners are lower and so foreign students do not have so many problems. Personally I had no, less problems. But I visited a friend who was in *Hauptschule* and the teaching situation was bad.

Turkey/M2: We have to realize that the problem does not start at school but much earlier since teaching should start already in the pre-school or kindergarten. At the moment kindergarten is instead a parking place for children of the working parents. The proportions of foreigners are no better than in schools. I have heard from parents about all-Turkish groups where they only speak Turkish. . .

Turkey/M1: There are also inter-cultural pre-schools where a higher proportion of foreigners is desired. And the parents sent their children there so that they would learn about other cultures.

Croatia/M: Already when you plan a child, you have to sign up so that you receive a place in kindergarten. My child is now 5 years old but I registered him for the school because in kindergarten he does not learn anything and the child care is really poor.

Scorn, Verbal and Physical Assaults

In particular in lower-track schools migrant children become objects of scorn, verbal and physical assaults. This seems to be more of a problem in Leipzig or Berlin than in Köln or Stuttgart, although also a young girl from Köln (Polish parents) remembered being mobbed. In *Gymnasium* foreigners are fewer and they are also better treated by their peers. In Leipzig in the second mixed group violence against migrant children in school came up - in unison in fact:

Leipzig - 3:

Vietnam/M: Children are against foreigners. In the western part of Germany it was not so.

Q: What do the German children here do?

Choir: They insult them! They beat them up!

Russian-Jewish/F: Arkadij was very good in school. German children screamed 'Foreigners out'. Then he went on to *Gymnasium*. He had no problems there. In *Mittelschule* children were bad. One (female) teacher was also very unpleasant, gave him a failing note. We wanted to challenge this, but the director backed her. I could not prove anything, even though she said it explicitly in the class that as a foreigner he would not get a passing note. . .(based on interview notes).

Schools of Higher Education

Few migrant or foreign students study at the schools of higher education in Germany as the first project report showed. They face high entry barriers, in part related to making it within the German school system and in part those related to foreign diploma recognition. In addition foreign students sometimes have to deal with prejudiced and hateful professors.

In Leipzig an Angolan man told us how two university professors made his life difficult. One of them harassed him especially hard, 'nearly hated' him because 'I was together with a German woman. When he found out about it, he turned really wild. He told me that exams would not be easy, if I do not tell him when I would go back to Angola. . . The professor came from Frankfurt am Main or Hamburg. I was surprised that an educated person behaved this way. I had four subjects with him, had to take orals in each twice. The written ones I always passed, since I could document my performance. For him a foreigner with a German family did not necessarily classify as a German. He really persecuted me. Also when it came to the choice of topics he made it difficult for me and addressed my status as a foreigner. . . '. He did not let go until the Angolan student showed him his Angolan passport - to demonstrate that he had not been naturalized - but he still humiliated him and gave him bad notes.

In Köln several group participants shared with the group several stories about a legendary, foreigner-hating professor of dentistry who made scathing remarks about foreigners, supposedly administered tougher exams in years in which there were more foreigners, ruined their laboratory work as if by accident, forcing them to repeat it, etc.etc. For example, he told a Muslim woman wearing a scarf that she better study somewhere else (which she, tired of harassment, in the end did). Rumor has it that he said to another female Turkish student: 'You Turkish women are just incubators [Brutstätten]'; 'You Turkish women are all just birth machines'.

Also German students were said to keep their distance from Turkish students, so as to avoid having to cope with their supposed language problems. In the same group, however, a couple of participants remember their studies as 'fun', even though they had to study harder than others and the occasional reluctance of Germans to build groups with non-Germans made themselves felt. (Similarly, in Leipzig a Vietnamese man recalled with gratitude the help he received from his fellow students. He emphasized their generosity). Yet another person had only nice memories.

Everybody confirmed that they had to study at the *Studienkolleg* at least a year, supposedly to catch up to the German high school diploma level. Most believed that this was unnecessary since they already knew the material covered at the *Studienkolleg*. Since German *Gymnasium* has 13 years and most other countries have its equivalent with 12 years, most newcomers formally lack this one extra year. But the group questioned the need to compensate for it.

Yet another group participant (Köln1) told of contradictory pieces of information and decisions taken by the authorities responsible for the decisions about what exactly he could and should study in Germany. At first he was told that his education from Turkey was insufficient to study at a school of higher education in Germany, so he attended *Studienkolleg* for several terms. He was then told that this had not been really necessary since *Studienkolleg* found his technical *Gymnasium* on its list of recognized foreign schools, so he dropped out. But then he was not allowed to pursue the unversity studies of his choice in Bonn because the University of Bonn did not recognize his technical *Gymnasium* - his school did not figure on its list of recognized schools. He hired a lawyer and took the University of Bonn to court - several experts confirmed that his Turkish *Gymnasium* was on a German list of recognized schools. In the meantime he was accepted by another school of higher education in Köln, so he dropped the court case. He by then was already finishing his second-choice studies and so what looked like a decision-reversal would have come too late anyhow. But the entire story tasted 'very bitter and cost a lot, I had to pay the lawyer and it cost quite a lot'. (In the Stuttgart2 group a young Croat similarly told about arbitrary decision-making, although he was not a candidate for university but for an occupational school: although he and his brother had exactly the same education, had gone to exactly the same schools back home, one of them was allowed to continue his education in Germany and the other was told to take supplementary courses first.)

A Vietnamese doctor told the interviewer after the group discussion was over (Leipzig 2) that although he completed regular studies of medicine in Germany and passed *Staatsexamen*, he was not given a diploma reflecting this - *Aprobationsurkunde*. This was reserved for Germans only. Instead he was given an equivalent which positioned him very badly for competition about jobs with his German colleagues.

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Overview of Focus Group Interviews

When	Where	Number/Gender	Age Range	Parents' Country	Naturalized
22.02.03	Leipzig1	5F/2M	31-58	7 Poland	1
05.04.03	Leipzig 2	1F/6M	18-55	1Angola, 1Cuba, 3Russland, 2Vietnam	3 (+1?)
06.04.03	Leipzig3	3F/1M	34-65	1 Russland 1 Ukraine 2 Vietnam	1
10.05.03	Köln1	3F/4M	24-54	1Croatia 1Greece 2Iran 2 Italy 1 Turkey	1
10.05.03	Köln2	6F/2M	19-65	1Croatia 2Italy 2Greece 1 Poland 2 Turkey	3
24.05.03	Stuttgart1	2F/5M	26-41	2 Croatia 1 Greece 1Greece-IT 1 NL 2 Turkey	1
25.05.03	Stuttgart2	4F/4M	18-65	1Bosnia 2Croatia 1Greek 1 Italy 1Kurdistan 2 Turkey	1
22.06.03	Berlin	1F/5M	27-65	2 Italy 1 Iran 2 Poland 1 Turkey	1

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For and Against Integration

***This is the second part of a two-part report. When single persons are cited in the following text, the name of the town in which they participated in a group discussion is listed along with the country of origin of their parents and their own gender: Leipzig - 1, Poland/F. The name of the country does not necessarily correspond to their self-definition which is often time- and situation-dependent. When a conversation among several group participants is cited, the name of the city in which they were interviewed is listed above the citation. It is followed by the single voices, each marked by the name of the country from which the parents come and their own gender. An overview of focus groups can be found on the last page of this report, but in its part 1. The major findings are printed in bold.

Housing

This question did not provoke much of a response in several groups, since it does not seem problematic for long term city residents who have lived in their apartments for many years now. But for those who look for apartments now, access is very problematic. Similarly to the situation on the job market, Germans are preferred. When landlords hear an accent or a foreign-sounding name, they find an excuse to end the conversation. Even when landlords are interested, they pose very curious, discriminatory questions before subletting apartments and, some harrass their tenants while these are in. The same goes for superintendents and neighbors. When discrimination was reported, it took the form of a) discrimination and harassment by landlords b) harassment by superintendents and neighbors. 'Northern', 'whiter' Europeans do not experience as much discrimination as their southern, darker counterparts. Moreover, stories were told about how in a different part of the country one experienced more discrimination than back home - group participants suspected that this was because they did not speak local dialect. Speaking local dialect awakes trust, *Hochdeutsch* is not sufficient in this case. In Stuttgart as well as in Köln landlords were said to discriminate against families with children rather than against foreigners, but the effect was the same. Here some examples:

Köln - 1, Turkey/M1: . . . I have a one-bed apartment. I have lived there five years by now. [When I first met the landlady] she asked if I can hold my room clean. I have at first not quite understood. . . She said: 'Well, until now I have not had any Turkish tenants, thus I do not know how they are.' I thought I was in a false movie. . .

Leipzig - 3
Vietnam/F: A friend went to sign a contract, but the owner backed out because the neighbors did not want any foreigners.
Russian-Jewish/F: I have a German friend. She always complains about her neighbors who are from Turkey, Japan. . .
Russian-German/F: In the first apartment, the neighbor asked me whether I fried fish. I asked her: ' Why do you think that foreigners fry fish?' . . .
Vietnam/M: The superintendent forbade us to park our cars in the courtyard. The German does it nevertheless, but I . . .

Berlin/M: A client of mine is not allowed to have a TV-antenna since his landlord forbade him to. But this is against the law.

Stuttgart - 1

Turkey/M: I moved to Swabia [Oberschwaben] to study. I was directly asked whether I am a foreigner, where I come from. . . There I had real difficulties with finding an apartment. Also once in Berlin when I made 'phone calls, one asked me about my name and my nationality. When one says 'Turkish', this is not well received.

Croatia/M: Here [in Stuttgart] it is not so. One has instead problems. . . when one says that one has children. The society expects from you that you are already born as a grown up. Housing societies do not care [about children], but the private owners. . .

NL/M: But the housing situation in Stuttgart is difficult. . . I do not know whether this has anything to do with foreigners. When they hear my name, they also ask where I come from and that is it.

Turkey/M1: And when you say Holland, it is also OK. But when you say Turkey, then they think that a big family with ten children will visit each weekend and they become anxious. . .

Stuttgart - 2

Turkey/M2: I know a woman with a child who has looked for an apartment for many, many years now. The landlords do not want families with children.

Kurdistan/Turkey/F: I look for apartments for my employees. They tell me 'No'. The landlords or realtors say 'Landlords do not want any foreigners.' [They do not take into account] that foreign co-citizens have a great fear of losing their jobs and not being able to pay their rent. They have greater anxiety than the Germans. . .

Turkey/M2: I know of cases when one bought a house to provide apartments for fellow foreigners. These are ghettoes. . .

Berlin

Poland/M: I have not had any problems myself, but I was looking for a store for somebody. They heard the accent and they said that it already had been already taken. . .

Italy/M1: When one is German or sends a German partner ahead, then there are no problems. Many do that. But my friends from Italy have problems.

Poland/M: When one has a regular income, it is easier.

Italy/M2: . . . It happened to me already that one did not believe me that I have a university diploma. 'From Sicily? Well, wild animals run around over there. . . (in response to an Iranian:) I know, I know, I am also dark, have curls. There exists a difference between an EU-Italian and a Turk, Arab, Iranian. . .

Poland/M: With dark-skinned people, they do not want to have anything to do. . . .

To 'explain' this type of conduct some group participants pointed out that some foreigners go back, so that it is rational from the point of view of the landlord to avoid them and so to avoid trouble. Others said that they themselves had no problems and/or pointed out that many foreigners are poor, save to send more home or live from social assistance which lowers their buying power and thus also lowers their attractiveness for landlords. For these group participants it was not clear whether being a foreigner or being poor accounted for discrimination, but in the end they decided for discrimination against foreigners. The multi-logue from Köln illustrates this best:

Köln 1

Iran/F: . . . but myself I have had no problem. . . Many of my female friends look for apartments, but do not get any. I do not know. . . whether the problem is. . . that one lives on social assistance or is a foreigner. It is a bit difficult to say but I do believe that foreigners have a bit of o problem finding apartments.

Italy/F: . . . I work here in this house as a social worker and Italian co-citizens come to me, they have mostly great problems. There are three reasons for this. One reason is that they are on social assistance, the second that they are foreigners and the third that the housing market is weak. It is said that there are few apartments to be had. . . so my clients live in undignifying conditions. . . some apartments are intolerable. . . in miserable conditions, old and wet. . .

Q: You have said 'because they are foreigners'. How can you tell that this is the reason?

Italy/F: Well, they for example are handicapped already about asking [about the apartment] on the 'phone. They go in person and then they hear that the apartment is already gone. . . A friend of mine who speaks better German than I do, speaks accent-free, called for an appointment. . . They accepted immediately, but then when she told her last name - it was a foreign name - then they said: 'We are sorry, the apartment is already gone', even though earlier they had agreed to an appointment. That is a quite concrete example because one could not recognize on the 'phone that she is foreigner, only by her last name.

Iran/F2: . . . many want that one has no children. . . children are a hindrance

Iran/F1: The ghettoes, when one speaks about ghettoes, one sees specific areas in Köln, such as for example, Kalk and Niedhess, Mullheim, specific areas, where foreigners live, in the ghettoes. Perhaps I should not say ghettoes, but in any case many more foreigners live there than elsewhere.

Right – Wing Radicalism

The responses to the question about right-wing radicalism and whether right-wing radicals caused anxiety evoked polarized responses ranging from 'Personally I have never met any' (at least one person in every group) and 'This is a peaceful area, we have no Neo-Nazi demonstraions' (Stuttgart, Köln) to assertions that they are present and could even come to power as in Italy or Austria. **Although at least one group participant in each group was alarmed about right-wing radicalism and although some were/knew somebody beaten up by right-wing groups, most group participants did not see much of a threat in local right-wing radicalism**.

In Leipzig participants of the 'all-Polish' group became excited when remembering early post-*Wende* years or the annual nation-based Neo-Nazi demonstrations in Leipzig. Similarly in the mixed group in Leipzig dark-skinned people were concerned and anxious about extreme right-wing violence which still affects them. But even in these groups participants who pointed out that a right-wing party could come to power in Germany as it did in Italy or Austria said that in a very calm manner. Clearly the very idea constituted a thought experiment. It did not carry with it any great emotional disquiet for most group participants.

Confined and Young Right-Wing Radicalism

As a rule one or more persons in the group could name neigborhoods in which Neo-Nazis were concentrated, such as, for example, Schleußig [or Grünau] in Leipzig; Esper-area and the Burg in Stuttgart or Marzahn, Lichtenberg and Pankow in East Berlin, and also some of their demonstrations. This shows that **to the minds of many foreigners right-wing radicalism has a strong local spatial connotation, but also that the Neo-Nazis are seen as a contained problem. They are seen as confined to specific neighborhoods**. Moreover, for foreigners living in former West Germany they are 'over there' - in East Germany or East Berlin.

The most self-assertive and **gregarious on the particular topic of politics and urban** space was the group in **Berlin**, where in response to the question about the Neo-Nazis first somebody named 'their neighborhoods' and then somebody else said 'I mean, they do not

come here to Kreuzberg!', meaning 'would not dare to come'. This was followed by a loud gail of shared laughter. It was apparent that **everybody present felt that Kreuzberg was a foreigner fortress**. Somebody else added that Germans who live in Kreuzberg simply have to integrate, become multicultural. Kreuzberg has a very high concentration of foreigners and also of the radical youth/students. It is known as a site of urban radicalism. Nearly every early summer physical, often violent, confrontations take place between the inhabitants of Kreuzberg and the police. The group implied that it is a neighborhood in which foreigners feel at home.

Only one group participant in Leipzig articulated the view which the radical left adopts to the effect that right-wing radicalism is a product of socialization, that is, that young right-wing radicals only act upon what their parents say back home. And most participants in Stuttgart believed that extreme hostility towards foreigners is the attribute of people over 50. These are the minority views.

A couple of groups made explicit what constitutes a majority view in Germany. Shared common as well as public knowledge in Germany is: the Neo-Nazis are young and right-wing radicalism is a youth phenomenon. As a youth phenomenon, which is transitory anyhow, it is not dangerous and can be dealt with by politicians anyhow (arguments against this view are unfortunately very rare also in the scientific community, see the first report). Group participants in Köln were of one mind: it is enough to provide sufficient cultural opportunities to occupy the youth and the problem of right-wing radicalism disappears. They were somewhat concerned that the city of Köln, which had to and already started to save - also on youth programs, would not inevitably cause a revival of right-wing radicalism. A reverse side of this argumentation came up in Stuttgart where one group participant argued that right-wing radicalism is a correlate of the fact that nothing is provided for the youth which these days has nothing but mobile phones and designer clothes. In Leipzig the same argument could be heard: if the politicians created more educational opportunities and clubs for the youth, then the young people would be preoccupied and would not 'go down the street and chase people who have nothing to do with their problems in the first place'. In Berlin one group participant wondered whether one should just ignore right-wing radicalism or approach right-wing radicals with material offers. He opted for the second solution since ignoring only covers the problem up. His question reflected **two typical responses to right-wing radicalism in Germany - 'reforming' and 'ignoring**'.

To explain based on a mixture of expert and lay knowledge: 'Reforming': Some political units have developed youth programs oriented specifically towards right-wing groups. These programs encourage young Neo-Nazis to join youth clubs or provide them with new learning and job-finding opportunities. Excursions, including these to Israel and to the concentration camps located in Poland, have been tried out as re-education method by several East German cities, such as, for example, Leipzig and Dresden.The critics of these reform experiments have questioned their effectiveness and the very fact that tax money is spent on the oppressor rather than on the victims. They point out to the scandalous aspects of these excursions, such as the beer-drinking accompanied by the singing of Neo-Nazi songs on the buses moving towards the concentration camps. The defendents point to the conversions undergone by several Neo-Nazis who had been taken to visit Israel. Since 2001, on the initiative of the Exit Program for Right-Wing Radicals set up by the National Bureau for the Protection of the Basic Law, ten Bundesländer have supported programs for right-wing drop-outs, a few others are in the process of being set up or folding down (Dietrich 2002:59-72,5). The critics of this initiative see it as an exercise in symbolic politics, waste of tax payers' money or badly conceptualized.

'Ignoring': The second reponse to right-wing radicalism gained the Kohl-government the reputation of 'being blind on the right eye'. During the rule of the Kohl-government, the government was criticized for ignoring right-wing radicalism even long after it came to the first fire assaults against asylum seekers and Turks in their places of residence. Only after international criticism intensified, did the Kohl government move on to repressive infiltration and intervention. But my impression is that also the red-green coalition which came to power in 1998 and was re-elected in 2002 does not differ much in this respect, even though specific red or green politicians become personally involved in fighting against right-wing radicalism. At any rate it can for sure be said that right-wing radicalism has not been an important issue of on the red-green government agenda.

A Harmless Right-Wing Radical - Just Another Big Mouth

In line with the view that Neo-Nazis are/can be contained, was **the portrayal of the right-wing radicals as mere talkers - reducing their activities to pure Neo-Nazi rethoric**. In the Berlin group a first generation retired Turkish guest worker and a young Polish female

newcomer (3 years) to Germany agreed in this view of Neo-Nazis. At first the retired guest worker provided an amusing anecdote about his Neo-Nazi friend:

Berlin, Turkey/M: I have this Neo-Nazi friend. . . He hollers 'Germany belongs to us'. I answer 'Of course, it belongs to Germans, who else then?' and he says: 'Ah, my friend' and a pitcher of beer is ordered and a cigarette is smoked.

After several other interventions, the same man went back to talking about his right-wing 'friend' to which the group responded by polarizing among those who see the Neo-Nazis as of no consequence and those who see them as a threat. The previous as well as the following example of arguments which go along with disarming [Verharmlosung] or downplaying the right-wing threat show that the **Neo-Nazis become portrayed as dumb, single-minded, incapable of reasoning or action**. They can also be easily duped:

Berlin:
Poland/F: Yes, right-wingers scream, but do nothing. They are dumb.
Iran/M: They are not dumb. When one contradicts them, they become angry.
Turkey/M: One should not discuss politics with them. They have one thing: 'Germany'. A discussion does not bring anything. They become drunk.(based on notes)

Here it should be recalled, that, although in a different thematic context - when trying to depict Germans, one participant of a group in Köln offered a comic, disarming image of a German racist. The anecdotal material and the humorous side of the story, which never fails to evoke smiles or even laughter in a group in which it is told, connect the portrait of a Neo-Nazi from Berlin with the portrait of a racist from Köln. In both cases the subject of the story is referred to as a rather close person - a 'friend' or a 'mate'. In both cases they are portrayed as rather harmless, sociable or even likable persons. In short, at least some foreigners in Germany seem to have developed **a view of the Neo-Nazis which makes them look harmless, just another 'big-mouth'**:

Köln - 1, Turkey/M/student: . . . I have a mate who openly says that he is a racist and hates foreigners, and . . . I say that I am also a foreigner: 'You are different.' he says. (a female voice: Yes, one hears this a lot). He is really super nice. We understand each other well. . . he also works for an Italian. (Flam: laughter) So he says, he hates foreigners. (a male voice: He hates **the other** foreigners.)

In the 'all-Polish' group in Leipzig a different argument was employed to demonstrate that **Neo-Nazis constitute no real threat**. The Neo-Nazis were compared to other groups which were equally or even more threatening. In this group one woman initiated the comparisons by saying that she was less afraid of Africans than of the Neo-Nazis. The next woman countered this by saying she was more afraid of groups of Turks than of the Neo-Nazis. She believed that the Neo-Nazis would not do anything if one managed to blend into the crowd - would not let oneself be recognized as a foreigner. This implied that the Neo-Nazis are less of threat than groups of male foreigners because they attack only foreigners. In contrast male foreigner groups do not make any fine distinctions. Surprising was that she compared come-ons by Turks [see below: 'werden einem anmachen'] with Neo-Nazi acts. She was seconded by another speaker who felt equally threatened by youth groups as by the Neo-Nazis and by a third speaker who invoked criminality as a general threat - a new threat since the *Wende*:

Leipzig - 1:

Poland/F: As a woman one feels anxious [mulmig] at a tram stop when some *Glatzen** are around, but when I do not move, look somewhere else, do not provoke them, then nothing happens. It is different with a group of Turks. Even if one does not do anything, they will come on [*werden einem anmachen*].

Poland/F2: It is similar with a group of youths. . . one also feels anxious.

Poland/F3: Criminality is on the rise since the *Wende*.

*[The Bald-Ones - a popular way of referring to the Neo-Nazis who often feature shaved/skin heads, obligatory military or group uniforms and military black shoes with neatly tied white shoe-strings.]

A final argument - exemplified by a short exchange in a group in Stuttgart - **makes right-wing extremists, even those who were responsible for arson attacks in the post-Wende years, into an insignicant, atypical minority.** In a group in Stuttgart the issue of right-wing violence came up when the group was discussing housing and defense strategies against discrimination. When two group participants proposed that Germans as a rule have no problem with foreigners, another group participant responded with recalling to the minds of those present the arsons against foreigners in Germany in 1993. To my mind, it is amazing that he listed them to support his argument about the 'light dislike' of foreigners by Germans, since these arsons cannot stand but for acts of intense hate:

Stuttgart - 1,Turkey/M/student: I believe that we should ignore [wegreden] the light dislike [Abneigung] of foreigners. For example, such events as Mölln, Solingen occured only 10 years ago. The fact [is] that Turkish homes were burning and that asylum seekers in Rostock were on fire.

The reponse was very decided and quick:

Croatia/M: But how many of the 85 million Germans have done that? These were specific groups.

The Political Geography of Hate - Racism is Worse 'Over There'

Foreigners living in Köln **found their own city more than acceptable when they compared it to East Germany** (or even Bavaria). They spoke of 'racism over there which has more to do with ignorance than with anger or conviction'. Hearsay as well as own experience played a great role in this context: '. . . for example I have a friend from the East and he says that if he were a foreigner, he would not go East because there are too many Neo-Nazis there. When you go, you do not come back unhurt'. And foreigners in the discussion groups who have lived in both parts of Germany are of the same opinion - tolerance towards foreigners is in general much higher in the West.

Young people in the first group in Stuttgart found no traces of discrimination in their own city now, but they told of bad experiences from their student years when they looked for apartments in Bavaria.

All group participants in Berlin agreed that not West, but East Berlin was the true site of racism, hostility towards foreigners and right-wing radicalism.

The Neo-Nazi Threat - Ominous Violence

More concern about right-radicalism was expressed by those who associated Neo-Nazis with violence, violence which already had been inflicted on others and could be inflicted also on themselves. For example, in the Berlin group an Italian, male participant responded to the previous speaker's attempt to play down right-wing extremism (the story with a 'Neo-Nazi friend') by telling us that neither his black male friend nor his Tunesian female friend dare walk the streets at night or visit East Berlin. He connected right-wing radicalism with darkness - referring both to the appearance of the victims and the night as the point in time at which the Neo-Nazi threat looms large, general hatred directed towards darker people, and a

sense of diffuse threat and anxiety. Like those downplaying the right-wing threat, however, he points to specific areas in East Berlin and East Berlin as its true site:

Berlin, Italy/M: Well, my room-mate is black, an American from the US. As such he does not walk alone through specific city parts (Poland/F: I can believe that!). . . He has lived in Berlin for a long time now and does not go to Marzahn or generally to East Berlin at all. . . Because there have been these cases. And I have a female friend, a younger one, she comes from Tunesia and she has noticed that. . . outside of Kreuzberg and West Berlin it is difficult to walk the street with long, curly black hair. One feels hated somehow. To Pankow and such like she does not like to go. There you can sense that right-wingers play a role. Not in my life, but there are foreigners who let it influence their lives.

This was seconded by the Iranian group participant who referred, as his Turkish counterpart in Stuttgart, to the arson attacks of 1993, to explain why **some foreigners live with a sense of foreboding anxiety. Right-wing extremism is not just a matter of words. It also has violent action as its consequence**:

Berlin, Iran/M: 'Well, and for a good reason because of events which burnt themselves in. . . Hoyeswerda is not forgotten, Mölln is not forgotten. . . where the people, the houses were burning and the people applauded. This stays and for lifetime stamps the life of foreigners. . .'

Although in Köln people agreed that right-wing radicalism was no problem, a teenage second generation 'Polish' girl told of a village not far away from her home where there are many right-wingers: 'I do not like to bike there, I feel anxious about biking back home.' A Greek first generation guest worker told us that he was young he physically fought the Neo-Nazis. But these days he differentiates his behavior. For example, he participated in a demonstration against right-wingers who opposed plans to have a mosque built in Koweiler or Mullheim, but when he was alone with his son and right-wingers were around, he told him not to make any waves. Clearly not only an imposing, dark-skinned/dark-eyed/dark-haired Greek, but also a blond, blue-eyed girl feared the Neo-Nazi aggression.

In all three groups in Leipzig right-wing radicalism received much attention. **If for the 'all-Polish' group of long time residents, Neo-Nazis no longer seem to constitute a great threat, for their counterparts with darker skin color and for Jews they still do. They live in much fear of being physically attacked** – but at least a couple of speakers picked up on a widespread belief - only in the dark and only in groups are Neo-Nazis dangerous. No

discussion ignited around this, although the example provided by the Cuban participant (see below) shows that they also attack in twos.

The participants in the 'all-Polish' group in Leipzig recalled the first post-*Wende* years during which Neo-Nazis mulitplied and became visible everywhere. Everybody became excited discussing the neighborhoods in which Neo-Nazis were particularly numerous. They agreed that directly after the *Wende* 'it was a really bad time'. A retired man, imported by the GDR for construction work with his entire Polish firm in the 1960s, recalled that he was afraid that something would happen to him or his car. He used to wear a cap to resemble the Neo-Nazis themselves so that they would leave him alone. These greeted each other with a *Heil Hitler*, he recalled. This was accompanied by a laughter of, I believe, recognion. Several people said that they felt fearful when the *Glatzen* were then around, were afraid that these meant what they said. These days in contrast the Neo-Nazis come mostly from outside to demonstrate in Leipzig, but fewer and fewer are coming, since the city politicians together with the inhabitans of the city organize huge demonstrations against them. The present-day situation is: fewer, but still visible local Neo-Nazis and the defeat of the national Neo-Nazi movement in Leipzig in 2002/2003 after almost a decade of a Neo-Nazi offensive against Leipzig which was picked by their central organization as the East German town in which to make a show of their numerical strength twice-thrice a year. This was followed by the arguments that they were less threatening than the groups of Turks or youth groups. The discussion ended as follows: 'When the right-wingers would come here to power as they did in Italy, then we would have to fear...' 'Yes, indeed, I would feel fearful'.

The second, high-education group in Leipzig made clear that to them the Neo-Nazis were neither defeated nor just a thing of the past. The discussion was opened by a young Cuban woman. She has been in Leipzig just a couple of years. Every summer she sees them demonstrate every week-end not far away from her home. One also sees them regularly in the central railroad station. To her mind Neo-Nazis are 'simply stupid' to want to repeat the atrocious German history. She wondered where they take so much hate from. The Neo-Nazis must be 'empty-headed' and 'frustrated' not to find any other way to defend themselves. **Like many other group participants from other cities she saw Neo-Nazis as not very smart, but she also attributed burning hate and 'evil' to them. In contrast to those foreigners in other groups who implied that they were easily duped, she saw them as powerful, unpredictable and violent. In contrast to the 'all-Polish' group, she pointed out that they**

do not attack just foreigners, but also Germans. She expressed her feeling of helplessness in dealing with 'them' who attacked **even** her German husband:

Leipzig - 2:

Q: Did you experience anything yourself?

Cuba/F: Thanks to God, no. But unbelievably my German husband. Two Nazis attacked him violently. And he is German!!! What can then I . . .

Q: Do you feel anxiety about it?

Cuba/F: I do, I do. Because one does not ever know what these people are capable of. I fear not only for myself but also for my future children.

According to the local newspaper, in fact, the Neo-Nazis in Leipzig beat up and kill not only foreigners, but also the weak and marginalized, and members of alternative groups: not only a Hindu computer specialist on his first night in Leipzig, but also the homeless, the old, the handicapped, the gays, and, for example, a colorfully dressed teenage girl with braces.

A Vietnamese group participant continued in the same vein as the young Cuban woman. Note the word 'yet' in his first sentence which implies an expectation that also he could become a victim of Neo-Nazi violence one of these days. He was joined by an Angolan man and a Russian/Jewish/German pupil who experienced themselves or knew of right-wing violence directed at their people. The pupil emphasized that this is not just a youth problem - the kids think like their parents do. Their discussion showed that right-wing radicalism still looms large in Leipzig for the non-white people who constitute its prime victims. **Their skin color makes them vulnerable. They feel helpless about it. Their fear of right-wingers is accompanied by a feeling of hopelessness since neither police nor the courts offer any support, even though the city mayor calls for a tolerant, multi-cultural city. Although city officials welcome foreigners to Leipzig and take part in mass actions against racism and hostility against foreigners, they are helpless. They cannot protect. As a dark-skinned foreigner one is reduced to a private person who has to take precautions to protect oneself.**

Leipzig - 2:

Vietnam/M1: Myself I have not yet experienced anything of the kind. But many of my people [meine Landsleute]. They really fear these young men [Burschen]. . . These right-wing radicals who come from Wurzen [a town not far away from Leipzig, known for its Neo-

Nazis, supported by much of the town population], I know them too. They do not cause so much trouble. .

Russian-Jewish-German/pupil: I have not had any direct problems with Skinheads. I see them sitting in small groups in the city center. I do not feel anxiety when I have to pass by them, since the experience is that they become only dangerous when they are in a big group. Alone they do nothing. . . Seven years ago I lived in Johann-Georgi-Stadt, an in-between residence place for foreigners. There the concentration of hostility towards foreigners is greater. There I was physically attacked. . .

Angola/M: I believe that when he does not speak, he will be taken for a German because of the way he looks. That is an important point with which we are confronted each day.

Vietnam/M1: One must also understand that the affected foreigners are helpless because they cannot await any help from the police. Also in court they cannot expect any support. The big politics has tried to fight against hostility towards foreigners but at lower levels - police, public servants - nothing has changed. . . The legal system [Justiz] must show the way [muss ein Zeichen setzen]. . .

Angola/M: . . . I am a private person in this society and I do not see that anybody represents me. . . A friend of mine from Congo participated in a demonstration in the railroad station three years ago. The vice-city-mayor was also there. At some point the Skinheads came and threatened the vice-city-mayor that they would finish him if he would come again. He did not answer. He could not do anything. I do not see myself represented by anybody here. I can only try to avoid the worst streets after 10 p.m. There are so many discos here which I can enter, but also others which are not safe, and those I do not frequent. There are also streets in which I believe such [right-wing] people meet at a certain hour. I avoid this route. I so protect myself.

In the third group in Leipzig right-wing radicals were associated with anxiety which surfaced when one still lived in the foreigners-only house and saw arson attacks in Hoyeswerda on television or when they broke a window in a house in the Jewish cemetery and painted swastikas there.

Neo-Nazi, Political Parties and the Society

In general the view prevailed that politicians could develop programs - against unemployment and poverty, or for youth - which could undermine the right-wing

radicalism of the youth. At the same time it was argued that **politicians are ineffective** (as in Leipzig where the politics of tolerance pursued by the city mayor does not trickle down to the police/courts or when the SPD/the GREENS say they want to abolish unemployment, but do not) **or actually stir anti-foreigner sentiments** and in this way they create a political context in which it is easy for the Neo-Nazis to mushroom and appear legitimate. When politicians come up with specific slogans meant to boost the self-confidence of the German people, they let the evil giny out of the bottle without knowing how to tame it. In Berlin several group participants agreed that there is a close connection between the access of the CDU-FPD to power and the flare-ups of right-wing radicalism. In 1999 and 2000 in Stuttgart the CDU organized a campaign against the double citizenship, one group participant told the group. He went with a group of older Turks to see what was going on. He was shocked to hear people ask: 'Where can I sign against Turks here? Where can I sign against foreigners?' But he was relieved to see that the crowd consisted entirely of people who were over 50. He stated what also most other group participants in Stuttgart1 believe - only the older generations are hostile towards foreigners. They are the main carriers of the extreme right-wing radicalism.

A few people across different groups argued that **right-wing politics stretches or could be said to stretch beyond the Neo-Nazis and includes also the extreme right-wing political parties**, such as the Republicans. In some political units (for example, in Neuköln in West Berlin) the Neo-Nazis are the very voters who put the Republicans in power. These are not confined to some city districts as the Neo-Nazis, but also **present in some governments** (for example, in the community council in Stuttgart). Moreover, **the right-wing hostility towards foreigners is shared by many Germans - not only those in East Berlin or East Germany**.

In Berlin when the question came whether anybody was anxious about right-wing parties coming to power, young Polish woman responded: 'No, there are too many foreigners here.' While the men - the second Italian, the Polish and the Iranian - listed the examples of Schilly in Hamburg, Berlusconi in Italy and Le Pain in France to say 'It can happen.' The Iranian man said that when these three would co-operate, this would bring Europe to wake up. But, several group members said, in Berlin this is unthinkable. Worse is the situation in Germany - the young Polish woman said that during the last elections she was anxious that Stoiber/CDU would win. A minute later she added that she was not anxious since in such a case she would go back to Poland. The group agreed that:

Turkey/M: When politicians press the button, they are always there.

Iran/M: The anxiety is there in the wake of elections. When the CDU/FDP are in power, they become louder.

In this group the term right-wing clearly included the CDU-FDP as well as the local right-wing groups. The Turkish first generation guest worker stood for all those who see right-wing radicalism as dumb, drunk and under control. The Iranian political refugee stood for all those who see it as a threat, which can be triggered by the CDU/FDP, but which can possibly be brought under control when recognized (and approached with material offers).

The optimists believed that no right-wing or explicitly anti-foreigner party could come to power in their city or in Germany because political parties 'cannot afford it. One becomes so quickly nailed down for certain statements here [in Germany]. The Minister of Justice compares Hitler and Bush and must immmediately give up her job. These 50 years are not that as far away as it would seem, so people in power cannot afford something like that. . .' In effect, thanks to Hitler and the atrocities of the WWII, there is no threat that the extreme right-wing could take over in Germany.

The pessimists believed that even when politicians would forbid a demonstration or a political party with an extreme right-wing agenda, this would not help much. They referred to a debate which had raged in Germany about whether one should declare the NPD unconstitutional and whether this would undermine the extreme right-wing movement. The problem, they said, is to eliminate the extremist ideology [Gedankengut] and this cannot be accomplished by prohibiting a political party or such like. Rather the society should show civil courage. It should show by big demonstrations that it does not support the Neo-Nazis. In Leipzig the most famous of such big demonstrations 'TO SHOW ONE'S FACE' [Gesicht Zeigen] proved itself very successful. (So were the left-liberal mass demonstrations and candle-light people's chains in 1993.)

Counter-strategies

In most groups the word counter-strategies had to be explained or replaced before the answers that we were looking for came. Sometimes the difficulty seems to have been that people had denied the presence of discrimination before, so to speak of counter-strategies did not seem

logical. Where discrimination became an issue earlier on, many group participants still found the question unusual, had obviously not thought of their practices in these terms. In some, but not all groups with more educated people the question posed slightly less difficulties.

Interestingly, the Poles in Leipzig and the Dutch group participant in Stuttgart 'misunderstood' the question in the same way. They answered it by telling us how they defend themselves against accusations directed at them back home. In Poland and Holland the memory of the WWII is still very intense. Germans are still thought of as the aggressors and murderers who caused great suffering. A Pole or a Dutch person who moves to Germany is seen as disloyal, no patriot, perhaps even a traitor. Anyhow, Polish and Dutch people feel they have to counter prejudices that they encounter when they talk to the people from their country of origin. They end up defending Germans and Germany when they meet with their family and friends.

We were told time and again that for most counter-strategies good knowledge of the German language and a lot of self-confidence are required. They can be thus developed first after a few years during which one suffers frequent insults, harrassment, theft, etc. Some counter-strategies can be used by single individuals, others require a collective effort. They vary very much in the level of aggression they require or imply. Counter-aggression surfaces where we would the least suspect it. Let me start then with counter-strategies which focus on language.

Verbal Defense

In the 'all-Polish' and several other groups, it was said that as long as one did not know the language one felt very vulnerable and helpless. One suffered very much without being able to defend oneself. Now that one knows the language the hurt is not as deep because one can respond. The contrast between 'then' and 'now' was made by very many first generation migrants and political refugees. As long as one does not know the language [and the new context] well, one feels very uncertain and anxious. One does not dare to say anything loud. One lacks the self-confidence and the skills necessary to defend oneself. **Advanced language skills boost one's self-confidence and help switching to more assertive self-defense strategies**:

Köln 1, Iran/F: . . . I now know the law a bit and the society a bit, so if something happens to me, I can now speak [up], not as earlier let it be because I thought that I could not speak very well. This I did quite a lot ten years ago, but now I do not do it . . . It does not matter what the issue is, I fight! I express my opinion and. . . this helps. But for many people with whom I work. . . it is like for me ten years ago. They do not defend themselves, they do not say anything. When I ask: 'Why don't you say anything?' [they answer:] 'My pronounciation is not good, I do not know how this will be seen.' And they have such a strong complex of inferiority, just as I felt ten years ago. . . But today I do not even think about it. . . It depends on us, I must add. It is not only the German society. . . If you behave differently, it is responded to differently. . .

There are many forms verbal defense takes. It can range from very mild to very aggressive forms of counter-attack.

A Polish group participant told us that when she is confronted with prejudice she always mobilizes herself to 'enlighten' the prejudiced Germans, tell them they should not generalize or work with prejudiced vision of other people. She feels that this is her burden, but also her 'mission'. She sees herself as the representative of her people:

Leipzig 1 - Poland/F: . . . it occurs now and then that one meets people who insult one . . . As a foreigner one must constantly prove oneself. One always has to enlighten people. I find that I always must... One is in a group of people and then. . . they talk about foreigners, a bit disparagingly, or some throw around catchwords -- whereby they do not even reflect upon what it is they are saying, then I find myself again 'in action': I have to enlighten people. This is a burden. . .

Upon a deeper reflection I decided that the next form of defense is in fact very aggressive and should not be seen from the point of view of the narrator who portrays it as an innocent game. Switching from the language of one's parents to German constitutes a tough counter-attack, since many German racists/prejudiced person associate being German with a good command of the German language. An even stronger defense weapon is speaking local or regional dialect, since this demonstrates to the hostile passer-by that one grew up in the vicinity. Both 'high' German and the dialect force upon the hostile parties a *Gestalt*-switch. They communicate the following: 'You are a fool. You took me for a stranger, but in fact I belong. I am as German as you because I have a perfect command of your language'. The *Gestalt*-switch is unsettling. It is in fact an act of counter-aggression because it pinpoints the

prejudiced person as the one in the wrong. It challenges the routine ways of thinking and unsettles everyday assumptions about the world. It calls for re-thinking: It forces the hostile German to stop and reconsider:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: When one is with the family in the stores or the street, then one senses often that one is stared upon. And my youngsters, they convert it into fun [*sie machen sich sehr oft Spaß daraus*]. They speak Polish for a while and when a stupid remark comes, they then turn around and give an answer in beautiful Saxonian [that is, in the regional dialect]. This is fun that one can afford only when one has a good command of the language. . .

Language is a major weapon in dealing not only with passers-by, but also sales clerks as well as the representatives of German institutions:

Köln - 1, Iran/F1: . . .Twelve years ago I was in *Kaufland*. . . and bought some things. I counted, 10-12 Marks. And I gave 100 Marks and the woman gave me only 21 Marks back. . . I could speak very little German, but I thought: 'This cannot be.' This had happened to me before but I had said nothing because only 1-2 Marks were missing. But this time around (she laughs), it was too much. And so I said that she gave me wrong change and such like - things that I knew how to say. She was mad and began to discuss with me. . . And there were so many people behind me, I felt so ashamed. I thought: 'Oh, my God. . . this is so embarassing. . .' And finally I got my money back. But this was so hard, so hard. But today. . . even when it is a difference of 10 Cent, I say immediately: 'Your calculation is wrong.' . . . and this becomes accepted. . . is effective.

A witty and elegant reply brings as much satisfaction as sharing the story with family and friends afterwards. It replaces the hopeless feeling of helplessness which a discriminated foreigner who does not know the language carries around for days and weeks afterwards:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: . . . I feel the most offended by people who have a say. . . are intelligent, are in position of authority. This happened when I went to the City Hall with the passports of my children after the *Wende*. They still did not have their German citizenship. A public servant said to me: 'The first names of your children indicate foreigners.' And then I said: 'Do you have something against foreigners?'. He said: 'I could make Thomas out of Tomasz and Lucie out of Lucyna.' To which I replied: 'When you change first names of all Germans who are called Janet and Mike and Jacquiline, then I will come again, then I will also change the names of my children.' . . . Why can a German be called Mike but a Pole cannot be called Krzysztof?

Verbal defense should be contrasted with a sense of defeat constantly felt otherwise. Imagine that you can speak German - fluently so, but are so intimidated that you give up speaking your second native language. A Russian German woman, who according to the German law is a *Statusdeutsche*, rarely contributed to the group discussion. She spoke up when discrimination came up as a topic. After naming a successful defense strategy, she mentioned right-wing radicals: 'I do not see any, but I do not speak Russian in the street-car. That is why this is no problem. The Germans do not want that we speak Russian. One can tell by looking at us anyhow that we are Russian.' To her mind right-wing radicals and Germans, who reject Russian Germans, are both of the same cloth. Her silence in the street-car communicated her sense of defeat.

The Mass Media and the Courts

In one of the groups in Köln, when the stories about hostile professor were told, one group participate reacted with 'This type of story I would have told *Bild* because it fights for such stories. (general laughter). . . **With this expression "I will go to *Bild*" one achieves results**. It turns people inside out.'

In the same group a couple of participants named **going to court as another strategy**: a Turkish student who told us about the professor who despised and persecuted Turkish women advised one of them to take him to court. A Croatian student in fact hired a lawyer to help him fight against the University of Bonn and its decision not to recognize his native diploma, although his school stood on the list of the recognized schools.

In the same group **knowing one's own social and political rights was named several times as a key precondition for self-assertion**. The statements that followed showed that this is often not enough. One also has to know how to argue to achieve the application of these rights. A second generation Italian man in the first group in Köln stated that he uses German language as a weapon with which he 'de-constructs' what his speaker says. He talks him into the ground until his opponent cannot breathe anymore. He stops first when told that he was right in the first place: 'Because I want to have my rights and I know the law in Germany, I know the culture, I know the social system. For this reason nobody can fool me. . .'

German Neighbors, Friends and Partners

Friendly Germans are a great resource in dealing with the hostile ones. An Angolan group participant said in Leipzig that when confronted with discrimination, he tries to make clear that he has the same rights as the discriminating person: 'And when possible, I draw in a neighbor in, to make [discrimination] known.'

In particular when speaking about discrimination on the housing market, sending a German friend or partner to the landlord, was mentioned as a less (Stuttgart) or more (Berlin) conscious strategy:

Berlin/Italy/M1: When one is German or sends a German partner ahead, then there are no problems. Many do that. But my friends from Italy have problems.

Emotion Management

In a group in Stuttgart the general agreement was that **when nasty questions or remarks come, one should distantiate oneself from the situation** and then: reply in a witty manner, discuss the issue previously having learnt about it, recommend a specific text on the topic, ask based on which readings the hostile person formed his opinion, etc.etc.

Several people pointed out that knowing what to do and/or remaining in control was very difficult at first. A Croatian male participant recalled that when he was a teenager, he took it much to heart, when he became confronted with prejudice and hostility. He also needed longer to figure out how to react. Now he can better distinguish friendly from truly hostile questions and often responds with wit. A Turkish male participant said that he 'earlier experienced difficulties in such situations. . . One did not know where to start, how to explain.' As his previous speaker, he stressed that he now can better pinpoint hostile persons. With these he does not become involved in a serious discussion, but instead asks them where their information comes from. A Greek male participant said that at first reacted with hurt and 'Shitty German'[Scheißdeutscher], but then one just did not let be bothered: 'One learns to live with it. And I do not want to invest too many emotions in things about which I know for sure that they will anyhow take place. One lives to learn it'. A female Greek-Italian group participant seconded this: 'Especially when I am with my sister who is darker and then some stupid comments come, then one says: "Well, what can you expect from a German

ignoramous!" One tries to rise above them, [put them down by thinking]: "Typical German" [typisch Deutsch].'

As these excerpts show specific concepts, such as *shitty German* or *typical German* or *every single one of them, an idiot* help to manage one's emotions, to rise one's self above the opponent, to remain in control. Certain stereotypic images of Germans (a German 'Papa, mass tourist' who runs down before breakfast to the swimming-pool to reserve reclining chairs for his entire family by spreading towels over them) play the same role. Upper middle class Germans who want to show superiority towards their fellow lower class Germans rely on this image as well. That is why one can say that this is a shared, German-migrant status-upgrading strategy. Interestingly, the use of these concepts and images as instruments of self-assertion was the most pronounced in Stuttgart and did not occur in Leipzig at all.

An Italian man in the group in Berlin said that he employed **irony** in dealing with hostile sales clerks. Irony helped to keep calm: 'Does your boss know that you are hostile towards foreigners?'

Achievement

In the Stuttgart group several people agreed that **becoming good pupils and students, setting high goals for oneself, was their way of fighting the prejudice and hostility** (see Education). Some of them emphasized that one sets these standards for oneself rather than orienting oneself to competition with Germans. After a while **'this runs on the automatic pilot' also in the occupational life.**

Counter-Violence and Reverse Discrimination - Just a Matter of Jokes?

As I suggested in earlier sections usually somebody in a group mentioned the possibility of blending with the crowd or of **'passing'** as a German as an avoidance strategy. In presenting their various counter-strategies several group participants emphasized that they **never become aggressive**. **These responses to discrimination constitute one reaction pole. The other reaction pole is the use of violence**.

Was it really a joke when a first generation Turkish guest worker said 'The state does not protect me. I have to protect myself. I **buy a gun**, what else!' Was it really another joke when a second generation Greek said that **if no arguments help, one reaches for the knife**?

When the Turkish students in a group in Köln told the group about the university professor who persecuted foreigners and specialized in verbal assaults against Turkish women, they also mentioned that he landed in a hospital several times. Friends and boyfriends of the harrassed Turkish women looked him up, **gave him a piece of their minds and/or beat him up**.

Relying on One's own Resources

Many **foreigner organizations** have sprang up to offer German language courses, basic information and advice as well as to provide direct assistance to the fellow foreigners - mostly, but not necessarily, of the same national origin. Many engage also in integration efforts. Their officers and/or employees often visit the state and city authorities with the wronged or needy person to provide language/expert assistance. **But there are too few to make a real difference. Those who need them often do not even know of their existence**. The Vietnamese association in Leipzig seemed to offer the widest range of services. As a young Vietnamese woman in the third, mixed group told us, this association helps 'simply with everything'. It provides translations of the German press articles, finds one an apartment, supplies a translator who accompanies one to the work mediation office, gives work, etc.

These collective strategies are paralled by **individual efforts** and strategies. In the second group in Stuttgart a Turkish participant mentioned that some Turks reacted to discrimination by buying houses which they then rented out to other Turks. In the same group a woman from Kurdistan/Turkey told us how she looks for the apartments for her employees - because she cannot be happy about her successes when she sees their misery. In an individual interview a second generation Italian woman from Köln told me that she had bought an apartment in a multicultural neighborhood, populated by people in her own age group, where she could feel well.

In Leipzig, Berlin and Köln Russians and Turks are said to have opened their own discos into which Germans are not allowed. I assume that the door-keepers do their jobs exactly like the German ones elsewhere.

To recognize these actions as defensive strategies is important in view of the scientific literature and a very widespread belief in Germany according to which ethnic ghettoes emerge because 'these people are incapable of integrating'.

Naturalization and Working from Within

Several group participants mentioned that becoming a German citizenship improved their life quality. They noticed that they were better treated at the bank, at the post office, by the authorities in general:

Köln - 1, Iran/F1: . . . [at the post office] when I received a package or a recommended letter, each time they wanted to see an I.D. or a passport, each time they would look at it strangely, page through several times without understanding a thing. When I went there with my German passport for the first time, I noticed first afterwards how different it was. All of a sudden they were very well-mannered. So I realized that until then I had been treated like a 2nd class citizen by all state institutions. It was identical at the bank. . .

Such seemingly disparate persons as a first generation Turkish guest worker in a group in Köln and a Vietnamese doctor in a group in Leipzig argued that many foreigners should/ in fact do acquire German passports as a way of defending themselves against discrimination. The Vietnamese doctor added that many people acquired German citizenship not because they felt German - which given the different trends in the German society was rather difficult - but **to avoid deportation**:

Leipzig - 2,Vietnam/M1: . . . Many foreigners believe that if they have the German passport, then they do not have to fear deportation any more. . . They are not convinced that they are German, but instead have quite other motives. In the US there are also yellow and black people who say 'I am an American'. It is not so easy to say this in Germany. It is a sign of different trends in society.

A Vietnamese and a Russian Jewish woman from the third Leipzig group both named **the fear of deportation as one of the reasons for wanting a German passport**:

Leipzig - 3, Vietnam/F: . . would like to have two citizenships. . . it would be nicer with a German passport: if the politics changes, perhaps we have to go back. . . If they switched to new politics 'All Foreigners Out', it would be a catastrophe.

Leipzig - 3, Russian/Jewish/F: We applied for naturalization . . . The Ukrainian passport I do not want any more. I have experienced so many bad things in the Ukraine. . . Sometimes I feel anxious that we will be deported. . .

While the Turkish worker argued in addition for **going into the German trade unions and political parties to fight for more tolerance from within**, the several participants in Köln1 and Stuttgart2 as well as the Vietnamese doctor in Leipzig2 argued for the **benefits of engaging in cultural work**. Many more group participants saw **the German passport as a weapon**, although not all were willing to naturalize in order to use it and others doubted that it made much difference. Many also were already engaged in cultural and political activities meant to increase the integration and to raise consciousness of Germans about German foreigners, their good qualities and their problems. But the view that one should go into the trade unions and political parties to work through them to improve the situation was only expressed once - was clearly a minority view in our groups. On the contrary, some people countered the idea of acquiring a passport to exercise voting rights, by saying that even if they had the voting right, there was no party on which they were willing to vote.

Notions of Success

This was not an issue which caused lively discussions in every group. Yet it made clear how **relative a sense of accomplishment and satisfaction** is. In some groups participants exemplified success with a vision of a **self-made man or a boss, while others spoke of normal, but worryless life**. Many agreed that having a job and an apartment (and educational opportunities for one's self and children) were the basic prerequisites of success. In Köln in particular it was pointed out that all this is presupposed by some knowledge of the German language, culture and social system - a resource not offered to new migrants and hard to come by.

For many 'comparativists' the frame of reference is the suffering prior to coming to Germany. A Russian Jewish woman from Leipzig did not feel well when thinking about

Neo-Nazi demonstrations or such slogans as 'Foreigners Out', but found everything else fine, she said, because her family had an apartment, she and her husband worked, and their children studied at the university. They could freely exercise their religious rights. Back in the Ukraine, they had to move seven times, had lived in a garage with no light or heat. That neither she nor husband now worked in their original occupations, that they now had manual jobs, mattered less by comparison. Her formula of success was: work for parents, apartment, studies for children.

A political refugee said (in her individual interview and in the group) that she was happy not to be imprisoned and to have escaped with her life from Iran. Everything else paled in comparison. For political refugees the problem often is that they live in the country that granted them asylum but think of their own country. First when they decide to orient themselves to their new country, do they have a chance. She felt good about her occupational and leisure time accomplishments as a computer specialist and a skiing instructor which made clear that Germans accepted her the way she was. She had proven herself in both areas. Moreover, she took the opportunity in hand to emancipate herself from the oppressive Iranian way of dealing with women. In the group interview she made clear that simply earning one's own living and living without big worries was a success:

Köln - 1, Iran/F2: . . .[for many political refugees] the problems stem from clinging to things of the past. Important is our life here, our daily problems here and what I want to achieve here. I want to work here, I want to earn my own living, simply to live without big worries. And I am successful when I accomplish this.

In Stuttgart2 a retired first generation Turkish guest worker, who decided relatively early on that his life was to take place in Germany and not in Turkey, emphasized that he was atypical. He - and many others - thought that many, many first generation guest workers who orientated themselves to their home countries, made the mistake of sending most of their money home, while they lived here in sub-standard conditions and did not care about the education of their children, etc. In effect they spent most of their lives being miserable. For some the realisation of what they had done came much too late:

Köln -1, Italy/M: It is a point that holds for many foreigners: the realization comes very, very late that they live here and will in the future also live here since they have no future back home. It was so with my parents who said after 25 years: 'We have now sent hundreds and thousands of Mark down there, have a huge house, this and the other, but what good does it

bring us? Here we have the same costs one more time, pay apartment rent. Had we invested the money here, we would have been now well-off. . .' This realization comes to many foreigners too late. If at all...

In Stuttgart in both groups much concern was expressed about the retired first generation guest workers. Some never earned enough for their dream of a successful return home, just enough to support themselves here. Many of them are now retired and miserable. They have the most problems - with poverty and/health, are true victims of processes which led to migration, but receive the least help. Why they nevertheless stay in Germany is explained in part by the realization that after having been aways for so long they would be strangers back home, but also by the next definition of success.

The second group of 'comparativists' consisted of several people in the second group in Stuttgart and also in Köln. They made relatively simple comparisons with things in their country of origin. **They did not compare what was with what is, but the present-day state of affairs in Germany and in their place of origin. They basically argued that one's life in Germany is simple and beautiful, that it would be complicated to go back and learn the conduct rules anew (not to mention accepting again the conservative ways which one already abandoned) and that it was a success to simply live here:**

Stuttgart - 2:

Croatia/M: Here you live a beautiful life and you know how to behave. Over there the rules are different. One would have to re-adjust.

Turkey/M2: Daily life [Alltag] makes one satisfied here. There everything is a problem.

Croatia/M: Even such a thing as equal treatment by doctors. This is good here. In Croatia when you do not have money, you can forget it. . .

An individual interview with a first generation Turkish guest worker brought these ideas into an even sharper relief. He decided to apply for German citizenship when visiting his family in Turkey during the Iraqi-Iranian conflict. He saw on TV how within hours air-conditioned buses moved German citizens away from the danger zone. In contrast Iraqi citizens waited day after day in the burning sun for a decision of their government. This contrast was a trigger. He decided to become a citizen of a developed country which could offer a high standard of living and a high level of security to its citizens. And this is what he did upon his return.

In contrast, a first generation Italian female migrant (Stuttgart2) did not use her place of origin but rather **Germany as her present frame of reference. She represents the 'involved'**

foreigner type. For her **success meant becoming a co-citizen**, working for more support from the state for foreigners with respect to language courses, diploma recognition, etc.etc. - everything that could help their sense of being welcome co-citizens. She added: 'I am in the SPD and in an Italian party. I feel like one of the citizens. I sit next to my female companions, I find this OK.' In her mind **success is associated with equality and civic involvement on equal terms with German citizens**. The fact that she was elected by her people and that she represents them in the foreigner council of the city fills her with pride: 'And one chose me!' She represents a foreigner type which we could call **the 'embassador'**. Representing their group or foreigners as such brought a sense of enjoyed equality with German citizens. In a mixed group of highly educated in Leipzig the 'embassador' was a Russian Jew who listed not only Jewish, but also mutli-ethnic and international associations to which he belongs and which represent foreigners. Also the Vietnamese doctor belonged to this category. It seems that there are no constraints on the recruitment of 'embassadors' - they come from a number of national or ethnic groups living in Germany.

Most second generation migrants said that their own **occupational successes** (Stuttgart1) were important to them. These '**individualists**' can freely develop in Germany. A couple of Italians (Berlin) pinpointed that living **a free life style** (and, by implication, escaping the narrow-minded confines of their home) was a measure of their success.

But even second generation migrants did not escape the 'comparativist' bend, it seems to me. Both in Köln and Stuttgart they mentioned or implied that they did much better than their parents' generation, and, it was obvious in Stuttgart that they had high hopes for the future. The first generation lived in barracks, had not much education or leisure time, they had a poor command of the German language. In comparison - so the implication - their children are doing very well. They pursue university studies, have jobs, nice apartments, know the language and the law, and can defend themselves.

Some of them are involved in the civic/foreigner affairs in their city and find current civic bodies representing foreigners lacking. In Stuttgart in particular the generation gap was wide. These 'individualists' of the present-day, who already are members of various ethnic associations, are the full-time 'embassadors' of the future.

Some first and second generation migrants added that it was important to see successful foreigners advance to **leading positions in business** - which they in fact were hindered from doing. Others countered with that **the spread over different occupations**, including public

service and the mass media (Leipzig1, Stuttgart1) was more important. Let me cite one more time the Stuttgart1 group which actually switched from 'discrimination at the top' to 'success stories' all on its own:

Stuttgart - 1

Turkey/M1: Concerning job search, there are no problems. On the contrary, one has also advantages when one applies for jobs at international firms and can show intercultural competence. . . I mean German firms which are active internationally, such as Siemens or Daimler.

Greece/M: Much is defined in terms of achievement. But one does not advance. Own people are then preferred. Especially among the bosses it is not usual to find foreigners. I am doing my Ph.D. right now and looking for jobs with big companies. I have this feeling that Germans are preferred.

Greece-Italy/F: We are the young generation, we have studied and have a perfect command of the language. And this will come. These are the reasons why the higher posts are still not occupied by us.

Turkey/M2: I believe that she is right. This will come. We have the first TV actor [Fernseherkommisar] the first comedians and in different enterprises among the bosses there are people with migrant background. The people who came here forty years ago did not have the education. Young people now have a chance to move in.

Q: What are typical success stories?

. . . Most are successful as self-employed. Mostly in the service sector, restaurants, etc.

Turkey/M1: . . . It is spread all over different branches. Even in science and arts.

Turkey/M2: It is not even so important that they all are among the bosses. The point is the spread to all societal areas.

Croatia/M: Or the police. These we have, however, first since 3-4 years.

Greece/M: Are they still foreigners?

Croatia/M: I believe that they now can [work] with a foreign passport.

Greece/F: But only as a regular employee, since Germany is the only state with the public servant status [required for specific position-holders within the state administration, self-employed doctors, etc.]

Turkey/M1: I know one police woman here in Stuttgart. She is mainly accepted because she can investigate with ease cases in which Turks are involved. That is why these people are highly respected.

A few people - one Italian (Köln1), one Vietnamese (Leipzig3) and one from Kurdistan/Turkey (Stuttgart2) mentioned **successful businesses** as the ideal that they had as a goal or achieved themselves.

Köln - 1, Italy/M: An example would be an acquiantance of mine. Italian, 48 years old. Had studied Journalism and Tourism in the UK and then came to Köln. He started with a small travel agency 15 years ago, grew and now. . . sells bus trips, especially to Italy, to groups and travel agencies. . . He also has a tourism-marketing agency and is in the office only one week every two months. The rest of the time he is Italy, makes contracts, moves up.

Leipzig - 3, Vietnam/F: There are some Vietnamese who are very successful. They studied here. Then they learnt textile-industry back home. They now move wares between Vietnam and Germany, have many stores. This is also my goal. (based on notes)
One success story, a self-made woman with little education, was **'a hero for her own people'**, as she whispered to me while her discussion group moved onto a different topic:

Stuttgart - 2, Kurdistan/Turkey/F: I began when I was 25 years old. I set up my own [design] business with little prior knowledge. I now have many employees, I achieved a lot. Had I stayed home, I would have achieved nothing. I brought in my capital here, bought several houses. I still do not feel happy because [my people] have problems.(based on notes)

Sense of Belonging and Passports

Perhaps the most remarkable finding was that many foreigners we talked with feel very strongly and very positively about the cities in which they live. **Their cities are their home**. In Köln one participant made clear that he was a 'Kölner' (even though he came to Köln first as a child). Also for others Köln was their home. They recalled that when they came back from vacation they were deeply moved by the sight of the cathedral - a prime symbol of the city. First generation migrants in Stuttgart defined themselves as locals, as co-citizens. In contrast most second generation migrants said that their identities were split, but they all made Stuttgart their home. The same went for most group participants in Berlin. Even in Leipzig at least some people felt very much at home, while others wished that it would become more like the west German cities - more tolerant:

Köln - 1

Iran/F2: I had lived in Bonn, Karlsruhe and then in Köln. I like Köln best. I like living here very much. . . the culture and the people.

Italy/M: But in such a case, I have to say 'attention!' The Kölners are friendly, direct and very superficial (everybody laughs). You can drink Kölsch [local beer] together with a Kölner and then they do not greet you in the street. So, careful with Kölners! I am a born Kölner [and I should know]. . .

Italy/M: My home is where my bed is. My home is where my mind comes from. I grew up here in Germany, all my memories come from and take place in Germany. . . I cannot remember what took place in Italy during this one year when I went to school there. So only Germany can be my home [Heimat]. I know that I am Italian, in my heart I sense things Italian, especially when I am with Germans, but I cannot say that Italy is my home [Heimat]. My home [Heimat] is Germany, is Köln.

Iran/F2: I am home in Köln. . . It is a question of what I want to do and that I also want to achieve it all here.

Stuttgart - 1, Turkey/M/student: I am Swabian [Schwab] and a Stuttgarter.

Berlin, Poland/M: My home is here, although I am a proud Pole.

Berlin, Italy/M1: It is not a question of geography, of a nation-state, where you [happen to] feel well. . . Well, I am a foreigner, but there where I want to be . . .

Berlin, Italy/M2: . . . I feel well here. I just spent four days in Sicily and this was more than enough (everybody laughs). I said to myself: 'Now I want to go back home.' And to be exact, home is here. Here I have my apartment, my furniture, my books, my friends. . .

Berlin, Turkey/M: . . . there is a proverb: 'Although I am born somewhere, my home is where I can still my hunger [wo ich satt werde].'

For the first generation migrants it was clear that even if they held onto their nationality, the years spent in Germany marked them. They still had their families and contacts back home, but their good friends were now in Germany. They also **lost friendships and their cultural roots**:

Leipzig - 2, Vietnam/M: . . . people lose their original cultural roots. This is my problem because I no longer live there. After four years I went back to Vietnam and one did not

discriminate against me but I had missed many opportunities. This is true for many people. Double citizenship does not solve this particular problem.

Berlin, Italy/M2: . . . it is like you say, one loses contact not only with friends, but also with family. . . And then. . . you become the stranger in Italy, you are the German, you are away. . .

For many of those who came here as children Germany is home, while they see themselves as strangers in the country of heir parents. The next speaker is a carrier of an Italian passport. Already his statement makes clear that one's sense of belonging and one's passport do not correlate:

Köln -1, Italy/M: . . . I am not a stranger here in Germany. But in Italy I am a stranger. If I went to Italy to work, I would be a migrant. I would have problems with authorities, culture, social services (laughs). How I treat my family, also the youth. . . My home [Heimat] is Germany, is Köln.

Who am I? Certainly not a Question of a Passport but rather of Acceptance

In Leipzig the communicated sense of **disorientation** and **estrangement** was perhaps the greatest, even among the Poles who have lived in Leipzig for decades and who earlier on in the discussion claimed that they felt well in Leipzig and felt a great sense of belonging at their places of work. The following excerpt illustrates well an extreme sense of identity loss accompanied by a sense of injustice. Even though one has worked, lived and paid taxes in Germany for a very long time, this is not acknowledged. Neither is one given an I.D. which confirms one's status as a long-standing, deserving member of the community nor is one even consulted about whether one perhaps wishes to have one's status acknowledged in some way:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: It disturbs me ever more since the *Wende* that when I would fall down and would have only my passport on me, nobody would know who I am. I am a null. There is no address, nothing inside [the passport]. . . And this disturbs me . . . (one person starts laughing, some other join in: 'Why do you need this I.D. for?') One should be able to identify oneself somehow. . . It should say my name, where I live, that I live here long. . . One should be able to identify oneself somehow. One does not ask us. We pay taxes as every German. . . We have obligations, but rights??? We should have an I.D. so that we can identify ourselves.

Some participants in the 'all-Polish' group felt very Polish, even though they were German passport-holders. Others said they felt 'like a native', but had held on to their Polish passports. The woman cited above who engaged in a long monologue about how she wished she had an I.D. which would identify her as a long-term resident of Leipzig initiated a long discussion about whether and where one belonged. **Feelings about own nationality do not go along with the passport's nationality**. All agreed that no matter which passport they carried, neither in Germany nor in Poland could they count on much understanding or institutional support. They found themselves in no man's land. Nobody wanted to take responsibility for them.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F1: In Germany I am a foreigner and in Poland, although I have a Polish passport, I am also treated like a foreigner. Who am I anyhow? I would like to belong somewhere: the older one gets, the more important it becomes.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F2: I have a German passport but feel Polish. I am no German.

Some people could not understand why their children, in contrast to *Statusdeutsche*, could not have two passports. **Irritation about the inconsistencies of the German naturalization system with respect to double citizenship** was not confined to this particular speaker, but instead articulated in several other discussion groups:

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F3: Why cannot my children who are half Polish have two passports??? . . . If I had a German passport and went somewhere and opened my mouth, they would know that I am not a German. That is why [my passport] does not matter. But I do not find [the right of *Statusdeutsche* to the Polish and German passport] just. Because of a passport I would not have felt integrated. I feel like a native, have lived here 30 years, longer than in Poland. . . Which passport [I have] does not matter to me, I just find it unjust. . . he can keep his Polish citizenship while I do not. . .

Their Cuban or Angolan counterparts did not feel German because Germans stayed aloof and cold (see previous sections), did not make them feel at home. A German passport bestows legitimacy in Germany, helps to deal with German authorities, but is a hindrance back home. It certainly does not change one's self-definition nor secures social acceptance. **A German passport does not determine one's identity. Lack of social acceptance does. It makes one cling to one's original identity:**

Leipzig - 2, Cuba/F: Yes, yes, I have integrated to such an extent that I do not recognize myself anymore. . . (later on the issue of passports) . . . For me it would be wonderful to have both passports. As a Cuban and as a German. I cannot fly with my German passport to Cuba, for example, because the political system there is different. But I would not like to give up my Cuban passport. Cuba is my home, my family, my sun! Everything is there. I am here for love and because I wanted a better future. But I do not belong here. Everything in me says it. I am not German. And I would not like to become German either.

Leipzig - 2, Angola/M: . . . a German passport does not bring more societal acceptance. It is not so. It is a piece of paper. I would have been legitimate, but still excluded [ausgegrenzt]. For this reason this piece of paper is senseless [lohnt sich nicht]. . . If I had two passports I would have felt better. If I only had a German passport, I still would be a foreigner here and when I would fly back home, also a foreigner. Where do I then belong? My identity would be gone.

In the first group in Stuttgart, where **one-half and second generation** migrants predominated, most **felt split between or carry a composite of different national identities. Most voted for a double citizenship. In a strong contrast to their Cuban and Angolan counterparts in Leipzig, they saw it as a sign of basic acceptance, as a key to social integration**:

Stuttgart - 1

Greek-Italian/F: The discussion who we really are I already had with my female fellow students. We defined ourselves as 'loud bastards.' The second generation feels pulled both ways. For example . . . during the world championships. My heart beats 70% Greek and the rest divides itself. One has to decide for something: that I now live here and that make me a home here. When I see something Greek on television, my eyes swell up with tears. . . And I do not feel Swabian either.

Turkey/M/student: I took the best from both cultures. I cannot say whether I am Turkish or German.

Greek/M: I have compared it to a computer once. My system is Greek but I have several software programs: German (laughter). Once I read a book with a title: 'What is the Plural of Home?'

Greek-Italian/F: In which language do you dream?

Croatia/M: I think in German really and dream some in Croation. My wife is Croation. My children have both citizenships. My true home is Croatia. I identify with it. . . I will live there again some day. . .

Greek-Italian/F: Many say so. . . and then they marry and do not come away.

Q: As far as passports are concerned, what would be the best rule?

Greek-Italian/F: An EU-Passport.

Croatia/M: That everybody has an I.D. and can go wherever he wants to. . .

Turkey/M/student: I am for mutliple citizenship. I have lived here with two passports for twenty years and have had no problems so far. Neither with the military service nor with loyalty. . . Double citizenship is fine for me. I do not see any identity problem therein. Identity cannot be settled by a piece of plastic, it is a matter of one's mind. And to the mind it is important that I am accepted, can vote and travel. . .

Turkey/M2: . . . I would like both passports.

Greek/M: It would be good if we had both passports. . . I did military service in Greece and met some men from the US and Canada who could have both passports at birth. The Canadian says he feels Canadian. The other feels first American and then Greek. They were very well integrated from the very beginning.

Turkey/M1: It is a sign of acceptance. . .

Greek/M: They did not have to think about such things from the very beginning. They had both passports and no problems.

Voting Rights

As far as **voting rights** were concerned, **two contrary arguments** became pitted against each other. They were quite simple. On the one hand, there was the view that **if one has obligations and pays taxes here, then one should also have the right to vote**. On the other hand, there was the view that **one is a guest and should behave like one, not demanding more than the law offers**. Those who wanted voting rights, sometimes meant the national, more often the local vote. In Köln somebody praised **the Dutch model** which provides language instruction, allows naturalization given sufficient knowledge of the language in 5 years and grants local voting rights. Some argued that if their countries are allowed to join **the EU**, current problems will evaporate. Below examples of the argument that one deserves to vote if one pays taxes:

Stuttgart - 1, Turkey/M/student: . . . there are 2.5-3 million Turks, the largest, not participating minority. It is a crucial thing that at least a communal voting right should be provided. Even better would be a double citizenship.

Leipzig - 1, Poland/F: . . . A passport is enough for me. What disturbs me, for example, is that I cannot vote, although I pay taxes here, have the same obligations. This disturbs me. That I cannot co-decide.

Berlin:
Q: . . . Are there any rights or perhaps also obligations which you would like to have?

Everybody: Voting.

Q: Voting? What voting?

Poland/F: Most of all at the local level, I find. Also when one is no German, but lives here for a long time, has unlimited residence right. . .

The following exchange exemplifies two positions: idea that foreigners should demand more, also the vote, and the idea that foreigners should behave like well-mannered guests observing the rules imposed by the host:

Leipzig - 2

Vietnam/M: . . . the naturalization barrier has been very high. . . German politics does not do much for active naturalization. . .

Russian-Jewish/M: . . . it was our choice to come here and we have to adjust to the existing rules. We should not complain that America ist better. If so, then one should go to America. I do not tell you this, but myself. Because this is one clear rule for me how I should behave. I have to accept the rules, not the rules me.

Inadvertedly, when discussing acceptance/integration problems, the vote or the double citizenship, group participants **compared Germany to the US and Canada**, where finding acceptance, even integration, was said to be easier. They were always rebuked by somebody who argued that Germany is not an immigration country and therefore should not be compared to the true immigration countries. The argument that one should not compare Germany to the immigration countries was always used to say Germany was not so bad after all or to argue against the demands for more acceptance or rights:

Leipzig - 2, Russian-Jewish/M: . . . One should not compare Germany with other countries, America, Canada or Australia. It is a completely different tradition, a completely different principle. These three countries were immigration countries from the very beginning. . . We have to stay in Europe with our comparisons. . . It was our choice to come here and we have to adjust to the existing rules.

In a couple of cases it was then pointed out that Germany was a *de facto* immigration land, even if politicians only recently admitted this.

Comparing Germany to Italy, France and Poland (for comparisons with Iran or the Ukraine, see: Notions of Success) produced much better results. In Berlin one Italian group participant kept returning to one point: Germany is more hospitable than the others in the group think. Germans are for sure more tolerant than the narrow-minded Italians, who are facing immigration for the first time in their history and instead of protecting migrants with laws leave them vulnerable and exposed to the racist population. Germans are also more tolerant and curious of other countries than the conceited French who still think that they are the navel of the world. He was seconded by a Pole, who was 'a foreigner/Pole and proud about it too', who argued that he rejected being a Polish patriot because his countrymen refuse to admit to their war- and post-war antisemitism and because the Polish state is no *Rechtsstaat* in which one can peacefully sleep through the night trusting that the next day will bring no legal surprises. In contrast Germans do a lot to confront their past and Germany is a true *Rechtsstaat*. **The only in-European comparison country which made Germany look worse was Holland, since it understood the need for language courses, speedy naturalization and (local) voting rights.**

Reforms – What Should be Changed to Improve Chances of Integration?

In each group we ended the discussion with questions pertaining to **wishes**, reforms, ideas for improvements. **In most groups a need for supportive-advisory bodies, free or inexpensive German language courses, respectful treatment by the public authorities, voting rights (see above), decision-making representative foreigner councils, basic rights, etc. - were mentioned**.

'A House of Many Languages' - Supportive-Advisory Bodies

In Leipzig, Köln and Berlin the idea that fresh but even long-term migrants should receive advisory help came up. There should be advisory institutions in place which can explain basic

things, offer basic orientation. **These should be able to offer advice about where one could learn German, how to look for work, how the German school system, medical system and health insurance system work, how to fill in a tax declaration form, etc. etc. It would also be nice to have a kindergarten or a school or a doctor recommended. At this point, for example, Caritas and many ethnic associations pitch in, but this should become a self-evident state-supported service**.

A group participant in Berlin suggested that one should utilize the fact that everybody has to go to **the residential registrar in Germany - at the registrar's one should receive the first useful pieces of information, for example, a list of own countrymen's and of other organizations relevant for migrants**. And one should be also put on the list (or a e-mail list) for future information purposes. In Leipzig a group participant envisioned 'a house of many languages', where one could have a cup of coffee, chat with others, and, with no strings attached, seek out the needed information - perhaps from migrants with long-term residence and experience.

In Stuttgart2 we were told that such advisory-supportive institutions existed but are in the process of being phased out - to everybody's regret. *Baden-Württemberg* wishes to save 1.5 million Euro and so starting on June,1 native-language advisers will be laid off. They used to help with applications and forms, such as, for example, tax declaration form.

German Language Courses

In many groups it was said over and over again in many different contexts that **the command of the German language was the key to work, social acceptance, dealing with authorities and self-defense**. We were told that these days only people who worked 6 months and are now registered as unemployed can attend free German courses - even these presuppose that one does not look actively for work or has no children to take care of. Some ethnic associations provide language courses, but these are few and not well-known. German for foreigners is very expensive since it is meant for foreign businessmen. **It is thus crucial to provide free German language instruction - inexpensively and in forms suitable to different migrant groups.**

Changes in Basic Rights

Even those born here have an outsider status and lack basic rights, even those to residence. They have to renew their permits both to work and to residence very often. The naturalization law sets up many barriers to naturalization and it is costly to apply for naturalization (at least in Köln: 200 EURO!). Each local authority interprets law differently:

Köln - 1, Greek/M: . . . I think one should have some rights here, when one is born here or migrated here. Then Germany and the EU should take care of who is let in. . . If the naturalization laws are made milder, then one can understand regulated immigration. I am not of the opinion that one should close the borders. But at least for the people who had come here, who were born here and who lawfully reside here, they should really be equal to others before law. So that they can help out. For example, my son, who was born here, he had to apply for a residence permit a couple of days ago. For me this was understandable, but for my child it was a traumatic experience. Suddenly he understood that he is a foreigner here. This is a dirty trick [Schweinerei].

Social Justice

In Köln a social worker for foreigners employed by Caritas said that **if there was more 'social justice, apartments, equal rights, work', then there would be no need for any special need for integration programs**. 'We need more social rights (Iran/F2: precisely!). That they become better distributed at all levels, between all social strata. Then there would be no problems with integration. Then there would be no need for immigration laws. This is how I see it.'

Work and the Priority Right [Vorrangsrecht]

The difficulties connected with obtaining a permission to work, the fact that the permission-obtaining process imposes great burdens (advertisement in the press; many forms to be filled in; frequent renewals; fees by delayed renewal) on the employer as well as on the employee. It makes employers reluctant to hire foreign workers. The work permit is at first

always granted to a specific person to engage in a specific occupation, by every change a new application has to be made. **It takes years before one can acquire a generalized work permit (see Köln1, Stuttgart2). In several groups this barrier to employment of foreigners as well as to their psychological comfort and well-being was criticized**.

In most groups at least one person brought up **the priority right** and its impact on unemployment among foreigners. Most people did not realize that this was a law. They believed this was just a view or informal rule implemented by the work mediation offices. They argued that it is unjust and usually gained support of other group members. However, a Russian-Jewish participant in Leipzig2 argued also with respect to work that migrants should respect the rules and laws that they found when they arrived to Germany. Even though this law violates EU- and international rights, its abolition is far from self-evident to migrants.

Everybody agreed that **recognizing foreign diplomas and less contradictory rules/discretionary powers about their recognition would constitute a great improvement**.

As the first part of the report makes clear, foreigners are the first to be fired in Germany right now. Unemployment among foreigners is much higher than among Germans. When the 'all-Polish' group in Leipzig1 was asked whether foreigners should enjoy more work security at the work place, the first reaction was: 'This would constitute a great danger, for us. Because the German people would immediately oppose it. (Another voice: Yes, Yes, I think so too)'. Then the group proceeded to discuss whether one could make a distinction between long-term foreign employees and newcomers and if the first could be protected. The group also expressed the opinion that it would be difficult to prove to an employer that he fired somebody on the grounds of national origin. In effect the idea of more work security was rejected as lacking practicality and dangerous to boot. A similar reaction came in Stuttgart from the one-and-half and second generation group:

Stuttgart - 1, Greek-Italian/F: I do not think that one should do someting different because then one really will get big problems [Ärger] with Germans who would ask why they should be treated differently. (M/NL: Exactly).

In this case, it was proposed instead that one should change the educational system to advance the cause of migrants:

School

In all groups with any experience in this field agreement prevailed that migrants' children have been at a great disadvantage in the German school system for many years now. The debates made clear that **pupils/their parents must know German and the educational system** better. They also badly need positive reinforcement to neutralize these disadvantages. **'Fighting parents' or voluntary associations who help out with the language or school problems or prejudiced teachers were seen as crucial. But as one participant said, one should start even earlier, with kindergarten where much emphasis should be put on language instruction and children should seriously be prepared for school:**

Stuttgart - 1, Greek-Italian/F and Croatia/M (overlapping): One has to start again in kindergarten and at school. One should begin to offer support there. Such gaps are unforgivable. They emerge when a child cannot handle school material because of the language, even though it has enough intelligence to advance much, much further. In the end it lands automatically in a school-track which leads to unemployment. Today graduating from *Hauptschule* is not enough.

Housing

In some groups participants returned to the issue of discrmination by landlords in the final discussion round. In Berlin and in Stuttgart the wish was expressed that **some laws or rules are put in place which would sanction discriminating landlords - at least the associational or public, if not the private ones**. (In Leipzig there are many empty apartments, so landlord discrimination is not a big issue, although it also is there in both the public and the private sectors.)

Public Authorities

The outcry against public authorities was strong in Leipzig, but even more notable in Köln and Berlin when public employees put aside or reject under any pretext the foreigners' applications for housing, social assistance, etc. In Berlin the foreigner office has the worst reputation, but constitutes no exception. The Berlin government in fact started a campaign in

2002 to civilize its public servants whose arrogance and hostility towards foreigners has become legendary. **In all cities it would truly help if public servants treated foreigners with respect instead of humiliating them on every occasion. Foreigners find that it would be desired not to have to fight with them to have their rights honored**.

Representation

Group participants **did not feel represented as a rule**. In Leipzig, for example, there are three different ombudsman for foreigners, but none of group participants knew exactly who they are or what they are supposed to do. Migrants and their children in Stuttgart, Köln and Berlin in all groups but one said that they do not feel represented. They knew of city-level representative bodies but pointed out to us that these have only advisory, but no policy-making powers. In Berlin almost every smallest political unit [Bezirk] has its migrant representation. In Leipzig several foreigner associations applied for a creation of a central representative body three to four years ago, but without any success.

While in the first three cities group participants expressed the wish to grant these representative bodies also decision-making rights, in Leipzig group participants wished that the city government would grant their application.

In several cities, moreover, group participants said that they **did not know of and did not feel represented by the current councils**. In Stuttgart the gap between the second generation migrants and the first generation, sitting in the council, is strong. Young people do not see the older ones as their true representatives and want reforms. In Köln as well as in Stuttgart it was said that the councils/cultural programs represent Turks better than other grops 'which had migrated to Germany long before them'. Such remarks made clear that inter-ethnic competition is at work, even if it is kept under the lid.

The need to inform the migrant population about their right to vote for their city representatives and the need for this population to unite and change city (as well as national) politics were articulated in Köln the strongest. **Better organized migrant voters could bring about more equal distribution of power and resources. Right now this distribution was skewed to the clear advantage of the German population**:

Köln - 1:

Turkey/M/student: As far as I know - I have spoken to people who are in the foreigner council - they have no rights (rejecting murmurs). They are allowed to make proposals. It is a different issue, if anybody listens. . .

Italy/M: As long as foreigners are not solidaristic, that is, build a lobby, this will go on. It does not pay for single groups to say 'Hallo, here we are.' In Köln there are 22 000 Italians plus the entire Turks plus the entire Spaniards. I believe 30% of the inhabitants of Köln are foreigners, no?

Turkey/M/student: Every 10th person is Turkish.

Italy/M: A very high percentage. And when one organizes and builds a lobby, then it could happend that one achieves improvements at the community level.

Turkey/M/student: I believe, not only at the community, but also national level. When all Turks who can vote, would vote. If they had German citizenship, then the foreigner policy were completely different. . .

Italy/M: What many overlook is that when one does not go to vote, then. . . the marginal parties win more seats (supporting: 'hms'). . . But they do not see this. . . And then they wonder: ‚Oh, the right-wing radicals have again become stronger.'

For and Against Integration

The word 'integration' came spontaneously up in nearly all group discussions. A difference was made between **adjustment** which requires abandoning one's cultural heritage to fit oneself to the host society and **integration** which implies mutual exchange and understanding. In most groups the obstacles and barriers to acceptance and integration were discussed. In Köln and Stuttgart EU-citizens were said to be treated differently by Germans, not as foreigners at all, and to have very good chances of integration. Everybody else, especially Turks and 'dark' people, was deemed to have much smaller chances of meeting with full acceptance. In every group there was at least one person, such as a Russian Jew in Leipzig or a Croatian female student in Stuttgart who argued that they had no negative experiences to report, except at the very beginning, when they had not known the language well (see the section on language), and that integration is really no problem.

The discussions in several cities showed that foreigners still struggle for elementary forms of acceptance - especially in East Germany and 'darker' people in both parts of Germany, while for others the issue at stake is much more the terms of integration.

On the one extreme of the spectrum, a first-generation migrant in Köln expressed **no wish for integration**. Although interrupted several times by counterarguments, his view was that the idea of intergration came from the host society and he did not need to bother with it as long as he complied with its basic rules. His expressed interest for the host society was minimal.

Köln - 1, Greece /M: . . . I do not want to be integrated, you see. For me this is not an issue. I do my work. I do not have to say 'good morning' to my neighbor, neither does he have to to me. . . [Integration] is a must [Zwang], a must imposed on us so that we integrate, yes, but I do not agree. . . Germany needs the people, yes. And peace and order so that things run smoothly. [Since] this is an achievement society. . . here everything follows specific rules [hier muss alles seine Ordnung haben]. . . But [integration] is not an issue for me. This is not our problem, I believe. . . I think it is a mistake when one internalizes and says 'We have to integrate'. We do not have to. . .

A **medium position** was occupied by a Vietnamese first-generation doctor, educated in Germany, who, although he felt resigned to a foreigner status and saddened by the fact that the German society could not be characterized as an 'open society', wished to go on with making a cultural contribution to it:

Leipzig - 2, Vietnam /M: The naturalization barrier has been very high... There are quite many foreigners who live in Germany who face two alternatives. One group struggles for a naturalization as quickly as possible, so that they do not have to tolerate 'discrimination'. And then there are groups which accept it [discrimination]. Even though they possess enough qualifications to make a multicultural contribution to this society, they do not feel ready to achieve naturalization. As long as they do not have any difficulties in their occupational careers, they remain foreigners. They do not struggle any more because the struggle for more is not welcome by the German society. . . [which] is no open society.

On the other extreme of the desired integration spectrum, we find mostly **children of migrants**. Their **model of full integration** is that they become fully accepted by Germans as Germans but with a specific cultural heritage. The discussion in Stuttgart revealed that some children of migrants wish to be accepted as Germans who a) are a constant and important

element in German society b) have their specific life chances and problems in Germany because of their origin b) are not responsible for the home countries of their (grand)parents c) wish to be left free to respect and cultivate their cultural heritage d) wish that their German conversation partners would treat them with less indifference, reserve, mistrust, etc. and instead show some interest in their cultural heritage.

Some first generation participants talked about **a model of fighting for integration through German trade unions and political parties**. A Turkish first-generation worker, a Turkish first-generation, divorced, female trucker/street-sweeper and a mother of 4 children, and a retired, Vietnamese first-generation doctor argued that trade unions and/or naturalization are (seen by many as) the key to the acquisition of rights which make articulating demands for integration easier. Some other first, 1.5 and 2nd generation participants in various groups trusted in the **integrating power of the multicultural co-operation efforts**. They placed their bets on foreign language courses which bring their cultures closer to Germans. They trusted in the enlightening and bonding power of shared social and cultural events, such as cooking, dancing, theatre, film, etc. They defined **multicultural centers as the successful meeting places between different peoples and their cultures. A majority wished to live in an accepting and 'open' society**.

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The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

WorkPackage 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

ITALY

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Introduction

In Italy the immigration phenomenon has become significant in the last 15 years and as such has penetrated the political agenda since the end of the 1980s/early 1990s. The rapid increase in the number of migrants entering Italy has had a seismic effect on the Italian political system, and in many senses has been interpreted as creating a state of emergency, given the lack of preparedness of the administrative and institutional apparatus, which has been characterised by cultural and organisational deficiency, and a legislative void. This influx was encouraged initially by Italy's geographical position and by the lack of regulation. Italy has often been regarded as the port of entry for all those seeking entry to the wider EU. Later on, the increased demands for labour, especially unskilled jobs and/or jobs perceived as undesirable by Italians, created opportunities for immigrant employment. Indeed, the illegal status of immigrants initially helped their cause as employers were eager to take them on taking advantage of the fact that they did not need to provide them with proper employment rights and pay. An important factor to be considered in relation to the Italian demand for labour is the progressive decline of the Italian birth-rate (to the point that it is the lowest in Europe and close to zero) and the progressive ageing of the Italian population.

Increased labour market demand, a relatively easy to penetrate territorial frontier, frequent regularisations/amnesties as regards the status of immigrant workers (and diffuse perceptions that there will be future regularisations/amnesties of illegal immigrants) have made Italy one of the key final destinations of new migratory flows. Comparing with the rest of the EU, in recent years the particularly dynamic nature of migration to Italy has been notable. The most recent data reveals that foreigners living in Italy with a valid immigration visa (*permesso di soggiorno, literally translated: permission to stay)* on 31 December 2001 (Ministry of the Interior data) were 1 362 630, equivalent to 2.3% of the population.[108] Most of the migrants (56.8%) live in the north,[109] making it the epicentre of migration (Lombardy on its own has almost a quarter of the total). In particular, the North-East, thanks to a more dynamic economy that revolves around small and medium size enterprises, is becoming more and more the pole of attraction for foreigners who come to Italy. The positive migratory balance (a net inflow of 156 287 migrants in 2001) confirms the capacity of this area to attract immigrants.

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[108] According to the annual statistical dossier produced by Caritas (catholic association dealing with migrants and other social issues), considering also children born in Italy in 2001, and minors who came to join their families, regular migrants in Italy actually number 1 600 000, equivalent to 2.8% of the population (Caritas 2002).

[109] Precisely 32.7% of migrants live in the North-West and 24.1% in the North East (Caritas 2002)

The structure of employment in the North-East is seen as particularly conducive to offering migrants stable work for the medium to long term. While the North-East is seen as possessing a more dynamic labour market for immigrants, the North-West has a more stable tradition of immigrant presence and employment. However, in the future, a rapid alignment of the two regions is foreseen bringing their respective structures of immigrant presence and employment closer together. After the north, the region containing the most number of immigrants is the central belt of Italy (29.9% of immigrants). This region also contains the most number of female immigrants (nearly 50% of them). Finally, the lowest presence of immigrants is in the south and islands (14% of them).[110] These zones do not offer many immigrant job opportunities, nor opportunities for them to integrate and live permanently, and the position of immigrants here is characterised by strong exploitation and insecurity, with employment opportunities linked mainly to the agricultural sector. This should be noted in the context of the very limited employment opportunities for Italian southerners themselves, many of whom also find themselves migrating to the north to find work. Thus the south is the point of initial entry, but one from which immigrants depart swiftly in order to reach the more economically prosperous areas of the centre and north. In fact, overall there is a net outflow from the south rather than an inflow (Caritas 2002).

The typology of immigration visa available from Ministry of Interior data of 31 December 2001, classifies the declared reasons by immigrants seeking to enter/stay in Italy as follows: 59% referred to job opportunities, 29% to family motives, 7% to adoption, religious motives and elective residency. This leads to the interpretation that immigration is now a permanent feature of Italian society and that this consequently requiring an official political response, in terms of receiving and integrating immigrants (Caritas 2002). Immigrants resident in Italy for employment motives number 800 680 of which about 90 000 are self-employed. 651 000 are dependent workers and 60 000 are unemployed/jobseekers. The rate of immigrant unemployment is relatively low (7.5%). It is also to be noted that a consistently high number of people work without social insurance and often also without a regular immigration visa. This occurs both in domestic work and in firms. It was this consideration that favoured the recent regularisation measure for those employed in the irregular market.[111] The Bossi-Fini law of 2002 on immigration introduced significant changes as regards entry and residency regulations for immigrants. The law contrasts with previous legal approaches on immigration (notably the Turco-Napolitano law of 1998 introduced by the centre-left government) in that it

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[110] 70% of these are in the southern mainland, and 30% in the islands (Caritas 2002)
[111] This deadline for this was in November 2002. However, due to the large number of applications and bureaucratic delays, the process of regularisation is still in progress, leaving many applicants in legal limbo.

conceptualises immigration as a temporary phenomena linking the right to stay with the possession of fixed employment rather than seeking to integrate immigrants as a permanent component of Italian society.

According to many analysts and researchers in this field, the Bossi-Fini law treats immigration to Italy as if it were a temporary and ephemeral phenomenon rather than a more permanent one strictly linked to the needs of the Italian model of social and economic development. The new law is seen as reflecting a 'society that doesn't exist.' In this perspective, the need for more and more migrants, combined with the complex mechanisms that make it so difficult for immigrants to enter Italy legally, risks creating a situation in which more immigrants will seek to enter illegally in the future. However, preventing clandestine immigration could be possible if official policies reflected the economic needs for immigration and enabled simpler procedures for legal entries to meet these needs. In the present situation it is easy to foresee that many foreign nationals will continue to enter with temporary visas or as clandestines. They will start working in insecure conditions and gradually emerge from irregularity by pretending to have entered Italy through possession of a legal work contract. Furthermore, it is likely that such clandestine entries will continue to be linked to human trafficking and these entrants will be forced into criminal activities (Bordignon, Diamanti 2002).

The Research Process

Three localities were chosen for the staging of focus groups of immigrants: Udine, Milan and Naples. These localities differ in terms of size, territorial location, socio-economic characteristics, job opportunities and ability to receive immigrants.

Udine is a small town, situated in Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, the region bordering with the ex-Yugoslav states. It is very much part of the North-East region, identified previously as an area of strong industrial development and strong economic dynamism focused around small and medium sized enterprises. Udine reflects very much a North-East perception of immigration. The geographical position of the Friuli-Venezia-Giulia also makes this region a receptacle of flows from neighbouring countries (35.5% of foreigners present come from the ex-Yugoslav states). Due to the presence of a NATO base, 13.9% of foreign citizens are actually from the USA. In the last decade, 1991 to 2001, the presence of regularised or legal migrants has risen

with a percentage slightly superior to the Italian average (+ 219.7% for Udine as opposed to +210%) though this is also the lowest in the North-East.

The province of Milan is the second highest pole of attraction for migrants after Rome. It has 53.6% of the immigration visas registered in Lombardy.[112] The proportion of immigrants in the Milan province (4.5%) is double the national average of 2.3%. Moreover, examining the trend between 1995 and 2001, the foreign population resident in Milan has doubled (+107%). As far as the origins of the migrants is concerned, the Milan province has always represented a pole of attraction for Asians, mainly Phillipinos. However, in recent years, the percentage of migrants from central and eastern Europe has consistently risen (as has also been the case at the national level). They have recently surpassed in numbers the population of African migrants (Caritas 2002).[113]

The Campania region (of which Naples is the capital) is seen an important destination for foreign immigrants who enter Italy overland and often via other EU countries from which they have acquired a regular Schengen visa. But it is also characterised by the frequently temporary nature of their presences, both because of the seasonal character of job demand and the fewer possibilities of permanent jobs due to the poor economic situation of Naples and the Campania region (emblematic of the problems of the Italian south). Of 63 681 foreign residents in this region, well over 65% are situated in the province of Naples. This number also includes a sizeable number of U.S. citizens tied to the NATO base. Considering only non-EU citizens, the area of highest provenance is Asia with 26.3% of presences. In Naples in particular there are a high number of Sri Lankans. The next highest grouping is African (21.9% - 12.4% from the Maghreb and 9.5% from the rest of Africa). In third place we find non-EU European citizens (13.9%).

In each of the 3 localities studied, 2 focus groups were organised: The participants came from non-EU countries. The meetings took place between April and May 2003 and involved 59 people, 19 in Udine, 23 in Naples and 17 in Milan. The Udine meetings were hosted by the Association RUE (R*isorse Umane per l'Europa*), who are strongly respected cultural mediators within the immigrant communities. Udine represents an orderly and quiet urban

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[112] Lombardy on its own has a quarter of the legal immigrant population in Italy, numbering 313 586, of which 132 676 are registered within the Comune of Milan.

[113] Africans represent 30.8% of the immigrant population of Milan, whereas Central and Eastern Europeans constitute 31.4% in Milan and 32.9% of the immigrant population of Lombardy, and 31.4% in the province of Milan. This reflects the general increase of East and Central European immigrants in Italy (they constitute 41.4% of the Italian total, higher than any other continent/geographical region. (Caritas 2002)

context where there is little tension on the immigration issue. The interaction was very positive and the group was balanced in terms of ethnicity and gender. In Naples, the host group was the co-operative, fair trade shop *O' Pappece*, which, linking with a legal aid centre, activated different contacts with people who asked for help and some "cultural mediator". The Naples context is notoriously more complex. However, it seems the ideal place to live anonymously without the proper legal papers. The interaction was very positive, but the composition had a slight imbalance towards Sri Lankans, the community which is strongly present in the city. Finally, in Milan the host was *Caritas Ambrosiana* (the Milan section of the Caritas network). It used its own archives of immigrant reception requests in order to select the participants of the focus group. The interaction was very positive, even though there were some linguistic problems and a gender imbalance and an imbalance towards Romanians within the group (particularly the group made up of the more higher educated immigrants). Among the components of the focus groups, some of them were without *a valid immigration visa* and some were in the process of seeking regularisation under the Bossi-Fini law measures. Some of the latter were dismissed from jobs after they made their applications and many had to pay the necessary extra employment expense in order to become regular workers (i.e. the combined employer and employee social security contributions). Furthermore, many of the work contracts were fixed at an official number of hours which did not correspond to the number of hours that they in practice actually worked, or were in different occupations to ones they were actually doing (for example, their contracts stated that they were domestic workers – because the regularisation favoured this employment sector – when in reality they did other work, such as shop assistant). Among the groups, the knowledge of the Italian language was variable. This provoked some difficulty in communication that was overcome by the use of English or French.

In general the participants had come to Italy to improve their life and work conditions and prospects and to a lesser extent for study motives. Italy was chosen because of expectations of a good reception and better integration than in other countries and for appreciation of its social, cultural and environmental characteristics and because of perceptions that there would be less control on the part of the forces of law and order. The methods used to enter the country were rather diverse, ranging from the usual entry via tourist visas or through the help of illegal organisations. There was often a correlation between method of entry and the geographical area of provenance. For almost all there was a more or less long period of clandestinity before attempts were made to regularise their position (as noted before, some are still clandestines, irregular or waiting for documents). Most of the people interviewed entered

Italy on their own. Those who had longer term plans had their families join them later or hope to do this in the future. The others were thinking of staying for the necessary time to reach their economic or other goals and then return as soon as possible to the country of origin, where they have left behind loved ones. It appeared that the participants were all first generation migrants with the exception of Udine where some of the young males were second generation. The level of education varied from those with no qualification to those who were highly qualified. Some of the people were studying in high school or university at the time of the interview. The occupations or recent occupations of all were low qualified jobs, such as domestic workers and carers, construction workers and agricultural labourers etc.

In accordance with the objectives of the research, the findings of the focus groups will be reported in relation to the major themes identified, taking into consideration a number of questions which have particular importance in relation to the every day experiences of migrants such as discrimination and exploitation when looking for accommodation and the attitude of the forces of law and order towards migrants. This latter is particularly significant because of the light it sheds on how the recent law on immigration (the Bossi-Fini law) in practice is strongly restrictive towards the entrance of foreigners in Italy. The law is very difficult to enforce and this appears to be understood by the forces of law and order who themselves modify their behaviour and expectations regarding law enforcement accordingly.

Perceptions of the Host County – General Experiences of Discrimination

Considering only their relationships and exchanges with people and the cultural and social aspects of living in a foreign country, the focus group participants generally did not feel that they had experienced heavy forms of racism and xenophobia. However, disturbing and repeated episodes, although isolated ones, were related in the Naples focus group,[114] even though generally the south has been described as more open towards immigrants than the north. It has also been noted that there are differences in behaviour in dealing with foreigners,

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[114] 'When we lived in Forcella (a Naples neighbourhood) we were living in houses that were basements without windows and proper toilet facilities. One night, some people using a piece of iron as strong as a finger blocked the outside door. The next morning we couldn't go out. By chance another of our compatriots was passing by and we asked for help. He heard people speaking in Russian, so he helped us… Another time they put a strong chain but they didn't lock it … Nobody said anything. This used to happen at night, only at night.' (Naples Focus Group).

not only according to the territorial position but also according to generations: Older people are more diffident, and have more intolerant towards migrants than younger people.[115]

Even though heavy forms of racism and xenophobia have not been reported, prejudices seem to be widespread and seem to lurk in the back of the mind of all Italians, re-emerging when they are in groups or as a reinforcement of their own sense of belonging and of distinguishing themselves from the other.[116] However, the strongest abusive attitudes seem to be perpetrated above all by Italians who for some reason had to migrate themselves to other parts of the peninsula.[117] Usually, in general they are southerners who moved to the north for work reasons where they managed to realise some kind of business activity and who now reserve the same kind of behaviour towards their underlings they were subjected to as southerners migrating to the north previously. Foreigners, knowing that they are ex-migrants themselves have difficulty understanding such attitudes because they would expect more understanding and equal treatment because of the common experience of migration.[118]Also in the varied everyday environment when one has contact with the indigenous population there are different attitudes of discrimination and racism, from people who move away on the bus to hands checking their purses and wallets on the metro, to testing domestic workers' predisposition to stealing by deliberately leaving money around in the house.[119] But also simple details in communication towards immigrants reflect a perception that they are different.[120]

Discriminatory and diffident attitudes are also experienced from those who have used migrant workforces for a long time. Although they may have had positive experiences, employing a

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[115] 'Once I used to live nearby, and an old woman told me in the face "I don't want to see people like you" then she told me "now I will leave this house because you are here."' (Udine Focus Group).
[116] '25 years have gone by and Italians always perceive Moroccan people as thieves and cheeky and so on. People do not see the worker. Because of ignorance if one is a bit too dark he/she is referred to as a 'Moroccan'. Moroccan means thief. The Morrocan steels and is cheeky … They do not make any distinctions.' (Milan Focus Group)
[117] 'One who comes from Reggio-Emilia treated us coloured people badly, he is always nervous and if one asks him a favour, he is never available. On the other hand, when I was in Naples, I've never met anyone bad who treated me with nastiness. Instead, I think that I am not lucky when I meet people here.' (Udine Focus Group).
[118] 'First when the Neapolitans arrived to work here the same thing happened. Now that we have arrived we are working for the Neapolitans and the Sicilians because they have integrated themselves in Milan. How do they treat us? They treat us as they were treated themselves in the past.' (Milan Focus Group).
[119] 'When you are near someone, he runs away. When you ask someone for information, no-one has the time to answer you…. When I arrived in Rome I went to ask something from a lady. I said, madam, and she turned away and pretended not to see me.' (Udine Focus Group). 'The lady uses a plate just for me, because I don't know .. also the type of food is different.'
[120] 'I understood that I have to do the same things that an Italian student has to do and therefore why do they make such differences? If I have to fill in an official form, I don't understand why they have to tell me that I am a "coloured student" , I'm just a student and that's it. One shouldn't specify anything because by doing this they want to remind me that I am a foreigner. It reminds me that I am not like any other student. These are small things, but they have a meaning for me.' (Milan Focus Group).

migrant does not mean that they have trust in him/her and it is not rare that some forms of additional control are used by employers to check on the correctness of the behaviour of the migrant. Nor does this mean that the immigrant is recognised as a person who has to be respected.[121]

Although these everyday discriminatory experience acts were perpetrated by individuals, the tendency has been to attribute responsibility to society rather than to individuals, as if to say that Italians in general are good people and that if often they are hostile it is because they are under the influence of a society full of unsubstantiated prejudice that means that the collective is more prone to racism and intolerance than the individuals examined singularly. In other words, often suspicious attitudes and distancing can be interpreted as an expression of diffuse ignorance about the other and of the world from which immigrants come from (culture, values etc).[122] There are impressions based on superficial characteristics[123], generalised stereotyping due more to the lack of knowledge than a real racist feeling and sentiment. The interviewees do not deny that this can be determined also by the closing of some communities which tend to be auto-referential[124] by not allowing the other to get to know them, to have relationships with them and also because of having met people who did not behave themselves well. However, positive experiences do not always change prejudices.[125]

The position of the young immigrant participants in our focus groups appears to be more optimistic. They do not deny that there are problems of tolerance and difficulty in being accepted by people who are different from themselves, above all if they have certain characteristics, but they feel that they are protagonists in this interaction. They feel that a positive attitude, availability towards interaction, towards listening, an openness towards getting to know each other, are the best ways to get in touch with others, initiate friendships

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[121] 'I like working but the way they talk to me, the way they behave… as if I was not a human being.' 'In the last house, they used to look at where I would put things, where I would get them from, what I was doing, where I would turn, they would check me (Udine Focus Group).

[122] 'When he call us he says "Marocchino, Maricchino do this and do that" even though you are from Algeria, he always calls you "Marocchino" (Moroccan) because he is ignorant, doesn't know geography, doesn't know where Morocco is, and if you ask him "Where is Morocco" he answers "Dunno."' (Milan Focus Group).

[123] 'I talk always about the problem of prejudice. When one sees a foreigner, above all black, because one sees our colour, my idea is that this prejudice is based on some characteristics.' (Milan Focus Group).

[124] 'Sometimes it's our fault, because some communities always stay together… if we always stay among ourselves. work, home community, I think that … we must get in touch with them, the contact is important because it creates relationships.' (Naples Focus Group).

[125] 'There are some people who after having had a positive experience in relation to a foreigner, change their attitude, but the main part stays the same.' 'He/she can have a positive experience but not with everyone, in his/her head it is fixed that more or less, one day something bad will happen, that he/she (the immigrant) will behave badly, even if today he/she is good. One day this black will cheat him/her. There are some people who can not drop this idea.' (Milan Focus Group).

and to integrate themselves in an appropriate way both with Italians and with young people from other countries.

Institutional Discrimination and Employment

Before discussing what emerged from the focus groups, it will be useful to briefly analyse some of the characteristics of the Italian employment market as far as demand for immigrant labour is concerned. As already noted immigration is a function of the demands of the Italian labour market, particularly in relation to demand for low skilled workers, with different territorial areas requiring different types of labour. In the North-West and Centre immigrant labour market demand is focused mainly in the service sector (34% working in the services and 29.7% for industry in the North, and 20% in services and 16.8% in industry in the Centre). In the North-East most of the immigrant labour force is absorbed by industry (27.9% in industry, 24.9% in services). In the South the needs are distributed equally between the two sectors (Caritas 2002). As far as agriculture is concerned, there is a strong demand for non-EU workers, particular for seasonal work.

Alongside regular migrant workers, a large number of irregular and clandestine workers are present.[126] The scale of this phenomenon leads many to associate all immigrant workers with clandestinity and illegality. On the other hand, a high rate of irregularity is seen by some as making the Italian labour market more flexible and this helps to explain why it has been officially tolerated (CERSDU – Louiss 2002). From inspections undertaken in 2001 and 2002, from an average of 25 000 firms examined in each of the two years it emerged that 40% employed were irregular in terms of their social security contributions and that between a quarter and a fifth of the workers were without valid immigration visa. The immigrant worker suffers from weak legal protection with lack of respects for their right and often unable to pay into and benefit from national social security funds. As far as the territorial areas are concerned, there are more cases of irregularity in the north, whereas in the south there are more cases of clandestinity. As far as the centre is concerned, the figures for both are below the national average. Finally, the north is characterised by a higher rate of reporting to

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[126] Irregular workers can be categorised as those foreign citizens in possession of a *permesso di soggiorno* (i.e. a legal residence permit) but not employed with a legal contract. Also considered irregular are foreign citizens who came to Italy with a short-term permit which has now expired (often tourist or study related visas). Clandestines on the other hand can be categorised as those workers who entered Italy illegally and are employed illegally.

the authorities of clandestine workers and sanctions for irregular national insurance contributions.

The tales of migratory experience related by the focus group participants confirmed that employment represents, as it has always, the principal motive of immigration to Italy. Beyond the specific motives which led these people to leave the country of origin, they seek both to better their own life and economic circumstances and to send money home to family,[127] possibly with the objective of going back sooner or later to their own countries.[128] Some chose immigration to more developed countries in order to conclude or follow a course of study and/or in order to acquire qualifications and competences to be utilised in the country of origin and therefore participate in the development of their native countries.

'At the beginning my colleagues wanted that I would go to work but I didn't want to because I had a motive. My family used to tell me to go and work. They used to tell me that when I would start working they would pay me a million or two (lire) .... But let's think about the future: what can you do in Ghana? Just an example about my father: if my father is in Ghana, what does he do? Nothing, because at the moment he is in job that he couldn't do there... Those that come from my country to Italy have not learned anything that could help. We learn and then we apply what we have learned ... this is mine and my brother's idea..' (Udine focus group).

Those who arrive are not always aware of what their path will be and how they will seek a satisfying quality of life in their new environment, even though their friends and informal network in general works rather well as a point of information in their home countries and when they arrive. However, it has to be noted (this will be discussed in more depth later) that there a lot of negative experiences have been related as to the real possibility of help from friends and co-nationals. This involves payments of bribes in order to obtain names and addresses of those able to offer possible work opportunities and housing, independently of whether or not these turn out to be useful contacts. Employment furthermore is a determinant

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[127] '… the only advantage is that when you work here you will be able to do many things in your country from the economic point of view but while you stay here you are not having a good life. The only advantage is that by working here you can help some of the people that are still in your country. This is the only advantage. Moreover, having a good job is difficult even for us who are students.' (Milan focus group).

[128] 'I came to Italy because my husband died. I came to Italy two and a half years ago. I live with my son: four years ago he had an accident and had an operation that required a lot of money. I therefore came here to work. Now, in a month my son finishes school in the Ukraine, and wants to go to university. He has already done the admission exam and so I cam here. To be here for a year or two will be enough because I really like to be in my own country, where I was born.' (Naples Focus Group).

factor in the process of integration because beyond guaranteeing the possibility of satisfying primary needs it allows access to all services in general but above all makes it possible to regularise the presence in the territory by obtaining the immigration visa.

One should not forget that immigration represents (above all in the north) an important element in the transformation of the employment market and not simply an 'emergency to be resolved.' It is a determined factor in as far it responds to the needs of an available workforce to do jobs that Italians do not want and in working conditions that they do not regards as acceptable. However, even though there is a lack of people wanting these types of jobs, the monetary value of such jobs changes and reduces when undertaken by immigrants. Even in the case of jobs for qualified workers, it is not unusual for the foreign workforce to be subject to poorer contracts different from the standards applied to the Italian workforce. The prospect of having to work in the illegal economy with low pay weighs heavily amongst immigrants. The consequence is that immigrants are often forced to work overtime and for more hours than they are paid, without holidays and statutory protection and with less security and even where they do qualified work, they do so for wages corresponding to less qualified work.
This situation is accepted by migrants because of necessity and also because they are not very well informed of what there rights are. On the other hand if one is aware of the injustices of the situation, it is not necessarily a good thing because if one complains, it is not difficult for employers to find other immigrant workers who are willing to take the same work.

'I tell you the truth. At the beginning, when you go to work you take what it gives you. This is the truth… if you insist, sometimes you get more, but the longer you work and the more you know the language the more things change… then in these things (he is referring to the work in the countryside near Naples) there are never old people, people who have years of experience in agriculture, they are always young.' (Naples Focus Group).

'Some people take advantage because you do not speak, when it's dark you don't go home because you are afraid of losing your job. You only work, you don't think. I don't know the language, the area ... the longer you stay, the more you learn the language and so the relationship changes.' 'The employer does that so that you can't go away. Because you must wait for your permesso (visa)*, and so you do what he wants you to do. Instead, even he knows that you can go away, things change.' (Naples Focus Group).*

In other words it seems that the more a foreigner becomes a citizen the less he/she is requested in certain job market categories.

A particular case is that of refugees or asylum seekers. This path presents particular difficulties. In fact, while claims are being processed, it is not possible to work and only in the initial period do asylum seekers receive a minimum subsidy. This period corresponds to the time limits laid down by the law for the conclusion of the processing of applications. However, these time-limits are hardly ever met and instead, on the basis of what has been reported, the duration of this process is highly protracted and takes much longer than the official time limit proscribed. This also varies according to the bureaucratic efficiency of the area in which the claim was made.

'In practice you can't work ... while you are waiting you can't ... then yes, but the procedure takes years.' (Naples Focus Group).

Moreover, political asylum can only be claimed if the hostility of the country of origin of the claimant is demonstrated. The documentation is sent to the competent authority in the country of origin with the consequence that the relationship that the claimant has with his own country deteriorates further and the possibility of going back is precluded.

'... with the asylum claim, in some way you get into conflict with the government of your country, you have to demonstrate that they have threatened you.' (Naples Focus Group).

For these reasons, this route is concerned to be the last resort even though this route would allow expulsion to be avoided when one is stopped without proper documents and when one receives the deportation order.

Conditions and categories of work differ from north to south, because of the varying economic circumstances. Even though there are better conditions in terms of greater integration and reception of immigrants and less control by the authorities (in terms of checking that immigrants are legal etc), the lack of employment opportunities often forces immigrants to go north to find work.

'Everyone wants to go north because in the south there is nothing . . . for us it is better talking about the north because we would go there, look for a house, look for a job' (when asked if

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once a permesso di soggiorno has been obtained would he/she travel north, the participant
replied in the affirmative). (Naples Focus Group).

In practice, irregular work can be found in any of the areas considered. What is more difficult is finding a regular job which allows an immigrant to start the procedure for regularising his/her presence in Italy and obtaining all the necessary documents. Of course this is more complicated in the areas where the job market is unbalanced by the presence of a lot of people looking for work and little labour demand such as in the south. This is probably the reason why those who have job experience both in the north and in the south think that in the south they are more likely to meet people who try to exploit the situation. Because so many are looking for work when there is such little on offer, those who do not play by the rules of the game lose out.

'I have just begun to work for an information point … lots of migrants came, Sri Lankan, Polish, Russians, Africans, and everybody says that they have cheated them. The employers make you sign a blank sheet that they can fill in afterwards. Or families to have a contract must for two or three months without pay. Here there is a lot of cheating, but also in the north sometimes migrants have had to pay the firms …' (Naples Focus Group).

But how do you find a job in Italy? From the focus groups it emerged that the most established system (as with searching for housing) is based on a network of co-nationals who meet in particular places (stations, squares, parks) on days off or during gaps between jobs. They share information, though this often requires payment of a 'cut' of the wages earned by those receiving the information leading to a new job (this often can be one month's wages or more and can often be required to be paid in advance). It is not rare once that once they get to the address given by the so-called informant (after the exchange of money) that they find that no possibility of employment actually exists, or that the migrant is employed (of course illegally) for a short time and then sent away. In such cases one is obliged to pay independently of the fact that the information given is misleading or false.

'If you want to work, you must pay, otherwise you are without a job. I have to live so I have to pay. It doesn't matter if the job is good or not. You must pay and even if they don't give you the job you must pay anyway.' (Naples Focus Group).

It has been noted that in almost all the towns with a consistent number of migrants meeting places for different ethnic groups have been established. Sundays in particular are the meeting

day, when information is shared and friends and acquaintances meet up. There is a sort of geography of the migrants' meeting places: Phillipinos in front of church X, Albanians in front of train stations, Moroccans in square Y and so on. The system of use of these informal meeting places for sharing information or as an informal labour exchange is also used not only by long-term immigrants, i.e. those who have been in Italy for a while, who often exploit the difficulties of new arrivals, but also by Italians who take the opportunity to get in touch with the immigrant groups.

'A week ago, I came to the park and spoke to a person (Italian). I told her that I was looking for an hourly job. She told me she would give me the telephone number of a lady but she wanted a cut of 25 hours pay from this job . . . many Italians do this now, but they have learnt from us.' 'I have found an Italian who works as a private agent and I had to pay a month's salary if I wanted to work ... I had to pay in advance the whole salary.' (Naples Focus Group).

These information and job placement networks can often be found in the countries' of origins of migrants. They are organisations which have contacts in Italy and that in exchange for a sum of money deal with the planning of arrivals in the country of destination by ensuring the right connections to find jobs and housing.

'My husband when he came to Italy slept on the floor and had to pay for his job, but this payment had already been prepared in Moldova ... I also had to pay for the job when I came.' (Naples Focus Group).

As we have already seen, the information that you pay for is not always good or real.

In terms of how people establish themselves in the job market, the type of occupation undertaken by the focus group participants is in line with what is reported in official data. Independently from the level of education and the job previously undertaken in the country of origin, employment is almost exclusively in jobs which require low qualifications and that in general are refused by Italian workers. These jobs tend to be farm workers, building labourers, carers, domestic workers (colfs), general labourer, cleaning. The sectors where most of the migrant workforce is employed differ according to geographical area. Therefore, the relative chances of finding a job in one sector or another differs from area to area (Caritas 2002).

There is a curious but widespread situation that immigrants prefer to hide their level of educational and professional training fearing that employers might think that higher qualifications would imply a lack of interest or lack of commitment for the job or a suspicion that the employee might ask for more money in the future.

'I don't want them to know that I am a teacher. If they knew this, they would send me away. I am not sure about them. I have this fear, this complex.' 'They think that the job doesn't interest you a lot because you are trained to do something else.' (Udine Focus Group).

On the other hand those who have higher qualifications and professionalism do less qualified jobs with relative ease because they are aware of the implication of the new job reality and because they are strongly motivated, as reflected in the fact that they have immigrated.

'Even I have worked for an old man for a month and a half and he used to tell me: "Professor, you do not have to do this" one day I told him that I had gone to university but that didn't have anything to do with it. It wasn't that by helping him I was losing my degree or condition of being a professor. It didn't have anything to do with it. This person used the "Lei" (the formal version of 'you') and I am thirty years old! I liked to have that kind of respect but I used the (informal) 'tu' and joked with him.' (Udine Focus Group).

It is the immigrants' children who seem mostly uneasy about the declassification both of their parents employment status and of immigrants in general. They underline the duress and the little gratification connected to the new employment and the injustice of not having their professional training recognised and usable among the Italians.

'The father of my friend is a construction engineer and when he came here he used to be a bricklayer. It's difficult.' 'Yes, because a degree in law or history. Yes. But in mechanics or something technical isn't fair, because it's the same everywhere.' (Udine Focus Group). 'They are at the disadvantage, because in my country they have studied a lot. When we came here, we were just workers and the job is very tough. They didn't expect this. It is a bad thing to study and then to do a job such as this.' 'Because now even dialogue is missing. I talk little with parents. They say three words and then they go to bed and watch TV. In Romania we used to talk and go to the movies. He doesn't talk. Above all it's tiredness and they always complain.' (Udine Focus Group).

However, the focus group participants do not have any doubt that it is better to live in Italy, making sacrifices and doing a hard job that pays, rather than returning to the difficulties of the country of origin.[129] Among the focus group participants many are employed as domestic workers and carers. These are jobs with high numbers of clandestine workers and high levels of exploitation. Working for a family has for an immigrant in difficulty the advantage of having guaranteed food and shelter[130], but at the same time the disadvantage of not having the proper distinction between work and private life. In this kind of work, one has to be available 24 hours a day, and workers are sometimes even denied their day off. [131] Working and salary conditions often stay the same, even when the workload increases due to the worsening health of those being cared for if the number of people being cared for increases.

'For example, one person I met said that he/she had to work for a husband and wife and it was difficult enough. But then the daughter with her husband came for three weeks. She worked for them as well, but she had the same salary. Every time people come in she works more. She did everything, the vegetable garden and so on. But the salary was the same. She had to work from morning until eight in the evening, if the daughter and her husband were there until ten, a very tough job. Even on Sunday she had to work and she couldn't work out.' (Udine Focus Group).

'I was staying day and night in that house. I had never had any fixed hours. The contract didn't mention night and day. It was 35 hours per day.' (Focus Group Naples).

This type of tied contract is of course also found in other jobs. It is typical of the agricultural situation where a high seasonality of the employment of the workforce sees periods of intense labour, alternating with periods of inactivity. The need to have a salary means that when there is a possibility of work, one accepts every type of condition, no matter what was established previously with the employee.

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[129] 'Anyway, it is better here, because if I came here there is a reason.' 'The hard work at least is paid, this is the important thing.' (Udine Focus Group).
[130] 'I assisted old people to learn the language but above all to have a place to sleep because without a *permesso di soggiorno* I couldn't have a room. Even if I didn't like it I didn't have a choice.' (Udine Focus Group).
[131] 'We are not regular. We are not legal and therefore you have to accept the things that come about.' 'I have always had a day off but here I went for 18 Sundays without going out.' 'The law says that I am entitled to a day and a half rest every week, and two hours rest a day, this is the law but they do what they like. Nobody can complain.' (Udine Focus Group).

WorkPackage 2

'Yes, I have a contract (working in the countryside) and if there is work I can work, otherwise not. We work longer than what is established and the pay is the same but I can't say anything otherwise he will send us away. You have to be careful.' (Focus Group Naples).

Further analysing the focus group participants, it emerged that the type of contract used for domestic workers and carers in practice covered a wide range of jobs. In fact some employers use this type of contract to regularise employees in other activities in order to avoid heavier taxes and social insurance contributions. To obtain these advantages employers make false declarations about the number of weekly or daily hours worked.

'There are bosses I work for in a shop and the contract is for domestic worker at home.' 'And then not only in Naples but in many parts of Italy on the job contracts they write 25 hours per week ... but people work from 8 in the morning until 10 in the evening. They profit directly from the worker. I have checked. Lots of contracts are for 25 workers. They pay the minimum contribution to the INPS (national insurance) but they work more and get the same money. They have a contract of one million lire for 25 hours per week, but they do 50 hours.' 'But the problem is not only the salary but also that one works eight or ten hours per day and you get the same insurance contribution.' 'Within a year they profit a lot from the worker.' (Naples Focus Group).

Overall, the focus group observations of employment have shown how that role of initial support in the Naples area is important and that there is a quasi-obligatory passage towards the better job opportunities offered in the agricultural area. It is notable that in the Naples countryside there are large numbers of workers employed in fruit and vegetable picking, and to an extent also in other areas such as construction work. These tend to be seasonable jobs which do not guarantee an annual income unless the people involved manage to get to know the area and the landowners, so that they can move from one harvest to another in a continuous fashion.

'Most of the people go away and only a minority stays. I know of some people who have been staying in Villa Literno (agricultural zone employing many immigrants). Either they are happy with the job and they know the employer and have continuous work or it's a question of character, that they like that kind of job because one month there is the tomato picking, then the aubergine picking and then they follow the harvest.' 'They know the bosses and have already established contacts with them, they know that month there is that. . . there is not only

the piazza, also the knowledge. You can go to his place or he calls you…' (Naples Focus Group).

However for many, working in the countryside represents the first source of income, a stepping stone towards a more stable position,[132] before eventually gravitating towards urban areas because of links with local ethnic communities and through progressive knowledge of the area and of the people who can be of use. The path is more or less as follows: in the countryside, job recruitment takes place in town squares or in specific locations where agricultural recruiters arrive early in the morning and choose the number of people they need, offering a job for a more or less set period of time according to what is needed. Therefore the more fortunate people can be employed for months and the less fortunate ones just for one day.

'In the countryside you always find something to do. Then it's easy. You stay in the town square and employers come with a car or a van. It depends on how many workers they've got, and those who are looking for a job stay on one side and make a gesture. It's a gesture that means you want to work. Some stay also for a week without a job. Some have work that lasts even for months.' (Naples Focus Group).

The next step after working in the countryside is to use spare moments to look for a new occupation, possibly one that would allow regularisation in towns. The ethnic community can represent the starting point, above all for those who do not know the language and need to be helped by people who have acquired competences that makes them able to move in the area easily, to know places and channels to obtain information, to ask for mediation[133] and to get help.

'After a while, on Sunday's we don't work and we go into town. We go to our own community and then you get to know how to look for a permesso di soggiorno, look for another job in factories, in restaurants … in Naples there are not many factory jobs. After the countryside there are restaurants and domestic jobs or carers for old people … it's difficult to work in a restaurant if you don't know the language. (Naples Focus Group).

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[132] Some talked of having become attached to the work situation in which they initially found themselves. But then the economic reality of the situation became paramount.

[133] In looking for a house or a job, as will be seen later, it is often important to receive help from the local population who guarantee the trustworthiness of the person and who act as mediators and referees in those cases in which persons have a poor knowledge of the Italian language.

Problems are not only related to the difficulties of finding an occupation but also in ensuring that contract rules established at the beginning, whether they are formal or informal, are respected. Unfortunately cases of exploitation or abuse are frequent,[134] exacerbated by the need to work or the lack of documents which renders counter-productive any attempts to seek legal redress in order to have rights recognised.

'There are very few people (employers) who are really scared and who say "No, I want to pay the social security contributions and I want to operate within the law." But these are very few . . . other people say "no, no, no, I give you the job and you pay the contributions yourself."' (Naples Focus Group).

'In Naples, exploitation is not just for us ... but for us there is a little bit more of it. They do the same to the Neapolitans. It's a habit because there are few jobs in the south and there are all these problems.' 'they do it also with their own citizens. It's done this way. They try everything to exploit you. If you say no they will take someone else because there are many people looking for jobs. Things in the south are less controlled.' (Naples Focus Group).

This is certainly not a situation that only relates to Naples. Difficulties in having work contracts respected, and having rights recognised, are common to the whole national territory. Obviously facts are aggravated by socio-economic conditions.

Therefore discrimination is also linked to the fact that one knows that a person without proper documents cannot do much. Being reported to the police can lead to immediate repatriation, at least in theory, and support in these circumstances is given essentially by associations such as Caritas and the trade unions, who must take into account the fear of exposure that scares immigrants.

The most frequent response to injustices is self-control and the hope that things will get better (or at least this is the hope that sustains them). Of course, not every experience is negative and not every foreigner and Italian exploits the difficulties of those who encounter problems in regularising their position.

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[134] We have even found the case of a woman who takes care of the mother-in-law of a policeman who did not want to regularise her.

'For me it went very well. Since I came by boss told me that he would deal with everything. Now that the law is there he has taken care of all the document and has paid everything.' (Naples Focus Group).

Even people who have good relations with foreigners that they have employed change their attitude and do not have problems abusing them at the moment when they are invited to regularise positions, pay what is due and recognise rights. In other words, if the lack of a valid immigration visa does not impede someone finding an occupation, it certainly exposes people to exploitation and towards the acceptance of working conditions intolerable for an Italian citizen. On the other hand, in some situations a bad job is better than no job, even though the aim is always to find a solution which leads to regularisation and to be able to plan one's own life with ease and to possibly improve ones quality of life.

'I have worked without permesso di soggiorno, they pay little because they like to profit a little bit. We are foreigners and then ... but if I have the documents I can relax. I could also send my children to the pre-school because there are pre-school for foreigners, but without a permit it is difficult' (Milan Focus Group).

Institutional Discrimination and Education

Compared to other European countries, the number seeking entry into Italy for study purposes is quite small. In fact the proportion of overseas students is 0.8% compared to an incidence of between 5 and 8% in other European countries. At the end of 2001, persons resident in the peninsula for study reasons were 30 790 and among these the most represented nations were Albania (4202) and Greece (2697) followed with much fewer presences by Japan (1730), the USA (1529), South Korea (1519) and Croatia (1058) (Caritas 2002).

As far as universities are concerned, for the academic year 2001-2002, a decree by the minister for foreign affairs (19 December 2001) stipulated that only 22 019 visas could be granted to foreign residents for access to Italian university courses. Looking at lower levels of instruction data at our disposal shows that 147 406 foreign school pupils registered for the academic year for 2001 (1.8%). It can be noted that the growth trend is decidedly positive. This leads to the conclusion that in a few years that will be an increase in the rate of presence

of non-Italian pupils[135] The rate of immigrant pupils among the entire school population is on average higher in the north (3%) and in particular in the north-east (3.2%) than the rest of Italy. These two areas are where most of the immigrant population live. In the south and the islands, on the other hand (apart from the Abruzzo) the school population is under 1%.

Turning to the focus groups, one must note first of all that students/pupils represented only a small proportion of the participants, mainly in the town of Udine. This was due to the difficulty in finding people for the research in the three localities considered given the channels at the disposal of the research team. The students/pupils in the focus group were a mix of young males and females, tending in most cases to be high school pupils. Furthermore it is relevant to note, in relation to the objectives of the research, and given the characteristics of the Italian situation, that a broad interpretation of education was employed in order to identify participants from within the education system. Thus participants included students from professional training courses (including some financed by the European Social Fund). This is due to the fact, as explained previously, that there is only a small immigrant student population in Italy and only in recent years has it increased, due to the increased rate of family reunion among immigrant communities (including children of school age joining their parents) and immigrant births, creating a new second-generation immigrant class. On the other hand, the need to improve work opportunities and goals of personal improvement translate into requests on the part of immigrants to undertake professional training and language courses. As has been noted previously, knowledge of the language of the guest country is considered to be a fundamental element in all forms of integration: work, housing and social.

The experience of foreigners in the Italian schooling process can be encapsulated in some salient themes as follows: i) *the integrated* – these are those who have already elaborated an identity of belonging to the Italian reality even if, in the case of children, there is a negative experience of the work undertaken by their parents, ii) *the ideologicals* – these are young males and females who are convinced that one needs to emigrate but then wish to go back to their country of origin in order to contribute to its future development: iii) *The realists* – those who left their countries with the idea of returning but are now convinced that maybe it is not very likely. If here there is also an opportunity of higher and secondary education, the possibility of being part of the professions in the country of origin is compromised by the

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[135] The forecast from the ministry of education, universities and research indicates that in 2016 and 2017 there will be 303 316 pupils of non-Italian citizenship (3.8% of the school population) (Caritas 2002).

profound unavailability of the means to do this, iv) *the resigned or defeated* – who left with the idea of going back – this is evident amongst all immigrants groups – they understand that even the worst housing and job conditions are much better than those waiting for them in their own country, v*) the indifferent and utilitarian* – they left with a more or less vague idea of being able to make money, they are waiting to see what life offers. For them the economic dimension is particularly relevant. This position is often found among immigrants from Eastern Europe (e.g. women that work as carers)

The following presentation of the findings of the focus groups in relation to the theme of schooling and education will demonstrates how these various approaches interact with the every-day experiences of young immigrants.

The schooling and educational process represents an important basis in particular for the children of first and second generation immigrants, whereas this is a rarer experience among the first generation who are more constrained by the need to work in line with the economic objectives of their initial immigration to Italy and suffer from non-recognition of qualifications obtained in their country of origin. The first generation often press their children to study hard and take advantage of the opportunity to benefit from an education in Italy and therefore improve their prospects of having good jobs in the future and integrating themselves more fully into Italian life.

The idea of investing in professional training in Italy also applies to those who eventually intend to return to their countries of origin. In this case, the problem seems to be one of committing themselves to an educational path that can be of use in the country of origin, though it is not always clear whether such an education will be of use back home.

'How can you be a resource there if you have been trained for Italy?' 'Here I have to study something that can be of use if I want to go back home' (Udine Focus Group).

'Let's say that 45, 50 years ago, also in Japan there was misery and what did they do? They came here and studied and then they went back to their own countries and applied what they learned. Now even us Ghanians, when we come here we must not only think about ourselves but learn and study to apply our knowledge there.' (Udine Focus Group).

Those who came with the specific aim of studying and enrolling at university refer to the problem of the applicability of the degree in their own country:

'Besides the things I'm doing – I'm studying medicine – I can't do it. I'm in the situation where even if I know how to do things, I can't find the facilities and therefore in the end, I can't be useful to my own people. I had the plan to go back and set up a small clinic, but you need a lot of money. I have to make investment ... the health structure is not as specialised as it is here. The majority of the population cannot make the payments and if I set up the clinic with this equipment, in the end either I do it for charity, and I do it for charity it will finish because these type of things need maintenance.' (Milan Focus Group).

One must also add that complications in the political and economic situation of the country of origin together with the awareness of being able to build better living conditions leads some people to re-evaluate their initial plans to return to the country of origin, and instead reconsider alternatives such as remaining in the host country or going to other western countries which are thought to be more welcoming.

'I can say that when I came to Italy I had the intention of going back to Cameroon, but after four years I went back to Cameroon for a holiday and saw how things have worsened. Because the government is in a big mess, the situation is always deteriorating and there is a lot of poverty and things are not going well. Therefore I change my mind because I ask myself "what if some day I go back and find myself in that situation?" After having got accustomed to this life, how can I allow myself to live this type of life in my country ... I thought of living here but the situation is a bit complex because integration is difficult. I'm thinking of going either to England or to America and finding a job there.' (Milan Focus Group).

As underlined above, the need to work and the constraints placed by this can represent an obstacle to studying or participating in professional training. Some of those encountered in the focus groups had to give up study, at least temporarily.

'I asked to be able to go to computer class, to change my shift, to move these two days of working to be able to go to school, without disturbing my job. He told me that if I wanted to go to school the door was open for me to leave. He told me that there was little work and he didn't know how to send people away. . . for this reason I gave up school' (Udine Focus Group).

For those who arrive in Italy with the aim of finding a job that allows the improvements of their families living conditions the areas of major investment are language learning and

professional training. Language skills are considered to be essential for living and greater mobility within the country, to obtain information, to understand what is going on around oneself, to sustain one's position and one's rights. The route of professional training responding to Italian labour market needs is seen as a clear way of improving job opportunities and working conditions.

Some of those encountered were able to attend different types of courses. Others did not have the possibility but hoped to in the short and medium term.

'Last year I did two courses together. Now I would like to do a more advanced course, to learn the language well and then I would like to study computers, to become a teacher, because I have already done it in my country. I will do it one day.' (Udine Focus Group).

Going back to the younger participants, what seems lacking in the Italian experience of schooling is reference to and knowledge of the history and peculiarities of the country of origins.[136] If the Italian education system is in general appreciated, what one feels is missing is the possibility of discussing and learning more about what one has left behind. In a certain sense it is a sort of deprivation of one's own original identity. This can above all be true for those who have left the country of birth when they were very young, because they do not have any memories or, for those who were able to attend, even if partially, school, or they are old enough to have kept memories and nostalgia for traditional customs and rituals.

'I don't know anything about Ghana. It's here that I've learnt geography and the rest of it.' 'I would like to know also the tradition of Moldova. My roots are there and it's important to know one's roots.' (Udine Focus Group)

Some bridge this gap of knowledge and information by using the internet, reading books, calling home (mainly those who are here without family), following the news on TV.

'I always look in the history books to see what's in the Italian books about Romania, but I can't find hardly anything. My sister has just finished middle school and the teacher proposed that she study two Romanian writers, but in Italian. She has studied them and there were

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[136] 'In my opinion, origins are very important in life. You can't forget your culture and your history.' (Udine Focus Group).

written some mistaken things that we were not aware of. For this reason, I am very interested now.' (Udine Focus Group).

Some people do not find encouragement to maintain contact with their own past, not even from their parents who prefer to encourage them to pay closer attention to the conventional school syllabus, because it is in Italy that it is most likely that they will build their own future.

'My father tells me that I'm here and that I must study what they teach me at school' (Udine Focus Group).

In some cases, attentive teachers seek to stimulate foreign pupils to relate the stories of their own country so that this becomes common knowledge among the Italian pupils, also because many of them come from countries whose history has seen deep change in recent times. These histories often reflect profound changes in the rest of Europe and the global system in general (for example the collapse of the Soviet bloc). These cultural exchanges enrich the syllabus because they deal with recent affairs that are rarely dealt with by the official syllabus. Furthermore, the possibility of young foreigners remembering what they learnt in the past and stimulating their historical memory[137] could be for the classroom as a whole a way of getting in touch with different worlds, often superficially known, to better understand the dynamics and causes of migration in the first place.

In fact young immigrants underlined how school is a fertile ground for integration. Meetings of culture and different experiences provide in this environment a terrain for comparison and knowledge. Making a comparison among equals is essential for identity building because the school years are those where this comparison is more alive and productive. It is period when one defines principles and values and makes future choices. It is the moment when one is more open and curious, more ready to experiment and the situation more propitious for an overcoming of differences, mediation and the discovery of synthesis, exposing oneself and others to what is new and different.

Therefore young people who have had ways of being in touch with other cultures are optimistic about the future and they think that in a shorter while there will be an improvement of the conditions of foreigners in Italy and integration will occur with more ease.

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[137] 'Yes I like talking about it because if you don't know your origins and your roots it doesn't make any sense. It would have been different if my parents had come here as immigrants and I was born here.' (Udine Focus Group).

'I think that integration will be easier because little by little one gets used to it, as in England and America. They are used to living with people of colour, Italy has found itself a little bit lost and I think the situation will improve.' (Udine Focus Group).

Foreign school pupils also have the possibility of helping their Italian classmates to better understand the real characteristics of immigration. It is hoped this will lessen the fear that young Italians have of the other and that the sense of distrust and some of the prejudice that identifies immigrants with criminality will be overcome, while injustices will be reduced.

'I'm saying that because we are at school with them now, in twenty years there won't be any more bosses of your mother that cause grief ... there will be one of our friend's in his place and he will remember you.' (Udine Focus Group).

'I hope it will be like that, because it is also us that go to school here' (interviewer asked 'does that mean that you will be helping also your classmates to understand?') 'Yes, certainly. We are now integrated .. it will be easier because it is starting now and within ten years the Italians will know how to keep check so that there isn't too much injustice ... there is no justice but things will improve.' (Udine Focus Group).

Institutional Discrimination and Housing

Access to housing, although with differences at local and regional level, is a fundamental indicator for understanding the level of integration of immigrants in the Italian territory and their acceptance by the host community. The housing situation is a problematic issue for Italy with large strata of the Italian population suffering discomfort and housing exclusion. The added need for housing for immigrants adds to this problem and immigrants suffer greater injustices in relation to this lack of housing supply (Caritas 2002, Tosi 1993). One should add, as we will see, the problems of diffidence by landlords towards foreign tenants, above all for those coming from certain geographical areas. In general, an immigrant in the same economic circumstances as an Italian suffers more difficulty in the housing market, often paying more rent. The answer to this situation in many cases is sub-letting and overcrowding in an attempt

to meet the necessary payments.[138] Moreover, Immigrants are often offered houses which are not fit for the housing market. In other words, one can observe that, as with employment, these immigrants get the housing that Italians do not want (though it is easier to find a job than find a house) (Caritas 2002).

For non-EU immigrants who come to Italy, the first problem to overcome is to find somewhere to live. Finding a house or an adequate and stable place to live seems to be an obstacle to be overcome with difficulty and generally not in a short time. It was noted in the focus group that the generalised diffidence on the part of landlords (from north to south) towards immigrants led to severe difficulties and negative experiences suffered.

'When you call with a foreign accent, either the landlord or the landlady finds an excuse to tell you that the house has already been rented. Some will say that they do not rent to foreigners, others say that they have already rented and therefore you need to find Italian friends, sometimes if they call it's easier but when we appear they always find an excuse not to rent to us.' (Milan Focus Group).

This seems to be even truer if the person looking for a house is black.[139] In fact, frequently, housing offered is often 'withdrawn from the market' when the person seeking to rent the property is discovered to be a foreigner, particularly a black one. Even if situations appear to have improved over time, to increase the chances of reaching an agreement with landlords it is very importance the support of a local person who provides a guarantee on behalf of the foreigner and makes the initial contact.

'It's true that if you are looking for a house and phone, they tell you yes, but when they see that you are a black person they tell you that the house isn't there anymore. When they see my face, they say, I'm sorry I've already rented the place. You come out and after three minutes you send in an Italian, and the person gives him the flat. Even now it's like that. But maybe it's a bit better than before' (Udine Focus Group).

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[138] This leads to an increasing diffidence on the part of landlords as regards renting to migrants (Caritas 2002).
[139] 'We have suffered a lot because there weren't so many coloured people before. Instead in order to find a house, you must know and they must know you otherwise they don't give you the house.' (Udine Focus Group)
'Now things have improved, but in the past, I came here in 1995 and I have realised that sometimes there are episodes of racism. The colour of the skin creates problems, there's a preference for Albanians and Moroccans, rather than black Africans. I realised this many times. There are often racist attitudes.' (Milan Focus Group).

Initially, the problem is strictly related to the lack of knowledge of the Italian language. Therefore it is difficult to obtain much information and to talk with the local residents. This also influences the possibility of adequately verifying the conditions of the tenancy. Later, unpleasant surprises are not rare. If then one does not have a regular immigration visa the situation becomes even more complicated and the available choices become even less desirable. However it is not unusual that even in the presence of documents there is outright refusal to let property.[140] In any case, the system for finding a house seems the same in various cities. The first house is in general either an illegal accommodation such as abandoned housing or factories[141] or accommodation with other co-nationals, usually for a short time in the first weeks of arrival, also because those who help clandestines risk repatriation and therefore compromising all that they have struggled to achieve so far.[142] On some occasions the support comes from Italians, although this is less usual.[143]

Aside from this, the social control that takes place, above all in the north, around places of immigrant residence, makes neighbours particularly willing to report new arrivals and people coming and going to the authorities, even if there are not legitimate suspects. It seems in particular that people feel the tranquillity of their daily lives threatened by people coming from other countries, often holding stereotypical and clichéd views of the new arrivals. The collective imagination identifies immigrants with clandestinity and criminality, breeding alarmism, insecurity suspicion and diffidence towards them.

'For example, my mother died three weeks ago and many people came to see me. When they see someone who comes two or three times, they check to see whether these people have come to steal or do something bad. People cannot come to see me. It seems to me that also here in Italy, when someone here dies, people go and see the relatives, but when someone of our colour comes they always think that there is something wrong.' (Udine Focus Group).

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[140] 'For the contract they want the *permesso di soggiorno*. Even with proper documents nothing is done. They say that they are afraid because we are foreigners. They don't know us well. They don't know who we are. If something happens, who's responsibility it is and so on. I went to an agency with an Italian friend of mine and I said that I would give my documents for renting and they said that they wouldn't have rented out to foreigners.' (Naples Focus Group).
[141] 'If you don't find a house it's a problem. Because without a house you don't go anywhere. Then you find an abandoned house and you go there. This is the first way of sleeping.' (Naples Focus Group).
[142] 'People from my country who knew me when I was there, when I arrived here nobody seemed to know me, because nobody seemed to want to give me a place in their house' (Udine Focus Group).
[143] 'When I arrived in Italy one of my cousins put me up. She asked the person she was working for, who let me stay there until I found a job, about a week. Where I worked, the lady allowed me to have a guest, a person who came from my country without problems. But where I worked last time, my son, who was already working in Italy wasn't allowed even to come and see me. They didn't even want that he would call me over the phone.' (Udine Focus Group).

'This young lady came and asked me what I was doing there, what did I want to steal there. I showed her the keys, told her that I didn't come to steal, that I had the keys to this house. She went on saying that it wasn't true.' (Udine Focus Group).

Solidarity among co-nationals seems to be therefore compromised by this type of situation. Being able to reach a relatively tranquil position and sufficient well-being is very difficult because it involves a long period of sacrifices, suffering and perseverance in the conquest of trust from the locals. Consequently many people are not prepared to compromise what they have reached by hosting someone who is in Italy illegally. One is afraid to be reported, to have problems with the neighbours, to encounter difficulties again. But there is another side to the coin that regulates relationships among co-nationals, or among people coming from the same geographical areas. On many occasions in fact, solidarity has been replaced by exploitation.[144] There is an underground network, in which also many Italians participate, of people who can promise anything in exchange for money. This has to be paid in advance and independently of whether or not the information is useful or not. In this market in information, fraud is common.[145]

Focus group participants do not seem to be particularly affected by the negative experiences and they seem to be still ready to help and give information to friends and acquaintances thinking of coming to Italy. On the contrary, some have said that it is the difficulties that have reinforced their desire to be useful to the new arrivals.

'I've spent so many years in abandoned houses, and therefore to leave out someone who has just arrived, I don't like it. When someone phones me and asked me if I can put him up I do it. I am not afraid to lose what I have got. I sent my family away and restarted my life in an abandoned house.' (Udine Focus Group).

The initial uncertain situation often leads to a search for accommodation with other immigrants, mainly to share high rents, even though the most extreme difficulty is represented by the availability of documents. Lack of language skills and of knowledge of the housing market creates further disadvantages. Housing often seems to be in run-down or dilapidated

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[144] Interviewer asks 'Did you have to pay your friends for their hospitality?': 'yes, yes, they put us up but we have to pay… when I came I had to pay both for the house and the job.' (Naples Focus Group).
[145] 'To rent a house I went to an agency … they've asked me to pay money before going to see a house. But it was without windows, without nothing, so I said that that wasn't a house and I didn't want it … but I had already paid and they kept the money.' (Naples Focus Group).

places, such as unhealthy basements, without windows, toilet facilities, water and light. This is accompanied by a request for higher rents than would be the case for Italians and atypical contractual conditions, to say the least. On the other hand, as is the case for jobs, the lack of a regular immigration visa and the difficulties in communication and understanding linked to lack of language knowledge compromises and influences, above all at the beginning, the possibility of finding adequate solutions for living conditions. Blackmail and abuses (both from Italians and other foreigners) become commonplace, both in looking for housing and work.

'It is not easy to find a home in an apartment block. It's either an illegal or a hidden building such as a humid basement where one easily gets sick. If the Italians are asked for two hundred, then to us its four hundred, but we are obliged to spend, but not for us, for a basement! Otherwise we have to sleep in the middle of the street.' (Naples Focus Group).

Getting to the heart of the matter, it was noted that for illegal structures there is a very complex situation. It has already been observed that co-nationals and also friends (those that are regularised) are unwilling to offer hospitality, because if found out they risk deportation, even more so because the presence of non-EU neighbours is hardly tolerated and leads often to reporting to the police, if non residents come and go. As far as the places occupied for habitation are concerned, these are tolerated by the police, who use them as the bases for informants. The same occurs for certain urban meeting places used by various immigrant groups. The police plant informants in these places in order to gather information on wanted people.

In some cities there are different places of initial reception for foreigners who are in difficulty. This is the case of Milan where there are various accommodation points: These include sites organised by Caritas, church halls used as dormitories (and inside churches themselves)[146] and empty factories which represent a last resort for thousands of people. Inside of these, unpleasant situations often occur. Focus group participants reported that in these places there is a close proximity between men and women and ethnic groups which often leads to maltreatment, robbery, violence (sometimes of a sexual nature).[147]

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[146] 'I've lived in a church. At the back there was a place to sleep. In the morning we went out. We paid 50 cents per day .. . there was a Moldovan woman who decided who could enter . . . then they would close the gate and who was out was out.' (Milan Focus Group).

[147] 'Then I went to sleep in a farmhouse where there are gypsies in an abandoned farmhouse … a very bad thing that I cannot tell also happened to me. Thank god, I then met a friend of mine who saw I was scared and asked me what was happening … I told her all of my problems and so she helped me.' 'There, there are so many

In Naples, a strange custom was reported, linked to the payment of electricity to ENEL (the energy supplier in Italy). It seems in fact that access to accommodation is linked to payment for arrears for long overdue electricity bills run-up by previous tenants. This of course, is not an alternative to the payment of heavy rents, but often an added cost.

'Two years ago, the landlord of the house I was living in told me that I would have to have a contract for electricity ... the landlord told me that we had to have a contract of a certain kind, but we told him that we would have done the right contract, the proper contract ... maybe the house had been left by someone who hadn't paid and there were debts left to pay, and if we wanted to have electricity we had to pay. If we wanted the house we had to pay this debt' (Naples Focus Group).

As far as the traditional rental market is concerned, it is mainly a question of money. Renting agencies can provide a means to find accommodation, but it is preferable to contact them with an Italian who acts as a guarantor. The problem is that the deposits requested are often unrealistic. In Milan, deposit of nine months rent were asked, when the law stipulates that this should be three months. In such cases, finding an available flat does not resolve the problem because it is difficult to find the necessary amount to start the contract.

'The agency asks from 9 000 to 12 000 Euros.' 'Where I live for example, they asked for nine months only as a deposit as advance payment, then you enter and you find something is missing. It's not furnished, you must find your own furniture.' (Milan Focus Group).

On some occasions, it is the employer himself who tries to find possible accommodation,[148] given that a lack of accommodation might negatively influence the immigrant's ability to work. It has to be noted that Italian law on immigration stipulates that for dependent work contracts, employers must guarantee foreign workers adequate accommodation, according to minimum parameters set by the law on public habitation. This however can also act as a further obstacle to the entrance of foreign workers that could lead them to them preferring the route of irregularity or clandestinity (Caritas 2002).

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people, gypsies, Albanians, Moroccans, Blacks, all of them.' 'They also stole all my things! Even the shoes, the clothes.' 'There's a big mess there and I am happy to be out of it.' 'It's too dangerous.' (Milan Focus Group).
[148] 'Our bosses at work give us a hand. Because they need that we work and so they help us.' (Udine Focus Group).

Going back to the regular rental market, from the focus groups it emerged that the role of mediator is often undertaken by associations present on the territory (notably Caritas)[149] which act as reception centres, information networks, mediating agencies in relation to job opportunities and accommodation and networks of support in particularly difficult situations.

Within a complicated situation there is no shortage of forms of help, support and solidarity. Together with more or less structural associations (catholic or lay), reception centres and other organisations present on the territory are flanked in some cases by examples of solidarity on the part of single citizens and Italian families, of course according to means, tools and possibilities at their own disposal.

'We have an abandoned house near where we work ... the good thing about it is that there is no water and so we go to the houses of the neighbouring families and they give us water without any problem because they know that we work there.' (Naples Focus Group).

It has to be said that those who have had the possibility of living both in the north and the south pointed out two differences in attitudes towards foreigners. In general there is a much wider openness and availability on the part of southerners and there is a tendency towards diffidence more present among those who live in the north. This does not mean however that there are no situations of exploitation in relation to the difficulties that immigrants face in the south. Maltreatment in housing and work conditions exists all over the country, even though with slightly different characteristics linked to different socio-economic conditions.

'In the north I saw that immigrants pay double the rent that Italians would pay but nevertheless they don't want to give the house to the immigrants. People in the south are more open, more ready to co-operate with immigrants, with the people in the north it is more difficult but everyone wants to go to the north because here there are fewer possibilities.' (Naples Focus Group).

Finally, as far as the housing issue is concerned, a particular position emerged from a group of students participating in the focus groups in Udine. These young persons did not necessarily think that the difficulty of finding a house is due to the fact of being a foreigner, but to the difficulty of the market, with higher rents, difficulties in finding accommodation adequate to

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[149] 'Thanks to Caritas, thank God, things have changed because they call people on our behalf and they are trusted. They explain that we are good people and we are here to work. So we can start renting the house and they start to know us. They understand that we are just like them.' (Naples Focus Group).

the family needs, generalised diffidence even towards Italians. It seems as if the higher level of integration obtained by these young persons, thanks to a process which began at a young age and favoured by the early entrance into the education system (with positive and gratifying results) balances the discriminatory experiences endured by their parents at their arrival. This is probably mediated also by the long period of residence on the territory and by the possibility, as was underlined by them, of knowing and getting to know their way around many official barriers.

This could signal a narrowing of the disparities between natives and foreigners and a slow but continuous integration process. Nevertheless, it is clear from the focus groups that there are still many difficulties to be overcome and that the negative attitudes expressed towards immigrants, as shall be seen below are still plentiful.

Coping with the Police and Immigration Law

From what emerged from within the focus groups, the relationship with the justice system presents some differences between the north and the south of the country,[150] even though in theory the legal controls are the same throughout. In general it seems that checks are limited. Many of the participants in the focus groups, resident in Italy for many years, declare to have never been stopped and, when it happened, the treatment was essentially accommodating, even though the tone was not always cordial and respectful of the person. This behaviour however seems to be correlated to the behaviour of the people themselves who were stopped.[151]

In any case, all over the peninsula, there seems to be a strong tolerance and willingness to turn a blind eye to those who work hard and behave themselves even if they are without proper documentation.

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[150] 'In the north it was tougher because you needed the documents and instead in Naples I had more friends.' 'In Milan, I was staying for three days, and they stopped me three times. Here in Naples I have lived for four years and nobody has ever stopped me…things have worsened here in Naples too' (Naples Focus Group)

[151] 'It depends on how you respond, on how you behave with them. Because there have been some boys a bit nasty . . . if they ask for something and you answer badly, then it is not that they would hit you but they would threaten it, they would say "Be careful of what you are saying" but they were not really hitting you.' (Naples Focus Group).

'The police stopped me three times here in Naples and they asked me if I am tourist, where I live, why I'm here, if I have the documents. I answered that I am preparing the documents, they are very kind.' (Naples Focus Group).

However, some of the participants have noted a certain uneasiness towards these controls because they are mainly reserved for foreigners, as if they were the only persons who could misbehave.[152] The reaction is a hardening as regards views towards the police and complaints regarding the differential treatment received.

'When the police ask for documents they always ask this question: "What type of job do you have?" This is the first question. Some, after having looked at the document that says that I am a student still ask me what do I do, and I say that it is written in the document.' (Milan Focus Group).

The fairly tolerant attitude of the police is kept even when Italian citizens report irregularities, usually towards immigrant neighbours. After the police have undertaken the proper verification, there are no substantial consequences accept for invitations to respect the rules and not to disturb. Even when immigrants who do not have the proper documentation are being hosted, the police attitude towards the hosts is accommodating.[153] This does not mean that abuses of power do not take place. In fact some episodes of violence during police stop and search were reported by the focus group participants.[154]

The low threshold of control is one of the motives for participants choosing Italy rather than other European countries.[155] However, the new Bossi-Fini law seems to have worsened conditions, even for those people who are regularised in Italy, by complicating the bureaucratic procedures that one has to follow to obtain recognised documents and rights. This is true for example for students who want to change their courses of study or who to

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[152] 'If I get out of the train and I am walking I ask them "Why did you just call me? If you are making these controls, why don't you control all of the others?"' (Milan Focus Group).

[153] 'In this sense (hosting irregular immigrants), the police forces also understand.' (Udine Focus Group).

[154] 'Two years ago I went to the central police station and there was a young boy with a regular *permesso di soggiorno* of five years, and suddenly they asked him for his documents. He showed them … he showed them photocopies and they hit him. They didn't want to see a photocopy. They tore it up and threw it in his face. He asked why and they took their truncheons. They didn't do anything to me, just to him not to us. They asked us for documents and that was it … I thought that they were tearing up the passports because it was a very dangerous situation.' (Naples Focus Group). The participants told us that it was quite common to use a photocopy of the documents, because if the originals were to be lost or stolen, they would not have known what to do.

[155] 'Abroad in Germany, everything is checked. A friend of mine used to work from home and soon the neighbours called the police and told them that she worked without a permesso.' (Naples Focus Group).

support themselves need to work and therefore need to change their type of permit and possibly later on go back to the original one.

'The Bossi-Fini law is practically a law that makes things more difficult for foreigners. Once I was with one of my compatriots at the central police station, he was a student as well, he wanted to change faculties. In order to do that you have to go back home and ask for a new visa ... to change faculty! The air ticket costs 2000 Euros. Now I have a problem because when I changed my permesso from student to worker, I stayed unemployed for a year, without a job. I went to the central police station and told them that I didn't have a job anymore and I asked for a new permesso di soggiorno for a student because I never gave up studying. I went there with the enrolment documents and with all the exams and the list of exams I have done, but they told me that I had to go back and get a visa in my own country.' (Milan Focus Group).

Nevertheless, various focus group participants have exploited the new law on immigration to present an application for regularising their own positions. However this was not always easy because employers did not always demonstrate willingness to help, taking advantage of the weakness of clandestine and irregular workers, seeking to substitute them with a new irregular labour force available for the same conditions. Even those employers who agreed to present the necessary documentation to aid the regularisation process did so in underhand ways, for example by presenting contracts stipulating less hours than those actually paid, obliging the workers to pay their own national insurance contributions (including those supposedly paid by the employers) or seeking payment for the trouble. Other forms of exploitation (leading up to blackmail) are employed during the waiting period for regularisation, for example suspension of pay, dismissal from jobs, or toughening of working conditions and increasing workloads. Unfortunately, given the insecurity of the situation there are few immigrants in a strong enough position to report abuses[156] and this translates into non-intervention on the part of the competent authorities and a further legitimisation of a badly regulated job market.

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[156] 'When I worked in the family of a surgeon, he told me that after a year I would go back to my country, he would pay my month's Christmas bonus, the airticket for the return. But instead he didn't give me anything. Nothing. I went to the tribunal, and after a year and three months he paid me the money…yes, yes, I sued him. There are witnesses but they are without documents, only now do I have the documents. A year and three months, lots of money for the lawyer, the stress.' (Naples Focus Group). 'I went to another family with an old person where I used to sleep and they paid me regularly for three months. Then they didn't pay me for four months… I told them that if they didn't pay me that I would report them. When they heard that I was going to sue them, they kicked me out. They made me go away.' (Interviewer asked if she sued them) 'Yes, but after they kicked me out, what could I do.' (Milan Focus Group).

Those immigrants who live in Naples talked of having tried to go north where there is more work, but this seemed more risky to them because there are more and more severe controls. However, in Milan and Udine, participants suggested that there is not so much difficulty and that control is in fact quite light. This leads one to conclude that in each city a learning process is required in order to know and which places to avoid at which times in avoid controls. The forces of law and order convince themselves that they are in control of the situation by being able to spot the principal ethnic groups and link them to certain locations which serve as their regular meeting points. Of course this mapping has only limited use to the police as immigrants tend to pursue anonymity as an everyday means of survival. However, it gives the police a feeling of being of control without having to intervene too often.

The relationship with the police is more complicated for those immigrants without documents or who commit some irregularity. In these cases, imprisonment and repatriation are the obvious consequences. Being declared 'undesirable' precludes further legal entry to Italy, though this does not always seem to be a deterrent. The possibility of controls seems to worry those who host clandestines, as they fear their difficultly obtained regular immigration visa being revoked.[157] The important thing seems to be to avoid control because this could start irreversible bureaucratic procedures such as expulsion. The technique is to avoid some areas or meeting places, to respect rules, to avoid conflict with neighbours and so on. In some cases, as an extreme solution, some non-regular immigrants stopped by the forces of law and order asked to apply for political asylum in order to avoid expulsion.[158] However, from the discussions it emerged that this type of procedure leads to a series of negative consequences which are counter-productive. Essentially, while awaiting verification of asylum claims the applicants cannot work and although a subsidy from the launch of the procedure to its conclusion is provided, it corresponds to a time period decidedly inferior to that of the actual waiting period. Repatriation obviously causes problems, because the applicants has to claim persecution in his/her country of origin and this does not go down well with the authorities back home, and can lead to retribution if the applicant is forced to go back.

In practice, repatriation constitutes for the Italian forces of law and order a solution that is not welcome because the procedure is very costly and difficult to realise. This is due to the

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[157] The availability of help for friends and co-nationals has already been underlined. Moreover, as with other aspects linked to the immigrant experience (work, house, integration) it seems that the forces of law and order pay more attention to black people, who are controlled more rigorously.
[158] Among the participants in the focus group, at least two chose this route.

multiple and sometimes false identities sometimes used by the migrant concerned and by the necessity of organising and paying for the journey, which sometimes involves stopovers in different foreign countries before reaching the final destination, the use of costly overland transport and the organisation of escorts.

Comparing across the three sample cities, seeking legal redress in relation to irregular work contracts or housing contracts was very much a minor concern. In reality it is difficult for immigrants to have a precise idea because, especially when not in possession of documents, they can hardly report dishonest landlords or employers or discriminatory situations or racist actions against them. Furthermore, even those who are regularised prefer not to have contacts with the legal system. The focus group participants drew attention to the consequences, such as dismissal by employers, in the few cases where immigrants reported problems to the police.

Possibilities for Multicultural Citizenship: the migrant identity

The impression gained from the focus groups, is that the participants had a strong identity, looking to legitimise the great leap that they have made, a gamble based more on hope than expectation. They recognise that Italy was once a country of emigration itself, and has a collective consciousness of the migratory experience, of the difficulties suffered and of the eventual success of many migrants.

Given this Italian migratory history, immigrants expected a more friendly reception and more tolerant attitudes.[159] Therefore they have difficulty in understanding and accepting discriminatory gestures, even if these are of a light form. But such gestures are persistent and recurring with Italians continuing to identify immigrants as the other. They endure these gestures and advise new arrivals not to give too much weight to them. But they suffer recurrent traumas which are difficult to cope with. From this point of view, they immerse themselves in the sanctuary of their own ethnic communities as a way of coping with this type of situation. Thus identity in the immigration experience is generally established in relation to ethnic group of reference. Solidarity, friendship, common support, understanding and

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[159] 'I think that Italy must accept this (immigration) because unfortunately they have lived this in person. We remember how many Italians have gone around the world always for these motives. Therefore they must accept for the history they have lived. They must understand people and try to help them.' (Udine Focus Group).

collective self-affirmation is sought initially and almost instinctively in the relationship with co-nationals. In reality, even these relationships are not so automatic and cannot be taken for granted. To come from the same country does not necessarily mean friendship and shared experiences. In other words, though having co-nationals as a point of reference at least makes it is easier to communicate and ask for help and information,[160] one should not necessarily assume that sharing the same origin translates into solidarity and friendship. In fact different participants in the focus group referred to difficulties in relationships with people coming from the same country, not only as we have seen because of exploitative behaviour (such as asking money for information, denying hospitality and so on) but also because they assume attitudes of 'detachment and superiority' towards the new arrivals from the country of origin.[161] Therefore, the sense of belonging refers to recognising oneself in a group but not necessarily in an unconditional and limited adhesion to a group. The community is a point of reference and help and also a way to keep ones own culture and traditions alive.[162] Friendship is something else, it is an exclusive relationship to be lived and shared with persons one trusts, with whom one shares feelings and important experiences beyond nationality.

Another aspect to be explored is that of the internal hierarchies among ethnic groups and among ethnic groups of homogenous geographical areas. Some national groups more than others try to establish themselves as the strongest, even through deviant behaviours, they try to assert predominance over a certain territorial space, often through specialising in certain occupational sectors, more or less legal and legitimate. In other cases, other types of interaction present themselves, sometimes conflictual between groups from different countries of origin.[163]

Beyond a willingness to preserve one's identity and being in a strong group, the attitude, in particular that of the younger generation, is open towards the host country. The capacity to take risks, seek to make oneself known and build relationships with others, facilitates an acceleration of the integration process, of integration and acceptance, access to new resources

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[160] 'At the beginning, because I didn't even know how life would be outside my country, I felt like a fish out of water, I was a bit closed and therefore I was looking for someone from my own country, maybe because I felt more at ease. Later with the passing of time, I opened myself up, and then the friendship is the same as I had with the others' (Udine Focus Group).

[161] 'If I meet a person from my country, I feel close to her or to him, even if he/she is unknown to me … but sometimes though it happens that there is envy or competition. There are people who in Italy have a certain position and they feel superior … they behave as if they are afraid of losing their job.' (Udine Focus Group).

[162] 'Why do I go to the community? The first thing is because I'm a Muslim and I go to pray and then to get to know things, for housing, for any other thing.' (Naples Focus Group).

[163] Between Ukrainian and Romanian women for example there is a lot of resentment, and the same happens with those who come from Russia (often those who come from the East show a feeling of loss towards the old Soviet regime which guaranteed a minimum income for everyone, always guaranteeing a job).

(information, support, etc) and progress towards integration. On the contrary, the attitude of closure towards those seen as different has a negative effect vis a vis the possibility of improving the conditions of immigrants, slowing down their process of inclusion, and translating into a lesser ability to adapt to the new reality, to the new peculiarity of the host country and to understand the territory. In any case, it is important that the choice to immigrant is a well thought out one with various possibilities having been considered. To change countries is difficult enough, given the sacrifices that one has to endure and manifold, and the hostilities to overcome. Therefore one has to be prepared for any eventuality.

'I would tell him or her that if he/she wants to make a sacrifice then he/she can come. If I feel that most of the immigrants that are here to work are making a sacrifice in the fact that the lifestyle here is not compatible with the average lifestyle of an Italian living in Italy.' (Milan Focus Group).

It appears easier to adapt to the new situation if one arrives as a child and if stimulated by parents to acquaint oneself with the new reality. As for others, language is the first obstacle to be confronted, but for children, the difficulties in communicating and learning are less.[164] The problem, if any, is how to preserve culture, traditions and history of their own countries. This is even more true of the second generation and the next, which will have to mediate among cultures, identity and tradition of their own parents and culture and that of the country where they were born and bred. To them will fall the role of being a link between the two worlds.

In conclusion, in order to survive, immigrants whilst maintaining their own identity and seeking to be accepted as individuals rather than labelled as part of an ethnic group, have to adopt a strategy of not creating disturbances and doing their best to build bridges with native Italians. The participants in the focus groups advised future immigrants to try to listen to and understand people, not to fear certain critical situations that can occur, not to give up and not to think that everybody is watching you, but to have the courage to face up to realities, because these realities can change, to ask for help and information when one is in difficulty.

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[164] 'I made friendships early but I was trying to understand what these people here wanted. Instead my friend was closed. For him there was just the co-national group and nothing else. He wanted only to play with me. He didn't want the others. Instead I wanted to play with everyone and this didn't suit him, and therefore the others did not accept him in the classroom. I wasn't looking for anyone from my own country. There was also my father who said to learn Italian well, therefore I was looking for friends and I was trying to learn Italian well.' 'He told me "why do you have to play with those people who are Italians while we are Africans" … I was a bit displeased because he failed and he would have found new friends.' 'Now I see him from time to time, he's better now, but at the beginning it was hard' (Udine Focus Group).

Furthermore, what is essential is to learn the language and to speak as much as possible in Italian, always asking for clarification when something is not understood.

Analysis and Conclusion

The major objective of this work was to investigate the particular peculiarities of the immigrant experience in Italy. This was done through focus groups of immigrants of varied provenance and residence in Italy. Their legal condition varied. Some had a regular immigration visa for work or study or family reunion, some were clandestine or irregular. There were few students. Certain themes were predominant, notably experiences relating to work, education, housing and the legal system.

The phenomenon of immigration in the last 15 years was a response to an internal request for low skilled manual workers or in some cases very high skilled jobs. Immigration counterbalanced the process of ageing of the Italian population and the decreasing birth-rate. However, it happened in a social, cultural and legal context unprepared for the situation. What was and is still is lacking were adequate and sufficient structures for the reception of new arrivals. The problem of housing has persisted for Italians for a long time. For the new arrivals, the situation in the housing market is even worse. The reaction of Italian society has been rather closed and conditioned by cultural stereotypes and conservative sentiment. The institutional response was fragmented. The enactment of political and legal responses was slow to materialise. Moves to better integrate immigrants were inadequate. The end result has been difficulties in establishing harmonious relations between the host communities and new arrivals, though slowly, at least amongst the more open and sensitive social groups and individuals, attempts have been made to aid integration and establish a more multicultural vision of society. Nevertheless, there is a hardening of positions among certain elements of society who refuse to accept the new reality, and view the phenomenon as solely a temporary one, addressing a temporary socio-economic necessity. As the research has shown, the main obstacles and difficulties faced by immigrants are those of finding a job or adequate accommodation. To this one has to add the deplorable condition that they have put up with in both, the absence of citizenship rights and the presence of social hostility.

In relation to education, it has been underlined that only a limited number of people come to Italy for study reasons. However, more and more young people and children of immigrant are being enrolled in the school system. School is the area of greatest multicultural

experimentation, a fertile territory for cultural exchange, viewed as a privileged channel for integration. For many older immigrants, enrolling in forms of professional training is often a key objective, though made difficult by the need to work. Language tuition is an important tool for all in aiding integration. For school age immigrants of first and second generation, the role of cultural mediation between the host country and that of origin is an important one, though sometimes difficult to perform.

In summing up the research, the following points are important to stress:

1) For the focus group participants, jobs and housing are fundamental dimensions in the realisation of their migratory objectives. At the beginning, the presence of language skills and the possession or not of a regular immigration visa are key factors. The lack of these puts immigrants in a weak position. They suffer abuses and have to live and work in illegal conditions without any possibility of rebelling. Without proper documents, it is difficult to refuse a job, even if it is badly paid. One cannot resist blackmail or exploitation from the employer or the landlord. In such cases, the irregular economy is the norm not the exception, and contracts do not correspond to the reality of working conditions, in terms of hours worked, pay, national insurance contributions etc. In order to regularise one status, it is not rare to have to pay the health and pension contributions normally paid by the employer and additional sums to get the employer to comply with the regularisation. On the other hand, working is the only hope for emerging from illegality, finding acceptable accommodation and living conditions and sending money back to the country of origin.

2) Immigration objectives usually reflect a long time scale but in any case immigrants foresee a stay of at least a few years. It seems unthinkable that immigrants who have lived in Italy for a considerable period sill not appear to be included and integrated adequately in the social and economic context of Italy. Integration requires on the one hand taking into account the various identities of different communities and ethnic groups who seek the right to express their religious beliefs as well as cultural values. On the other hand, it requires addressing discriminatory and in some cases racist attitudes on the part of the host Italian community, who affirm their own identity and emphasise the difference of immigrants, because they feel under threat, despite this threat never clearly being defined because data does not show any type of invasion or great abuses of the system on the part of immigrants. On the contrary, it is clear that immigration is a function of the economic needs of Italian society.

3) Most of the difficulties in being accepted seem to be encountered by black immigrants from Africa. However, daily prejudice and forms of more or less accentuated discrimination are common experiences for all immigrants. Physical characteristics such as skin colour identify more easily the other and therefore channel fears and a system of defence due to prejudice and stereotyping. In general, the superficiality of judgements (probably linked to a Euro-centric vision) tends to undervalue and devalue competences and professional abilities, as well as the tangible contribution that immigrants make.

4) Nevertheless, it has to be underlined that focus group participants have not pointed out in their daily relations with Italian citizens strongly racist situations and attitudes. On the contrary they tend to think that forms of intolerance and racism are due not so much to a deep cultural feeling but rather to some forms of ignorance and lack of knowledge of the world of the 'other.' Reciprocal knowledge usually overcomes these barriers. However, this occurs more on the individual basis. In other words the fact that one knows a foreigner and is friends with the foreigner does not necessarily mean that one's general view of other immigrants becomes more open. Old attitudes may emerge again in later situations. Discriminatory actions reported for the most part related to everyday places and routines, i.e. buses, places of work, public offices, walking along the street etc.

5) It is important to underline the contradictory relationship that some have towards their community of origin. On the one hand, it emerged that the community of origin plays an important role as a point of reference above all for the new arrivals. On the other hand, it is not rare to find a situation where co-nationals themselves act in an exploitative manner towards those in vulnerable positions, seeking payment for (sometimes false) information relating to housing and work etc. Given the diffuse sentiment of prejudice and ignorance it is often important for immigrants to receive help from the indigenous population in the search for jobs and housing. However, submerging oneself in the community of origin is a way of developing a common front towards the difficulty of the outside world. But not every immigrant group acts in the same way in relation to this. Drawing from the focus group accounts, negative experiences regarding poor treatment from one's own community were more common among people from Eastern Europe than among Asian and African groups. Rivalry between the different national groups of Eastern Europe was particularly notable.

6) First generation immigrants do not appear to have a great deal of contact with the education system, except in the cases of Italian language courses and professional training, unless they

have come to Italy for study reasons or as school aged children of immigrant parents. The experience is different for second generation immigrants. In the Udine focus group there were a significant number of high school pupils. In Milan on the other hand there was only one university student. The differences within the school system of the country of origin are sometimes very significant, but this does not seem to influence the attitudes towards the Italian schooling system. On average, young people declared themselves to be integrated within the classroom and with their schoolmates. However, mention was made of difficult situations endured by friends and schoolmates. In some cases, problems were attributed to a closed behaviour on the part of immigrant students, who preferred to take sanctuary in their own community rather than to seek friendships with Italians. As far as investment in schooling is concerned perspectives vary: There are some immigrants who seek to acquire professional skills, to be used in the country of origin, with the aim of contributing to its development, but others that think that the structural divide is such that acquired competences would be difficult to use in the country of origin because of lack of infrastructure there. Others seemed to be determined to build their future in Italy due to the unfortunate circumstances of the country of origin as well as because it seems difficult to think of maintaining or giving up the quality of life or lifestyle known in Italy.

7) Notwithstanding the difficulties that the focus participants had, they appeared to be determined to continue to invest their resources and personal capacities in the attempt to realise their immigration objectives. Awareness of the pros and cons of this experience is strong, as was determinedness not to give up in the face of obstacles encountered. The hope is that things will improve. The strategy is that of committing oneself to work, respect for the rules, and acquiring better knowledge of the language and better education, integrating oneself in the local community, getting oneself known as much as possible, overcoming diffidence and stereotypes.

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Immigrant Focus Groups

Location and Composition

Naples 1: Irregular immigrants/awaiting regularisation
11 May 2003 at the *Associazione migrazioni di Napoli*

N	Age	Sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1	24	M	Burkina Faso	3
2	29	M	Sri Lanka	2 months
3	41	M	Sri Lanka	2
4	46	M	Sri Lanka	4.5
5	41	F	Ukraine	2.5
6	24	F	Poland	5
7	24	F	Poland	1
8	40	F	Moldova	4
9	30	M	Moldova	5
10	35	F	Ukraine	3
11	29	F	Burkina Faso	8 months
12	27	M	Sri Lanka	Unknown

Naples 2: 'non-European' with low level of education
11 May 2003 at the *Associazione migrazioni di Napoli*

N.	Age	Sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1	32	F	Somalia	9
2	28	F	Ivory Coast	1
3	50	F	Somalia	14
4	34	M	Algeria	11
5	23	M	Burkina Faso	20
6	23	M	Sri Lanka	1
7	27	M	Ivory Coast	3
8	31	M	Sri Lanka	1
9	47	M	Sri Lanka	13

Milano 1: 'non-European' with high level of education
25 May 2003 at *Caritas Ambrosiana*

N.	Age	sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1	33	M	Eritrea	2
2	32	M	Cameroon	7
3	Unknown	M	Sri Lanka	3
4	23	F	Ivory Coast	1
5	23	M	Morocco	7 months
6	28	M	Morocco	1
7	36	F	Morocco	7 months
8	32	M	Morocco	3

Milano 2: 'European' with low level of education
25 May 2003 at *Caritas Ambrosiana*

N.	Age	sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1	41	F	Romania	2 months
2	33	F	Romania	7 months
3	39	F	Romania	1
4	43	F	Romania	1
5	34	F	Russia	2
6	52	F	Ukraine	3 months
7	27	F	Romania	10 months

Udine 1: young immigrants/second generation
12 April 2003, 14.00 at RUE - *Risorse Umane Europa*
via G. Giusti 5, Udine 0432-227547 www.risorseumaneuropa.org

N.	Age	Sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1.	18	F	Albania	2
2.	15	F	Argentina	10 months
3.	17	M	Ghana	14
4.	20	F	Moldova	3
5.	18	M	Peru	1
6.	17	F	Ghana	12
7.	18	M	Romania	1
8.	17	M	Ghana	4

Also present was Dorota Stromidlo (Polond, 1976), cultural mediator of RUE.

Udine 2: Irregular/awaiting regularisation
10 May 2003 14.00 at RUE - *Risorse Umane Europa*
via G. Giusti 5, Udine 0432-227547 www.risorseumaneuropa.org

N.	Age	sex	Country of origin	Length of Presence in Italy (years)
1.	37	M	Benin	11
2.	35	M	Benin	12
3.	27	M	Mali	6
4.	36	F	Nigeria	7
5.	30	M	Argentina	2
6.	46	F	Moldova	1.5
7.	40	F	Cameroon	3
8.	Unknown	F	Ghana	14

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL POLICY

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

WARSAW UNIVERSITY

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

Workpackage 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

POLAND

WARSAW, JUNE 2003

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Focus Groups Interviews described in the Report were arranged in professional focus studios offered free of charge by the following Institutions:

- **SMG / KRC Poland Media**
  (6 focus groups in Warsaw)

- **Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Zielona Gora**
  (1 focus group in Zielona Gora)

- **P.U. Andy**
  (1 focus group in Lublin)

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Contents:

I. Introduction. Immigrants in Poland.[165]

Between the end of World War II and the beginning of political, economic and social transformation initiated in 1989/1990 Polish society was one of the least ethnically differentiated in the world. Transformation in the 90s has not brought deep changes in the ethnic structure of the country, yet meaningful streams of migrations appeared with the opening of the Eastern border for tourism. Due to increasing links between Poland and Western structures, our country is often considered an attractive place to study and live. Documented knowledge on the inflow of foreigners to Poland is extremely incomplete, so that precise estimation of the size of immigration is impossible. Information on demographic, social and economic features of immigrants is insufficient.

The labour market in Poland, till 1990 characterised with the absence of foreigners created a vast segment to employ migrants, though mostly without due permissions; a new form of international mobility in Central Europe (including Poland) emerged – so called partial migrations which refer to a 3 to 5 million inflow of foreigners each year. About 20 thousand foreigners work legally. It is estimated, that about 200-500 thousand work illegally. Market places activities' are not included in these estimations - some say that the total number of immigrants in Poland is about 0.5 - 1.5 million (including *tourists* and *trade visits*); the last figure is considered an exaggeration.

The scope of immigration from the East is much larger than from the West and of a different structure. According to estimations, the number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union working illegally in Poland is over 300 thousand persons. We should mention two new important national groups of migrants settling down in Poland: the Armenians and the Vietnamese. Notwithstanding the lack of proper information we can only estimate the number of foreigners from the West in our country; they are counted for between 10 and 15 thousand. They are both Dutch peasants settled in Zulawy or Pomorze as well as council members in stock exchange companies and banks.

Since 1990 the number of foreign students has almost doubled (though their share in the total number of students decreased from 1,0 to 0,4%) and reached (according to Central Statistical Office GUS) 7 380 persons in the academic year 2001/2002. As many as 72% of students came from European countries, half from the former Soviet Union.

The issue of immigration is not often present in political discourses in Poland. There is no climate of threat around the topic, as it happens in some countries. This fact may result

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[165] Workpackage 1, *Dicriminatory Landscape Poland*

from a relative low number of immigrants in Poland, especially comparing to some West European countries. Usually specific immigrant groups are commonly associated with specific jobs or occupations (e.g. former citizens of the Soviet Union with small trade - often illegal, the Vietnamese with gastronomy or textiles, in-comers from Western countries with business activity). Especially in the aspect of the division into Eastern and Western Europe, there are some prejudices (rooted in a wider historical context) towards representatives of the first group.

There is no data or scientific studies concerning institutional discrimination in Poland, yet sometimes in media one can learn about cases of discriminating attitude of state institutions towards foreigners.

Sociological research conducted among immigrants within *Xenophob* – Workpackage 2, enabled to collect information concerning the attitude of Polish institutions (within labour market, education and others) towards different groups of foreigners – from their point of view. Moreover during Focus Groups Interviews, a question of a general climate ("in the street", in media, in political statements) was tackled as well.

II. The Research Process

Three methods of information collection from immigrants within Workpackage 2 in Poland were applied: Recruitment Questionnaire Interview, Focus Groups Interviews, Individual Interviews (In-Depth Interviews). The research was conducted in three cities: Warsaw (Mazowiecke voivodeship, central Poland), Zielona Gora (Lubuskie voivodeship, western Poland), Lublin (Lubelskie voivodeship, eastern Poland) in May and June 2003.

The selection of cities

The decision concerning selection of cities for the research resulted from numerous meetings and discussions in the Polish Research Team. Only selection of Warsaw, the capital city situated in central Poland was unquestionable. The majority of foreigners coming to Poland stay in Warsaw or its suburbs. In the year 2000, about half of 17 802 work permissions for foreigners were issued in Warsaw. It is common, that foreigners staying or working illegally in Poland, choose Warsaw and it's surrounding as a place to live, more often as well. During 1999-2000 over 40% of visas were issued for persons coming to Mazowieckie voivodeship.

Warsaw has about 1.5 million inhabitants. Accordingly the labour market (legal and illegal) is quite large here, especially compared to other regions of Poland. Unemployment ratio amounts here to 6.2% (the lowest in Poland); for the whole Voivodeship it is 13.8% (the lowest in relation to other voivodeships); for the whole country – 18-19%.

Warsaw is a target place of both groups of immigrants: these travelling *to Poland to earn their bread* and businessman working here in foreign companies. Furthermore, the biggest market place in Europe, where a lot of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia work, is situated in the capital city of Poland (on the former sports stadium).

Zielona Gora is a city situated in western part of Poland, close to the border line with Germany. More than 119 thousand of inhabitants live there. Unemployment ratio in Lubuskie voivodeship amounts to 25% (it is one of the highest in Poland), but in Zielona Gora it is lower and amounts to 13.4%.

Lublin and its surroundings is a special place according to its nearness to the Eastern borderline. About 365 500 inhabitants live there, and the unemployment ratio amounts there to 11.3%; for the whole Lubelskie voivodeship it is 15,2%.

Lublin is an inportant academic centre, playing a metropolitan role in the south-eastern part of Poland. Two relevant universities (Catholic University KUL and Maria Curie-Sklodowska University) attract students from the former Soviet Union – a relevant number of Poles, citizens of Ukraine is among them. Comparing to Bialystok, an important stage on the way of immigrants from the Russian Federation to Byelorussia, Lublin is a relevant transit place from Ukraine and south republics of the former Soviet Union. It is worth mentioning, that Lublin belongs to a not numerous group of towns with refugees centres in Poland. The only fact of establishing such a centre here can prove, that Lublin becomes a more multicultural city, where foreigners are a relevant part of social environment.

In Lubelskie voivodeship, *trade visits* of in-comers from the former Soviet Union republics are quite common. According to some press information, as in this area they may especially be perceived as smugglers or members of *Mafia*, some immigrants coming from Eastern Europe (despite the above mentioned *openness* of Lublin) take western regions of Poland as a target place.

This short description of selected cities proves, that the selection of Warsaw was unavoidable. The main criterion for other cities was their geographical situation (nearness to eastern or western borders). It was assumed, that such a situation (followed by a social and cultural climate) may be a relevant variable differentiating the cities in the aspect of the situation of foreigners. Another criterion was the number of inhabitants accounting to more that 100 thousand, because smaller towns are very seldom a target of immigrants in Poland. Labour market situation in selected cities is similar (in relation to the whole country or to the whole voivodeships it is relative *not dramatic*, but in the case of Zielona Gora, the unemployment ratio is quite high). Actually taking into account Warsaw, the labour market situation is a relevant variable differentiating the capital city and two other cities as well.

The Composition of Focus Groups

As it was already noted, due to the fact, that in Warsaw the highest number of immigrants lives and their differentiation seems to be the most intensive as well, it was decided to arrange most of planned focus groups there (6). The number of participants in each focus group in Warsaw ranged from 7 up to 12 persons. In other cities, it was decided to

arrange 1 focus discussion per city, but under the condition, that groups were to be numerous (within methodological requirements of course) and possibly differentiated inside (especially in the aspect of the place of origin of participants)[166].

The following categorisation of groups was adopted in Warsaw:

Group I	– W1	'Non-European' Highly Educated
Group II	– W2	Students
Group III	– W3	'European' Highly Educated
Group IV	– W4	Youth Group
Group V	– W5	'Non-European' 'Less Highly Educated'
Group VI	– W6	'European' Less Highly Educated

Under the term 'European', persons 'rooted' in the Western Civilisation were understood (including in-comers from North America) with cultural and anthropological features enabling them for a better assimilation with the Polish society. 'Non-European' were first of all immigrants from Asia and Africa, more different in cultural and physical aspects from the Poles. The presence of the latter group may still result in curiosity among the Poles (but certainly year by year to a smaller extend). Division along axes 'European' / 'Non-European' and Highly / Less Highly Educated enabled the arrangement of four groups. This way, differences concerning the level of *otherness* (both: cultural and physical, very easy recognisable), as well as in education – or a sort of job (profession) practised (when a formal education criterion was difficult to apply, like in the Group W6 – *see below*).

Initially the division between *Eastern* and *Western Europeans* was taken into consideration (their position in Poland is very different – actually it was confirmed in the research), but according to the final decision, representatives of both groups were confronted with each other (or rather *mixed up*) in the same discussion.

Furthermore, two different groups of young people were organized: Youth Group (W4 - Pupils) and Students (W2).

Groups in Zielona Gora and Lublin were *open*. As all Warsaw groups were categorised mainly according to the place of origin and the level of education completed; from the research perspective it was interesting, to resign from such divisions and confront different categories of respondents to each other – without the respect to cultural differences.

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[166] Details concerning all focus groups, see Appendix No 1.

All groups consisted mainly of the first generation immigrants (the number of them is the highest in Poland, incomparably to other groups). There were some respondents of a Polish origin and a few with Polish citizenship (naturalised or from birth).

Respondents Selection

Respondents selection to all groups was conducted under very strict rules. Just after beginning of the Workpackage 2, a team of '*Head-Hunters*' was established. Different methods of recruitment were applied.

The first method applied was to use private contacts with immigrants in Poland (organized and during establishing an organization as well). In this way, using personal contacts of '*head-hunters*' and contacts with Association of Foreign Writers in Poland, just coming into existence (who work in Poland in different jobs), it was possible to select 10 participants for the Focus Group W1 ('Non-European' Highly Educated). 13 persons were collected for recruitment interviews - one of them was not invited for focus discussion (because of a huge number of participants), the second one was late and it was decided to invite her for an individual in-depth interview. The third one did not appear to the discussion.

One respondent of the Focus Group W1 was born in Poland (in a Polish-Vietnamese family).

Thanks to the engagement of a Professor of Sociology and Methodologist from the Main School of Commerce in Warsaw, who was participated in the project and to students of Warsaw University, who had contacts with foreign students living in Polish student hostels, the Team managed to collect 12 persons – *Foreign* Students (Focus Group W2) from different higher schools (Warsaw University, The Main School of Commerce, Technical University, Medical Academy) and of different areas of studies.

In the case of the Group W3 (European Highly Educated), consisting of 12 persons, first of all private contacts of Research Team were used. Fifteen recruitment interviews were conducted. One participant was a repatriate.

In completing the Focus Group W4 (Youth Group, 6 persons), contacts with two secondary schools (private and public) were very helpful. In the first school pupils of a Russian, Ukrainian and Iraqi origin were found, in the second one pupils of a Vietnamese origin. 10 recruitment interviews were conducted. One respondent was a pupil, who was born in Poland, the second one had been living here since he was three.

The recruitment of participants to the Focus Group W5 ('Non-European' Less Highly Educated) was the most difficult task within Workpackage 2 in Poland. First of all it was very difficult to find such persons – there is a very small number of them in Poland, especially comparing to other groups. Moreover, it is hard to contact these, who live in Poland (to convince them to take part in such a research is much harder – usually they are in Poland illegally). It is worth noting, that persons, who seemed to belong to such a defined social group ('Non-European' Less Highly Educated), (e.g. according to their job etc.), very often turned out to have higher education degrees, but for many different reasons, they work in less qualified jobs (e.g. in bars, market places etc.). As the result of 13 initial interviews, 7 persons appeared at the focus group discussion. The most efficient recruitment method was to contact with a catholic priest, who had very wide contacts with foreigners living in Poland (mainly with Vietnamese people, but with the Africans as well). Besides, the Research Team tried to gain some participants in the streets (in bars, market places etc.), which turned out to be very difficult, but not impossible. In this way an employee of a Kebab Bar (from Iraq) was invited (as it turned out an academic with PhD...). In the case of some interesting respondents (from Armenia), in order to encourage them to take part in a focus discussion, to arrange a car transfer was offered from suburbs where they lived, to the place of research, but even such an offer was not helpful. The offer was presented to persons illegally working in Poland – their excuse was the fact, that they would not get a day off at work.

As it shows, formal criterion of education degree was very difficult (or even impossible) to apply, that is why as the second and the most relevant criterion of respondent selection, a sort of job practised by them was adopted. Actually "Non-European Less Highly Educated" in Poland should rather be presented as "Practising 'less highly' qualified jobs" (very often in spite of education degree achieved).

To organize the Focus Group W6 ('European' Less Highly Educated) and especially to get to such a defined group was a relatively quite simple task to achieve. The final group consisted of 9 persons, found in the street (mainly at the market place, where a lot of in-comers from East work) and through private contacts of the Research Team. 20 recruitment interviews were conducted. In two cases, the same as it the Focus Group W5, respondents (from Ukraine) were offered a car transfer to the place of discussion. This time, the offer was accepted and they agreed to take part in the discussion; unfortunately they did not appear in the agreed place on the day of research.

In the completing focus groups out of Warsaw, co-operation with the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Zielona Gora (Focus Group Z1) and with College of Social Services Employees (Focus Group L1) was very helpful.

In case of the Focus Group Z1, respondents were recruited in Vietnamese, Turkish, Ukrainian bars (these working in gastronomy), through Linguistic College of the University of Zielona Gora (students) and through private contacts of our partners from Zielona Gora. 14 initial interviews were conducted - 12 respondents appeared at the focus group discussion (including four persons of Polish origin).

In the case of the Focus Group L1, respondents were recruited through private contacts of our partners from Lublin. The second method was a 'snow-bullet' method (recruited persons recommended other respondents - usually their relatives; as the result four families appeared at the discussion). 15 initial interviews were conducted, final focus group consisted of 11 participants form former communist countries.

It is worth to explain, why in some cases so many recruitment interviews were conducted (especially in the case of the Focus Group W6 but not exclusively; actually in the case of each group, more initial interviews were conducted than the number of participants of focus group collected). Such a strategy was adopted not only in order to protect against the absence of some respondents. Some interviews were conducted with respondents willing to take part in research (probability, that they would come was very high indeed), some interviews were conducted with sceptic respondents – researcher realised a very high probability, that a respondent would not agree to take part in focus discussion. In spite of a sceptic attitude of some respondents, it was decided to do initial interviews with them (especially with these with more interesting experiences), because it was believed, that such an interview would result in a higher motivation to take part in a focus discussion (indeed this strategy was in some cases successful). Furthermore, a higher number of recruitment interviews enabled a better final composition of focus groups.

Recruitment interviews were quite extended - each took 20-25 minutes. Besides, such questions as: place of origin, age, education, occupation (employment), marital status, residence period in Poland – questions concerning motives of coming to Poland, future plans, general experience from contacts with Polish institutions, contacts with organizations conducted by fellow-citizens of respondents in Poland etc. were asked too. Three sorts of initial questionnaire were created (for 'adults', for students and for pupils), adjusted to each of the group. Interviews were conducted for a few days before the focus group discussion and usually resulted in giving each respondent, a personal written invitation to the discussion (if he or she 'met all selection requirements'). The task was to encourage a respondent to take part in the discussion, to make him trust (firstly the researcher) and feel even more personally engaged in the Project (as one respondent from Vietnam said: it is our common *business*). As it comes out, a 'small steps method' was adopted. In case too many participants appeared at

the Focus Group Interview, it was planned to do individual in-depth interviews with some of them instead.

Focus Group Interviews and Individual (In-depth) Interviews

All Focus Group Interviews were arranged in professional focus studios with a recording equipment (video, but in some cases additionally audio recording was used too) and Venetian mirrors. Behind the mirrors researchers could make notes. It was decided, that discussions should be conducted by a moderator with a few year-long experience with focus groups,

Each focus discussion took about 2,5 hours (including a break, when all relevant additional suggestions could be given to the moderator). Snacks and soft drinks were provided, moreover each participant was paid (80 PLN ≈ 20 euro). After each discussion one or two respondents were selected for an individual interview (observation from behind the Venetian mirror during Focus Group Interviews was very helpful in choosing participants for individual interview).

Respondents for individual interviews were selected according to the following criteria:

- He or she was presenting interesting opinions during focus group discussions and it seemed, that he or she had not said everything and could add more during an individual interview

- He or she was a little tensed during focus group discussions. It seemed, that he or she could say something interesting, but rather during an individual contact.

To sum up, eleven individual interviews were conducted (they took from 25 minutes up to 1 hour and 15 minutes).

Furthermore, in the case of the Focus Group W4 (Youths), a projective technique (unfinished sentences) was applied during the focus discussion.

III. The Perception of the Host Country

The respondents had differentiated opinions as far as the question of the attitude of Polish society towards foreigners is concerned. They were mostly reluctant to generalize: *Some are unpleasant, some are nice* (the respondent from Zimbabwe)[167], *You can't say in general if the Poles are open towards foreigners. It depends on a person, his or her age, the level of education, the place of residence...*(the respondent from Albania)[168]. The respondents frequently said that the attitude towards foreigners is very differentiated depending upon such features as the level of knowledge, personal culture or if a person is simply a good or a bad men. There were some contradictions in their opinions. For example according to the opinion of the respondent from Russia young people are essentially less xenophobic than elderly people [169] and in the opinion of the respondent from Armenia – who in general has expressed very favourable opinions about living in Poland and about the Poles – if intolerance happens, it is mostly manifested by young people. [170]

In general our interlocutors from Western countries (as a matter of fact this group in Poland consists almost exclusively of highly educated people having high social status) in most cases perceive Poland as the country friendly to foreigners: (…) *In Poland foreigners are well treated* (the respondent from the US)[171]. The visitors from Eastern Europe have often had worse experience, which may be linked with a different perception of *others* from Eastern and Western Europe in Poland (to be discussed below). Even these who are successful and who do not feel marginalized and far from expressing generalized opinions on Poland, mentioned unpleasant situations when they had the feeling of being treated worse because of their origin – mostly by undereducated persons.

The division of in-comers from the East (especially from Eastern Europe) and from the West was mentioned by immigrants from Easter Europe (and also from other countries of the former socialist block as well as by visitors from Western countries, both highly and less educated people, adults and pupils, the respondents from Warsaw and outside Warsaw groups. The researched were pointing to a different treatment of foreigners in Poland depending upon their country of origin. They were talking about the Poles as the admirers of citizens from Western countries who treat visitors from the East with superiority. They stated that the Poles often think stereotypically that immigrants from the East come to Poland to illegally trade and

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[167] Partial report from W2 group - Students
[168] ibidem
[169] ibidem
[170] Transcript from an individual interview (2) in the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[171] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated

work: *me and my friend, from Albania either, had such a situation that we were sitting in a disco with two guys from Italy, and when we said we were from Italy, we were generally perceived differently than if we told we were from Albania. (...) If you tell you are from Italy and you speak Italian, they look at you with a sort of admiration. (...) and if you say you are from Albania there is none reaction* (the respondent from Albania)[172]; *(...) the Poles demonstrate very negative attitude towards people from the East. It refers most of all to worse educated people (...) such an approach that if you come from the East – then you come to trade or to do ...I don't know ... a sort of illegal business* (the respondent from Byelorussia)[173]; I *noticed that for people from Europe and from the States it's much easier than for people from Russia or Ukraine* (the respondent from the US)[174].

For immigrants from the former Soviet Union the problem is that all of them are thrown "into one basket" and given a negatively marked name: *ruski*. Both highly and less educated persons, students and pupils used to say that the Poles were undereducated and disregarded differences between Ukraine, Russia and for example Byelorussia or even Armenia and consider them all as people of the same origin: (…) *and generally, on the average the Poles do not know much enough (...) Such a conversation, for example. He asks: <Where are you from?> I reply: <From Armenia>. <Well, ...I have also been to Ukraine>. There are very few people who consider me, the Armenian as the Armenian from Armenia. They treat me as if I were Russian* (the respondent from Armenia)[175]; *in Kirghizia I was a Pole, in Poland I am Russian* (the respondent – impatriate from Kirghizia) [176]. By the way, the respondent from Ukraine made an interesting statement saying that in Ukraine (after she regained independence) also a pejorative qualification "*Ruski*" has appeared. [177]

What makes the problem for the respondents is the fact that their homelands are often perceived in Poland not only as poor but also as backward countries. *Ukraine has not remained far back from Poland, we have universities and here we are asked by some children if we had any television (...) It brings effects in an adult life.* (the respondent from Ukraine)[178]. It is worthwhile to mention that even though in numerous statements one could hear bitterness caused by such generalizations concerning immigrants from the East, it does not necessarily causes the conviction that Poland is an intolerant country. Moreover, the respondents stated sometimes that such a stereotypic perception of foreigners usually changes in a closer

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[172] Partial report from W2 group - Students
[173] ibidem
[174] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated
[175] Transcript from individual interview in the W1(2) group – 'Non European' Highly Educated
[176] Partial report from the Z1 group – Zielona Góra, open group
[177] Partial report from the U1 group – Lublin, open group
[178] Transcript from the W6 group – 'European' Less highly Educated

personal contact: *In my opinion it's only the first reaction and later, when you get to know a person ...when you see his or her personal level, then this attitude changes* (the respondent from Russia) [179].

One should state that some visitors from Eastern Europe perceive the Poles as people reluctant to make closer contacts (not only with foreigners) though they link this feature not so much with the dislike of foreigners but more with a "western way of life": *I would say that the Poles don't let you enter into very deep relations, they think it is so European, so Western* (the respondent from Ukraine) [180]. Other respondents complained about certain shallowness of their contacts with the Poles either but many of the respondents confirmed having many friends among the Poles. *I have almost no friends from the Sates here. They are all the Poles whom I got to know while working* (the respondent from the US)[181].

Newcomers of a higher social status from non-European countries assess Poland as the country with a climate of a moderate tolerance towards foreigners. The majority of well educated immigrants from non-European countries experienced sporadic troubles only. Cases of taunts happened, not necessarily perceived as discrimination. *It's always so that when you go out children look at me and shout: - Chinese! - and they pretend to be talking Chinese – "ciuciuciuciaciacia". It makes me laugh and not angry.* (the respondent from Vietnam)[182] *Problems of intolerance in Poland do not make a special problem in the street or in a close neighbourhood. I see that many of my colleagues from Africa have more problems than the Vietnamese. It doesn't mean that the Vietnamese don't face them. I, myself face such minor, so to say, taunts or obstacles in the street and a close neighbourhood* (the respondent from Vietnam)[183]. Visitors from non-European countries included in the group of European less educated group, who, in their general opinions were speaking about their life in Poland rather favourably *(I feel pretty well; it's not so bad in Poland; it's quiet; people are very good; life is not so bad here but not the best either)[184]* mentioned more bitterly a rather onerous interest of people in the streets, staring at them: *In Zambia it doesn't happen that somebody is staring at you from the beginning to almost the end of the street. It makes you remember that you are not at home. That kind of interest...* (the respondent from Zambia)[185]; *I wondered: was there anything wrong with my dress or hair? Why are they staring at me?* (the respondent from

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[179] Partial report from the W2 group - Students
[180] Transcript from an individual interview in the L1 group – Lublin, open group
[181] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European Highly Educated"
[182] Partial report from the W2 group - Students
[183] Transcript from an individual interview (1) in the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[184] Partial report from the W5 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[185] Ibidem

Vietnam) [186]. Here we should distinguish between two aspects. The first refers to onerous behaviours of the Poles which make foreigners feel different (what the respondent from Zambia defines as *intolerance*)[187] and the other aspect which refers to real causes of such behaviours which do not necessarily derive from intolerance but are manifestations of a simple curiosity and an interest in distinctness. One ought to remember that in Poland, when compared with Western Europe, people coming from other continents are scarce. By the way, some respondents were inclined to see the problem from this perspective.

Black respondents undertook a discussion on naming them "Negroes"; they said that the *very word "Negro" was an insult. The Poles don't understand it. For us a Negro is a slave* (the respondent from Zaire) [188]. It is worthwhile to mention that in Polish the word Negro does not have such a connotation as in English (in a colloquial Polish it only describes a person having a dark skin) and persons who use this word may not be aware that they are insulting a person. It was noticed by another black respondent: *The word Negro (...) is not bad in itself. It depends in what context it's applied* (the respondent from Congo)[189]. Also the respondent from Zaire while saying: *The Poles don't understand it* admitted that the use of this word didn't have to be intentionally disrespectful.

It happens, however, that the behaviour of the Poles might be unambiguously understood. The respondents from this group mentioned evident taunts. *We were provoked for a fight by some boys in the street. They were asking about what we were doing in Poland with such an evil intention. There was a quarrel and a fight* (the respondent from Zaire)[190]. The problems of taunts were coming back in the discussion even after new threads had been opened: *I would like to return to street taunts (...) I don't recall a day I haven't heard such words as Nigger, asphalt. It happens day after day. Let's tell it honestly (...) They say – Monkeys are coming* (the respondent from Zambia).[191] The problem of taunts was often linked with aggression resulting from an excessive consumption of alcohol, but not in all cases.

Aggressive taunts refer however not solely to persons from non-European countries, it is persons with a specific appearance. The respondent from Russia was an object of hostile glances and unpleasant words when passengers going on a bus noticed she was talking Russian: *Well, look how many Russians! There is half of the bus of them! And the Poles can't find a job in their own country!*[192] Furthermore, women from countries from the former Soviet

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[186] ibidem
[187] ibidem
[188] ibidem
[189] ibidem
[190] ibidem
[191] ibidem
[192] Partial report from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated

Union, no matter their nationality, often face obtrusive – quite frequently vulgar and rude-taunts on the part of men who seem to assume they were prostitutes: *When they see a young woman with an accent they think right away she is an easy girl, she hasn't come here to work but for this aim* (the respondent from Ukraine)[193].

In general the respondents mentioned the following causes of a negative behaviours of the Poles:

- the isolation of Poland from an inflow of foreign labour force at the times of communism; the fact that people are not acquainted with the presence of foreigners (from Asia and Africa, first of all) in the streets, at work, in offices;
- a difficult economic situation of the country, high level of unemployment, poverty, they cause fear that foreigners might take their posts, become a burden for state finance, which is in a critical situation;
- ignorance on other nationalities, countries, cultures, a low level of education;
- attitudes towards citizens from the former Soviet Union should be understood in a broader historical and political contexts; both 120 years of partition under Tsar's Russia and 45 years of the Soviet domination and an imposed communist system are still vivid in the memory of the Poles, all negative associations with Russia – Soviet Union as an enemy and an aggressor – have a reflection in the relation of the Poles towards citizens from Byelorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania, contemporary Russia and other countries of the region – they make basis for a distance and often the position of superiority which might be the method of overcoming historical oppression, a form of protest against economic and civilisation backwardness of the "former communist camp".

As far as how foreigners perceive towns in which they live, there were almost no clear statements that they were particularly intolerant, although the respondents mentioned sometimes some peculiarities of their places of residence.

In a student group persons, who previously lived in other Polish towns noticed some differences in favour of Warsaw. On the other hand there were voices proving a more positive attitude towards foreigners on the part of persons from outside the capital, who were more inclined to understand immigrants. *I know a few Poles who are not from Warsaw but the newcomers from other towns; they couldn't find a job there. It's easier with them as they are sharing similar problems – they don't have flats, they are seeking for a job (...) A newcomer goes in the same shoes. He understands you better* (the respondent from Ukraine) [194].

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[193] Transcript from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated
[194] ibidem

In Zielona Góra the respondents mentioned that in border areas there are strong differences in the attitudes of local population towards *others*. They said there were places where mostly simple workers lived, where people treated newcomers with dislike and there were also places of a more metropolitan character (Szczecin) where local society did not pay attention to ethnic origin.[195]. The respondent from Ukraine described Zielona Góra with the following words: *Zielona Góra appears tolerant towards Eastern newcomers as there live repatriates only, of Ukrainian origin and that's the reason for a very good attitude towards the Ukrainians and the Russian; it refers to Poznań either.* (the respondent from Ukraine)[196].

On the other side in Lublin the respondent from Ukraine described the town with the following words: *Lublin is a small town where (...) any otherness is simply a difference. All the time I have an impression that I am different (...)*[197].

It is necessary to note differences in relations between Polish pupils and foreign pupils between Warsaw on the one hand and Lublin or Zielona Góra on the other as well as between other places where the children of the researched studied. In Warsaw conflicts or manifestations of peer intolerance because of origin were almost unobserved. Such events happened in the case of the respondents from non-Warsaw groups, which faced occasional manifestations of sensation caused by an appearance of a pupil of foreign origin or cases of disrespect caused by their origin. When the respondent from Russia crossed the door of a Polish school, other pupils came and asked: *where is that Ruska?*[198]. The impatriate who for some time lived in Katowice felt disfavour of her Polish colleagues either.[199] But in general Polish children are friendly towards foreigners and treat them the same way as they treat other peers – the Poles, making friends not according to the criterion of origin but of individual features.

For both the newcomers from Eastern and Western countries bureaucracy used to be troublesome. The respondents from the West noticed numerous shortcomings in Poland, differences in social, legal and economic situation in comparison with Western countries. In the context of bureaucracy the newcomers from the East stress that in offices they are demanded numerous certificates, translations and stamps and no attention is paid to a human being as such.[200] In the statements of many respondents in relation to the general attitude

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[195] Partial report from the Z1 group – Zielona Góra, open group
[196] Transcript from the Z1 group – Zielona Góra, open group
[197] Transcript from the L1 group – Lublin, open group
[198] Partial report from the Z1 group – Zielona Góra open group
[199] ibidem

[200] ibidem

towards immigrants in offices one could hear opinions that problems are not caused by institutions themselves but by individual persons. It is worthwhile to note – it was also declared during the discussions – that immigrants are often doomed to a good or ill will of individual staff. In their perception among other things it is the effect of unclear legal regulations.

Among the researched groups of respondents there were different motives of migration and it might influence their perception of Poland. In general, for example, for immigrants from Vietnam Poland appears to be the country *where you may make business.* For the respondents from behind the Eastern border Poland is the country situated closer to the Western world, where there is a chance for a more affluent life (reality does not always meet their expectations) and sometimes the country of their ancestors where they are coming back after many years (in case of impatriates). The newcomers from the West perceive Poland as the country where they have better chances to make professional careers. In their statements on Poland *in general* they expressed very favourable opinions about Polish culture and Polish hospitality (Even though the last was evaluated differently. For example the respondent from Georgia stated that in comparison to the Georgians the Poles were not so hospitable).

As far as the respondents' perspectives for their future are concerned, generally in the case of non-European elites Poland is the country which offers limited development perspectives. These perspectives are much smaller in the perception of non-European less educated strata. Within the group of students there were several persons who, though they declared satisfaction with their stay in Poland, planned to leave Poland after graduation, due to economic reasons. Pupils who linked their future with Poland spoke in a different tone. In the eyes of pupils Poland appears to be a European country offering better opportunities for education and professional advancement than their countries of origin. Generally speaking people coming from Europe (mostly Western Europe) of a high status, for whom their stay in Poland was an opportunity for professional advancement perceive better perspectives for themselves, in comparison to other groups.

While describing the image of Poland in the eyes of immigrants it is necessary to note that in many statements the participants expressed numerous positive and even worm words about Poland. In the perception of many respondents the behaviour of the Poles in relation to foreigners changes gradually into a more acceptable: *(...) Now there are plenty of the same persons (newcomers from Asia and Africa) in Warsaw and thus people don't react (...)* (the

respondent from Vietnam) [201]. Many got assistance, experienced kindness either while arranging employment, renting flats (this sphere of experience was valuated very positively) or simply in the streets: *(...) I asked if they new where they were living* (the respondent was looking for the house of the Armenians whom she had known at the outskirts of Warsaw). *They all said: yes, we know them (...) and they showed the way. Somebody got on a car and guided me, (...) they were so ready to help* (the respondent from Armenia)[202]. There were opinions showing that some immigrants treated Poland as their second mother-country, for example: *Only when coming to Poland I have realised what an idea of another mother-country means (...) Are the Poles good or bad, cultural or not...I tolerate them all and I like them all (...) I treat everybody as familiar (...) As my home is here (...)* (the respondent from Armenia)[203].

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[201] Partial report from the W2 group - Students
[202] Transcript from an individual interview (2) in the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[203] ibidem

IV. Institutional Discrimination and Work

In the light of the discussions in focus groups one may see distinct factors that differentiate how foreigners perceive discrimination at the labour market. They are:

- legal status of a foreigner (having or no permanent residence permit, temporary stay permission, Polish citizenship);
- country of origin (foreigners from Western Europe or other "wealthy" states are treated better than foreigners from the former Soviet Union, Asia or Africa);
- education and profession; artists, scientists, physicians, lawyers, managers and journalists belong to professional groups successfully competing with the Poles at the labour market;
- duration of residence in Poland; a longer stay usually means a legalized status as well as good orientation in formal procedures and informal ways of "settling things";
- the knowledge of Polish; the better the command of Polish is, the better possibility to argument and "negotiate" with the staff and the easier getting acquainted with formal mechanisms and procedures;
- having relatives, friends who offer advice and assistance in settling formal matters (quite frequently undertaking actions to clear things and accelerate the procedures).

The analysis of statements of participants in focus group interviews allows to define the following areas where foreigners are being discriminated in Poland as to their presence at the labour market:

Formal and Legal Regulations for Foreigners to get Labour Permits

Obtaining consent to employ a foreigner depends, first of all, upon his or her legal status. Permanent residence or temporary stay permit entitles to obtain the consent to undertake legal employment. Yet, protracted procedures connected with formal legalization of residence shut the door to legal employment. This may be well illustrated by an example of the respondent from Senegal: *(...) I had a chance to be employed by an international company and they couldn't have employed me as I didn't have a permanent residence permit. They sent*

me to the labour office and check up my chances. There they told me to apply for a permanent residence permit and only then I would be able to apply for a job[204].

Due to the perspective of long waiting for settling formal problems the respondent was not employed by the mentioned company. Here is what the respondent from Lithuania said: *I was working illegally, only and exclusively. I tried to get employment permit in all possible ways and it was simply impossible. You can't jump over it*.[205]

In the opinions of many respondents – and there were no significant differences of opinions between higher or less educated persons, the country of origin does not really matter – in Poland legal regulations on the employment of foreigners are complicated and procedures unclear and slow; this is why they discourage employers to hire foreigners.

Numerous controversies and objections among the participants in all focus groups were expressed in relation to another essential condition for granting a foreigner whose stay is legalized the consent to undertake a job. It is the shortage of Polish candidates, willing and properly qualified, to undertake the job: *The law says that a foreigner who stays legally in Poland may be employed only in the case there are no Poles for the post (...) And now there is a recession (...) Let's imagine a job which the Poles don't want (...) An employer has to prove that the Poles don't want the job. Only then they may employ you* (the respondent from Albania) [206]. This problem makes a double barrier. It is faced by a foreigner with a legalized residence who has found an employer ready to employ him or her; yet, it is also faced by a foreigner who intends to establish own company and to employ fellow-citizens. The physician from Mongolia drew attention to this problem: *We are running such a small enterprise. In the labour office, in order to employ a foreigner you must make an application stating that there were no Poles for the post and to prove it. They now introduced such international regulations that to employ one foreigner you must hire three Poles. If it is such a small company you can't do it.*[207] The statement has been completed by the lawyer: *There is no such regulation but there is an international requirement* (the respondent from Mongolia)[208]. In such a way the circle is closed and foreigners have either to run an one-man entity or to employ the Poles.

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[204] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[205] Transcript from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated
[206] Transcript from the W2 group - Students
[207] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly educated
[208] ibidem

The last statement needs the comment. It is true that Polish law differentiates an access to a home labour market depending on having Polish citizenship or not. Yet, the protection of employees being the citizens of a given country in accordance with international law.[209]

The Organisation of Labour Offices

A great majority of respondents in Warsaw focus group expressed critical opinions on the organisation of work in labour offices. Queues, that lack of reliable information, incompetence, lengthy procedures, unclear principles of decision making. *Then I turned the documents to the Warsaw labour office and …then…when I was applying for a labour permission there were dreadful jams. You had to wait hours and hours, sometimes you had to queue for 7 – 8 hours. And then it was too late and you had to come the next day and keep on waiting again. And it might happen so, that you entered the office and it came out that you were missing a tiny document. And so many hours of waiting … lost and you had to begin it again* (the respondent from Armenia)[210]. Labour offices were mostly not perceived by the respondents as places where one could find a job: *if you are seeking for a job, don't go to the labour office. It's very difficult to get a job through the office* (the respondent from Vietnam)[211].

It is worth to mention that the problem does not concern foreigners only. Among the Poles the opinion about seeking for a job through labour offices is also rather negative. A bit better opinion about the activity of labour offices were expressed by the participants of focus groups from Lublin and Zielona Góra. There the organisation of labour offices was better: shorter queues and better information. The procedures to settle matters were the same slow and hardly effective.

The Attitudes of Labour Offices' Staff to Foreigners

There was a difference as to an assessment of the attitudes of labour offices' staff towards foreigners depending on the place where the research was done. The participants in Warsaw focus groups gave definitely worse notes to labour offices' staff. Here the staff is

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[209] Such regulations are acceptable even by an International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1996!
[210] Transcript from an individual interview in the W1(2) group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[211] Partial report from W5 group – 'Non-European' Less highly Educated

perceived as impolite, not knowing the regulations well, often treating foreigners with disrespect. *The attitude of the staff is essential. When I came to a labour office I wanted to escape immediately. They were all staring at me. I felt there were very bad. (…) The staff was uninformed. They didn't know how to talk to me. All these glances (…)* (the respondent from Zaire)[212].

All the participants coming from the East, it is from Ukraine, Byelorussia and Russia drew attention to a particularly disrespectful attitude of the staff towards newcomers from the East. *They are looking to the East with one eye and with both eyes to the West* (the respondent from Ukraine)[213]. According to the report of the Ukrainian respondent the staff suggested even that any efforts to get labour permit and legal employment were pointless. *Dear madam, there is no point to try. You will loose your time and money.*[214] *An observation of the respondent from Russia may also be interesting. He told that a so called "shouting staff"* (in general older persons) *were a sort of the legacy from communism and that younger persons had a much better attitude towards foreigners.*[215]

This "black" picture of the staff in the Mazovian labour offices was mitigated in the opinions presented by the respondent from Armenia who, during her repeated contacts with the labour office in Warsaw, met kind and positively minded staff (even though her opinions about the organisation of work was very critical). *Ms Cybulska* (the name of a person, remained in her memory for long) was particularly helpful: *She was very kind and helpful, giving advice so that I didn't have to come there hundreds of times*.[216]

A reluctant attitude of the staff does not necessarily result from their prejudice against foreigners. It makes a great difficulty for the Poles as well. Some respondents perceived the problem in more general categories: *I faced difficulties in offices not because I was Russian. They were shared in general by all customers (…) It comes out that clerks do not like customers, who are disturbing their quiet life and their salaries are not related to the number of customers, thus they are not interested in customers* (the respondent from Russia)[217]. The respondent from Ukraine, Lublin focus group argued with other participants' critical opinions about Polish offices, saying: *Everybody were talking about offices but you have forgotten what the offices in our countries are (…) in my opinion they work better than in our countries. In case you need to settle anything there you are afraid to open the door and come in.*[218]

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[212] Partial report from the W5 group – 'Non-European Less Highly Educated
[213] Partial report from the W6 group – ' European' Less Highly Educated
[214] ibidem
[215] ibidem
[216] Transcripts from an individual interview in the W1(2) group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[217] Transcript from an individual interview in the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated
[218] Transcript from an individual interview in the L1 group – Lublin, open group

The respondent from Russia drew attention to a negative selection of employees in the offices: *The profession of a clerk is not prestigious on the one hand, it is poorly paid on the other, which may be the justification for bribing. The best higher school graduates find employment in good enterprises and the worse go to work in offices. In this connection they do not have their specific culture to do anything in a good style.*[219]

It is worthwhile to mention that a better picture of the labour offices' staff was drown by foreigners who were accompanied by their employers while applying for work permits. The presence of an employer forced the staff to be more reliable in offering information, to be polite, make quicker decisions and sometimes it influenced getting a positive decision.

The Standpoint of Professional Corporations

Professional corporations represents the interests of their members' professional environment and the protection of rights to practice the profession is associated with the elimination of dishonest competition at the labour market against persons who do not meet statutory requirements. In our research we could get acquainted with the role of the Chamber of Physicians: six doctors (2 women and 4 men) participated in the discussion; they all had experience in getting their diplomas recognised, with practicing their specialisation as well as with an application for a permit to open their own surgeries. Before a foreigner is granted the right to practice he or she has to pass very difficult and detailed examinations held in Polish. According to the opinion of the respondent from Mongolia (a physician running a private clinic of natural medicine) the majority of foreigners cannot pass the exam at the first run due to language difficulties. But even if they pass the examination the Chamber of Physicians is not obliged to grant a licence to practice the profession. The aid of a barrister as well as long-lasting appeal procedures are necessary. Moreover, the Chamber of Physicians is an instrument of pressure made by Polish doctors on their counterparts from abroad. Recently the respondent had a call from a secretary in the Regional Chamber of Physicians who was checking if she possessed qualifications necessary to practice her profession. The intervention was provoked by phones from the alarmed Polish physicians. Two other doctors: the respondents from Bulgaria and Ukraine, had better experience. The first one opened his own dentist's surgery without major difficulties, the other is making his specialisation and passing examinations which – in his opinion – can help him to work as a specialist – gynaecologist –

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[219] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated

obstetrician.[220] The respondent from Zambia, unemployed physician, who has completed his medical studies in Poland did not succeed in overcoming the bureaucratic procedures of the Chamber of Physicians. *You can find a job but there is a problem with the Chamber of Physicians. There are many Poles dismissed from work, there are many unemployed among Polish doctors. The Chamber of Physicians will certainly not give a foreigner the right to practice the profession… In Lublin they gave me a job but the head of the Chamber of Physicians said no to me.*[221] It was interesting that in spite of his bitterness the respondent accepted the situation: *but it is understandable, I would say frankly.* The respondents from Libya and Mali doing their specialisation in one of Warsaw hospitals had no direct experience with the Chamber of Physicians, both were stressing friendliness of Polish doctors with whom they used to work.[222]

The picture of the Polish PEN Club, however, was positive. The respondent from Cameroon[223] (political refugee) had profited from the support of this organisation representing the interests of writers.

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[220] Partial report from the W3 group – ''European' Highly Educated
[221] Partial report from the W5 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[222] Partial report from W1 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[223] ibidem

V. Institutional Discrimination and Education

A definitely more favourable picture, as compared to labour market institutions, perceived by the respondents as discriminative, was the picture of educational institutions; they are perceived as a "foreigners friendly world".

The respondents expressing their opinions on Polish educational institutions may be divided into three groups:

- these, who have studied at Polish schools and universities while participating in the research, 6 pupils from Warsaw gymnasia and high schools, 12 students from Warsaw and 2 students from the Lublin focus group;

- these, who studied in Poland and are graduates at Polish universities – 12 persons[224];

- These, who have been staying in Poland for long, who settled here with their families and evaluate Polish educational system from the point of view of parental experience, whose children are pupils at Polish schools and Polish universities or who have recently been the ones. 18 persons presented their experience connected with Polish educational institutions (pre-schools, grammar schools, secondary schools, high schools, technical schools and higher schools).

The majority of respondents expressing their opinions on Polish educational institutions had contacts with public education which is free of charge: according to the respondents the law is being strictly observed at all schools and universities with which they had contacts.[225] Two respondents kept their children at schools run by associations, where payments are obligatory; 3 young persons – members in W4 group – pupils attended such schools.

The evaluation of Polish educational institutions referred to the following areas:

The Openness of Schools and Universities to accept Foreign Pupils

Both pupils and students as well as their parents did not report any case of a reluctant attitude at pre-schools or at schools on the part of their heads; the same situation was reported as to university authorities in the case of foreigners applying to be accepted by Polish

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[224] Graduates from Polish higher schools were participating in the following focus groups: W1 – 'Non-European' Highly Educated, W3 – 'European' Highly Educated and W5 – "Non-European' Less highly Educated
[225] According to the present legislation local self- governments which are responsible for schools are entitled to demand partial payments for the teaching of foreign pupils; in practice the principle is not applied

educational institutions. For example the members of group W1 – 'Non-European' Highly educated drew attention to the fact that no directors raised the question of legality of their stay while enrolling their children to school. The participants in all discussion groups stressed a friendly attitude of heads in educational institutions, their politeness and the lack of bureaucracy. There were cases that school management became involved in solving difficult life problems of families, whose children were taught at their schools. The respondent from Armenia recalls: *They* (the children) *were attending school no 1 in Pruszków. The head there was very nice.. she tried to influence the Town Office to offer a flat to our family.*[226]

The Attitude of the Administration of Educational Institutions to Pupils and Students

Graduates and students mentioned great kindness of the administration at Polish universities. The story of the respondent from Vietnam may be a good example: *ladies in the administration helped me to hide certain facts against the Embassy ...As an example I will mention that to go for vacations home I needed to have obtained proper results. So one lady at the Dean's office ...one could say ... a sort of ...forged facts to help me to get a permission to go home.*[227]

The students, however, drew attention to the question of the lack of information on the rights and duties to which foreign students are entitled. On the level of faculties there are no persons in a general administration to deal with foreign students. If they are, they do not fulfil their duties properly. As to this question the opinion of the representative of Albania is relevant: *In theory there is a section for foreign students but in practice there is none. It doesn't work. You must manage all by yourself.*[228]

Members of the students' focus group pointed to the phenomenon of an unequal treatment of students – foreigners in the case of granting a place at students' hostels. For example at Warsaw University there is a tendency to mix Polish and foreign students; yet, almost exclusively students from Western countries are directed to hostels of the highest standard. The student from Warsaw Technical University admitted that students who look differently are directed to the hostel which is called "Alcatraz" by students. *(...) not to mix them with the Poles... It means that people from the East are mixed with the Russians, the Ukrainians. And in the case of the Vietnamese, the Albanians, people from Africa, it doesn't*

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[226] Transcript from an individual interview (2) in W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[227] ibidem
[228] Partial report from W2 group - Students

happen. That is why our results are generally worse (the respondent from Albania)[229]. Foreign students at the Academy of Medicine, in turn, are given places in a new but more expensive hostel. A student (the respondent from Zimbabwe) drew attention to the fact that not all foreign students can afford payments.

Neither pupils at Warsaw schools nor the parents having children of a school age reported any manifestations of discriminating foreign pupils by administration, either in Warsaw or in Lublin and Zielona Góra.

The Attitude of Teachers, Professors, Teaching Staff to Pupils and Students

The attitude of the teaching staff in Polish educational institutions to pupil and students was rated high by the majority of the respondents. It comes out of the opinions of foreign students that professors were treating them very kindly: *The attitude of university professors is very positive (...) I have never met any negative reaction or behaviour (...) It is very positive. (...) They care for me to do well* (the respondent from Vietnam)[230] - this was a typical statement. They (teachers) understand their linguistic problems and therefore during the exams they happen to slightly lower their demands. *They are using a simpler language. Sometimes ...they ask simpler questions* (the respondent from Vietnam)[231]. The majority of the participants expressed satisfaction of such an "unequal" treatment and only one respondent admitted that she would prefer if the requirements were the same as in the case of Polish students.

Cases of a discriminating treatment of foreign students on the part of teachers are isolated, yet they happen. Such a case was described by the student from Warsaw Technical University. *Last semester I was to pass an exam by a person of whom Polish students told me he had disliked foreigners. I have an Arab name. And I wrote an exam five times. Before an exam he approached me and asked: Do you give up?* (the respondent from Albania) [232].

Pupils from Warsaw schools did not mentioned any cases of discrimination on the part of teachers. Two respondents form Warsaw W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated – pointed to some cases of racial aggressive "clashes". The respondent from Bulgaria told us about his experience as an Orthodox pupil, who was distinguished by his religious difference in his peer group; yet, he stated himself that it was not discrimination but a sort of concern for

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[229] ibidem
[230] ibidem
[231] ibidem
[232] ibidem

his lost soul.[233] The respondent from Austria, in turn, intervened in the case of a wrong treatment of his daughter by a religion teacher at school due to her religious indifference. [234] Thus two respondents faced cases of religion intolerance. Another respondent (from Georgia) stressed the significance of tolerance at school of his daughter, who – belonging to the group of Jehovah Witnesses – has never met any manifestations of discrimination. It is worthwhile to mention that in Lublin, where one may talk of close links with the Orthodox Church and a relative strong influence of Eastern culture, no cases of conflicts at school were reported due to belonging to other churches than the Catholic. A great majority of parents stressed high educational achievements of their children who often belong to the group of best pupils. It was the same in the case of our respondents in other towns.

Problems encountered by parents in their relations with teachers were similar to those, faced by Polish parents (differences of opinions as to just evaluation of results, the conduct at school, teachers' reactions to independent opinions expressed by pupils and so on).

Contents of Educational Programmes and the Effectiveness of Teaching

Parents – foreigners see exactly the same shortcomings of Polish schools as do the Polish parents. Incoherent teaching programmes, undereducated teachers, traditional teaching methods, low effectiveness. Members from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated – drew attention to the presence of xenophobic accents in education programmes. The problem lies in stereotypes concerning people of a different colour of skin. At pre-schools and at schools they sing songs presenting people of darker skin as stupider than the white, infantile in his or her conduct and even dwelling on a tree branch: *I have recently been to such a conference where I could see such an illustration: on a tree (there is) an African and a monkey and something like this. It was a book used at school for the teaching of children. I say it's dreadful. Why do people think that (black) men are like monkeys?* (the respondent from Cameroon)[235]. And here what the respondent from Libya said: *My son goes to a Polish pre-school. One day he came back very upset and I asked him the reason. At the pre-school they were reciting a poem "Murzynek Bambo" (Negro Bamboo). I asked the teacher what it meant. And she answered that they had been learning "Murzynek Bambo w Afryce mieszka" (A Negro Bamboo lives in Africa).*[236]

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[233] Partial report from the W3 group – 'European Highly Educated
[234] ibidem
[235] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[236] ibidem; There is a need to explain the point. There is really such a poem, written long ago by a famous poet, known to many generations of the Poles. In the first years of the Polish People Republic this poem was included

The subject provoked a vivid discussion and numerous controversies. All respondents in the group were unanimous that the acceptance of such contents in school textbooks, in school programmes might cause that negative, filled in with stereotypic views on foreigners, especially of a different colour of skin, picture of foreigners was being introduced into the minds of children. According to the opinion of the respondent from Japan *one ought not to prohibit such contents as it could cause the introduction of censorship*.[237] The problem has not appeared in any other focus group.

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into a basic textbook used to teach to read (elementarz). Nowadays there are plenty of school textbooks, teachers may chose different proposals and the poem "Murzynek Bambo" seldom appears in basic texbooks
[237] ibidem

VI. Institutional Discrimination: Police, Municipal Guard, Public Transport Ticket Controllers, Voivodship Council, Health Services.

Many respondents referred to their experience with institutions responsible for other spheres than labour and education, with which their contacts were unavoidable. Respondents from the W6 group – European less educated strata had unpleasant experience with tickets control services. It is worth while to underline that this group included visitors from the East – Ukraine, Russia, Byelorussia and Lithuania, it is the countries, which for their previous belonging to the Soviet Union are still associated with an unacceptable communist system and the attitude towards citizens from these countries is still dominated by negative stereotypes from a not far away past. Presentation of these opinions seems of a special importance as economic migrants from the discussed area still make a big and an increasing group of foreigners; in this case we may talk of a double discrimination: they face both possible manifestations of discrimination directed generally to all *others* as well as specific ones, being a sort of punishment for their coming from countries which in the past made the country – hegemony, the Soviet Union, which forced communism in Poland and deprived the Poles of their democratic freedoms and the access to Western civilisation. We should add that the majority of respondents work in Poland illegally, use public transport and experience contacts with the representatives of municipal services. One person referred to round-ups, organised by municipal guard (self-government services having less power in comparison to police), which were aimed at checking up passports of foreigners. According to their relations, foreigners happen to be taken to police and if they have no valid passports they are obliged to pay fine or leave Poland within 7 days.

Many negative opinions were addressed to policemen: the lack of respect for visitors from the East, for foreigners with a different colour of skin, also disrespectful and humiliating treatment of women – suggesting they might work as prostitutes – and the detention for no reasons[238]. Not only women from Ukraine, Russia or Byelorussia undertook the problem of ill treatment of women[239]. The respondent from Mongolia also talked it about: *I met such a strange reaction of police. I lost my residence card and had to report it, and they made so*

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[238] Partial report from the W6 group interview – 'European' less Highly educated
[239] Unfortunately also Polish women face such discrimination. In the case home violence or rape is reported to police it is mostly met with incredulity, suggestions that "a woman caused the situation herself"; the examples of such situations may be found in the documents of the Centre for Women's Rights

much problem about it. (…) They suspected immediately that I pretended being robbed, that it was not true. I intended to report the case and they did not listen to me. They sent me to Wilcza (the street where a police department is situated). *And there I said I wanted to explain that I had lost my documents. And they laughed at me and disregarded me*[240].

Also in cases of physical aggression and wounding of foreigners with a dark skin the reaction of a policeman was disrespectful. This is the story of the respondent from Cameroon: *(…) it was three meters from the police station. And I told the policeman who was standing there laughing – give me some water, I must clean the wound on my forehead. I have no water, said the policeman. I said I wanted to talk to his boss. He said there was no boss and I could talk only through the home phone*[241].

This lack of sensitiveness occurs at courts: *(…) In Poznań there was a case, a car accident, it was hit by another car and the man who caused the accident had a good barrister, he said his client was not guilty, the Negro was so black that he couldn't have noticed him… The barrister said so – he walks and one cannot see him…*(the respondent from Cameroon[242]).

A negative attitude of police towards foreigners is not a dominating norm. Many respondents had positive experience with police: *It was three weeks ago. We walked at the square in Warsaw. It was round 9 p.m., close to the ING Śląski Bank. There were three of us…and two bank bodyguards were standing there…they said <monkeys are walking in the street>. My colleague stopped and asked if he was addressing personally us <yes, what are you doing here>. He lost his temper, called the police. In this case police reacted effectively and the next day the whole group of bodyguards were dismissed.* (the respondent from Zambia[243]). A policeman helped another respondent when his car got damaged: *I asked the policemen for help. In any case I cannot find my way I ask a policeman. Once I couldn't start the car, they came and helped me* (the respondent from Ukraine)[244].

Another member of the focus group said he had also got help from a policewomen in civilian clothes who saw a Roma woman steeling his wallet: *I can say something positive about policemen. There was a case; I entered a shop, inspecting gowns and walking around. A woman in her middle age came and asked if I had not lost anything. I said, no. Why don't you check up your bag, please. I did it, no wallet. The bag is open; I had some 200 USD, several hundred Polish Zloty. She said: calm down, leave the shop, there is a policeman outside, he has stopped some Roma women and is talking something to a micro, he has in his*

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[240] Transcript from the W1group 'Non European' Highly educated
[241] ibidem
[242] ibidem
[243] Transcript from the W5 group –'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[244] Transcript from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated

lapel. I asked, who she was. A policeman in civilian. It was a very pleasant meeting with police. It happened once in 12 years. I talked to the policemen; they gave me my money back. I thanked. Why am I talking about it? Usually policemen are difficult to find. In my country, over the Eastern border one can see many policemen, here they cannot be found. (the respondent from Russia)[245]. The respondent from Armenia mentioned a case when a policeman instructed her in a friendly manner she should have put on the lights in her car. She added she had always been friendly informed of the way to go[246].

The respondents from the W6 group – 'European' less educated strata, very negatively perceived public transport ticket controllers. In the responders' opinions they treat foreigners as a source of extra income. *My mama arrived at Zachodni station and got on a bus. They told her to get off – no ticket for her luggage. She did not know where to buy it. They did not tell her she could have bought it from the driver. They got off in the centre. At the backside of some Vietnamese bar they said she had to pay, they took a bribe, I do not remember how much. They wanted her passport. They took it and they didn't want to give it back; she had to pay* (the respondent from Ukraine)[247]. This negative attitude to foreign passengers derives not so much from a prejudice to foreigners as from the feeling of impunity, supremacy over a victim, uncertain, helpless and not informed. In the majority of cases the pretext was the lack of a luggage ticket. The controlled were often proposed to give a bribe: *give us, what you have and we shall part,* and quite often the amount taken from a person travelling without a ticket was similar to an official fine. In the case a person refused, he or she was told that the passport would be taken away, also heard dirty jokes, bad names. The respondent from Lithuania described an extremely drastic case. After she had been forced to get off the tram, controllers led her, holding her arms, to a nearby police station, where they demanded personal search: *they were ticket controllers. Because I am a stranger they could do what they wanted...I do not want to repeat the words, which I have heard from them. They were not nice. If they could, they would take my clothes off …*[248]

In a more through interview the thread of ill treatment of foreigners by Voivodship Council offices was raised, where they apply for legalizing their stay. This is what the respondent from Armenia said: *People say that the staff of Warsaw Voivoda are instructed how to treat foreigners so as they always remembered where they came from, where their place was…for so many years I have never met a nice person… only once… for a very short*

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[245] ibidem
[246] Transcript from individual interview (2) in the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[247] Transcript from the W6 group– 'European' Less Highly Educated
[248] ibidem

period there was a young man, who just used to explain in details what was going on, what I should do to make procedures work…and this young man was there for very short, he just didn't fit. The next time he was not there[249]. The respondent from Congo also expressed negative opinion on the work of the Office: *I had 45 days to prolong my card…there were long queues there. We waited outside almost 3 hours…when we came in, they did only 4 persons. After an hour I was the tenth, I waited for another hour and they closed the door. They said they couldn't do the case that day; we had to come the next day. And again I had to get up at 6 a.m. and queue up…*[250]

Much more positive opinions were formulated as to the attitude towards foreigners in the case of health services. The attitude of physicians is faultless: *There are no problems, doctors are fine. They are helpful, they do not make it a problem if a child comes from Ukraine, for example. They are very good people.* (the respondent, a pupil from Ukraine)[251]. However, the respondents pointed to the same faults in the organisation of health services, which are faced by everybody living in Poland: wrong information, long waiting for help and inability to get help from specialists without the direction from a family doctor. Students complained that persons working in health centres lack knowledge of norms regulating the access to health services for foreign students after the reform. They underlined that foreign students of a non-Polish origin[252] must at the first instance pay a high initial prepayment, often outside their reach, in order to get the right to pay contributions for health insurance: *For the reason you haven't been insured you must pay some 1300 Polish Zloty (300 Euro)(…) besides you must pay contributions each month* (the respondent from Albania)[253]. This is the reason why they do not always get insured and in case of illness or an accident they may have problems to cover the cost of treatment.

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[249] Transcript from an individual interview (2) in the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[250] Transcript from the W5 group– 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[251] Transcript from the W4 group - Pupils
[252] Higher schools are obliged to pay health insurance contribution for foreign students of Polish origin
[253] Partial report from the W2 group - Students

VII. Racism and the Extreme Right

The analysis of manifestations of racism or else of xenophobia referred to two spheres; the attitudes of political parties and politicians towards the problems of foreigners in Poland and the picture of foreigners in media.

Politicians, Political Parties and Foreigners

While analysing Polish political scene the participants of focus group interviews could not name groups which based their existence upon xenophobic slogans. Persons who were best oriented in the Polish political scene (the respondents from Japan and Vietnam) from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated, noticed only isolated performances of politicians which could be considered racist or xenophobic, though they stressed that these performances have not raised any vast social response. *Such problems occurred, yet more in the previous parliamentary tenure. Xenophobic speeches happened, yet they were not exposed. These were isolated presentations, they can be found in Parliamentary writings* (the respondent from Vietnam).[254]

The respondent from Japan pointed to these political parties which unite relatively more politicians averse to foreigners. *In the context of xenophobia one can see no claims against persons from African or Asian countries. I closely watch these people; there are some who derive their behaviours from a sort of anti-Semitism; the co-related xenophobia comes out from the conviction of Poland being a catholic country…One should not refer to parties as such, though there are some persons in the League of Polish Families, also "Samoobrona". If we talk of groups, the highest rate may be found in Polish Peasant Party, they are a specific group…*[255] Also in the researched group of students one person pointed to the League of Polish Families and "Samoobrona" as the parties, which happen to speak in a xenophobic way (the respondent from Byelorussia)[256].

Quite often the respondents expressed opinions that Polish politicians did not get engaged in the problems of foreigners: *As to politicians, they are not yet much engaged in the problems of foreigners. They seem to watch the reactions of various groups. They do not want to speak much on the problems of foreigners.* (the respondent from Vietnam)[257]. In the

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[254] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[255] ibidem
[256] Transcript from W2 Group - Students
[257] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated

respondents' opinion politicians are not interested in the problems of foreigners, *because it does not bring them any profits,* and even if they happen to declare openness towards foreigners, actually *they refer to foreigners as if they were a sort of a negative phenomenon* (the respondent from Albania)[258].

Out of non-parliamentary quasi-political groups adverse towards foreigners the respondents mentioned the skinheads, yet in their opinion they make a small group in Poland and do not make a serious threat to foreigners. In the opinion of the respondent from Cameroon: *The staff in Polish offices are more dangerous than the skinhead* [259].

The Picture of Foreigners in Media

Several aspects were raised in the discussion on the role of Polish media in shaping the picture of foreigners. One aspect points to a sensational attitude towards foreigners, drawing attention to their cultural differences, expressing astonishment as to the fields of their activities. The relation from a journalists visit in a clinic of natural medicine, run by the respondent from Mongolia may be an example: (…) *journalists from TV visited us (…); they said they were making a programme…I heard <it is beyond comprehension>. It means the fact we are here is <beyond comprehension>. One of them said they intended to show oriental culture. However, they rather searched for sensation, they wanted to show that something is wrong, people complain (…) there were some patients, they asked them how their relatives reacted to their visits to natural medicine doctors, whether they were laughed at. That sort of questions, intentional. In spite of that our patients were satisfied, no negative opinions*[260].

Another aspect of the discussion stressed *the shallowness of Polish media in presenting topics related to foreigners, the reluctance to search for truth, for a decent knowledge of our problems.* This is what the respondent from Vietnam says: *They used to react wrongly to the presence of foreigners in Poland. It depends upon a journalist (…) they are not self-confident as to their attitudes towards foreigners. They are not sure of what they should be writing about us. They lack knowledge. We sometimes make jokes that their picture of foreigners is shaped by American movies. They imagine foreigners as Mafioso…recently some dishonest journalists appeared, they neglect exploring the topic, researching it*[261].

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[258] Transcript from the W2 group – Students.
[259] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly educated
[260] ibidem
[261] ibidem

Another interesting aspect, being reflected in media broadcast, refers to *the lack of political will to shape a true picture of foreigners.* The representative of Cameroon pointed to this phenomenon: *Yes, there are many stereotypes, they are still strong… I cooperate with a daily* (here the title appears)*…and I know how media function in Poland. On the one side it is not their (journalists') fault in the case there is no political will… There are many good journalists, who are determined to do some good things. For example they do research when they write a text , yet finally, in the last minute, the text is rejected*[262].

In spite of these faults media are considered important subjects for modelling the perception of foreigners in Poland. It is of a special importance in view of a vague interest of politicians in these problems. The representative from Armenia says: *I strongly support the journalists who have recently raised the problem of foreigners, because politicians neglect the problem. And the reporters intend to draw their attention; they make them notice the problem. This is not the problem of one person, or several persons. These are thousands of people who really need help, who have come here as if they were blind.*[263]

Programmes presenting racist or controversial contents are very rare. Respondents mentioned a TV programme "WC Kwadrans" (made by a controversial journalist, who invited guests and discussed current political, social and cultural topics), or else the presentations of Radio Maryja (the biggest catholic radio in Poland, also strongly controversial, even for the Catholics). The programme "Porozmawiajmy" (Let's talk) in Polonia TV is considered positive (invited persons share their views on different every-day topics), there are programmes in local TV stations, for ex. in Bialystok for national minorities. In general, however, respondents spoke for an increased interest on the part of media for the problems experienced by foreigners who arrive in Poland to build up their life and for shaping a more balanced, true, deprived of stereotypes picture of foreigners.

The respondent from Zambia spoke of another example of incorrectness (though in a joyful manner) on the part of sport journalists who concentrate their attention on the colour of skin of Polish sportsmen (in the case they are not white): *I am a person who watches TV quite often, especially sports, and if I compare commentators abroad and in Poland, I say…we have colour TV sets, why should we be reminded: O, here is Olisadebe, a black forward in the Polish team. And when Świerczewski has the ball they do not say: O, a white forward in the Polish team has the ball*[264]. One should mention, however, that black sportsmen are scarce in Poland, which may be the reason for such comments.

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[262] ibidem
[263] Transcript from individual interview (2) in W1 group– 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[264] Partial report from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated

VIII. Coping with Racism

The nastiest and of far-reaching effects for foreigners is a reluctant, malevolent and incompetent attitude of Polish offices and their staff. It makes the settling of formal problems such as legalization of residence difficult, economic stabilization and independent status impossible. Any contact with an office causes frustration and the feeling of being discriminated. The reaction to a 'resisting' behaviour of bureaucracy is differentiated: seeking support among fellow-citizens, among Polish friends, getting help from lawyers, individual studying of legal regulations and overcoming the resistance knowing one's own rights, also setting up associations and organisations representing the interests of groups of foreigners. *...And the offices always give negative interpretations, such an attitude prevails and many of our fellow-citizens must appeal, with the help of lawyers and in most cases there is an appeal or reconsidering the case...*(the respondent from Vietnam)[265]. (…) *I have already visited the Helsinki Foundation and they wrote an appeal against the decision to the minister and only then my wife and son got the permission to stay here* (the respondent from Vietnam)[266]. It is an example of statements, this time by the Vietnamese, who described, how they cope with bureaucracy. The Vietnamese have their own association in Warsaw: *The associations ...they help us to integrate, to help each other, they make contacts easier, also to integrate with Polish society, however they are active only among the Vietnamese, they do not engage Polish society (...)* (the respondent from Vietnam)[267]. Also the respondents from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Russia and Armenia stressed the need to set up associations to help foreigners in overcoming formal obstacles[268].

Undertaking self-employment, setting up small enterprises may be examples of strategies to cope with the lack of access to employment in Polish firms or institutions or to work in one's own profession: *I come from Mongolia. I have lived in Poland for 10 years. I am a lawyer by profession. I have no chance to work in my profession. I run a medical centre ...*(the respondent from Mongolia)[269]. *I come from Senegal. I am now a doctorate student. I am self-employed, making sculptures, African art* (the respondent from Senegal)[270]. *I am from Japan. This year 30 years will pass since I have arrived on a Polish soil...now I have a consulting enterprise, dealing with the emission of thermal gases. I am a consultant in*

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[265] Transcript from the W5 group –'Non-European' Highly Educated
[266] Transcript from an individual interview in the W5 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[267] Transcript from an individual interview (1) in W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[268] Transcript from the L1group – Lublin, open group
[269] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[270] ibidem

ecology…(the respondent from Japan)[271]. However, having own enterprises is characteristic for highly educated persons, staying in Poland since long.

Certain methods of bribing officials are considered to be helpful to overcome formal barriers in some cases. It is not a common phenomenon, yet was experienced by some of the respondents. Generally it is perceived as negative. Yet, the opinion of the respondent from Austria, who considered this method a chance to overcome bureaucratic barriers may sound interesting: *Why don't you go to Austria and try to get the residence (...) or to Switzerland* and *try to settle something… or to Germany…Thanks God there are ways, that one may bribe a person; in Austria you can bribe nobody and you will not settle anything either (...) I think it may be a positive feature, though it may sound absurd, that there are ways (...) and all these tragedies that take place at the Frankfurt airport every day experienced by people who want asylum in Austria; it is a nightmare, because there are no ways…*[272]

The mediation of Polish friends is an important strategy in overcoming formal barriers: *I had some foreign currency; I wanted to exchange it to Polish Zloty. And they said they couldn't. I asked, why; because you aren't a Pole. I went there with my fiancé, they did not demand any documents, they saw she was a Pole and exchanged the money* (the respondent from Congo)[273].

Many respondents highly evaluated the behaviour of these Poles who helped them to find a job – both legal and illegal: *when I rented a flat in Pruszków, my landlady offered me to find a job in a local enterprise. I went there and I was immediately engaged* (the respondent from Armenia)[274]; *the man who I am taking care of, he accompanied me to the office to settle things with a permission for a temporary stay; they treated me polite and nice. I had no problems. If I came on my own, probably things would go worse* (the respondent from Russia)[275]; *I have tried for two years to set up a firm – a Pole helped me, she new everybody as she was an entrepreneur herself. Unless she had helped me, it wouldn't have been solved till now* (the respondent from Byelorussia)[276].

A sense of humour and a good retort may be good reactions to oral aggression. These are the words of the respondent from Vietnam: *My colleague was working in a sort of a well; one guy comes out of it and says <you are a Negro>. And he replied <you are a Negro*

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[271] ibidem
[272] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated
[273] Transcript from the W5 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[274] Transcript from an individual interview (2) in W1 group – 'Non-European' Less Highly Educated
[275] Transcript from the W6 group –'European' Less Highly Educated
[276] ibidem

yourself, because you are a simple worker and I am an engineer. What do you say, ha![277]. Yet, these are methods for persons who now Polish well.

A good command of Polish is another strategy as well as of English, which may serve for communication in public transport or in the street without fear; passengers may react negatively when they hear Russian. The respondent from Russia says: *When my friend from Israel came, he is a Russian speaking person, I said to him <you know, Jura, let's not talk Russian at Praga* (a part of Warsaw)*, it is not good, their reactions may be unpleasant, like <o, Ruskie!>*[278].

Persistence in pursuing one's aims, also the knowledge of regulations was another discussed strategy: *only patience and persistence may help to solve problems. I politely and with persistence demand respecting my rights, which I have learnt* (the respondent from Bulgaria)[279].

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[277] Partial report from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated
[278] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated
[279] ibidem

IX. Perspectives for Multi-cultural Citizenship

The perspective for a multi-cultural Polish society refers rather to a distant future. This topic was ambiguous to our respondents as well as troublesome. They had problems to formulate opinions of a prognostic character. Relatively few respondents referred to this question: *Poland is a nationally homogenous country. We, as foreigners, are a 1% minority* (the respondent from Austria)[280]. However, during an interview two planes of discussion disclosed, showing necessary ways to become a multi-cultural society. The first referred to political actions, both at the level of political programmes of Polish governments and in solutions of a formal and legal character. The respondents stated that the topic called "foreigners" should be included into a political debate. Poland as a country should clearly define her attitude towards foreigners: *we do not focus much attention* (the respondent from Vietnam)[281]. *They do not know the problem well* (the respondent from Japan)[282]. There is no comprehensive policy on this group of inhabitants, whereas legislative changes are casual and introduced without any consultations with the groups involved. *And the foreigners, who are living in Poland could be more offensive, could do more, to start lobbying, to enter into the consciousness of Polish society* (the respondent from Vietnam)[283]. One of the roads to make things normal, to stabilize foreigners in Poland could be the legalization of their stay: *In many countries it is practiced… for example in Italy; in the case of foreigners who have no permission for a legal stay and who are doing well, work decently, take care, earn their living… their stay is being legalized…There is no such a rule in Polish law* (the respondent from Mongolia)[284]. *As to the policy, the problem of legalizing residence demands quick solutions. If it isn't solved, it will cause problems not only for foreigners but also for the political power and society* (the respondent from Vietnam)[285].

Another plane of the discussion referred to the sphere of the "dialogue of cultures". And here, as it comes out of the discussion, there is much to do both on the part of the Poles and of the foreigners. The level of mutual knowledge is extremely low: *what bothers me is the fact that the knowledge, it is what we know, for example the Austrian about Poland and the Poles about Austria is dramatically low, and decreasing* (the respondent from Austria) [286]. *It is a global problem; when I meet Americans, their knowledge is totally different from*

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[280] ibidem
[281] Transcript from the W1 group – 'Non-European' Highly Educated
[282] ibidem
[283] ibidem
[284] ibidem
[285] ibidem
[286] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated

persons from Europe, Russia or Poland. Simply different levels (the respondent from Russia)[287]. The knowledge of different cultures is the key to reject stereotypes, to accept differences and this, in turn, helps to overcome isolation: *Both sides must do the work. I tell it as a foreigner living in Poland, we must also open up for you, to show the peculiarities* (the respondent from Vietnam)[288]. In the meantime, for today there is a lack of multi-culture in Poland and the foreigners, who have experienced it, miss something: *I have lost this multi-culture, I haven't lost Switzerland but I have lost the multi-culture. And I miss it.* (the respondent from Switzerland)[289].

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[287] ibidem
[288] Transcript from an individual interview in the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated
[289] Transcript from the W3 group – 'European' Highly Educated

X. Conclusions

While speaking about Polish society in general the respondents expressed both positive and negative opinions as to attitudes towards foreigners. It is worth to point to the fact that they preferred not to generalize. Visitors from the East in particular mentioned a low level of knowledge and the tendency of the Poles to generalise. Generally speaking better educated persons and mostly from the West perceive Poland as a country friendly to foreigners (persons coming from this direction feel mostly well here). Persons coming from the East (especially coming from the republics of the former Soviet Union), also from Asian or African countries (especially less educated or unsuccessful) perceive Poland as a less tolerant country (especially towards persons of a certain nationality or having a different colour of skin).

It is worth to note that in the majority of cases even a negative experience is not traumatic enough to make the respondents perceive Poland the country exceptionally hostile towards foreigners. Many respondents spoke of a positive experience in their contacts with the Poles and considered negative behaviours more as the manifestation of intolerance than of racism. *I feel that some Poles refuse the acceptance. It is not racism but the lack of acceptance.* Some, in spite of troubles and distress, which they have experienced, declare that in their minds they already feel as if they were the Poles and that Poland has become their second mother country.

As to the question of institutional discrimination of foreigners at the labour market in Poland we may mention the following phenomena:

- The labour market institutions, the labour offices and their staff in particular, have contacts with persons who apply to legalize their stay; it also refers to persons who live in a sort of "suspension", seeking for legal sources of income; faulty work of the staff, the lack of comprehensive information, reluctant attitudes of the staff pushes this group of foreigners to work in a grey sphere, which may be the cause for an abuse (for example breaking the conditions of contracts, unpaid extra hours etc.). Work, which they undertake, has little in common with either the level of their education or their professions practiced in their countries of origin. A school psychologist or a nourishment technician work as baby-sitters, a hairdresser goes out charring, a precise technician does the renewal works. This phenomenon refers mostly to the visitors from the former Soviet Union countries [290].

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[290] Partial report from the W6 group – 'European' Less Highly Educated

- Persons having a legal status, highly qualified and educated do not seek for a job at the labour offices; they are given permissions to run their own, usually small firms [291] - or their employers apply for the permit to employ them.
- The representatives of professionals (scientists, artists, journalists, translators and interpreters) or a management staff of foreign capital enterprises belong to a privileged group; they either do not need work permits or their cases are solved according to different procedures. For example three journalists (from the US, Switzerland and Germany) work for periodicals having their seats in the US or West Europe; the procedures of getting work permits do not refer to them.[292]

One should stress that the respondents from all groups were fully aware of a difficult situation at the labour market in Poland. In their opinions high unemployment in Poland is one of the key causes of problems to legalize the employment of foreigners. One should also point to the fact that critical remarks as to a fault organisation of labour offices or to a bad work of their staff, basically do not differ from the opinions of the Poles in this matter.

The picture of educational institutions in the opinions of respondents is much more positive; one may rightfully state that this is the world friendly to foreigners; it may be supported by the following statements:

- Public and free education (except in preschools which demand payments to cover costs also I the case of Polish children) at all level of education is fully accessible;
- There is a positive and friendly attitude of educational staff (with few exceptions) towards foreign pupils and students;
- There is no discrimination in the system of evaluating the results in the case of foreign pupils.

One should also mention that foreigners point to the same weaknesses of Polish schools, which annoy Polish parents and decide upon a low level of education in public schools; the insufficiency of good educational staff, the lack of comprehensiveness in education, traditional methods of instruction. Several respondents noticed the presence of contents which may shape negative stereotypes of foreigners with a different colour of skin in educational programmes and isolated cases of religious intolerance.

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[291] Firms led by foreigners act mostly in niche segments of market: bars, oriental food restaurants, translation offices, natural medicine centres
[292] Partial report from the W3 group– 'European' Highly Educated

On the other hand one can point to the discrimination of visitors from the East (mostly from countries of the former Soviet Union) as well as of foreigners of a strange appearance by the representatives of police and other people in uniforms. The picture of Warsaw municipal guard is especially negative, so is of public transport ticket controllers. Their representatives take advantage of the lack of knowledge on regulations and an uncertain status of foreigners and commit evident abuse, feeling totally exempt from punishment; it almost never happens that these categories of foreigners – applying for a legal status, often employed in a grey sphere, having neither financial nor fellow-citizens' support, try to explain the case and to claim their rights. One should add, however, that the representatives of the discussed services used to abuse Polish citizens as well; it is hard to state without doubt how much their attitude towards foreigners is rooted in xenophobia and how much it is the manifestation of power over persons controlled (in this case simply weaker and helpless). In this context the picture of police is much more positive, though cases when they tend to transgress their competences or relinquish necessary interventions take place. The respondents directed many bitter words to Voivodship Council offices, responsible for legalizing residence. They completed an almost "black picture" of Polish offices and their staff. However, Polish citizens share the same problems; at the same time it is an evidence of inefficacy of public administration reforms, made in Poland in the 90-ies.

Poland is not the country where xenophobic slogans are becoming popular. Any manifestations of intolerance, the lack of acceptance, talked about by the respondents in their characteristics of contacts with the Poles, derive from certain stereotypes inscribed into the stratum of cultural codes and manifest more in every day situations than are declared in parliamentary speeches or in party programmes. Foreigners are not the targets for political groups of a racist colouring.

While characterizing Polish political scene the respondents pointed only to individual persons or groups of politicians – linked mostly with the parties of a populist and national character – where the distance to *others* is more an element of ideology than the programme for actions. In programmes of Polish political parties the question of foreigners is a marginal issue, and even if this topic appears, it does not break political correctness principles. The distance, or rather indifference of politicians – as some respondents named it – towards the problems of foreigners is however perceived as avoiding inconvenient topics and does not favour creating a better perspective for many foreigners, more or less rooted in Poland, to build up their future in our country. On the other hand media treat the question of foreigners shallowly and as an element of sensation; they do not play educational role in overcoming cultural stereotypes. Yet, publications or programmes of racist colouring are scarce.

One may point to numerous strategies of coping with problems, which are faced by foreigners in Poland. These strategies are adjusted to the spheres of discrimination and the methods depend upon their legal status, their knowledge of Polish regulations and their informal contacts, also the command of Polish, ethnic isolation of the group or their integration with the Poles and, to a certain extent, upon the country of origin. The most commonly mentioned strategies are to seek support from fellow citizens, Polish friends, to contact lawyers, to individually study Polish regulations or else to "overcome bureaucracy" knowing one's rights, persistence and consequence, setting up associations and organisations representing interests of groups of foreigners, also to undertake self-employment – to set up small firms, to learn Polish, sometimes to bribe.

Multi-culture is the task for the future. The number of foreigners is small, procedures to legalize residence are complicated, there is no dialogue of cultures – these are factors unfavourable for shaping a multi-cultural Polish society.

Summary

8 focus group discussions were arranged within Xenophob – Workpackage 2 in Poland: 6 in Warsaw, 1 in Zielona Gora (Lubuskie voivodeship, western Poland), 1 in Lublin (Lubelskie voivodeship, eastern Poland).

Warsaw groups were categorised (along axes 'European' / 'Non-European' and Highly / Less Highly Educated), others open and differentiated. All Focus Group Interviews were organized in professional focus studios with video-recording equipment and Venetian mirrors. The number of participants in each group ranged from 7 up to 12 persons.

Along with focus discussions, two other methods of information collection were applied: a Recruitment Questionnaire Interview and Individual Interviews (In-Depth Interviews). 11 individual interviews were conducted; furthermore, in the case of the Focus Group with youths, projective technique (unfinished sentences) was applied during focus discussion.

In general, Poland was perceived as a country friendly for foreigners by higher educated and qualified persons, mainly from Western countries. In-comers from the East (especially from the former Soviet Union) and from Africa and Asia (especially these 'less highly' educated and these who did not succeed in Poland) perceived Poland as a less tolerant country.

Many respondents talked about a positive experience from contacts with the Poles, whose negative behaviour was sometimes called intolerant, but not racist.

The main difficulties within the labour market were:
- incompetence and a negative attitude of the staff of labour offices
- lack of information for immigrants
- complicated and 'not clear' legal system

It is worth noting, that all respondents were aware of a very difficult labour market situation in Poland in general; their opinion concerning labour offices and their staff did not differ to large extent from the opinions of the Poles.

Educational institutions were perceived by immigrants as rather friendly.

The strongest discrimination of immigrants (mainly from the East, e.g. the former Soviet Union) refers to control services. It regarded first of all Municipal Guard and ticket-controllers in trams, buses and underground – these services do not have a positive opinion among the Poles as well. In this context the image of Police was much better.

It is worth noting, that Voiovedship Offices (where immigrants settle legal issues) were very often perceived as unfriendly institutions.

Poland was not perceived as the country, where xenophobic slogans become popular. Immigrants are not targetted for political or racist attacks. In media, the issue of immigrants is presented very shallowly in the opinion of the participants.

The most often mentioned strategies of coping with difficulties were: contacts with natives, contacts with fellow-citizens, contacts with lawyers, getting to know the rights of immigrants, setting up organizations, self-employment, better command of Polish or English languages.

Attachments:

APPENDIX No. 1 – Schedule of Focus Groups Interviews and Individual Interviews

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<u>**Group W1:**</u>   **'Non-European' Highly Educated**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	30th May 2003, 10^{00} - 13^{00}
Number of Participants:	10 (FGI) + 1 (IDI out of focus discussion)
Countries:	Armenia, Japan, Cameroon, Libia, Mali, Mongolia, Vietnam, Senegal
Individual Interviews:	2 (Vietnam, Armenia)

<u>**Group W2:**</u>   **Students**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	30th May 2003, 13^{00} - 15^{00}
Number of Participants:	12
Countries:	Albania, Byelorussia, Lebanon, Russia, Slovak Republic, Syria, Vietnam, Zimbabwe
Individual Interviews:	1 (Byelorussia)

<u>**Group W3:**</u>   **European Highly Educated**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	7th June 2003, 10^{00} - 13^{00}
Number of Participants:	12
Countries:	Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Russia, Georgia, Switzerland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, USA
Individual Interviews:	2 (Russia, Georgia)

<u>**Group W4:**</u>   **Youth Group**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	7th June 2003, 13^{00} - 15^{00}
Number of Participants:	6
Countries:	Iraq, Russia, Ukraine, Vietnam
Individual Interviews:	1 (Iraq)

Group W5:   **'Non-European' Less Highly Educated**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	14th June 2003, 9:00 - 13:00
Number of Participants:	7
Countries:	Iraq, Congo, Vietnam, Zambia
Individual Interviews:	1 (Vietnam)

Group W6:   **'European' Less Highly Educated**

City:	Warsaw
Place:	SMG / KRC Poland Media
Date:	14th June 2003, 13:00 - 15:00
Number of Participants:	9
Countries:	Byelorussia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine
Individual Interviews:	2 (Byelorussia)

Group Z1:   **Open**

City:	Zielona Gora
Place:	Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Zielona Gora
Date:	22nd June 2003, 14:30 - 17:30
Number of Participants:	12
Countries:	Bangladesh, Georgia, Kirghizia, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Vietnam
Individual Interviews:	1 (Germany)

Group L1:   **Open**

City:	Lublin
Place:	P. U. Andy
Date:	28th June 2003, 12:00 - 15:00
Number of Participants:	11
Countries:	Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Russia, Ukraine
Individual Interviews:	1 (Ukraine)

Questionnaire for 'Adults'

Instytut Polityki Społecznej UW
ul. Nowy Świat 69, p.219
00-046 Warszawa
tel./fax 826 66 52, tel. 5520 286, e-mail: ipsuw@poczta.onet.pl

nr

KWESTIONARIUSZ WYWIADU REKRUTACYJNEGO
do badań fokusowych w ramach Projektu Badawczego
CUDZOZIEMIEC w POLSCE

Szanowna Pani, Szanowny Panie,

Zwracamy się z uprzejmą prośbą o podanie kilku podstawowych informacji o sobie i swojej sytuacji życiowej. Są one niezbędne do właściwego skomponowania grup cudzoziemców przebywających w Polsce, którzy zgodzili się wziąć udział w grupowej dyskusji dotyczącej sytuacji obcokrajowców w Polsce (tzw. dyskusji fokusowej).

Niniejsze badania, koordynowane w Polsce przez Instytut Polityki Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, są częścią Piątego Ramowego Projektu Badawczego Unii Europejskiej dotyczącego sytuacji cudzoziemców w różnych krajach europejskich.

Gwarantujemy utajnienie otrzymanych od Państwa informacji zgodnie z zasadami ochrony danych osobowych. Wszystkie odpowiedzi otrzymane od Państwa - zarówno w niniejszym kwestionariuszu jak i w wywiadzie fokusowym - będą opracowywane z zachowaniem wszelkich zasad anonimowości .

Dziękuję w imieniu Zespołu Badawczego

Koordynator Badań na terenie Polski

Prof. dr hab. Jolanta Supińska

1. **Proszę powiedzieć, z jakiego kraju Pan/-i/ pochodzi?**
....

2. **Jak długo jest Pan/-i/ obecnie w Polsce?** *(Wpisać liczbę lat lub miesięcy)*..

3. **Czy obecny pobyt Pana/-i/ w Polsce jest:**
     1.pierwszy
     2.drugi
     3. trzeci
     4.więcej niż trzeci

4. **Czy pamięta Pan/-i/ w którym roku po raz pierwszy przyjechał Pan/-i/ do Polski? Jeśli tak, to proszę powiedzieć kiedy to było?** (*pytamy o rok przyjazdu lub - jeśli respondent nie pamięta - to w przybliżeniu ile lat temu*) ....

5. **Dlaczego zdecydował się Pan/-i/ na przyjazd do Polski?**
....
....
....

6. **Czy zamierza Pan/-i/ zostać w Polsce na stałe?**
     1.Tak   2. Nie   3. Jeszcze nie wiem

7. **Czy mieszkał Pan /-i/ dłużej w innych krajach** (*Kraje oprócz Polski i kraju pochodzenia*)

     1. Tak - w jakich? ....
     2. Nie

8. **Czy ktoś z najbliższych członków rodziny przebywa w Polsce?**

Członkowie rodziny	Tak	Nie	Nie dotyczy
1.współmałżonek/współmałżonka			
2.dziecko/dzieci			
3.siostra/brat			
4. rodzice (rodzic)			
5. inni krewni			

9. **Jeśli Pana/-i/ dziecko(dzieci) mieszka/-ją/ w Polsce , to proszę powiedzieć , do której (których) z poniższych instytucji uczęszczają?**
     1. przedszkole
     2. szkoła podstawowa
     3. gimnazjum
     4. szkoła średnia
     5. wyższa uczelnia
     6. nie dotyczy

10. **Z którymi z niżej wymienionych instytucji, działających w Polsce, miał/-a/ Pan/-i/ dotychczas kontakty**: (*Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi*)
     1. instytucje edukacyjne (np. przedszkole, szkoła, uczelnia)
     2. urzędy pośredniczące w znajdowaniu pracy
     3. instytucje pomocy społecznej
     4. instytucje ochrony zdrowia(przychodnia, szpital)
     5. instytucje Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego
     6. instytucje religijne innego wyznania (jakiego?) ....
     7. policja
     8. straż miejska
     9. inne - wpisz jakie? ....

11. **Czy ma Pan/-i/ pracę w Polsce?**
     1. Tak , mam stałą pracę
     2. Tak, mam pracę dorywczą
     3. Tak, mam pracę sezonową

4. Nie mam pracy ale poszukuję jakiegoś zajęcia zarobkowego
5. Nie mam pracy i nie staram się o zatrudnienie
6. Inna sytuacja - jaka ?...
....

12. Czy kiedykolwiek był/-a/ Pan/-i/ bezrobotny/-a/?

1. tak, w moim ojczystym kraju
2. tak , w przeszłości w Polsce
3. tak, obecnie w Polsce
4. tak, w innym kraju
5. nie, nigdy : ani w kraju ojczystym, ani za granicą, ani w Polsce

Przejdź do pyt.13

13. Jeśli jest Pan/-i/ aktualnie bezrobotny/-a/ , to w jaki sposób szuka Pan/-i/ pracy? *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*
1. przez państwowe urzędy pracy
2. przez prywatne agencje pośrednictwa pracy (doradztwa zawodowego)
3. przez znajomych
4. przez ogłoszenia w prasie
5. inny sposób - jaki? ....

14. Jakie są Pana/-i/ podstawowe źródła utrzymania w Polsce? *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*
1. dochody z własnej pracy (lub działalności gospodarczej)
2. dochody z pracy w Polsce członków mojej najbliższej rodziny / rodzice , współmałżonek, dzieci/
3. dochody z kapitału, oszczędności
4. pomoc rodziny znajdującej się w Polsce
5. pomoc rodziny zza granicy
6. środki z pomocy społecznej
7. środki z pomocy charytatywnej instytucji wyznaniowych
8. środki ze świeckich stowarzyszeń pomocowych
9. inne źródła - jakie? ....

15. Czy ktokolwiek z Pana rodziny jest lub był bezrobotny w Polsce?
1. tak, obecnie
2. tak, dawniej
3. nie

16. Czy w trakcie swojego pobytu w Polsce doświadczył Pan/-i/ lub ktoś z Pańskiej najbliższej rodziny przykrości ze strony Polaków:

1. przechodniów na ulicy
2. pasażerów w środkach komunikacji miejskiej lub środkach lokomocji na trasach krajowych
3. sprzedawców w sklepach
4. urzędników w różnych urzędach i instytucjach
5. członków jakiejś partii (stronnictwa) politycznej - jakiej?
....
6. członków jakiegoś ugrupowania młodzieżowego - jakiego?
....
7. innych osób - jakich?..
8. nie, nie miałem takiej sytuacji

17. Czy utrzymuje Pan/i kontakty z organizacjami założonymi przez Pana/-i/ rodaków w Polsce?

1. tak, aktywnie działam w takiej organizacji
2. tak, należę do takiej organizacji, ale nie jestem aktywny
3. tylko niekiedy kontaktuję się
4. nigdy się nie kontaktuję

5. nie ma takiej organizacji

18. Czy uważa się Pan/-i/ za człowieka religijnego?

1. Tak   2.Nie   3. Trudno powiedzieć

19. Jeśli uważa się Pan/-i/ za człowieka religijnego, to proszę powiedzieć do jakiego wyznania Pan/-i/ należy? ....

20. Czy jest Pan/-i/ członkiem wspólnoty religijnej działającej w Polsce?

1. tak, aktywnym
2. tak, biernym
3. nie
4. nie ma w Polsce takiej wspólnoty, do której mógłbym (chiałbym) należeć

METRYCZKA

21. PŁEĆ
1. kobieta   2. mężczyzna

22. NARODOWOŚĆ ....

23. NARODOWOŚĆ MATKI ....

24. NARODOWOŚĆ OJCA...

25. WIEK
1. 16-20 lat
2. 21-30
3. 31-40
4. 41-50
5. 51-60
6. 61-70
7. powyżej 70 lat

26. STAN CYWILNY
1. kawaler /panna
2. żonaty /zamężna:
    2.1. z Polakiem /Polką/
    2.2. z członkiem mojej narodowości
    2.3. z członkiem innej narodowosci
3. rozwiedziony /rozwiedziona
4. w separacji
5. związek nieformalny - bez ślubu (konkubinat, kohabitacja)
6. wdowiec /wdowa

27.SYTUACJA RODZINNA (typ gospodarstwa domowego)
1. małżeństwo bezdzietne
2. rodzice i dziecko (dzieci)
3. rodzice, dzieci (dziecko) i dziadkowie
4. matka i dziecko (dzieci)
5. ojciec i dziecko (dzieci)
6. osoba samotna
7. inna sytuacja - jaka? ....

28.WYKSZTAŁCENIE:
1. podstawowe
2. zasadnicze zawodowe
3. średnie
4. wyższe
5. inne - jakie? ....

....

29. PROFESJA:
1. zawód (zawody) wyuczony ....
2. zawód (zajęcia) wykonywany obecnie ....

....

30. AKTUALNE WARUNKI MIESZKANIOWE w Polsce:
1. mieszkanie własnościowe (dom)
2. mieszkanie spółdzielcze lokatorskie
3. mieszkanie komunalne
4. wynajęte mieszkanie
5. wynajęty pokój
6. wynajęte mieszkanie wspólnie ze znajomymi
7. pokój w hotelu
8. inna sytuacja - jaka?...

....

31.MIEJSCE ZAMIESZKANIA W POLSCE
1. Warszawa
2. miejscowość podwarszawska (np. Łomianki, Konstancin)
3. duże miasto
4. średnie miasto
5. małe miasto
6. wieś.

32. ZNAJOMOŚĆ JĘZYKA POLSKIEGO:
1. bardzo dobra (biegła w mowie i piśmie)
2. dobra
3. średnia
4. słaba
5. bardzo słaba.

METRYCZKA ANKIETERA (wypełnia osoba przeprowadzająca wywiad, po jego zakończeniu)

1. Które pytania były dla respondenta drażliwe (wywołały jego niepokój , podejrzliwość : *(wpisz numer pytania)* ....
2. Które pytania wzbudziły zakłopotanie respondenta (były dla niego w pewnym sensie "wstydliwe"): *(wpisz nr pytania)* ....
3. Oceń atmosferę rozmowy w kategoriach : sympatyczna-niesympatyczna; szczera-nieszczera;swobodna-spięta;
....
....
4. Inne uwagi ankietera związane z przeprowadzeniem ankiety
....
....

5. Data i miejsce przeprowadzenia ankiety

6. Podpis ankietera.

Questionnaire for Students

nr

KWESTIONARIUSZ WYWIADU REKRUTACYJNEGO
ZE STUDENTAMI
do badań fokusowych w ramach Projektu Badawczego
CUDZOZIEMIEC w POLSCE

Szanowna Pani, Szanowny Panie,

Zwracamy się z uprzejmą prośbą o podanie kilku podstawowych informacji o sobie i swojej sytuacji życiowej. Są one niezbędne do właściwego skomponowania grup cudzoziemców przebywających w Polsce, którzy zgodziliby się wziąć udział w grupowej dyskusji dotyczącej sytuacji obcokrajowców w Polsce (tzw. dyskusji fokusowej).

Niniejsze badania, koordynowane w Polsce przez Instytut Polityki Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, są częścią Piątego Ramowego Projektu Badawczego Unii Europejskiej dotyczącego sytuacji cudzoziemców w różnych krajach europejskich.

Gwarantujemy utajnienie otrzymanych od Państwa informacji zgodnie z zasadami ochrony danych osobowych. Wszystkie odpowiedzi otrzymane od Państwa - zarówno w niniejszym kwestionariuszu jak i w wywiadzie fokusowym - będą opracowywane z zachowaniem wszelkich zasad anonimowości.

Dziękuję w imieniu Zespołu Badawczego

Koordynator Badań na terenie Polski

Prof. dr hab. Jolanta Supińska

1. **Proszę powiedzieć, z jakiego kraju Pan/-i/ pochodzi?**
   ....

2. **Jak długo jest Pan/-i/ obecnie w Polsce?** *(Wpisać liczbę lat lub miesięcy)*
   ....

3. **Czy obecny pobyt Pana/-i/ w Polsce jest:**
   1. pierwszy
   2. drugi
   3. trzeci
   4. więcej niż trzeci

4. **Czy zamierza Pan/-i/ zostać w Polsce na stałe?**

   1.Tak   2. Nie   3. Jeszcze nie wiem

5. **Czy pamięta Pan/-i/ w którym roku po raz pierwszy przyjechał Pan/-i/ do Polski? Jeśli tak, to proszę powiedzieć kiedy to było?** (*pytamy o rok przyjazdu lub - jeśli respondent nie pamięta - to w przybliżeniu ile lat temu)* ....

6. **Dlaczego zdecydował /-a/ się Pan/-i/ na przyjazd do Polski?**
   ....
   ....
   ....

....

7. Czy mieszkał/-a/ Pan/-i/ dłużej w innych krajach (kraje oprócz Polski i kraju pochodzenia*)***

    1. Tak - w jakich? ....

    2. Nie

8. Czy ktoś z najbliższych członków Pan/-i/ rodziny przebywa w Polsce?

Członkowie rodziny	Tak	Nie	Nie dotyczy
1.współmałżonek/współmałżonka			
2.dziecko/dzieci			
3.siostra/brat			
4. rodzice (rodzic)			
5. inni krewni			

9. Czy ktoś inny z Pana/-i/ najbliższej rodziny (rodzeństwo, dzieci) mieszkającej w Polsce uczęszcza do którejś z poniższych instytucji?

    1. przedszkole
    2. szkoła podstawowa
    3. gimnazjum
    4. szkoła średnia
    5. wyższa uczelnia
    6. nie dotyczy

10. Z którymi z niżej wymienionych instytucji, działających w Polsce, miał/-a/ Pan/-i/ dotychczas kontakty: (Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)

    1. instytucje edukacyjne (np. przedszkole, szkoła, uczelnia)
    2. urzędy pośredniczące w znajdowaniu pracy
    3. instytucje pomocy społecznej
    4. instytucje ochrony zdrowia(przychodnia, szpital)
    5. instytucje Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego
    6. instytucje religijne innego wyznania (jakiego?)
    ....
    7. policja
    8. straż miejska
    9. inne - wpisz jakie? ....

11. Czy w trakcie studiów w Polsce spotkała /-a/ się Pan/-i/ z następującymi sytuacjami: *(zaznacz odpowiedzi wstawiając krzyżyk w odpowiedniej kratce)*

Opis sytuacji	Tak, spotkałem/-am/ się z tym osobiście	Tak, słyszałem/-am/ od kolegów (koleżanek)	Nie, ani nie spotkałem się z tym, ani nie słyszałem
1. wykładowcy stosują wobec studentów - obcokrajowców większe wymagania niż wobec studentów -Polaków			
2. wykładowcy stosują wobec studentów - obcokrajowców mniejsze wymagania niż wobec studentów -Polaków			
3. studenci-Polacy chętniej pomagają studentom -rodakom niż studentom - obcokrajowcom			
4. studenci -Polacy chętniej pomagają studentom-obcokrajowcom niż studentom-rodakom			

12. Czy, będąc studentem, jednocześnie pracuje Pan/-i/ w Polsce?
       1. Tak, mam stałą pracę
       2. Tak, mam pracę dorywczą
       3. Tak, mam pracę sezonową
       4. Nie mam pracy ale poszukuję jakiegoś zajęcia zarobkowego
       5. Nie mam pracy i nie staram się o zatrudnienie
       6. Inna sytuacja (np. praca za granicą);
       jaka?...
      ....

13. Czy kiedykolwiek poszukiwał/-a/ Pan/-i/ pracy?
       1. tak, w moim ojczystym kraju
       2. tak, w przeszłości w Polsce

       ⟶   **Przejdź do pyt.14**

       3. tak, obecnie w Polsce
       4. tak, w innym kraju
       5. nie, nigdy : ani w kraju ojczystym, ani za granicą, ani w Polsce

14. Jeśli aktualnie nie ma Pan/-i/ pracy, to w jaki sposób stara się Pan/-i/ tę pracę znaleźć? *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*
       1. przez państwowe urzędy pracy
       2. przez prywatne agencje pośrednictwa pracy (doradztwa zawodowego itp.)
       3. przez znajomych
       4. przez ogłoszenia w prasie
       5. przez spotkania z pracodawcami na uczelniach (w tym m.in. targach pracy)
       6. przez uczelniane biura pośrednictwa pracy (doradztwa zawodowego)
       7. inny sposób - jaki? ....

15. Jakie są Pana/-i/ podstawowe źródła utrzymania w Polsce? *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*
       1. dochody z własnej pracy (lub działalności gospodarczej)
       2. dochody z pracy w Polsce członków mojej najbliższej rodziny /rodzice, współmałżonek, dzieci/

3. dochody z kapitału, oszczędności
4. pomoc rodziny znajdującej się w Polsce
5. pomoc rodziny zza granicy
6. środki z pomocy społecznej
7. środki z pomocy charytatywnej instytucji wyznaniowych
8. środki ze świeckich stowarzyszeń pomocowych
9. stypendium naukowe
10. stypendium socjalne
11. inne źródła - jakie? ....

16. Czy ktokolwiek z Pana rodziny jest lub był bezrobotny w Polsce?

1. tak, obecnie
2. tak, dawniej
3. nie, nikt i nigdy nie był bezrobotny w Polsce

17. Czy w trakcie swojego pobytu w Polsce doświadczył Pan/-i/ lub ktoś z Pańskiej najbliższej rodziny przykrości ze strony Polaków: *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*

1. przed podjęciem studiów, w szkole, ze strony nauczycieli
2. przed podjęciem studiów, w szkole, ze strony uczniów
3. na studiach – ze strony wykładowców
4. na studiach – ze strony innych studentów
5. sąsiadów
6. przechodniów na ulicy
7. gości i/lub pracowników pubów, dyskotek, klubów (także studenckich).
8. pasażerów w środkach komunikacji miejskiej lub środkach lokomocji na trasach krajowych
9. sprzedawców w sklepach
10. urzędników w różnych urzędach i instytucjach
11. członków jakiejś partii (stronnictwa) politycznej - jakiej?
    ....
12. członków jakiegoś ugrupowania młodzieżowego - jakiego?
    ....
13. innych osób - jakich?...
14. nie, nie miałem takiej sytuacji

18. Czy utrzymuje Pan /-i/ kontakty z organizacjami założonymi przez Pana/-i/ rodaków w Polsce?

1. tak, aktywnie działam w takiej organizacji
2. tak, należę do takiej organizacji, ale nie jestem aktywny
3. tylko niekiedy kontaktuję się
4. nigdy się nie kontaktuję
5. nie ma takiej organizacji

19. Czy uważa się Pan/-i/ za człowieka religijnego?

1. Tak   2.Nie   3. Trudno powiedzieć

20. Jeśli uważa się Pan/-i/ za człowieka religijnego, to proszę powiedzieć do jakiego wyznania Pan/-i/ należy? ....

21. Czy jest Pan/-i/ członkiem wspólnoty religijnej działającej w Polsce?

1. tak, aktywnym
2. tak, biernym
3. nie

4. nie ma w Polsce takiej wspólnoty, do której mógłbym (chciałbym) należeć

METRYCZKA

22. PŁEĆ   1. Kobieta   2. Mężczyzna

23. NARODOWOŚĆ ....

24. NARODOWOŚĆ MATKI ....

25. NARODOWOŚĆ OJCA..

26. ROK URODZENIA ....

27. STAN CYWILNY
1. kawaler /panna
2. żonaty /zamężna:
    2.1. z Polakiem /Polką/
    2.2. z członkiem mojej narodowości
    2.3. z członkiem innej narodowości
3. rozwiedziony /rozwiedziona
4. w separacji
5. związek nieformalny - bez ślubu (konkubinat, kohabitacja)

28. SYTUACJA RODZINNA
1. jedno dziecko
2. więcej niż jedno dziecko
3. osoba bezdzietna

29. WYKSZTAŁCENIE:
1. średnie ogólnokształcące
2. średnie zawodowe; jakie? ....
3. inne wyższe studia ukończone wcześniej; jakie?
....
4. obecnie odbywane studia:

uczelnia ....

kierunek ....
rok studiów ....

30. AKTUALNE WARUNKI MIESZKANIOWE w Polsce:
1. z rodziną: mieszkanie własnościowe (dom)
2. z rodziną: mieszkanie spółdzielcze lokatorskie
3. z rodziną: mieszkanie komunalne
4. z rodziną: mieszkanie wynajmowane
5. wynajęty pokój zajmowany samodzielnie
6. mieszkanie wynajmowane wspólnie ze znajomymi
7. dom studencki (akademik)
8. inna sytuacja - jaka?...
....

31. STAŁE MIEJSCE ZAMIESZKANIA W POLSCE
1. Warszawa
2. miejscowość podwarszawska (np. Łomianki, Konstancin)
3. duże miasto
4. średnie miasto
5. małe miasto
6. wieś

WorkPackage 2

32. ZNAJOMOŚĆ JĘZYKA POLSKIEGO:
1. bardzo dobra (biegła w mowie i piśmie)
2. dobra
3. średnia
4. słaba
5. bardzo słaba.

METRYCZKA ANKIETERA *(wypełnia osoba przeprowadzająca wywiad, po jego zakończeniu)*

1. Które pytania były dla respondenta draźliwe (wywołały jego niepokój, podejrzliwość): *(wpisz numer pytania)* ....

2. Które pytania wzbudziły zakłopotanie respondenta (były dla niego w pewnym sensie "wstydliwe"): *(wpisz nr pytania)*
....

3. Oceń atmosferę rozmowy w kategoriach : sympatyczna - niesympatyczna; szczera - nieszczera; swobodna - spięta;
....
....
....

4. Inne uwagi ankietera związane z przeprowadzeniem ankiety
....
....
....

5. Data i miejsce przeprowadzenia ankiety

6. Podpis ankietera

Questionnaire for Pupils

nr ||||

KWESTIONARIUSZ WYWIADU REKRUTACYJNEGO Z UCZNIAMI
do badań fokusowych w ramach Projektu Badawczego
CUDZOZIEMIEC w POLSCE

Zwracamy się z uprzejmą prośbą o podanie kilku podstawowych informacji o sobie i swojej sytuacji. Są one niezbędne do właściwego skomponowania grup cudzoziemców przebywających w Polsce, którzy zgodzili się wziąć udział w grupowej dyskusji dotyczącej sytuacji obcokrajowców w Polsce (tzw. dyskusji fokusowej).
Niniejsze badania, koordynowane w Polsce przez Instytut Polityki Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, są częścią Piątego Ramowego Projektu Badawczego Unii Europejskiej dotyczącego sytuacji cudzoziemców w różnych krajach europejskich.
Gwarantujemy utajnienie otrzymanych od Was informacji zgodnie z zasadami ochrony danych osobowych. Wszystkie odpowiedzi otrzymane od Was - zarówno w niniejszym kwestionariuszu jak i w wywiadzie fokusowym - będą opracowywane z zachowaniem wszelkich zasad anonimowości .
Dziękuję w imieniu Zespołu Badawczego

Koordynator Badań na terenie Polski

Prof. dr hab. Jolanta Supińska

1. **Z jakiego kraju pochodzą Twoi Rodzice?**
   1. ojciec ....
   2. matka ....

2. **Gdzie się urodziłeś /-łaś/?**
   1. w Polsce ➔ *(przejdź do pytania 6.)*
   2. w Polsce, ale potem wyjeżdżałem /-łam/ z rodzicami z Polski na dłużej.
   3. w innym kraju (jakim?) ....

3. **Czy pamiętasz, w którym roku po raz pierwszy przyjechałeś /-łaś/ do Polski? Jeśli tak, to proszę powiedzieć kiedy to było?** (*pytamy o rok przyjazdu lub - jeśli respondent nie pamięta - to w przybliżeniu ile lat temu) ....*

4. **Jak długo jesteś obecnie w Polsce?** *(Wpisać liczbę lat lub miesięcy)*
   ....

5. **Czy Twój obecny pobyt w Polsce jest:**
   1. pierwszy
   2. drugi
   3. trzeci
   4. więcej niż trzeci

6. Czy zamierzasz zostać w Polsce na stałe?

1.Tak   2. Nie   3. Jeszcze nie wiem

7. Dlaczego Twoja rodzina zdecydowała się na przyjazd do Polski?
....
....
....
....

8. Co zamierzasz robić po ukończeniu szkoły średniej?
1. Zamierzam studiować w systemie stacjonarnym *(Proszę podać planowany kierunek studiów i wybieraną uczelnię)*
....
....
2. Zamierzam połączyć studia z pracą (nie wykluczam w związku z tym studiów zaocznych) (*Proszę podać planowany kierunek studiów i wybieraną uczelnię)*
....
3. Nie zamierzam studiować, chcę rozpocząć pracę zawodową (Podaj *jaką?*)
....

9. Kto z najbliższych członków Twojej rodziny przebywa w Polsce?

Członkowie rodziny	Tak	Nie	Nie dotyczy
1. rodzice (rodzic)			
2. siostra / brat			
3. babcia / dziadek ze strony ojca			
4. babcia / dziadek ze strony matki			
5. inni krewni			

10. Czy masz rodzeństwo, które także mieszka w Polsce?

1. Tak
2. Nie   ➔ *(przejdź do pytania 12.)*

11. Jeśli masz brata lub siostrę mieszkających w Polsce, to proszę powiedzieć, czy uczęszczają do którejś (którychś) z poniższych instytucji ?(*Proszę wybrać dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*

1. przedszkole
2. szkoła podstawowa
3. gimnazjum
4. szkoła średnia
5. wyższa uczelnia
6. nie dotyczy

12. Z którymi z niżej wymienionych instytucji, działających w Polsce, miałeś /-łaś/ Ty lub Twoja rodzina dotychczas kontakty: *(Proszę zakreślić dowolną ilość odpowiedzi)*
1. instytucje edukacyjne (np. przedszkole, szkoła, uczelnia)

2. urzędy pośredniczące w znajdowaniu pracy
3. instytucje pomocy społecznej
4. instytucje ochrony zdrowia (przychodnia, szpital)
5. instytucje Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego
6. instytucje religijne innego wyznania (jakiego?) ....
7. policja
8. straż miejska
9. inne - wpisz jakie? ....

13. Czy Twoim zdaniem osoba pochodząca z innego kraju, mieszkająca i uczęszczająca do szkoły w Polsce , napotyka na jakieś trudności, z którymi nie stykają się uczniowie - Polacy urodzeni w Polsce?

1. Tak, istnieją poważne trudności, które dotyczą tylko osób innego pochodzenia
2. Tak, ale nie są to poważne trudności,
3. Nie, nie istnieją trudności charakterystyczne tylko dla osób innego pochodzenia

14. Czy Ty lub ktoś z Twojej najbliższej rodziny doświadczył przykrości ze strony wymienionych niżej kategorii Polaków:
1. innych uczniów
2. nauczycieli
3. kolegów z podwórka
4. sąsiadów
5. przechodniów na ulicy
6. pasażerów w środkach komunikacji miejskiej lub środkach lokomocji na trasach krajowych
7. sprzedawców w sklepach
8. urzędników w różnych urzędach i instytucjach
9. członków jakiejś partii (stronnictwa) politycznej - jakiej?
   ....
10. członków jakiegoś ugrupowania młodzieżowego - jakiego?
    ....
11. innych osób - jakich?...
12. nie, nie miałem takiej sytuacji

15. Czy Ty lub ktoś z Twojej rodziny utrzymuje w Polsce kontakty z organizacjami związanymi z krajem Twojego pochodzenia lub Twoich/ rodziców(rodzica)? *(Z podanych niżej odpowiedzi można wybrać jedną lub dwie)*

1. tak, aktywnie działam w takiej organizacji
2. tak, należę do takiej organizacji, ale nie jestem aktywny
3. tylko niekiedy kontaktuję się
4. nigdy się nie kontaktuję
5. ktoś z mojej rodziny działa w takiej organizacji
6. nikt z mojej rodziny nie działa w takiej organizacji
7. nic nie wiem o kontaktach członków mojej rodziny z taką organizacją
8. nie wiem, czy taka organizacja jest w Polsce
9. nie ma takiej organizacji w Polsce

16. Czy uważasz się za osobę religijną?

1. Tak   2.Nie   3. Trudno powiedzieć

17. Jeśli uważasz się za osobę religijną, to proszę powiedzieć do jakiego wyznania należysz?
....

18. Czy jesteś członkiem wspólnoty religijnej działającej w Polsce?

1. tak, aktywnym
2. tak, biernym
3. nie
4. nie ma w Polsce takiej wspólnoty, do której mógłbym (chciałbym) należeć

METRYCZKA

19. PŁEĆ
  1. kobieta   2. mężczyzna

20. ROK URODZENIA ....

21. NARODOWOŚĆ..

22. NARODOWOŚĆ MATKI ....

23. NARODOWOŚĆ OJCA ....

24. TYP SZKOŁY: *(należy wybrać dwie odpowiedzi)*
  1. Średnia Ogólnokształcąca
  2. Średnia Zawodowa
  3. Publiczna
  4. Prywatna
  5. Społeczna

25. KLASA SZKOLNA
  1. pierwsza
  2. druga
  3. trzecia
  4. czwarta

26. SYTUACJA RODZINNA (typ gospodarstwa domowego)
  1. rodzice i dziecko (dzieci)
  2. rodzice, dzieci (dziecko) i dziadkowie
  3. matka i dziecko (dzieci)
  4. ojciec i dziecko (dzieci)
  5. dziadek / babcia i dziecko (dzieci)
  6. inna sytuacja - jaka? ....

27. AKTUALNE WARUNKI MIESZKANIOWE Twojej rodziny w Polsce:
  1. mieszkanie własnościowe (dom)
  2. mieszkanie spółdzielcze lokatorskie
  3. mieszkanie komunalne
  4. wynajęte mieszkanie
  5. wynajęty pokój
  6. wynajęte mieszkanie wspólnie ze znajomymi rodziców
  7. pokój w hotelu
  8. inna sytuacja - jaka?...
     ....

28.MIEJSCE ZAMIESZKANIA W POLSCE
  1. Warszawa
  2. miejscowość podwarszawska (np. Łomianki, Konstancin)
  3. duże miasto
  4. średnie miasto

5. małe miasto
6. wieś.

29. ZNAJOMOŚĆ JĘZYKA POLSKIEGO:
1. bardzo dobra (biegła w mowie i piśmie)
2. dobra
3. średnia
4. słaba
5. bardzo słaba.

METRYCZKA ANKIETERA (wypełnia osoba przeprowadzająca wywiad, po jego zakończeniu)

1. Które pytania były dla respondenta drażliwe (wywołały jego niepokój , podejrzliwość: (wpisz numer pytania) ....
2. Które pytania wzbudziły zakłopotanie respondenta (były dla niego w pewnym sensie "wstydliwe"): *(wpisz nr pytania)* ....
3. Oceń atmosferę rozmowy w kategoriach : sympatyczna-niesympatyczna; szczera-nieszczera;swobodna-spięta;
....
....
....
4. Inne uwagi ankietera związane z przeprowadzeniem ankiety
....
....
....
5. Data i miejsce przeprowadzenia ankiety

Podpis ankietera.

Scenariusz_ imig_elit

Rozbiegówka

Wstęp przedmiot i zasady rozmowy, nagrywanie, pełna anonimowość, równoważność opinii itp

- **przedstawienie**, proszę powiedzieć kilka słów o sobie, swojej rodzinie, zainteresowaniach, pracy; imiona na kartkach
- **gdzie mieszkacie [miasto: duże/ małe]**
- mieszkanie/ dom/ akademik
- czym się zajmujecie – co jest głównym zajęciem, jakie dodatkowe [np. praca zarobkowa, działalność w organizacjach]
- jaka jest wasza sytuacja rodzinna [formalna, nieformalna]

PRZYJAZD DO POLSKI

- od jak dawna mieszkacie w Polsce;
- skąd przyjechaliście [kraj ojczysty]
- czy przyjechaliście sami, czy emigracja rodzinna
- **jakie były powody emigracji** [edukacja, ekonomiczne, polityczne, rodzinne,
- czy Polska jest pierwszym krajem, w którym mieszkacie po opuszczeniu ojczyzny, czy kolejnym
  – czy Polska jest krajem docelowym, czy planują powrót, emigrację do innego kraju – jaki docelowy/
- **dlaczego polska**
  – co wiedzieli o Polsce przed przyjazdem, jak ją sobie wyobrażali, co z tych wyobrażeń się spełniło, co nie
  – Czego się obawiali w związku z wyjazdem – czy te obawy się spełniły
  – jak się przygotowywali do wyjazdu, jak podejmowali decyzję, kto w tym uczestniczył

OKRES ADAPTACJI

Musieliście w taki czy inny sposób zmienić swoje życie. Porozmawiajmy o pierwszych tygodniach, czy

miesiącach spędzonych w Polsce

- **jak wyglądały wasze pierwsze tygodnie/ miesiące w Polsce**
- jaka wydała wam się Polska po przyjeździe [pierwsze wrażenie]
- co myśleliście o Polakach – jakie wrażenie na was wywarli
- czym się zajmowaliście po przyjeździe [np. szkoła językowa dla studentów, poszukiwanie pracy, mieszkania]
- **co was zdziwiło, zaskoczyło [na korzyść, na niekorzyść]**
  – co okazało się największym problemem w tych pierwszych miesiącach, z czym trudno było wam sobie poradzić
    - problemy językowe
    - problemy administracyjne
    - problemy ze znalezieniem pracy / na uczelni
    - problemy emocjonalne np. tęsknota za krajem, za rodziną
    - problemy wynikające z różnic kulturowych
    - problemy wynikające z odmienności fizycznej
- proszę opowiedzcie o jakiejś sytuacji, która wam się zdarzyła w tym czasie i była dla was niezrozumiała, nie mogliście sobie z nią poradzić

- **kto i w jaki sposób pomógł wam** przebrnąć przez ten pierwszy okres pobytu w Polsce, poradzić sobie z problemami [ludzie, instytucje]

- **jaką pomoc uzyskaliście od instytucji w tych pierwszych miesiącach pobytu**

– od jakich instytucji uzyskaliście pomoc, KTÓRE INSTYTUCJE RACZEJ STWARZAŁY PROBLEMY
– czy była to taka pomoc jakiej oczekiwaliście, czy raczej nie [jaka i dlaczego?]

KONTAKTY Z POLAKAMI
- **jak wyglądały wasze kontakty z Polakami w tych pierwszych miesiącach**
- czy były jakieś?
- Czy były to **kontakty formalne** [np. z urzędnikami] czy także **nieformalne** np. towarzyskie
- Jak odnosili się do was **ludzie na ulicy** - przykłady zachowań pozytywnych, negatywnych;
  – Co wam się podobało pod tym względem, a co było przykre
- jak odnosili się do was **polscy znajomi** [praca, uczelnia] czy to ze przyjechaliście z innego kraju było zaletą towarzyską czy raczej przeszkadzało w kontaktach
 -Czym Polacy różnią się od ludzi w Twoim kraju
  - Czy zdarzały się jakieś nieporozumienia w związku z różnicami kulturowymi, nieporozumienia językowe, wynikające z odmiennego systemu wartości

A jak obecnie wyglądają Wasze kontakty z Polakami

Czy w grupie waszych **znajomych** przeważają Polacy czy cudzoziemcy
- czy macie polskich znajomych? Jak często się z nimi spotykacie
- Jak wyglądają wasze kontakty z nimi [czy tylko praca lub szkoła, czy także kontakty towarzyskie
- czy spędzacie razem czas poza pracą, uczelnią – w jaki sposób [czy odwiedzacie się w domach, znacie swoje rodziny, macie wspólne zainteresowania.
  Co was najbardziej zbliżyło do siebie.
  Co najbardziej przeszkadza w nawiązaniu kontaktów towarzyskich z Polakami

Co myślicie o bliższych związkach [formalnych i nieformalnych] między Polakami i cudzoziemcami
  – czy Polacy są otwarci na nawiązywanie takich bliższych więzi cudzoziemcem, czy raczej nie
  – jakie są wasze własne doświadczenia, albo doświadczenia waszych znajomych
  – jakie problemy, przeszkody napotykają takie pary [reakcja otoczenia, problemy administracyjne, różnice kulturowe, reakcja rodzin z obu stron]

Jak wyglądają wasze kontakty z Polakami z którymi nie wiążą was bliższe kontakty towarzyskie np.
  – sąsiedzi,
  – urzędnicy
  – ludzie na ulicy, w sklepie, kawiarni
- jak ci ludzie zachowują się względem was, jak się zorientują, że jesteście cudzoziemcami

PRACA
- **czym się obecnie zajmujecie**
  – jeśli nie pracują – dlaczego [nie muszą, nie chcą, nie mogą

- **jak długo po przyjeździe trwało szukanie pracy**
  – kto wam pomógł [w jaki sposób]
  – czy od razu udało się zatrudnić legalnie, czy przez jakiś czas musieliście pracować nielegalnie? [Jak długo]
- **jak wyglądało załatwianie pozwolenia na pracę**
  – jak oceniacie, czy w Polsce łatwo jest załatwić pozwolenie na pracę czy raczej trudno
  – jak długo trwało załatwianie pozwolenia
  – od czego zależy zgoda urzędu: kompetencje, kraj pochodzenia,
  – jak urzędnicy w urzędach pracy się do P odnosili – czy byli mili, pomocni, czy raczej, nieprzyjemni, podejrzliwi, piętrzący trudności.
- **kim byliście w swoim kraju, co robiliście**
  – czy w Polsce uznano wasze kwalifikacje, dyplomy [czy próbowali, czy są seanse na to]
  – jak oceniacie swoje szanse na to żeby pracować w swoim zawodzie

- **czy jak szukaliście pracy zdarzało się że odmawiano wam zatrudnienia tylko dlatego, że jesteście cudzoziemcami**
  – co o tym decydowało czy niechęć do cudzoziemca, czy obawa przed załatwianiem formalności ;
  – czy proponowano wam nielegalne zatrudnienie [[bez pozwolenia, bez ubezpieczenia itp]

- czy zdarzały się przypadki nieuczciwych pracodawców [niewypłacanie pensji, straszenie deportacją?]

- **czy firma w której pracujecie jest polska czy międzynarodowa]kto jest waszym pracodawcą Polak czy obcokrajowiec;**
  - co zdecydowało o tym że was zatrudniono w tej firmie [kwalifikacje, wiedza, znajomość języków, inne predyspozycje, czy fakt bycia obcokrajowcem miał jakieś znaczenie?]
  - jak traktują was szefowie, czy ma znaczenie że jesteście cudzoziemcami, czy raczej nie [jeśli tak to czy in plus, czy in minus]
  - jaka jest atmosfera w pracy – kontakty ze współpracownikami

  - jak oceniacie swoje zarobki, w porównaniu z Polakami
  - jak oceniacie swoje szanse na awans, w porównaniu z Polakami pracującymi w firmie

dla właścicieli firm
- jak oceniacie czy w Polsce cudzoziemcowi łatwo jest prowadzić firmę czy raczej trudno [dlaczego]
  - na czym polegają problemu
- kwestie prawne związane z założeniem firmy przez cudzoziemca
  - jak oceniają polskie regulacje prawne pod tym względem
  - czy polska jest otwarta na tego rodzaju działalność cudzoziemców, czy raczej są ograniczenia i piętrzenie trudności?
- kontakty z urzędami
  - czy czują się traktowani jak polscy przedsiębiorcy, czy gorzej, lepiej
- kontakty z pracownikami
  - czy chętniej zatrudniają polaków czy cudzoziemców [dlaczego]
  - jak się zarządza polskimi pracownikami, a jak cudzoziemcami
  - jaki jest ich stosunek do szefa – cudzoziemca

ROZWÓJ I KARIERA

- jak będzie wyglądało wasze życie za 5 lat? W jakim kraju będziecie mieszkali, czym będziecie się zajmowali, jaka będzie wasza sytuacja rodzinna; **co chcecie osiągnąć przez ten czas?**
- **jak oceniacie swoje szanse na sukces w Polsce**
  - co będzie dla Was sukcesem
  - od czego zależy w Polsce osiągnięcie sukcesu przez cudzoziemca [wykształcenie, zawód, kontakty personalne, małżeństwo inne]
  - co najbardziej w tym przeszkadza [stosunek ludzi do cudzoziemców, rozwiązania prawne, dostęp do edukacji itp]
  - czy znają cudzoziemców, którzy odnieśli w Polsce sukces

EDUKACJA

Czy mieli kontakt z jakimiś szkołami/ uczelniami lub przedszkolami w Polsce?

Czy sami uczęszczali do jakiejś szkoły/ uczelni w Polsce – jeśli tak, to
- Jakie są ich doświadczenia z tego okresu
- Kwestie organizacyjne – załatwienie formalności, opłaty –czy były jakieś problemy, na czym polegały
- Zagadnienia związane z uznaniem wykształcenia zdobytego w kraju [uznanie dyplomów, świadectw]
- Jak wyglądał okres adaptacyjny w szkole [kto się nimi zajął, pomoc w kwestiach językowych – rozwiązania formalne [czy były] pomoc nieformalna
- Jaki był stosunek innych uczniów/ studentów do nich
  - Czy spotkali się z jakąś pomocą, wsparciem, zainteresowaniem ich sytuacją
  - Czy spotkali się z jakimiś aktami niechęci, agresji, nieprzyjemnego traktowania, ostracyzmu?
- Jaki był stosunek wykładowców/ nauczycieli / dyrektora, administracji szkoły
  - czy byli traktowani tak jak studenci polscy, czy lepiej/ gorzej
  - Czy spotkali się z jakąś pomocą, wsparciem, zainteresowaniem ich sytuacją
  - Czy spotkali się z jakimiś aktami niechęci, agresji, nieprzyjemnego traktowania, ostracyzmu?

Jeśli nie uczęszczali do szkoły/uczelni:
- czy planują [oni albo ktoś z rodziny] edukację w Polsce
- dlaczego do tej pory nie rozpoczęli

Czy P dzieci uczęszczają do szkoły/ przedszkola

- czy są to szkoły/ przedszkola publiczne czy prywatne
- jakie są P doświadczenia z umieszczeniem dziecka w placówce publicznej
- etap załatwiania formalności –
    - stosunek dyrektora, administracji [pomocny, obojętny, czy utrudniający]
        - informowanie oprawach, możliwościach, ograniczeniach]
    - czy były próby odwiedzenia od umieszczenia dziecka w placówce
    - pomoc udzielona dziecku/rodzicom w okresie adaptacyjnym [zainteresowanie nauczycieli, pomoc językowa]
    - czy dużo cudzoziemskich dzieci uczęszcza do szkoły?

- jaka jest atmosfera w szkole wobec cudzoziemców [integracja i tolerancja vs. ostracyzm,
    - jak jest traktowane ich dziecko przez nauczycieli [czy na równi z Polakami, czy otrzymuje niezbędną pomoc, wsparcie]
    - stosunek uczniów i rodziców do dziecka
    - czy dziecko ma grono kolegów, znajomych Polaków; czy jest zapraszane na spotkania, imprezy np. urodzinowe do polskich domów]

jeśli w grupie znajdą się rodzice dzieci z **placówek prywatnych/ społecznych** oprócz powyższego modułu zapytać dodatkowo o powód umieszczenia dziecka w placówce niepaństwowej, czy kierowała nimi chęć zapewnienia lepszego poziomu wykształcenia czy okazało się niemożliwe umieszczenie dziecka w placówce państwowej, albo atmosfera tam była nieprzychylna cudzoziemcom.

- czy znają swoje prawa i możliwości w dostępie do edukacji [kto ich poinformował]
- Jak oceniają szanse na zdobycie wykształcenia swoje i swoich dzieci w Polsce
- na czym polegają największe trudności, przeszkody
- a co oceniają dobrze, jako rozwiązania pomocne

KONTAKTY Z INNYMI INSTYTUCJAMI

Jak wyglądają Wasze kontakty z instytucjami służby zdrowia
- stosunek lekarzy, personelu do cudzoziemców
- korzystanie z bezpłatnej / płatnej pomocy
Jak wyglądają wasze kontakty z organami porządkowymi: policja, straż miejska
- stosunek funkcjonariuszy do cudzoziemców
- czy to są instytucje pomocne, czy raczej zagrażające, rozliczające [takie, których trzeba unikać]

ZAGADNIENIA OGÓLNE

Jak Polacy odnoszą się do cudzoziemców [czy jest to stosunek pozytywny, negatywny, czy obojętny].
- czy spotkaliście się z przypadkami dyskryminacji [tj. że traktowano was gorzej dlatego że jesteście cudzoziemcami]; w jakich sytuacjach to się zdarzało
- czy spotkaliście się z agresywnym zachowaniem – przykłady
- czy spotykaliście się z nieprzyjemnymi wypowiedziami, sądami o was, waszych znajomych czy kraju z którego pochodzicie?
Czy mieliście kontakt z jakimiś organizacjami wrogo nastawionymi do cudzoziemców?
    - proszę opowiedzieć o tym zdarzeniu
    - Jaka była reakcja otoczenia [czy ktoś pomógł, czy wręcz przeciwnie]
- [jeśli nie było takich doświadczeń to]: czy słyszeliście o istnieniu w Polsce takich organizacji, ugrupowań
    - Jakie to organizacje
    - Na czym polega ich działalność [czy tylko wrogie treści czy także agresywne działania, zachowania]

Za co przyznalibyście słoneczko [plusa, uśmiech], a za co chmurę [ponurą minę, minusa] *[TABLICA]*
Co Wam najbardziej przeszkadza, denerwuje w zachowaniu Polaków
Co najbardziej cenicie w Polakach

- **jak oceniają stosunek polityków do cudzoziemców**
    - czy w Polsce istnieją organizacje polityczne wrogo nastawione do cudzoziemców
    - jaki jest ich wpływ na opinię społeczną, rozwiązania prawne
- **jak o cudzoziemcach mówi się w mediach** [gazety, telewizja, radio]
    - co sądzą o takim przedstawianiu problemów

- czy istnieje w Polsce, w myśleniu Polaków coś takiego jak stereotyp cudzoziemca
- które cechy przypisywane cudzoziemcom Was cieszą, a które do was nie pasują, urażają, obrażają
- **czy w Polsce wszystkich cudzoziemców traktuje się tak samo**, czy są jacyś „lepsi" i „gorsi"
  - -od czego to zależy [kraj pochodzenia, zasobność finansowa, zajmowane stanowisko, wykonywana praca, inne]
- czy obserwują jakieś **zmiany w podejściu Polaków do cudzoziemców**, na przestrzeni swojego pobytu [kolejnych wizyt- na czym te zmiany polegają, czy jest lepiej czy gorzej

- **Jak oceniają swoją decyzję o emigracji do Polski**
  - czy teraz podjęliby taką samą decyzję [czy zrezygnowali z emigracji, wybrali inny kraj, dlaczego]
  - czy zachęcają swoje rodziny, znajomych z kraju do emigracji do Polski [dlaczego tak/nie]
  - co zyskali, a co utracili w związku z emigracją

- **Co chcielibyście zmienić w:**
  stosunku Polaków do cudzoziemców
  stosunku Polskich instytucji do cudzoziemców

Zakończenie

1. Polska kojarzy mi się...

2. Najbardziej podoba mi się w Polsce...

3. Najbardziej denerwujące w stosunku Polaków do cudzoziemców jest...

4. Gdybym mieszkał w innym kraju to...

5. Szkoła to...

6. Jeśli ktoś mówi źle o cudzoziemcach to...

7. Polacy często...

8. Polacy nigdy...

9. Stereotyp cudzoziemca dla Polaków to...

10. Cudzoziemiec w Polsce traktowany jest...

APPENDIX No. 5 – Authorisation Letter Presented to Respondents (Polish)

Uniwersytet Warszawski   Warsaw University
Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych / Faculty of Journalism and Political Science

INSTYTUT POLITYKI SPOŁECZNEJ

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL POLICY

00-046 Warszawa, ul. Nowy Świat 69, pok. 214, tel./fax: 0 (...) 22 826 66 62

Warszawa, dn. 8 maja 2003 r.

Niniejszym zaświadczam, że Pan(i) ....

legitymujący(a) się dowodem osobistym nr ....

jest członkiem Zespołu Badawczego działającego w ramach Piątego Ramowego Projektu Badawczego Unii Europejskiej dotyczącego dyskryminacji.

Badania w Polsce prowadzone są przez Instytut Polityki Społecznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Celem badań jest poznanie sytuacji cudzoziemców przebywających w Polsce oraz przygotowanie zmian prawnych, organizacyjnych i instytucjonalnych służących polepszeniu sytuacji obcokrajowców w Polsce.

Z poważaniem

prof. dr hab. Jolanta Supińska
Koordynator Badań na terenie Polski

**APPENDIX No. 6 – Invitation Letter for Focus Group Interview for Respondents –
an Example (Polish)**

Uniwersytet Warszawski / Warsaw University
Wydział Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych   Faculty of Journalism and Political Science

INSTYTUT POLITYKI SPOŁECZNEJ

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL POLICY

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Szanowny Panie,

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Z poważaniem

prof. dr hab. Jolanta Supińska
Koordynator Badań na terenie Polski

THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

EU Fifth Framework Programme

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

WorkPackage 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

UK

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Immigrant Focus Groups

Migration and Britain: An Overview

Britain has long been a country of substantial inward and outward migrations.[293] This introductory overview provides a brief history of the key legislation and associated public discourses that have shaped inward migration to Britain since 1945. Although these post war movements of people are the main concern of this introduction it is still necessary to take a longer view than this as arguably British attitudes and policy response to migration are inextricably bound up with a racialized notion of 'immigration' that has its roots in Britain's colonial role.[294] With this in mind, a great deal of academic literature has been concerned with exactly how migration to Britain became such a highly racialized discourse. For example MacDonald and Blake (1995) have demonstrated how successive post war governments tried to use a range of legislative measures initially to slow, and then eventually to try stop all together, black migration to Britain. The legislation that many feel institutionalized racialized notions of migration is addressed briefly in this overview, as is the current political climate towards migration which, it can be suggested, is ever-more coercive toward border controls.

Robert Miles, in a classic essay, has identified three broad contexts for postwar political debates about migration to Britain (1989). Firstly, as is mentioned above, the British state wanted inward migration because of a labour shortage in the economy in the immediate postwar period. Of course this meant migrants taking up, in the main, the least desirable jobs that the white British working class did not want to do.[295] Certainly, as is suggested here, the economic climate has shaped migration to Britain and also, arguably, attitudes to it. Secondly according to Miles there existed attempts to limit and even prevent the movement of 'British subjects', who in law had legal right of settlement in Britain and the full rights and responsibilities associated with British citizenship. The third period Miles identifies characterizes the contemporary situation, in which the proposed abolition of the 'few

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[293] The terms inward and outward migration are used in place of immigration or emigration as they are less normatively loaded terms. For more on the reasons for this see Jones (2003) WP1 'Landscapes of Discrimination'.

[294] Indeed it has been idea of 'race' itself is closely bound up with modernity and the enlightenment (see for example Malik, 1995).

[295] Of course this is somewhat of a generalization, as there were many academics, doctors, teachers, engineers and business people who migrated to Britain at this time (Parekh, 2002: 192).

remaining rights of entry possessed by certain categories of people' (Miles, 1989: 32). These general ideas are addressed in some more detail below.

In *Race and Racism in Britain* John Solomos shows how historically 'black migration and settlement was perceived differently from European migration' (2003: 51). Certainly there is certainly some evidence to support the claim that 'black' migration to Britain has been treated differently to 'white' European inward migration in the post war period. The British Nationality Act 1948 affirmed the legal right of British subjects living in the colonies to enter and settled in Britain. Miles (1989) has also documented how parliamentary debates on this Act and 'immigration' in general in the early 1950s centred on the need to 'control' the influx of migrants to Britain. Miles shows how a number of issues were raised in relation to 'immigration', with two key debates centring on resources and the capacity of Britain to absorb 'the other'. The dominant argument surrounding the latter was that the host country only had a limited capacity to assimilate people of a different culture before irreparable damage was done to 'British culture'. The British model of migration certainly has a tendency toward an assimilist model, in which migrants are expected to adapt to the cultural norms of the host-society in a more or less one-sided process (Castles, 1995). Miles suggests that historically 'acceptable immigrants were those who would not disturb, by virtue of their cultural attributes or their numbers, the cultural homogeneity and the defining characteristics of the British population' (1989: 37).

Indeed the aforementioned capitalist rationale for accepting migration to Britain meant that the notion of assimilation underpinned migration in the immediate post-war period when people were recruited from here and there to fill labour shortages and to address demographic holes in the population pyramid.[296] It could be suggested that the capacity of the state to encourage such assimilation has been attacked by the anti-racist movement, a growing awareness of cultural/minority rights, and further undermined by structural poverty, exclusion and racism faced by migrant communities who were expected to assimilate. These debates provide a somewhat depressing forerunner to contemporary rhetoric of far right racist politics concerned with a 'defending' the nation from migrants and a range of other 'threats'. The lineage of these ideas reminds us that anti-immigration discourses, although founded on a biological racism (in the true sense of the word) have long had a xenophobic and nationalistic component, vital to their logic.

It is clear then that in the post-war period 'the state and its institutions were already heavily involved in defining the terms of the debate on the 'problems' caused by black immigration

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[296] As Miles points out, after the Second World War the newly elected Labour government discussed a number of other options for addressing these issues, including incentives for increases in family size, more automated production, and encouraging women who had been working during the war to continue to do so (1989: 33).

(Solomos, 2003: 57). It is also clear that the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act further problematized 'black' migration from the Commonwealth, as William Deedes, the Tory Minister without portfolio at the time, recounts: 'The bill's real purpose was to restrict the influx of coloured immigrants. We were reluctant to say as much openly. (cited in Solomos, 2003: 56). These concerns of the right-wing anti-immigration lobby were to some extent institutionalized by the 1962 Act (MacDonald and Blake, 1995). In 1968 the right-wing conservative MP Enoch Powell made his infamous 'rivers of blood' speech, in which he called for repatriation to prevent the dystopia he projected in which a multi-racial society where Britons were 'strangers' was beset with ethnic tensions and violence. This speech proved a catalyst for a highly charged debate, in which the anti-immigration lobby turned attention to statistics of migrants, in today's parlance played a 'numbers game'. This was the context for the introduction of the 1971 Immigration Act, introduced by the Conservative government. This legislation distinguished further categories of British citizenship and effectively introduced potential for temporary workers to stay in Britain for a short amount of time. Solomos suggests that this Act was 'rightly seen as racist because it allowed potentially millions of white commonwealth citizens to enter and settle.… a right denied to almost all non-white commonwealth citizens' (2003: 63). This aspect of policy has arguable been in place in one way or another ever since.

In the run-up to her election victory in 1979 Margaret Thatcher, echoing her former colleague Powell, suggested that migration to Britain was placing the 'British way of life' under threat. Solomos suggests that the period of Conservative rule from 1979-1997 can be characterized as one in which strict migration controls were presented as being central to 'good race relations'.[297] Certainly the ongoing link between migration and the needs of the capitalist economy meant that the end of the post-war consensus and specifically full employment, were hugely significant for migration. As the full employment which had necessitated the British state allowing migrants in to Britain disappeared, then so the people who were brought in to do the less desirable jobs became part of a structurally disadvantaged lower working-class.

Although in the post war period Britain witnessed a major political debate on the nature and extent of inward migration Weil and Crowley have argued that these discussions did not lead to the emergence of a coherent policy framework for dealing with migration, and that furthermore the 'short-term pragmatism' that they identify as a characterizing British migration policy may well be rooted in a broader culture which values individual liberty and has (mistakenly) considered tolerance as inherent in British national identity (1994). The racialized migration

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[297] The idea of race relations is problematic at a number of levels. The term implies the existence of distinct, reified 'races' that can have relationships with each other. However, perhaps influential because preferable to the position of the right-wing cultural assimilists such as Powell.

policies put in place by a number of successive governments has supported the claim that 'the discourse of "race" has shaped the meaning of immigration in a way which has focussed attention almost exclusively upon the entry of people from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent and which has signified immigration as undesirable' (Miles, 1989: 50). Harry Goulbourne has suggested that all 'non-white' groups in Britain have had, and continue to have, a 'reception-experience' – in other words have been treated as migrants – and frequently been distanced from the 'indigenous' white population by state policy and their construction, and subsequent defence, of British national identity (1991).

However, it has also been suggested that as many new migrants, especially asylum seekers and refugees from East Europe, are poor white migrants then the great deal of the hostility and state discrimination they have encountered, although 'racialized' cannot be understood as victims of racism in the classic sense, which (to some extent) rested on a biological distinction of the 'other' which was conflated and ascribed social characteristics on the basis on an essential definition usually related to skin colour. However more recently, and closely linked to the migration of dispossessed white people from the former Eastern bloc, the notion of xenoracism has emerged in the more critical studies on race and migration (see for example Fekete, 2001; Sivanandan, 2001). It is suggested that this xenoracism displays many of the characteristics of the old racisms but is now directed at poor white 'foreigners'. This argument suggests that racism and anti-immigration attitudes are less linked to 'colour' and biological difference than they once were, and now operate primarily at the level of culture. What is significant for present purposes is that within this literature there is the suggestion that anti-immigration discourses are becoming less racialized in one sense, but more pervasive and disparate in another.

Bakewell has argued that this is because more coercive approaches to border control have been coupled with the individual assessment of asylum applications. This combination of policy shifts has meant that 'the key resource available is refugee status itself, which effectively grants the refugees the right to remain indefinitely. This has become more valuable because other avenues for immigration into industrialized nations from developing countries have been steadily closed down over the last twenty years since the economic downturn in the 1970s and the decreasing need for migrant labour. As a result, potential migrants have a stronger incentive to claim asylum as the only channel offering them a chance of access' (Bakewell, 1998: 4). Certainly as the UK actively seeks to reduce access to asylum, there is a tendency to 'play a numbers game', with political parties competing to cut down numbers of asylum seekers and demonizing the idea of migration in the process.

The Research Process

The main aim of this WorkPackage was to present the 'voices of migrants', with a particular focus on the 'experiences and strategies' of people living in a country other than the one of their birth. Focus groups were the primary method to provide migrants a forum in which to share their experiences and their voices, with 6 groups meeting in June and July 2003.[298] This section gives a brief overview of the strengths and weakness of the focus group method in general, before making some more specific methodological comments about the 6 focus groups that generated the data that forms the basis of this report.

One of the main strengths of the focus group method is that it allows for participants to formulate, support, and even change their views on a given topic in a discursive, relatively 'natural' group context. As the emphasis is on the social interaction of the participants the role of the group moderator or researcher is to introduce broad 'themes' that should frame the participants' discussions. These themes should be introduced as prompts rather than as questions a key role of the moderator is to generate discourse rather than to elicit 'answers' per se. This approach lets a group of people with broadly similar experiences discuss their opinions and it is in this way that focus groups are useful for finding out about the taken-for-granted assumptions that people make about their everyday lives. Successful focus group research leads to an understanding of how participants conceptualize issues that are relevant to them *when part of a group*. It is because of the discursive nature of focus groups that this type of social research is useful to understand *why* participants hold certain opinions, as well as what those opinions are. As a result of this emphasis participants should be encouraged to engage with each other's experiences and question each other's views, as this allows for differences, as well as similarities, to be explored (Morgan, 1988). It is in this way that focus group research offers an opportunity to explore how social actors make collective sense of their realities. So, the key assumption when conducting to focus groups is that 'discourse' is an inherently social interaction, which is constructed in a group context and is therefore not always necessarily reducible to one individual's experiences.[299]

For WorkPackage 2 it was decided that each partner should carry out at least six focus groups. The constitution of four of these focus groups was proscribed and was to be carried out by all partners, and two 'free' groups, the make-up of which were left to the individual partners to decide. The mandatory groups were to be constituted as follows: two 'Non-European' groups (one group without degrees or equivalent, the other with); one 'European' group was

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[298] These discussions were supplemented by 5 semi-structured interviews (see Appendix for details).
[299] It should also be kept in mind that experience is a very contested category and some other smart things like that. To remind that reader of this they are referred to throughout as *prompts* and not questions.

also formed, with participants having less than a degree. A youth group was also obligatory, and this group comprised young people (17 year olds) whose parents were migrants (sometimes referred to as 'second generation migrants'[300], although this term is highly problematic). In addition to these groups a group of female migrants was established, as was another 'non-European' group without degrees or equivalent. In the main the recruitment of participants was carried out through migrants' organizations, but also by using personal contacts and other networks.

The categories of 'European' and 'non-European' are hugely problematic, perhaps especially so given the aims of this WorkPackage and also the fact that such a dialectic configuration has underpinned a great deal of 'anti-immigration' policy, which has served to reinforce the racialization of migration (as described above). As well as the theoretical objections to constituting groups around such Eurocentric categories, which take 'European' as the normal state and defines the 'other' with reference to its 'non-Europeaness', practical methodological issues also emerged as a result of imprecision in these categories. For example, what should we take 'European' to mean? Should this be defined by the geo-political boundaries of the EU? Does 'non-European' include, for example Australian migrants, or people born in Canada? Is 'European' a proxy for ethnicity?

Some other ethical issues need to be taken into consideration when conducting any focus groups. For example, it is not possible to guarantee confidentiality in the same way it is with some other research methods, such as one-to-one interviews, as everyone in the group is party to what is said. However, partial transcripts of the discussions will be put on an archive. You can encourage people to respect each other's right to confidentiality, but can't really ensure what will happen to the discussion – in this sense it's 'out there'. It should also be emphasized that focus groups are limited in their ability to generalize findings to contexts broader than the experiences of those in the group. Indeed, even if the small sample of participants (the relatively low number of people in the groups) seem to be in broad agreement on a topic the likelihood is that they tend to have had a broadly similar experience means that such research does not engage with a representative sample. No attempt was made to make the focus groups that formed the basis of this WorkPackage representative samples.

With the selective transcription data from the six focus groups (below) I have attempted to bring out the interactive element of the group dynamic, which again is the key aspect of focus group research (Morrison, 1989) interruptions, pauses and people 'helping each other out' (Kitzinger, 1994: 111), and other relevant verbal and non-verbal communicative aspects, which

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[300] As these '2nd generation' migrants have not actually migrated anywhere the term is not accurate. In this WorkPackage such people are referred to as 'people whose parents migrated'.

are undoubtedly all significant aspects of any group dynamic and underline the discursive, frequently argumentative nature of social discourse of this type. As is stated above focus groups should not be organized around 'questions' as such, but rather 'prompts'. The six broad prompts that the focus groups were organized around were designed to operationalize a broader social scientific question in a way that would be understandable to all the participants and would generate 'useful' discourse. In other words a sociological enquiry was behind each prompt, which was formulated in such a way that (it was hoped) would generate discussion amongst the participants. The themes are introduced with a short paragraph or two to introduce some of the key ideas from the academic literature that shaped the prompts, in an effort to contextualize the comments in terms of existing research.[301] As the main focus of this WorkPackage is 'migrants' voices' it is the experiences, opinions and stories of the participants that are central to this. To emphasize this point the contributions of the participants appear in bold font. A huge amount of data was generated by the focus group interviews and the semi-structured interviews. The sequences which were selected to be in the report are ones that are either representative of broader discussions or ones that sum up an argument succinctly. There is some 'academic' analysis in these sections, which, alongside a commentary, is provided to contextualize the discussions in terms of the general tone of the discussion and some existing studies.

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[301] As was outlined earlier on in this section it is important to bear in mind that focus group discussions cannot really be representative. Some existing research is included to draw out both representative and unrepresentative experience.

Focus Group Material

Perceptions of Britain

The first theme that was addressed in the focus groups was the experiences of migrants as 'the foreigner' or as 'the other' in Britain. The hypothesis underlying this discussion was that migrants might experience discrimination in a wide range of ways, both directly and indirectly, and perhaps also in ways that are not always clearly identifiable. The prompt used to generate discussion on this topic was: 'Is Britain a welcoming, open society?' This prompt was successful in generating discussion in every group. As well as addressing the issue of the general 'openness' or otherwise of British society, the first theme also aimed to reveal something about the nature of the participants' experiences in the cities in which the focus groups were conducted. A second prompt asked: 'Is [name of the city] a welcoming place to migrants? The material is organized with the more general discussions about 'Britishness' presented first followed by the more specific material regarding the specific cities: Liverpool, London, and Manchester

British Identity and the 'Other'

In all of the focus groups the initial prompt 'is Britain an open, welcoming society?' was successful in generating discussion. In most groups this led in an organic way onto wide-ranging discussions about the nature of 'Britishness'. One strand of opinion, dominant in all the 'non-European' groups and especially so the Manchester group of participants with degrees, was that Britain was not an open society and that British identity, at a symbolic level, was exclusive and does not accommodate migrants. Something of this perspective is expressed in this exchange between MM2, a Ghanaian male and MM3, a Turkish man:

MM2: Britain pretends to the international community that it accepts us all within this society, but deep down within the system itself you will find that the barriers are there

MM3: Yes, my perception of British culture too is that it's very xenophobic, very, very much closed to diversity, you know the general British public I feel there is this huge hostility to diversity (.) I am of the opinion that British culture is very erm closed to foreigners (.) that's how I feel

This sense of 'Britishness' as a defensive and insular identity, as was also highlighted in was a strong and recurring topic in the 'non-European' focus groups. The contested nature of contemporary British identity is underlined by the Runnymede Trust's report on the *Future of Britain as a Multi-Ethnic Society*, which concluded that even the word 'British' has come to suggest a coded racism: 'Britishness…. has systematic, largely unspoken racial connotations. Whiteness nowhere features as an explicit condition of being British, but it is widely understood…. that by extension Britishness is racially coded' (Parekh et al, 2002: 7). This report concluded that British identity was an insular and defensive notion that needed to be redefined in an open national debate (see also Alibhai-Brown, 2002). The notion of British national identity had certainly come to have undesirable connotations for many, with the diversity and representativeness of official symbols of Britain increasingly being called into question (Modood, 2000). This sequence between a Ghanaian woman (CF2) and a Nigerian man (CM2) in the London group typifies something of this recurrent general perspective:

CF2: **I don't know maybe what you say is right (.) I think that that it could be to do with the island Britain is an island and they don't really look at what the rest of the world is doing as much**

CM2: **[**

That is definitely true because when I was in other places they know more about what is going on elsewhere

However it is important to state that not all participants said that they thought Britain was an unwelcoming or exclusive society. In general the 'European' participants were most likely to see Britain as a welcoming society, with this quote from MF10 a 23 year-old Ecuadorian woman with Spanish nationality (Manchester group) typifying this perspective:

MF10: I think that the British society is very open (.) I come from, I used to be in Ecuador in South America, and then was 11 years in Spain and comparing these societies I found that the British society more open and more respectful of different cultures

Even participants who felt that British identity was in some way problematic sometimes said they felt a sense of association with Britain, which was frequently referred to as 'home'. Still, this was often a very contested identification for some of these individuals though, often leading to feelings of disjuncture born out of a kind of 'dual identity', but one where migrants

felt they did not fully belong in Britain, or in the country of their birth. The strength of these feelings varied with amount of time a person had spent the UK, but this discussion in a Manchester group between three Pakistani women, who had been in Britain between 17, 20 and 14 years respectively, illustrates something of this tension:

MF2: **I can honestly tell you that when I go to my country I feel like a visitor there I don't feel like I can live there anymore for a long time (.) I did try (↑) once but I couldn't because I'm not used to it anymore**

MF4: **This is home because I don't know how to live in my country now because it was a long time ago I was there**

MF3: **I have been here 14 years and people like me are left hanging in between because I can't go back to my own country because it doesn't feel like home but here even I know here in my heart it is my home but other people will not let me believe it is my home**

This idea that Britain was not a place that welcomed migrants permeated the discussions in the 'non-European' groups and frequently developed into such broader questions of belonging. A Zimbabwean woman who had been in Manchester for just less than a year articulated this feeling of disjuncture:

MF7: **If you are not born here in a way you feel like you are in between you know because (.) you really feel like it would be better if I was home I get the impression that in the English culture people are rather cold so (1.0) you don't sense hostility but you just feel out of place sometimes you are the only one of this colour and everyone is like ((exaggerates stare)) you know and that makes you feel a bit uncomfortable**

This sense of not quite belonging was a recurring theme in the discussions. A significant number of participants said that they felt at home in their communities, or sometimes even their cities, but did not feel that Britain was 'home' to them. This idea is in line with the notion outlined in the initial overview of 'the reception experience' which many migrants face even after being resident for a substantial time in Britain (Goldbourne, 1994). On the question of belonging generational differences emerged across the groups, with the '1st generation' of migrants frequently stuck to their traditional customs and traditions while there was a break

with that in the second generation. An Asian woman in Manchester, who had teenage children, suggested that:

MF1: It's like parents will always want to move back home because that's where they came from their ROOTS are back home but because the children are so settled in this country they cannot think of moving back home and a bit of conflict starts there and it's like the parents' can't understand the western views of the children (1.0) that's a big headache

A 17 year-old male from London (CY1) whose parents moved to Britain in the late 1980s supported this perspective. He had been in Britain since he was a very small child, and had no recollections of ever being anywhere else:

CY1: I think my mum used to think about going home a few years ago but I don't really (unread 1.0) I haven't got friends there or anything

Interestingly, when the idea of 'dual identity' participants in the 'European' group in Liverpool generally felt that retaining multiple identities was not problematic. The white members of this 'European' group were less likely than other participants to feel such identities were difficult to reconcile. This statement from a 64 year-old Irish woman who had been in Liverpool for 40 years typified one dominant strand of opinion in the group:

LF3: When I'm in Dublin I feel at home and when I'm here I feel at home (.) I call them both my home

Liverpool, London, and Manchester

In all of the groups there was a marked difference in the way the participants perceived Britain as a nation or as a cultural community (see above), and their perception of the cities in which they lived. When discussing Britain at a general level the participants were more likely to focus on more general issues, such as national politics, immigration policy, or the idea of British national identity. When the discussion was steered onto the actual cities participants were more likely to focus on how 'friendly', accommodating or otherwise they had found the residents of their respective cities. Such discussion frequently addressed practical 'local'

issues such as housing. This focus on sociality and the city as a 'lived space' differed with the more abstract debates on Britishness addressed above.

Certainly 'friendliness' was a key question in all the focus group discussions when participants were asked about their particular city. Participants often complained of the difficulty in making friends and engaging the UK-born population in conversation. Frequently it was suggested that, although not necessarily a form of discrimination and perhaps more likely a fact of life in a 'city of strangers', this lack of social contact hinders one's capacity to feel a valued part of a society. This exchange between a South African man (MM1), a Ghanaian woman (MF9), an Angolan man (MM4) and a Cypriot man (MM3) in the Manchester 'more highly educated' group illustrates something of the varied experiences of sociality in the city that were typical of most of the discussions:

MM6: For me I've been in Manchester for about 8 months and I think it's not very easy to be in Manchester. In 8 months in I Manchester I didn't made any English friends

MF9: Yes a thing I noticed when I moved to Manchester everybody was friendly over there [in Wigan] the white, I didn't see black so, but when I moved down here, even the black Caribbeans everybody was walking with their head down (.) that was something that surprised me in Manchester (1.0) I thought everybody, there are so many people with diverse backgrounds but there was no friendliness on the street or in the community (1.0) no hello (.) I still remember the lady who first said 'Hello' to me. I was very disappointed when I came here

MM4:   [
Wigan, you can call it a village, a small place, people are used to greeting everyone they meet, but here it is a big city, it's hard for you to just greet anyone in the street, but I will tell you in Manchester you can just approach anyone if you've got a problem

MM3: [
Who? Who's ready to help you?

MM4:   [
EVERYONE in the street, they chat to you on the bus, they chat to you

MM2: Yes

MM4: They are very helpful but if you look at the seriousness in their face you would think they were not ready to help you, to open up to you

The perceived lack of friendliness was at the forefront of many of the participants' minds when asked on the nature of their respective city. In the London and Manchester groups there was a consensus that big cities were inherently 'less friendly' and, perhaps ironically, they could be more difficult places in which to establish social support networks and to make friends. This discussion between a Turkish woman (MF11), a Cypriot man (MM3), and a Ghanaian woman (MF9), resident in Manchester for 2 years, 6 years and 5 years respectively, underlines this lack of social contact with their neighbours:

MF11: If you run out of sugar or milk you can't just go and knock on your neighbour's door it doesn't work like that

MM3: When I first came here I had a HUGE (↑) culture clash (.) I suffered for years because (1.0) going shopping and at the queue, you know, you look at people and try to make some eye contact and smile and they look away like you've kind of HURT them or done something against them and that was really very shocking, very different

MF9: I don't think that's only Manchester

A Ghanaian woman from London also articulated this sense of 'anomie' in the big city when he said that:

CF2: I don't know maybe what you say is right (.) I think that that it could be to do with the island Britain is an island and they don't really look at what the rest of the world is doing as much

CM2:   [

**   That is definitely true because when I was in other places they know more about what is going on elsewhere**

Again the experiences of the white, European group in Liverpool, a much smaller city, were different not only to the ones described by participants in Manchester, but also to those described by the 'non-European' group in Liverpool. In Liverpool's 'European' group participants frequently used the words 'home' and 'friendly' to underline the sense of belonging and association they felt with the city. However, it is perhaps significant to bear in mind that, as is suggested later on, the majority of these participants had also faced significant levels of discrimination and prejudice when in the city. This exchange between a two Irish women (LF2 and LF3) and an Italian man (LM5) reveals something of this broader sentiment:

LF3: I've been here since 1965 and I've always found people here very friendly and I've made lots of friends here – more than I ever had in Ireland (.) I always feel at home here and always did from the minute I came

LM5: Yes I came to Liverpool (.) and found people very friendly. Knowing you are a foreigner people try to help you

LF2: Liverpool people are renowned for their hospitality, especially towards the Irish. You'll find that most Liverpool people are only too quick to tell you 'Oh I've got a bit of Irish in me! My Great-Grandmother came from somewhere or other!' They're proud to have that little bit of Irish in them (1.0) Liverpool people have that special connection (↑) with Irish people (.) Liverpool can be judged differently than other cities for that reason in fact when I was growing up Liverpool was called 'little Dublin'

Categorization and Institutional Racism

In all the groups there was a high level of awareness that racism operates at the level of systems. Certainly many of the participants felt that they were subject to excessive categorization and resented this. In particular the Manchester participants in the more highly educated non-European group felt objectified by what they considered over-frequent and oppressive categorization. Encounters with bureaucracies were seen as the point of struggle between the individual and an institution. It became clear that for many in the groups, while the issue of self-definition is important, there is a great deal of suspicion about the uses of such data. A South African man (MM1) in Manchester summed up something of the whole group's feeling on categorization when he said that:

MM2: There's categorization wherever you go (.) let's say you go to the hospital, that categorization itself is part of the discrimination you will find: 'Black Caribbean, Black African' at the end of the day black people are just the same. When it comes to whites coming from Africa they are not labelled as white Africans, they just go into the same category as whites

The statistician Ludi Simpson has argued that categorization in Britain is highly problematic in some respects. Citing the example of the 2001 Census, he argues that 'White' and 'Black' suggest that skin colour is the most important criteria, a very much narrower, and less relevant,

concept than ethnic group (Simpson, 2002: 4). There are other problems with the design of this question on the census, for example the conflation of the categories of 'Black' and 'Black British' - using even the very broadest interpretation of these labels the first one relates to ethnic group whereas the second seems to be asking a question about nationality. In some contexts such categorization was perceived as insensitive and offensive. This exchange in Manchester between a Ghanaian woman (MF9) and a South African man (MM1) is illustrative of this:

MF9: **When I moved to Manchester that's when I saw the difference between a BLACK and a WHITE society. First of all they gave me a house and the questionnaire, like this gentleman said**

MM1:   **[**

                     yeah

MF9: **They had 'Black this' 'Black that'**

MM1:   **[**

                        'black other'((laughs))

MF9: **First I ticked 'Black Other' than I ticked 'Black Norwegian' ((laughter)) Well it said 'black other' so I put one down (.) and the housing officer said 'Are you NORWEGIAN?' I said 'What?' it says 'Black Other' so I thought I had to put something there. You can see I'm Black (.) I'm African, I've got my accent, so you don't need to know that**

The perception in some of the groups was that this detailed approach to categorization was not followed, for example, in the media when they were reporting a negative story. Media reports of the 'problem' of 'black gun crime' were discussed in one group as indicative of the approach of journalists when they conflate a hugely disparate group of people under the typology 'black'. This sequence between a Ghanaian male (MM2) and a Cypriot male (MM3) in the Manchester 'highly educated' focus group typified the general opinion of the whole group on this point:

MM2: **While we find that the categorization of black communities is quite bad for us – we're categorized into say 'black African, Black Caribbean, black other' – when we're coming in but when crime is done we're also categorized: 'BLACK GUN CRIME' it's no longer 'black Caribbean people who are involved in a shooting', it's all (↑) black people**

MM3: They don't say: 'There's been a shooting by white people' but when it's black
people they say

MM2:   **[**

              black BLACK GUN CRIME on the increase]

MM3:   **They emphasize**

MM2: Black gun crime on the increase in the UK now it categorizes all (↑) of us but
when we are coming into this society we are categorized African, black
Caribbean so why can't they categorize the people who commit the crime to the
same system in which they categorize immigrants?

Institutional Discrimination and Work

The second prompt was designed to generate discussion on the issue of exclusion from (or discrimination in) the labour market. Contemporary research suggests that migrants in general have lower participation rates in the UK labour market than the native born population. The employment rate among working age migrants is roughly 64 per cent, compared to 75 per cent employment for UK born, working age population (Haque et al, 2002: 14).

Seeking Jobs

Recent research suggests that the most common reason given for migration to or from Britain is for work.[302] As would be perhaps be expected the broader economic context in which participants have been economically active seemed to have shaped their experiences to a large degree. For example as the older members of the groups had been seeking work in the UK in a period of full employment, their early experiences of job-seeking in Britain reflected this. Recalling his first job-seeking experience in the UK nearly 50 years ago, an Irishman in the Liverpool group (LM4) who had worked as a construction worker on building sites, said that:

LM4: I went to the office, asked if there were any jobs and they said 'Yes, start
Monday' (.) so I didn't say whether I was English, Irish, Scots or whatever….

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[302] http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nscl.asp?ID=7601

Back in them times, you had to take the rough jobs just to survive, well not to survive, but you couldn't choose your job. You just got what was going and got on with it.

LF4: **People would tell you if there was a job someplace else. You could get 6 jobs in one day**

LM4: **[**

Yeah, you could choose your jobs. You could finish up [work] on Friday afternoon (.) meet with a foreman from another site (.) he'd say 'are you looking for a job?' you'd say 'yeah' so he'd say 'come and help me on Monday' (.) It was that easy (.) we had no problem getting jobs in them days

However, reflecting on the labour market situation that Irish migrants in Liverpool faced in the post-war period an Irish woman (LF2) mentioned the discrimination that could be experienced on religious grounds:

LF2: **It was the protestants who got the better jobs, it was the policeman's jobs and various big retail shops. There was no use me going there because they [jobs] were given to protestants first**

From the recollections of the migrants in all the group who had arrived in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s it seemed that very often the jobs available to them were poorly paid and dangerous, what LM4 referred to as the 'rough jobs' – manual, often dangerous and with very few benefits. It seems that frequently the motivation to work hard was because they had left such poverty back home and were frequently supporting people there, as is indicated in the following exchange between two Irish women (LF4 and LF1) in the Liverpool 'European' group:

LF4: **Every Irish person here sent back money, because Ireland then was quite a poor country. Now it's really well-off (.) they said if we didn't leave Ireland, Ireland would have never been well-off so unless the people had left Ireland would have just gone under, we were glad of England because it gave us jobs and then you could send back some money**

LF1: **Yes (.) A lot of Irish people… used to go to Scotland to pick the potatoes. Ireland was so poor they couldn't even afford to pick potatoes in their own farm. They used to hire themselves out and go over to a place in Scotland The money they**

earned in Scotland they'd take back. They'd have to try and survive on that for the rest of the year in Ireland – that's how poor they were.

As was suggested earlier the most common reason for people moving to Britain was, and still is, economic. Reflecting on the link between migration and the labour market a number of participants were keen to stress the ethnic of hard work many migrants display in their employment. Indeed in all of the group discussions there was a strong desire to convey the extent to which migrants contribute to the British economy, as the following sequence indicates:

MM2: One thing I would like you all to know is that most of the people who came here as immigrants who come here from Africa or wherever they come they don't just come here to play (.) they work

MF9:   [
**   YEAH**

MM2:   because they have people at home if they don't send the money the people will suffer

Of course, it should be kept in mind that Britain is far from a country of full employment. Dustmann and Preston argue that European countries are going to have to change their approaches to immigration because they are running out of workers. To keep the working population stable between now 2050 the European Union as a whole needs 1.4 million inward migrants a year, and to stop the ratio between workers and retired people falling, it needs a net inflow of 12.7 million migrants a year (2002: 27). Although the government has recognised the need for immigration to attract skilled workers in some sectors this exists within a broader framework that is still strongly coercive to border control and anti-migration (see for example Jones, 2003). The Manchester 'highly educated' group also addressed some of the economic benefits that migrants contribute to the British economy, with this exchange between a ?? woman (MF?) and a Turkish woman (MF11) illustrative of the broader tone of the discussion:

MF8: Everybody who came to this country the different people from all over the world, some of them have been helping this country to become rich

MF11:   [
**   the contribution of migrants to the UK economy is £31bn a year (.) every year (1.0) Nobody talks about that**

In support of this claim, from the existing sources it appears that the input of migrant workers into an economy is beneficial overall, with migrant workers bringing a positive effect on the wages of the existing, 'native' population. The Migrants in the UK study found that a 1 per cent increase of migrant workers in the economy leads to a roughly 2 per cent increase in the wages of the non-migrant working population (Haque et al, 2002: 8). This finding is supported by the work of Glover et al who found that 'migration is likely to enhance economic growth and the welfare of both natives and migrants…. [r]estrictions on migration are likely to have economic costs' (2001: vii). On this point it is important to bear in mind that labour markets do not contain a 'fixed' number of jobs, and that migrants, as well as contributing to the existing labour market by filling positions and addressing skills shortages, also generate new jobs. Dustmann et al also found that migration certainly does not have an adverse effect overall unemployment for the existing population (2002a: 7).

Low Pay and Poor Working Conditions.

WorkPackage 1 outlined how, from a statistical point of view at least, migrants have a very mixed experience in the UK labour market. To a certain extent these variations were represented in the focus groups. This notion of migrants as a 'reserve army of labour' still had a great deal of resonance in the group discussions, with the perspective summed up succinctly by an Irish woman (who had been in Britain for just over 40 years) when she said:

LF2:   You got the dregs because they think you're a foreigner and you'll grab it

The older migrants who had arrived in Britain in the immediate post-war period seemed resigned to the fact that on arrival they would have to do what an Irishman in a Liverpool group described as 'rough jobs', with associated poor conditions of work and relatively low pay. Reflecting on the lack of benefits and the poor working conditions in the 1950s and 60s and Irish woman (LF2) and Irish man (LM4) said:

LF2:   It's exactly as [LF5] said: they know you're foreigners, so they get away with everything they can. You never would have got sick pay; rained off, no money when you were rained off

LM4: That was in the building trade, the rule of the building game in them times. If It was raining, you didn't go to work, you didn't get paid – simple as that. Then, later on, if it was a full wet day you got four hour's [pay]. But they'd keep you there for four hours, in continual rain, let you go at one o'clock, but you had to stop for four HOURS

From the general tone of the discussion it was clear that LM4 felt that he was not subject to discrimination because of his migrant status, but rather that these harsh working conditions were simply a part of heavy manual work, a great deal of which existed in the labour market at the time. More contemporary research seems to support a central claim of this perspective, as Dustmann et al, in their study on the performance of migrants in the UK labour market, found that 'employment and participation rates of foreign-born ethnic minority individuals are considerably lower than those of British-born whites' (2002, 18). Perhaps tellingly white migrants, when weighted for gender, age, education, geographical location and some other variables, had very similar labour market outcomes to the UK-born, white population (Dustmann et al, 2002a: 18). This underlines the fact that participation rates in the labour market vary substantially between different migrant communities, even when the very different socio-economic backgrounds of individuals are taken into account. This perspective was reflected in all of the 'non-European' groups, with an example from the Manchester group with degrees below:

MM2: It is a closed society that doesn't allow especially immigrants to shoot up (.) When you shoot up it's BANG ((raises hands)) there's a ceiling where you should go, a limit ((laughs))

Contemporary research would seem to indicate that many of the descendents of early labour migrants are still employed in relatively restricted and marginalized occupational sectors (Parekh et al, 2002: 193-204; Modood et al, 1998: 83-183). However, this is not the case for all migrant workers in the UK, with recent studies suggesting that migrant workers at the higher end of the skills market are vital to many professions. For example, suggests that in 2000 migrants made up 27 per cent of health professionals and 9 per cent of teachers (Haque et al, 2002: 7). Many of the people who had migrated to Britain in more recent times felt that migrants still got poorer jobs regardless of qualifications or professional competencies. This sequence between a Zimbabwean woman (MF7) and an Asian woman (MF1) underlines this point:

MF7: From what I notice most people have real difficulty finding meaningful jobs (1.0) you know people come from other countries and they've got good qualifications but all they end up doing here is menial jobs (.) I know people who have done so well in computers and other areas, but when they come here it is so difficult for them to find meaningful work they end up doing odd jobs even though they are very highly qualified (1.0) I think there really is discrimination. I was talking to someone who lives in Manchester and he said people really get surprised when you are in an office working with them and maybe they get confused about something on the computer (.) when you go and help them they say 'oh he's so clever but he's from AFRICA'

All: ((laughter))

As was highlighted in the Overview section of this report, migration to Britain post world war II was a reaction to shortfall in certain sectors of the economy. Workers migrated especially from the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia to fill positions generally avoided by the white British working class in times of full employment. The textile mills of North England, factories in the Midlands, the transport industry in major urban centres (especially London), and the health service all benefited from, and indeed were reliant on, migrant labour in the 1950s and 1960s. Contemporary research would seem to indicate that many of the descendents of early labour migrants are still employed in relatively restricted and marginalized occupational sectors (Parekh et al, 2002: 193-204; Modood et al, 1998: 83-183).[303] There is a clear dividing line between the wages of white and 'non-white' migrant workers in the UK. Whereas, in general, individuals from white migrant communities have higher wages then the UK-born white population with the same characteristics (age, gender, education, location etc), ethnic minority migrants have lower wages (Dustmann et al, 2002a: 19). This conclusion is supported by the work of Shields and Wheatley-Price who have concluded that recently arrived 'ethnic minority' migrant workers have a 'significantly reduced employment and participation rates' (2002: 22). However, white migrants also experienced wage discrimination linked to their migrant status. The experience of this 20 year-old French woman in the Liverpool 'European' group illustrates:

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[303] However, this is not the case for all migrant workers in the UK, with recent research suggesting that migrant workers at the higher end of the skills market are vital to many professions. For example, suggests that in 2000 migrants made up 27 per cent of health professionals and 9 per cent of teachers (Haque et al, 2002: 7). Of course, it is important to bear in mind that labour markets do not contain a 'fixed' number of jobs. Migrants, as well as contributing to the existing labour market by filling positions and addressing skills shortages, also generate new jobs. Dustmann et al found that migration certainly does not have an adverse effect overall unemployment for the existing population (2002a: 7).

LF5: Well, I worked in a restaurant at the beginning of the year (.) I don't know if it's the way for employers to give less wages to foreign people, and that's why they take foreign people. I don't know if it's that (.) but it is a form of discrimination because I had less wages than the other ones (.) but it is because I am young (↑) I was paid £3.30 per hour[304]

LF4: Yes, because if you say you want more than that they will say 'We'll get someone else'

LF5: Yes, 'another person can take your job'

LF2: 'Anybody else'

LF5: [

Yes that's right but I can't generalize (…) I can't say it's just because I am French that I have suffered discrimination.

Non transfer of skills/qualifications

Another thing that had frustrated many of the participants was the difficulty in transferring professional and educational qualifications from their country of birth to the UK labour market. Again, the 'institutional' nature of this discrimination had very often led to the migrants becoming involved in protracted struggles with large bureaucracies, in an attempt to have their qualifications recognized. In a discussion in Manchester an Asian woman recalled a 'situation test' but found a reason for this.

MF1: One story someone told me was that her son had just done his doctorate and wanted to get experience in the hospital and he applied in his name, which was an Asian name, and they refused him (.) someone told him to apply in another name you know so he applied and called himself an English person and he actually applied and got himself an interview because of the name because apparently so many Asian doctors have come into the system they are trying to get white doctors in there

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[304] The National Minimum Wage is £4.20 per hour. This individual had problems gaining a National Insurance number, which is obligatory for those in (legal) work. Bureaucratic difficulties in obtaining this number had led to a number of participants in the group taking up illegal positions, in which they were frequently underpaid and exploited, when they first entered the country.

A Ghanaian male in Manchester illustrated this general theme by using his experience of having to be retrained for a job he had already received training for and also for his reference being ignored:

MM2: Where I came from I worked in a ministry of local government for five years and I go to a place [in Britain] and they ask me to put a reference down I can't lie (↓) about my reference I have to tell them where I've worked before but they said that even in the simplest of jobs you need a special retraining by Britain before you can do it

In the same discussion it was also made clear that this unwillingness to accept non-British qualifications could often lead to ludicrous situations arising. One participant told of her experience with 'non-British' training and qualifications:

MF8: Talking of qualifications that are not recognized here, I worked for Commonwealth Development Corporation (.) for THIS government (.) I didn't work for my own government and they didn't recognize THAT
MF11: ((laughs))

In support of this suggestion the UK-born population is more likely than migrants with the same or equivalent qualifications to be in work. The Parekh report on The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain concluded that for particularly for competitive positions applicants from black and Asian communities have to be better than their competitors to be successful (Parekh et al, 2000: 193). There is certainly evidence to suggest that Asian and Black graduates fare less well in the labour market than do other graduates. Also, even though Indian, African and Chinese people are generally better qualified than white people they still have problems getting top jobs (Sanglin-Price and Schneider, 2002). The second generations face the same problems as the first, so this cannot be explained as problems associated with being new to Britain, or with having overseas qualifications. High levels of discrimination are operative against particular groups of people. The Home Office report on The Labour Market Outcomes and Psychological Well-Being of Ethnic Minority Migrants also suggested that the government should provide greater assistance to employers to help them to assess the value and relevance of non-UK qualifications (Shields and Wheatley-Price, 2002: 23). Also, the UK born population is more likely than migrants with the same or equivalent qualifications to be in work. However, it is worth bearing in mind that there is frequently a problem when attempting to determine the

equivalence of qualifications across nations. This is confirmed by the work of Shields and Wheatley-Price (2002) that found employers unsure about the relative merit of non-UK qualifications.

Institutional Discrimination and Education

The next prompt in the discussions was directed at the issue of exclusion in terms of access to access to education and training. Participants were asked whether they, or anyone in their family, had felt 'blocked' when trying to access education or training. The prompt was successful in all but one group (the London 'youth' group), in generating discussion. A number of key themes emerged from the discussions.

Assessment

As was the case with discrimination in the labour market, some participants who felt they had been discriminated against had sometimes 'situation tested' to establish whether or not they had been disadvantaged because of their migrant status. Although the more highly qualified groups had had generally positive experiences in the British Higher Education system all but one of the participants could think of instances where they felt they had been discriminated against. One interviewee in London said he felt that the university system in the UK was a '**closed shop**', complaining it can be very difficult to get feedback on assessed work. Some participants in the Manchester group had engaged in 'situation testing' as this exchange between A Ghanaian woman and a South African man in the Manchester more highly educated group indicates:

MF9: **Like when I started erm uni undergraduate there was one particular tutor there who thought 'as an African you're black (.) your mentality is black' so everything I would do for him was marked down (1.0) So for one research method we are about four of us in my house we went through the same procedure (.) everyone passed (.) I didn't pass that one so what we did was we will see what will happen so Research 1 we used a computer and used one of her things a white one, the same (↑) thing she did the same word for word and that was also marked down you see so nobody understood why it would happen like that so the four of us went and said 'this is what we did we did this the same so if you sit down and go**

through our procedure there is no difference between us (.) is it because of my name? Because you see I'm black or anything?' and he said 'No there just wasn't enough information' but what [English girl's names] did is the same as what [participants' name] did so why is that? (.) I didn't leave it at that I wanted to find out why he was prejudiced against me so we went up and up and at the end of the day he had to leave

MM2: This is very interesting that you brought this up because as a community last week we endorsed a complaint from a Zimbabwean lady who lived together with her aunt (.) who is married to a white British guy so the aunt uses the surname (↑) of the guy [English surname] so they copied each other ((laughs)) that was PLAGIARISM they copied each other the same assignment and [English name] got 67% and then this person [migrant's surname] has been marked 36% for the SAME PROJECT THEY HAD

It was also suggested in the group in which participants had degrees in education can also take more subtle forms. A Ghanaian male interviewee in Manchester had encountered what he considered a more subtle form of discrimination in education and had addressed it in a highly reflexive way, challenging the ethnocentricism of the teaching he was receiving at university:

GM2: I've just come from a tutorial he referred me to a question on political economy and you can use other theories and I used some Afro-centric theory and some Euro-centric ones but this tutor wont accept it at all (↑) so now my teacher is telling me I need to come down a level because they think I am writing above my level

As was also the case when discussing *Discrimination in the Labour Market*, it must be kept in mind that some of the older participants had migrated to Britain for work in a period of full employment. As well as shaping their attitudes towards work this context had meant that formal education had not been a priority for many of the older migrants. As a 68 year-old Nigerian man in a London group concluded:

CM2: In them days you were glad to have work and to have a job (.) yes there were more jobs then but men had to work then (1.0) there were no choices for us and education would never come into it

Of course it must be kept in mind that participation in post-compulsory education was much less common for everyone and not just migrants in Britain in the immediate post-war period, but the general theme of the older migrants' discussions were perhaps best summed up by a London interviewee when she said that '**education was not for me'.** This attitude was prevalent amongst migrants who had arrived in Britain in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The general consensus in the 'European' focus group in Liverpool, which was also on average the oldest group, was that education had been low on their list of priorities on arriving in the UK. It is clear from this sequence that the Irish man and woman saw the lack of education opportunity as a reflection of the condition of both the labour market and the education system at the time rather than their status as migrants:

LM4: Just get a job, and that was it. You didn't want education – you went to a building site or a factory

LF2: In them days (.) when people came over here, education would be the very LAST thing on your mind (.) you had to work to keep body and soul together

Fees

The issue of fees was certainly a preoccupation for younger migrants, many of whom were or had been students, and therefore had firsthand experience of this form of discrimination. Universities charging higher course fees to migrants was raised in all but one of the adult groups as an example of discrimination in education. Many participants, especially those with a degree or higher qualification (for whom the increased fees imposed by universities on 'Overseas Students' had created a problem for them personally) felt that differential fees prevented access to educational opportunities for migrants. A young French woman in the Liverpool 'European' group whose flatmates had to pay double the standard fee to study concluded that '**Fees are barriers to higher education for migrants**'. Indeed many of the groups were angry about what they perceived to be a systemic discrimination that could not be justified and put migrants at an unfair disadvantage. This contribution from a Romanian woman in the Liverpool group illustrates this general feeling:

LF6: [For migrants] fees are most of the time double, and sometimes even triple (.) I feel this is discrimination (.) I look on this as discrimination

The group in Manchester in which participants had a degree or equivalent qualification discussed increased fees in some depth. The following sequence in Manchester's 'highly educated' group was illustrative of the broader feeling about increased fees for migrants in UK universities:

MF8: Who is the poorest of the poor? African countries (.) You go to the university you find people are paying £800 or women from African countries £6500 to do a postgraduate course (.) £6500! And everybody who is coming from Africa, because we don't have many universities, if you are coming from any recognized college it is equivalent to a degree but nobody will tell you that because they want you to spend 4 years doing an undergrad course which you have already done and you are PAYING £6500 or £400 every YEAR for four years and you are doing something which you have already done (↑)

MF11:   Can I just say that £6000 is only (↑) fees and doesn't include any other expenses

MF8:   [

OF COURSE

MM3:   [

YES

MF11: That's £20 000 to study ONE YEAR

MF8: That's why people are working like crazy

MM3: For a Turkish friend, who isn't member of EU the cost was £800 [the fee in question was usually £200] If you are not part of the club you are penalized because you have to pay more if you come from POOR country you have to pay more instead of 'ok you're poor you get it free, or pay less'

Problems in School

As was suggested in WorkPackage 1, there is very little existing research on the experience of migrant children or of the children of migrants. Of the existing literature Cline et al's study reported significant levels of racist bullying and name-calling, as a 'significant proportion of the minority ethnic migrant pupils reported race-related name-calling or verbal abuse at school or while travelling to and from school. For example, in a questionnaire survey 26 per cent said that they had had such experiences during the previous week' (Cline et al, 2002).

Some of the participants with school-age children expressed concern about bullying and name-calling, as this sequence between a couple in the Liverpool group illustrates:

LF1:   One boy.. he says 'Go back to your country'

LM3:   This guy was being very obscene sexually, but he was also calling her a 'Pakistani bastard' and stuff like that, so he was obviously being racist.

The older migrants in the other Liverpool group also told their stories of discrimination and violence towards them when they were schoolchildren in the post-war period.

LF2:   [at school] we had to run for our lives because the protestants would stone us because we were going to a Catholic school I'm 65 now so I'm talking about from when I was about 7 (.) a catholic was one thing and an Irish catholic was something else

Many of the participants felt that schools and teachers had a vital role to play in the development of a society in which different cultures could co-exist with mutual respect and support. This discussion between two Pakistani women (MF? And MF?) (both of whom had school-age children) is illustrative of the general discussion that took place in this focus group:

MF4: Teachers should have more power to mould children into good people and not have 'this colour's this (.) this colour's this' there should be no shades or colour (.) everybody should be the same

MF1: You can't really do anything with people you already have this in their minds (.) you can't mould a grown tree but you can mould a small plant

Racism and the Extreme Right

The next theme was designed to explore the research participants' direct experiences of extreme right political parties and also to gauge their level of awareness in general about the activities of such groups. Although there was a general awareness about such parties and their ideologies, no-one in any of the groups said that they had had any direct contact with such political parties. Frequently discussion drifted onto the two main political parties (Labour and

Conservative) and aspects of their policies that the participants considered racist or 'anti-immigration'.

A Far-Right Political Climate?

Although no-one in any of the groups of interviews told of any first-hand experience with the BNP there was frequently the suggestion that the current political climate was one in which in which anti-migration statements from politicians had led to an environment in which many participants felt insecure. The culpability of the New Labour government in creating such a context was a recurring theme:

MM3: They don't need the BNP they've got Blunkett [Home Secretary]
All: ((laughter))

There was also the feeling expressed by some participants that the BNP were clearly a 'racist' party and an identifiable enemy to multi-ethnic societies. A Ghanaian man (MM2) in Manchester's 'more highly educated' group summed up something of this general feeling in his conversation with a Turkish man (MM3):

MM2: These political parties are just the same there is no difference within these parties, but what is very important for people to know is that to me I respect, I know that the BNP are the type of people like this rather than the one that pretends as if it loves me and it doesn't love me
MM3:   [
                                    they're HONEST

Although not one of the participants in any of the groups said they had had contact with members of the far right some participants did have suspicions about the motivations of people who they had encountered. Participants frequently questioned whether the poor treatment they sometimes received was discrimination or not was recurring theme in the focus group discussions. Of course establishing proof that such incidents are racist in nature is very difficult. This story from a Ghanaian interviewee in Liverpool (LM2) is indicative of the

uncertainty that many in the group felt when they had been the victims of crime or disadvantaged in other ways:

MF8: **I haven't really seen them operating as a 'front' but I think there are elements of individuals who subscribe to the ideals and motives of racism (.) an example I am a Christian and Churchgoer and our church has predominately ethnic membership (1.0) we often have problems with the neighbourhood, people who live in the neighbourhood There are sometimes instances where members' cars are vandalized. The church properties have been vandalized…. People begin to ask: 'is it that this 'skinheads' people with a 'skinhead mentality'? Is it because most of the [church] members are from minority backgrounds?**

MM3: **I mean they do lie deliberately (.) Blunkett's speech talks about asylum seeker kids making the schools dirty so you know the mentality (↑) is fascist the mentality that that the person in the Labour government is very xenophobic and discriminatory and (.) they (1.0) do make British people think that they get more benefits that the British people and they do that DELIBERATELY because, so they keep poor white people from poor foreign people and between black African, black Caribbean**

MM1:   **[**

                                                   yes

MM3: **and then also they divide first generation and second generation (.) there's all this division so when people fight each other they [government] do their business**

MF8: **The problem is the prejudice and the racism is deep in the system itself so when you just encounter an individual this is just like you are playing around with leaves and branches but the ROOT the Root is there David Blunkett Tony Blair**

The feeling pervaded all the groups that migrants are under-valued in British society, and that politicians, along with the media had the potential to change public opinion about the role of migrants in British society:

MM2: **Politicians in their constituencies do not people about what immigrants have done, but whenever they meet the immigrants they say 'we are doing this and this' but BEHIND (↑) it they are not doing it at all so we have a system that is closed (1.0)**

MM1: Most politicians have never been true with the people of Britain and they don't even dare to speak to the people about how important immigrants are there is no one – since I came here that has not been one politician who has come on the T.V. to say the immigrants have done this or this for this country

MF8: Not only that but they'll them what they took from those countries why do people know Britain? In Africa when we have problems why England? Because it came to my country, and the Commonwealth I sang Long Live the King This is place I know so how can I go to Germany or to Belgium I don't know anything about there

This notion of ethnic difference, and especially 'visible' ethnic difference was a recurring theme in the discussions. While participants were more likely to make light-hearted observations about cultural differences such as food, dress or music, skin colour was seen as something that. Perhaps supporting the point that was made in the introduction about the racialization of migration.

LF2: But, what the Irish had, which helped them a great deal, they had the looks of the English, which helped them, as you said, you find ways of fitting in and I think the looks and the people in England in the whole, there's a bit of Irish somewhere along the line in everybody. So, I think that helped the Irish a lot more with what the BNP are doing with the asylum seekers (.) some people have got to have a hate in their lives and they're aiming more at asylum seekers, because they're a body of people easily recognized, and that's where they're aiming

This observation links in with the argument presented in the *Overview of Migration to Britain* section at the beginning of this report. There was a strong feeling in all the groups that migration by white people is not perceived by the public and politicians in the same way as migration by black people is. Two women in the London group discussed this point:

CF2: It's difficult to generalize [about migrants] people (.) I mean like people on the streets see a black person and think 'where are you from?' it isn't like that if you are white and from somewhere else

CF1: yes that's right I think a lot of what I get is not because we are migrants but more because we are black

However, having said that, it is also important to bear in mind the work of Fekete (2001) xenoracism. Although shey suggests the mergence of a racism that is less tied to notions of 'race' as defined by physical characteristics, it was clear from the group discussions that ethnicity as coded by physical appearence was a significant device for identifying, or being labelled as, an 'other':

LF2: **I think the Irish people know they're well integrated into this society and they don't stand out**

LF5: **[**

they speak the same language, so that's another thing. You speak English

LF2: **Yes, you don't stand out. But with a coloured person it's much easier to say: 'Which one of these can I pick on?' but if you see somebody different, an asylum seeker, or someone from that part of the world, you think 'Ah, they're different, let's get them, they're easy targets'. I don't think the Irish experienced that**

Politics in general

The focus group discussions all contained a level of cynicism about politics and politicians in general. Many felt that politicians displayed a hypocritical attitude towards migrants, presenting an image of Britain as a welcoming and open society while at the same time adopting increasingly coercive policies. The report was particularly scathing about politicians who use 'charged racist language in the hope of gaining mass appeal for their own political agenda… politicians have contributed to, or not adequately prevented, public debate taking an increasingly intolerant line with racist and xenophobic overtones' (Gellaw, 2002: 2). The ECRI also found 'xenophobic intolerance' was reflected in the media and also 'in the tone of the discourse resorted to by politicians in support of the adoption and enforcement of increasingly restrictive asylum and immigration laws' (cited in Gellaw, 2002: 2). Such reports indicate something of the increasingly coercive approach to inward migration and towards migrant groups. The dominant feeling towards politicians was one of mistrust, and in no groups were party political allegiances discussed or even apparent. Cynicism with the political process in general emerged after the prompt on the far-right, but with no prompt from the moderator. Something of this general cynicism that pervaded the discussions was encapsulated by an Italian engineer in the Liverpool 'European' group (LM5), who said that:

LM5: My dad said about politics: 'it's like a play – only actors change' (.) You know (.) Labour will get into power, and they'll change their tune to please the people. But at some stage they won't be good any more, and then we change party (.) that's why I'm saying, it's a rolling thing.

This sentiment was echoed in the London group, where a 30-year-old Nigerian man said that he felt that

CM2: The parties they are all the same (.) they pretend they are different but when it comes right down to it well what changes?

It was also implied that parties conflate the issues of migration and asylum as political capital, according to a Ghanaian man in Liverpool this is especially common at the time of an election:

MF8: Yes, when there is an election, that is when I become sensitive to sharp remarks of race and immigration…. Last year some immigrants were attacked in town because some schoolchildren had heard discussions… William Hague had a way of making it a very heated debate I clearly remember …. People were attacked by schoolchildren in the city centre – they thought they could just drive them OUT

Coping with Racism: Solidarity and Resistance

The hypothesis underlying this prompt was that migrants may cope with racism in different ways, and that the resources that people call on to resist discrimination are mobilized in a variety of ways. This prompt was successful in generating discussion in all of the groups.

Anti-Racist Strategies

The idea of trying to challenge a prejudiced individual's ignorance was a recurring theme. This strategy seemed to be was grounded in the belief that forms of prejudice and racism are due to ignorance and lack of knowledge of the migrant as the 'other.' These challenges

seemed to occur more frequently on the individual, face-to-face basis, with challenges to institutional racism taking different forms (as assessed elsewhere in this report). A 33-year-old Ghanaian male (MM2), studying in Manchester, gave the following as an illustrative example of how he chooses to tackle prejudice in most situations (here in conversation with MF8):

MF8: **It happens and you know and sometimes you get very tired […] how long are you going to fight? Everyday? Every morning? Every time you are just (unread 1.0)**

MM2: **[**

To me I try always but it depends how you are (1.0) errm one time I had been doing some door work and this guy [..] came and was saying some funny things about Africa and he said 'You are black' so I look at him and said ((points to skin)) 'Is that black?' and he say 'Yeah that IS black' so I say 'Who told you that is black?' then he say 'No but that ((points at skin)) IS black' I say 'that is not BLACK (.) look at it have you got eyes?' so I confused him a bit I said 'the word black was created by somebody so if the people who lived before us had called it blue you would have called it blue he say 'I don't understand so there's no colour to anything?' so I say 'yes (.) it depends what you call it' what I'm bring out is that if you can be a bit patient you get the opportunity to educate somebody about your worth or errm your value as an individual but it is also difficult to let you because it's painful (.) personally if it will bring a fight I will walk away but if it will bring a debate and an opportunity to talk I will go for it to the extreme

Strategies such as this allow migrants to expose the ignorance of those who were prejudiced against them. This was a recurring way of dealing with discrimination; attempting to educate or challenge a prejudiced individual on an intellectual level and undermining their perspective with logic and reason. An Irish women had adopted a similar strategy when she encountered prejudice in Liverpool:

LF2: **I remember one instance, as you've just said, with one girl who I worked with who was very anti-Irish (.) She said something very derogatory like 'I don't see why they can't get them to go back to the bogs they live in' (.) I managed to stay cool. I said 'do you realize Hilda, the bogs of Ireland are the same as England's meres (.) the English word is mere (.) it's only the same (↑) thing (.) The English could just as**

easy get back to their meres, or bogs, as the Irish could get back to theirs.' From then on she was as nice as pie to me (.) sometimes it pays to answer back

Clearly such a strategy, while considered effective by all participants, takes a great deal of patience and resolve to employ. There was also frequently an acknowledgement that although these strategies were successful in dealing with racism and prejudice at the point of contact, it was difficult to fight all the time and everyday. An Italian-born participant in a Liverpool focus group (LM5) explained that he usually tried to ignore any prejudice he encountered, explaining that in his opinion '**silence is better than violence**'. A woman in the Manchester 'highly educated' group also expressed something of the difficulty of struggling against racist attitudes every time they were encountered:

MF8: It's really tiring (.) you have the energy you know you have to fight but sometimes you are tired of fighting

In the 'white European' group there was an awareness that they were not the most clearly defined 'other' in Britain. This is perhaps illustrative of the point made in the overview to this report, namely that a highly racialized notion of migration has existed in the UK in the post war period. This exchange between a French woman and an Irish woman underlines the fact that, although they had both discussed incidences of discrimination against them, they still felt that other migrants were more vulnerable to prejudiced attitudes:

LF5: I'd say the English people are more prejudiced against Pakistanis, or Indians more than Europeans.
LF2: You've really hit the nail on the head

However, even though there was consensus in the 'European' group were in agreement that they were not the most clearly defined 'other' in Britain the participants all had experienced racism and prejudice in their time in Liverpool. The older members of the group seemed to have a relatively fatalistic attitude about these experiences, with one Irish man (LM4) concluding '**that's the way thing were then'.** The following contribution from an Irish woman is also indicative of this 'rule' of 'keeping your head down':

LF2: You had 2 golden rules: One of them was: you kept your head down and out of trouble. If a policeman got hold of an Irishman he'd be beaten black and blue

[…] The policemen used to go along Hall Lane in the black marias[305], and the poor Irish fellas [men], they'd work all day, they'd come home to one dirty little bedsit and would want to be in there all night – no radios, or televisions then – so they'd go out to the nearest pub. That's were they'd stay, and they'd all be out on the corner, because we had an Irish pub at the top of our street and the black marias would come. Now, if the police saw them playing pitch and toss,[306] you see that's all they had to do - they had no homes to sit in and relax, just a cold little room, maybe six or seven fellas in the one room - and they'd jump out and get the fella. Well you know by the time they got them to Harper Street Police Station ((laughs)) they'd all be black and blue. It was accepted that if an Irishman got into a black maria he'd come out of it black and blue. It was just accepted in them days. So, the two rules to live in Liverpool in them days: keep your head down, stay out of trouble. Don't comment on any aspect of your job (.) you'd be classed as an agitator, and they'd [employers] get rid of you

Only one participant was particularly vocal on the need for solidarity between different groups for successful mobilization against racism and discrimination. Initially she suggested that solidarity between black migrants and the British black population was important:

MF8: Here if we don't wake up as black people to our own black people to show them 'this is not the way, you can do it, you can achieve it' then we are always going to be underdogs

The same Nigerian participant also mentioned the need for solidarity between migrant groups and the working class British population, suggesting that solidarity between migrants and the British working class was imperative because they faced similar oppression:

MF8: There are two categories of people suffering, but because we don't talk to each other (.) the lower class British are suffering the same as we are (unread 2.0) but they don't see it because of the media

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[305] 'Black Marias' were an early model of police van, used in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.
[306] Pitch and Toss is a coin game, the outcome of which is betted on.

In the three cities (Liverpool, London and Manchester) there was also a strong sense that the cities were segregated along spatial lines, especially in terms of residential patterns. Frequently participants stated explicitly that living among members of their own ethnic community gave them a security that would otherwise be lacking, especially in some of the 'white' areas in the cities that they described. A Pakistani woman (MF3) in the female-only Manchester focus group summed up this perspective when she said that '**We live in our community so we don't face all that much racism'.** This notion was expressed to some extent in every focus group and in all but one of the semi-structured interviews. Link this with the earlier comments about housing and so on, especially categorization and institutional racism. Both sides of this argument was expressed in the Manchester highly educated group, where participants did challenge each other's views. One such participant in the Manchester more highly educated group was clear that she felt the choice of where to live, when for example applying for council housing, should be left to the individual migrant rather than a housing bureaucrat:[307]

MF8: If you put your name on the housing association list the first thing they ask you: 'Do you want a house in Longsight? Moss Side? Rusholme? Hulme?' and you ask 'WHY?' 'Because you need to be with your people you know' I said 'But I've been in my country with my people – if I wanted to be with my people I should have stayed THERE (.) I didn't come here so that I could be with my people (1.0) I know WHAT I WANT I would rather leave it to the individual rather than someone sitting there being paid taxpayers' money making a decision for a person erm if I had the brains to bring myself from wherever I was to this country and I have survived to date (1.0) I got to the Stockport housing list and they said 'you don't live in Stockport, you don't have relatives in Stockport, you don't work in Stockport so we are not going to put you on a list' WHY (↑) of course I don't have relatives in Stockport because I am coming from AFRICA

MF9: ((Laughs))

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[307] Again this discourse is closely linked to earlier discussions, prevalent in the same focus group, about the perceived discrimination that emerges from excessive categorization in sectors such as housing.

A 28 year-old South African man (MM1) in the same group presented a different perspective. Below is his response to the above discussion by presenting his reasons for wanting to be in an area with other migrants:

MM1: **Even myself as a black person when I apply for housing if they ask me which place I want to live I obviously look for an area where most of my people are because of the situation which effect us in the society of Britain including race attacks (.) automatically I feel more secure when I go to black communities not because I want to be there but because of protection**

A Pakistani women (MF1) in the all-female Manchester focus group was in agreement with this perspective:

MF1: **Asian people tend to live with Asian people because they know if they live in a white area there's going to be some racial disharmony there (.) errm so you've got the Jews in their area you've got the Asians in their area and you've got the English in their area and if anybody comes from out side they are regarded as yeah outsiders**

The categorization that many of the participants felt to be oppressive, discriminatory practice had a significant impact in terms of the houses they were able to occupy. A Ghanaian woman in the Manchester group complained about what she felt was discrimination at the hands of the Housing Department:

MF9: **They gave me this house, and next door was a Black African the rest there, everyone along the line was black and I was surprised because I lived among white, came to Manchester and lived among blacks. I went to the officer and said 'Is this segregation here?' When I look up this side: all white people there, when I look up that side it's all black people who live up that road. I said I think this is segregation (.) he said 'No' (.) then why do you want to know my background? You want me to live among Black Africans and then we'll be deprived among the official system.**

Certainly in all of the groups there was a strong feeling that residential areas of their respective cities were highly segregated. This argument was prominent in all the focus groups,

not just the 'non-European' ones. However, 'non-European' migrants often referred to certain residential areas as 'white', which served as shorthand for racist and intolerant. Something of this notion is typified by this contribution from an Asian woman (MF1) in Manchester:

MF1: **Very white areas where they let you know if you've got a different colour skin (.) even if you've got a heavy TAN you're not welcome ((laughs)) there are certain areas you will not go unless you are looking for trouble because the youngsters of this day and age they don't care they want to confront the trouble it's like 'Well who are you to tell us? This is our country as well' so the youngsters of today really go head on and confront it but it's the parents they say 'look right leave them (.) it'll sort itself out they have a problem we don't' but the youngsters don't listen anymore and say 'no'**

Linked to this patterns of socialization can also be very different for migrants and often follow this idea that you stay with your ethnic group. This had been the case for the Irish migrants in the Liverpool group in the immediate post-war period:

LF4: The Irish congregated together so you had very little to do with the English

LF2: Because we were Irish, and everyone around us was Irish, when we took ourselves out of our own environment which was friendly enough, you met the prejudice of other people, of the English people.

The discussion between two Pakistani women in Manchester also illustrates this idea very clearly:

MF1: **Manchester's friendly but all of us live in area that's Asian**
MF2: **[**
 totally Asian
MF1: **and the only place we'll go is town, Trafford centre or theme parks or something like that so (.) there's certain areas that are friendly and certain areas you will not go to because you know there's racial abuse there**

A 20-year-old French woman in the Liverpool group presented some of the reasons why she felt migrants would stay together when first moving to a foreign country. It is perhaps revealing that a French woman in the Liverpool group (LF5) suggested that this segregation is

self-sanctioned migrants may want to stay apart from the 'indigenous' population in such circumstances. She explains her perspective to a Romanian woman (LF6) and an Irish woman (LF2) in the following sequence:

LF5: **I I think that Spanish people stay with each other (1.0) there are communities within this CITY we are in Liverpool but maybe the foreign people are together but that is it (.) I'm sure that foreign (↑) people stay together in another country**

LF6: **[**
Why?

LF5: **Because you're afraid at the beginning, because you don't know the country, the language, the people (.) It's just to be more sure and secure. You need something (unread 1.0) not because of England, or because Liverpool is not welcoming**

LF2: **[**
We have a saying: 'birds of a feather, stay together' and that's exactly what you're saying

LF5: **Yes, but you need to go out of that because you future is to be in your community – if you're in a foreign country you need to be more open**

Migrants on Asylum – Divide and Rule?

In all but the Manchester group in which people had degrees or equivalent the issue of asylum was raised in a way that could be typified variously as anti-immigrant, xenophobic and even racist. Some participants used spatial metaphors to suggest that asylum seekers were being 'packed in' to Britain (a 'small' country), which was being 'swamped' with 'illegal immigrants'. Other such spatial metaphors were relatively common across the groups, as were comments about how asylum seekers got much more preferential treatment than migrants. However, given the political climate and the hysterical reporting of asylum in the vast majority of the British media, it is perhaps no surprise to encounter such attitudes. Research carried out by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EMCRX) found that more and more Britons want established immigrants to be sent home, with 23 per cent of British citizens believing that legally accepted political refugees should be sent back to their country of origin. Nearly 39 per cent of Britons surveyed said that legal immigrants who became unemployed should be forcibly repatriated (cited in Gellaw, 2002: 2). Gellaw has also observed that the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the EMCRX have both suggested that racial hostility and xenophobic attitudes towards refugees

and asylum seekers are commonplace in the UK today. The UK has been identified as one of the most hostile and xenophobic countries in the European Union by these reports from anti-racism organizations. They do acknowledge that some positive steps' have been taken by the government to tackle discrimination and racist prejudice but still conclude that '[p]roblems of xenophobia, racism and discrimination, however, persist and are particularly acute vis-à-vis asylum seekers and refugees' (cited in Gellaw, 2002: 2).

In a research project drawing on data from the British Social Attitudes survey (BSA), Dustmann and Preston found that two-thirds of the public are opposed to any further migration into the UK by ethnic minorities (2002:1). They concluded that this hostility was closely linked to racist views about migrants, and that opposition to further inward migration is heavily correlated to racist attitudes as revealed by the BSA. Perhaps significantly they found that worries about immigrants taking jobs or welfare benefits, traditionally considered by sociologists as a 'competition for resources' argument, are a less important factor. Low-skilled workers, who might be thought to worry about competition for jobs, are in fact more likely than more highly skilled workers to be hostile to immigrants because of racist views, according to the report. 66 per cent of the sample that they would want less immigration from the West Indies, while 70 per cent wanted less migrants from Asian countries. The fact that only a minority oppose immigration from 'ethnically similar' countries such as Australia and New Zealand is further evidence of entrenched public hostility towards people of Asian or Afro-Caribbean origin. The research found that racism explained these variations towards immigration of ethnically different populations (Dustmann and Preston, 2002: 11-14).

In the Manchester group in which participants had degrees, and were in generally very politically active, a more critical discussion emerged around asylum seekers and what they saw as government attempts to 'divide and rule'.

MF1: it doesn't help people like Blunkett [Home Secretary] saying the country's being swamped

The more politicized participants in this group suggested that the British state's attitude to asylum was contradictory, as it was their actions abroad that were forcing people to seek asylum. This conversation between a Ghanaian man (MM2) a Ghanaian woman (MF9) and a Turkish woman (MF11) was a reflection of this broader group discussion:

MM2: It is very easy to stop the numbers of asylum seekers coming in stop bombing Iraq, sort the problems in Zimbabwe, sorting the problem in Liberia, then there's no-one going to come in here that is the only solution

MF11: Asylum issues have been used a great deal in (.) especially in the last years erm because there are lots of problems in England (.) health system is not working education system is going nowhere crime is increasing what the parties are doing is that they are drawing a picture for the public that everything is to do with migrants

MF9: Yes

MF11: Asylum seekers, refugees so the public wouldn't look for any other reasons 'here you go that is the reason' that is my impression

There was a general feeling in the groups that the hostile climate that exists toward asylum seekers has had an effect on how migrants are perceived. The racist strategy of conflating a disparate group of people together was a recurring concern in the focus groups. For example, it was felt in the London group that media definitions, especially in tabloid newspapers, tend to conflate very different groups of migrants under the banner 'asylum seekers' or 'illegal immigrants' (see also Jones, 2003). A Romanian women in the Liverpool 'European' focus group spoke of her anger at mistakenly being perceived as an asylum seeker:

LF6: I am from East Europe (.) the most upsetting prejudice I feel is that when I say 'Eastern European' people associate us with illegal immigrants, or asylum seekers (.) That is happening 98% of the time I would say (.) usually no I would say all the time I respond

LF2: How do you respond?

LF6: I say: 'We are millions, and not all of us are illegal here' (.) I just say who I am and what I'm doing here. I feel really hurt, not about myself but the millions of people who are back home, across Eastern Europe. I feel I have a duty to respond. I feel I am like a messenger for those who lost opportunities, they couldn't have a chance in life to achieve their potential (.) that's why I respond

Multiculturalism and Social Values

This prompt was a normative one designed to elicit discussion on what values a multicultural society should be based upon.

Language

Language was presented by many of the participants as a symbolic and practical area of struggle. Certainly language is an important marker of a group's identity and as such was frequently central to the participants for the maintenance of ethnic and national collective identities. The sense of belonging engendered by speaking the same language was an important topic in all of the discussions, and English language skills were considered particularly important for progression in the labour market. This exchange between a French woman (LF5) and an Irish woman (LF2) hints at the importance that most of the participants placed on English language skills:

LF5:   There are language barriers – if you don't have a certain level of English you can't find a job. I'm sure of that…. they interview you to try to see if you can understand

LF2:   And you settle down much more quickly yourself if you've got the lingo, you find it easier all round

Indeed, Dustmann et al (2002: 19-20) have studied how English language skills relate to labour market outcomes. They found that not only was there a great deal of variation in language proficiency across migrant groups, but that these skills also varied according to age, with higher language skills amongst the people that entered the UK at a younger age. As would also perhaps be expected, language proficiency is also positively linked to the probability of employment, and beyond this, the amount of wages earned. Smith and Wheatley-Price also found that fluent English language speakers have dramatically improved employment rates (2002: 22). An El Salvadorian woman (LF1) in a Liverpool focus group certainly felt that her (perceived) lack of English language proficiency had held back her chances of employment:

LF1:   I too applied for a job as a cleaner because my English was not very good (.) they don't give me the job because I don't have experience (.) as a CLEANER ((laughs))

As well as suggesting that a lack of proficiency with English language can hinder employment possibilities, many of those interviewed also felt that language skills were vital to settling in Britain. A 45 year-old Ghanaian woman (CF2) explained this to a London focus group:

CF2: It can be strange when you first come here (.) I was quite lucky because I knew some people and could speak the language but without that you are really on your own

Although familiarity with the English language was seen as an important skill participants frequently spoke of their frustration at the mono-lingual culture they had encountered in the vast majority of the British population:

MF10: I don't know why you don't want to learn our language as well (.) an English person could learn Spanish so you can talk to the Spanish as well you want the Spanish to learn English COMPULSORY ((laughs))

A Nigerian man (CM2) in the London group suggested this was due to a residual colonial attitude in British culture:

CM2: The attitude is like 'well we rule the world so you should speak our language' I don't like this attitude but that's the way it is it seems

Language skills were felt to be of key importance when it came to acceptance in a wide range of social settings.

MF1: You can feel comfortable if you know English (.) if you speak English and you don't have an accent (.) I know people who have been on buses for example are they are treated like they are nothing because they have a slight accent (.) that really upsets me (.) they have still picked up the language (.) you speak Urdu you speak their language (.) it's a 2-way thing you know

However, even those who were proficient with English (such as the Irish and Ghanaian participants, for whom English is a first language) still felt that language, particularly accents,

were a way of retaining links to their homeland, as was the case with this Irish woman's experience:

LF2: My husband's been in Liverpool 48 years and still speaks with an Irish accent

Again though it would seem that peoples' responses to accents can also be heavily dependent on the 'race' of the speaker. A Pakistani woman, who works in an advocacy and training community centre for Asian women in Manchester, told of her experiences of witnessing discrimination because of accents. The following exchange between her (MF1) and another Asian women (MF5) in the group provides an illustration of the group's general conversation on this point:

MF1: Even with the police if you talk to them with an accent they fob you off like you're children and it's not taken seriously enough. That's happened in front of my eyes and I've seen that

MF5: Because my English is poor and I have an accent I do get treated differently from everyone else at the housing or whatever even though I could be highly educated in my own country (1.0) see it's a language thing

The importance of English language skills in Britain has been underlined by the introduction of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, which states applicants for British citizenship must sit a language test to demonstrate that they have 'sufficient [language skills in] English, Welsh, or Scottish Gaelic'.[308] Exactly what level of competence is needed to pass such a test has been a matter of some debate. Home Office minister Beverley Hughes 'sufficient' is enough linguistic ability to 'sustain unskilled employment' (Guardian Dec 12 2002). This new language requirement is part of other measures in this act that have become widely referred to as the 'Britishness test', which also requires applicants for citizenship to be familiar with other aspects of 'British culture', in itself a highly contested concept. The Refugee Council suggested shortly after this Act became law that, although in the UK a lack of English language skills can lead to social exclusion, it is also important to provide specially tailored courses and an environment that caters for people who are not comfortable learners (Refugee Council, 2002). The participants' experiences on such English language courses in Britain had been mixed. One common complaint was that courses were not tailored to migrants' needs, and

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[308] These language requirement may be waived on grounds of age or physical or mental condition.

were thought to be unsuitable because they were too literary, or at the wrong level. These two participants in the Liverpool group suggested that from their experiences:

LM3: It was not about communicating in the workplace or on the ground, but understanding some fancy, you know (.) English writers (1.0) you need more PRACTICE rather than something that is not fitting to your needs

LM2:   **[**

                   Yes the curriculum doesn't fit in with migrants' requirement. Because as a migrant you want to learn a language and apply it, write reports, write documents (.) apply to the workplace.

The Home Secretary David Blunkett has recently suggested that UK-based migrants should speak English in their own homes to help prevent the emergence of what he termed 'schizophrenic' rifts between generations of their families. He argues that almost a third of British Asian families speak only their native languages behind closed doors. Blunkett, in an essay published by the Foreign Policy Centre think-tank, said that he feared that Muslim women with traditional husbands would not be encouraged to learn English if it was seen just as the language of the workplace. But his suggestion that learning English could improve family relationships angered community leaders, who said that he should not meddle in private matters (Guardian, 15/9/02). The Parekh et al report argued that more than this, language recognition in public and private was vital as 'the cultural identity of some groups ('minorities') should not have to be confined to the private sphere while the language, culture and religion of others ('the majority') enjoy a public monopoly and are treated as the norm' (2002: 48). This sequence between a Pakistani woman (CF1) and a Nigerian man (CM2) in London supports this conclusion:

CF1: Why shouldn't I speak Urdu at home? To tell a person how to speak when t hey are at home (.) at home with FAMILY that is very wrong

CM2:   **[**
                                     Yes I think that in itself is racism

Rights

A Zimbabwean woman who had been in Britain for just less than a year reflected on some of the ambiguities associated with belonging here. Although her country has historically been close with Britain as it was a colony and there were always lots of migrants moving from

there to Britain here and those types of links. In the following sequence she seems to be saying that things aren't like that anymore and there are tensions and so on.

MF7: **I mean my own country was actually colonised by the British and you know I know that you know people from my country were the darlings of this country people really used to like them people were given scholarships to come and study so many people from my country were educated here […] they didn't seem to have any problems (.) all they say is 'as long as you follow the rules here' and it was perfectly (.) you know it was a lovely country to live in you know in the sense that you know you were welcome (.) I mean obviously you get some who don't (.) there were a few people then but now you can really tell there is a lot of friction especially when you read the papers you can feel that you are really not welcome (.) maybe in a way I don't know if they're justified because it's their country and all of a sudden people are flooding in you know so it's (1.0) it's not really as friendly you don't feel as comfortable especially if you look through the papers you can see the tension**

The idea of an ambiguous relationship with Britain and the processes of becoming internalised as part of a Britishness had also brought its own problems according to one Asian women in Manchester

MF1: **Yes – the feeling's more cold I think at the beginning it was something new (.) it's like when children have a new toy and play with it and it's fun (1.0) I think we were new in the country because of our different clothes, different food, so it was nice, but then when you've got too much of it like becomes like 'Hold on a minute now this is getting a bit (.) it's supposed to be Britain you know (.) it's supposed to be a white country you know'**

Of course a great deal of academic literature has also dealt with the question of the fluidity of British (and English) national identity. The highly contested nature of contemporary British identity is highlighted by much of Tariq Modood's work, and he poses the question of how easy, or indeed how desirable, it is to incorporate the cultures of migrant groups into the ongoing construction of 'Britishness' (Modood, 2000). As this report illustrates, this was a topic of some importance for the focus group participants and the interviewees, who used a variety of examples of this. Maurice Roche has also suggested that the internal fragmentation

of the nation in a European context due to labour migrations requires nations to 'periodically and profoundly, re-identify, make explicit and reaffirm their 'common cultures'…. to recognize the new 'common conditions and 'ways of life' produced by culturalism, pluralism, co-existence and hybridization' (Roche, 2001a: 78). In the more highly educated groups there was an awareness that British identity was constructed through culture, as this exchange demonstrates:

MM2: **At school we're trying to define the British Culture and we put a (.) whole lot of things there starting from using an umbrella, walking a dog, fish and chips, and you find out that all this food we eat in Africa we eat potato in Africa but maybe not like the chips we'd boil it another way**

MF11: [

it's much healthier

MM2: **((laughs)) yeah in Africa people have about three dogs to take to the farm people use umbrellas and whatever so what is the British culture?**

MM1: **When you talk to the English people they go to the curry mile errm Rusholme, the Asian restaurants there is full of white people eating tandori and curry so when you bring food in and you bring language in I don't know (.) I think to get a culture it's about how people interact and share their experience and traditions**

Food was frequently referred to as an aspect of culture in which 'difference' is revealed, and emerged frequently in the focus group discussions.

LF5: **((laughs)) All English people always ask me if I eat frogs! ((laughter)) They have a special idea like that (.) it's funny (.) not nasty (.) we don't eat frog's legs at home, but**

LF2: [

With the Irish, anybody Irish: 'They're a savage for bacon and cabbage' (.) You'd never go into an Irish home and not eat bacon and cabbage

As was the case with the discussions on housing, there were participants in all the adult group who suggested that some assimilation was necessary for migrants to settle into life in Britain. These 'compromised ranged from eating habits, to housing issues to language.

LM5: You try, not necessarily to put out of your way some local cultures, because obviously you are not as keen as the people who lived here all the time. But, as and when we go on, we've got to say we will abide with those cultures. The reason being, you're here and you're living with the people that are here

LF4: It's true that

LM5: And that to me is the most important way how to behave (.) if I'm going to live in Liverpool I've got to accept what they have. If I'm going to live in Canada for instance, I've got to accept what they have. Sometimes it takes time, but to have a peaceful life ((laughs)) you need to follow the flow (.) to compromise

Migrants after 9/11 and the War on Iraq

All but one of the adult groups' discussions touched on the feeling that the perception of migrants in Britain has changed since i) the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11th 2001 and ii) the war on Iraq. The discussions between two Pakistani women (MF1 and MF2) in Manchester is indicative of this general feeling:

MF1: Sorry errm I mean especially with this terrorist thing

MF2: yes after September 11th when we heard the news I can honestly tell you myself at the time I felt like I had done something wrong although I had done nothing (.) this country is my home everything is here I grew up here my children grew up here so my children's children are now growing up here so it's like it's my own country (1.0 unread) but after September 11th I feel like I'm a stranger here

A French woman in the Liverpool 'European' group also suggested that her experience of life in the UK has altered as a result of contemporary world events:

LF5: As French it was about the war on Iraq and everything. It was not prejudice against me or French people, but I had remarks, it's more actual. You say about your experience, well at the moment all the stories about the French people against America and the English people for America – it's not prejudice, but they have ideas now about French people

PJ: **Did you encounter this before the war on Iraq?**

LF5: **Not really, but only remarks after that, like 'Oh the French, why have they done that' 'English people support their soldiers, why don't you support Britain' and this kind of thing**

Conclusion

It is difficult to make too many generalizations or concrete conclusions from the large amount of highly varied data that was collected in the focus groups and the interviews for this WorkPackage. As was also flagged up in the Research Methods section of this report, the very experiences presented by the participants are contested to some extent, because we cannot assume that the representation of themselves they put forward are their understandings of their social reality, or that if they are that the interpretation of their own experience is but one of many possible ones. We must also be wary of generalizing any findings too far, as it should be kept in mind that focus group research is not a representative method, and findings conclusions cannot be drawn about a migrant population beyond those who participated. However, some conclusions of a general nature can be made, keeping these qualifications in mind.

All the participants had encountered what would usually be considered 'discrimination' as a result of their migrant status. Some of the participants were reluctant to consider their experiences as examples of racism or discrimination, but even so told their stories of, for example, discrimination in the labour market based on their status as migrants. The stories told by many of the participants, and their sometime reluctance to categorize them as 'racism', reminds us of the distinction between exclusion, discrimination, and racism. While all groupings are based on an exclusion of the other of some kind, discrimination is a form of achieving such exclusion. Of course discrimination can be achieved on the basis of age, gender, class, or ethnicity and it is important to remember that such forms of discrimination frequently intersect. However, where discrimination uses race, we can speak of racial discrimination. Although racism does not necessarily entail 'races', it is a category of social construction that uses race as a means of labelling. It is best to avoid the word 'race', speaking only of racism, which is a process of social signification. Nevertheless, it should also be emphasized that focus group participants seldom pointed to many encounters with strongly racist people or attitudes.[309] There was the common suggestion that forms of 'everyday racism' (see Essed, 1991) or individual's prejudices are due not so much to a conscious racism but rather to some deeply ingrained form of ethnocentricism coupled with an ignorance and lack of knowledge of the world of the 'other.' As a result of this reasoning most participants felt that educating the prejudiced individual was usually the most effective,

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[309] Of course this does not mean to say that the participants had not had such encounters, but perhaps they were reluctant to talk about them in a social research setting.

although tiring and stressful, anti-racist strategy to employ at the level of face-to-face interactions. Racism at the level of systems was considered in a very different light to encounters with racist individuals. There was a high level of awareness in all the groups that institutional racism can exist over and above the individuals in an organization, and a number of participants told their stories of struggles against bureaucratic decisions that they had believed to be discriminatory (for examples see the sections on categorization, education, and the labour market).

There were very low levels of association with 'British identity'. Even those migrants who were British citizens almost all felt Britain was not a society that welcomed migrants and that in general, it was closed to diversity. However it is important to underline the 'dual identities' that some participants claimed, in particular in the 'European' group where they frequently referred to Britain as 'home' and felt they could reconcile their 'ascribed' national identity with Britain's. A number of participants suggested that their association with Britain at a symbolic level had become even more disengaged since the military action against Iraq.

Language skills were regarded as a vitally important factor for a wide range of integration in any respect. Without a good, or even excellent, knowledge of English it is very difficult to acquire a job; even menial, low paid employment seem to require considerable language skills. The participants' experiences of language classes for migrants were mixed. In general the teaching on such courses was thought to be of a high standard, but there were other issues such as lack of childcare, inconvenient timetabling and unsuitable curriculum material that had led to participants struggling in such classes. Frustration was frequently voiced about what was perceived as a 'mono-lingual' British culture, in which the emphasis was always on the migrants to learn practically perfect English before they are afforded respect in the workplace or in wider society.

Levels of knowledge about far-right political groups were very low, with no participants mentioning any direct experience with such groups. Many felt that the anti-immigration strategies employed by the two main political parties meant that in this respect the far-right had powerful political allies. As well as anger about the anti-immigration stance taken up by mainstream parties the participants all expressed a high degree of cynicism about the political process in general. This disenchantment with mainstream politics was a recurring topic in the groups, with participants frequently suggesting that politicians make 'political capital' out of the issue of migration, which is often conflated with that of asylum by politicians and the media.

Summary

- The discrimination participants had experienced took many different forms. There were stories of both overt and covert racisms, both at the level of institutions and of individuals. Participants employed very different strategies for dealing with racist behaviour in different contexts.

- Indeed nearly all of the participants could think of incidences of prejudice and forms of discrimination they had encountered. In general participants felt that physical characteristics such as skin colour were more significant than their status as migrants in being subjected to this behaviour.

- Participants were unlikely to feel an association with British identity, more frequently associating with their city.

- Living in communities with other ethnically similar migrants was presented in two polarized ways: either as an act of solidarity or as a form of 'self-exclusion'.

- The symbolic and practical importance of language was a recurring theme, with the discussion in each group turning to the importance of spoken English as a way to gain entry to certain spheres of society – especially work.

- There was a relatively low level of knowledge about the activities of far-right political groups, and none of the participants spoke of any direct encounters with such racist parties.

- Participants felt that the two main political parties were responsible for the creation of a coercive and aggressive climate for discussions of migration, which are frequently conflated with questions of asylum.

- The media is considered in some part responsible for creating and sustaining an ill-informed, reactionary debate in which migration is demonised. At the same time it was also suggested that the media also have the potential to develop a more well-informed picture of migration and help shape a more cohesive society in the process.

- Ethnocentric judgements often led to professional qualifications and skills being questioned or overlooked in the education system and the labour market. Difficulties in transferring qualifications compounded this problem that participants felt pervaded many institutions.

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Appendix

Overview of Focus Groups

Location	Date	Number of Participants	Participant's Country of Birth	Gender of Participants
Liverpool	4th June 2003	4	El Salvador, Ghana (2), Iceland	1 Female/3 Male
Liverpool	10th June 2003	7	Ireland (4), Italy, France, Romania	5 Female/2 Male
London	24th June 2003	5	Nigeria, Ghana, Pakistan, China (2)	3 Female/2 Male
London	10th July 2003	4	Nigeria (2), Ghana (2)	2 Female/2 Male
Manchester	9th July 2003	6	Pakistan (5), Zimbabwe	6 Female
Manchester	9th July 2003	10	Ghana (2), South Africa, Angola (2), Turkey, Cyprus, Senegal, El Salvador	4 Female/6 Male

Overview of Interviews

Location	Date	Interviewee's Country of Birth	Gender
Liverpool	4th June 2003	Ireland	Female
Liverpool	18th June 2003	Ghana	Male
Manchester	9th July 2003	South Africa	Male
Manchester	9th July 2003	Pakistan	Female
London	10th July 2003	Ghana	Female

THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

First Name:

Gender:

Date of Birth:

Amount of Time in the UK:

Country of Birth:

Nationality:

Occupation:

Marital Status:

Highest Educational Qualification:

Signature (£10 Payment Received):

WP2GroupLists/PJ

The European Dilemma:

Institutional Patterns and Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination

Work Package 2

'Immigrant' Focus Groups

SWEDEN

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Chapter One: A Short History of Swedish Immigration and Immigration Policy

Sweden has according to some researchers (Svanberg & Tydén, 1992) been a country of immigration for many centuries but it was not until the 1930s that Swedish immigration became larger than emigration. In particular, immigration increased during the post WWII era. Modern immigration can be divided into two periods: one of predominantly labor immigration (from the 1940s to the early 1970s) and one of refugee immigration and kin reunification immigration (the 1970s and onwards). During the 1940s, mainly as a result of a growing demand for labor, 200,000 individuals immigrated to Sweden. Most of them came from Finland, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Italy, and the Baltic states. During the 1950s, 250,000 individuals immigrated to Sweden, most of them from the Nordic countries (40 percent of them from Finland). In addition, there were refugee immigrants coming from Hungary after the repressive events of 1956. During the 1960s labor immigration peaked, and almost 450,000 individuals immigrated to Sweden. Most of them came from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, and the Nordic countries (in particular from Finland). There were also a growing number of refugees coming because of upheaval events in Vietnam, Greece, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. During these decades, almost 60 percent of all immigration to Sweden was from the other Nordic countries. However, immigration to Sweden started to change character after the oil crisis of 1973. There was a decreased demand for labor immigration, which as we will see below was combined with a stricter immigration policy. At the same time there was increased refugee immigration. During the 1970s many refugees came from Chile, Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon. Yet, non-European immigration only accounted for about 25 percent during this decade (which nonetheless could be compared with only 10 percent for the period before 1975). During the 1980s there was a great increase in non-European immigration, and 50 percent of all immigration was from outside of Europe (especially Iran and Iraq). During the 1990s many people came from the former Yugoslavia, but there were also immigrants coming from Africa and Latin America. In fact, because of the war in former Yugoslavia, 1994 saw the highest number of individuals immigrating to Sweden to this date, with 83,000 immigrants (Vilhelmsson 2002; Ekberg & Gustafsson 1995; Martinsson 2002).

According to the most recent available census (2002) there are today 1,053,463 people born abroad living in Sweden, which is 11.8 percent of the total population. Of them, 475,986 are still foreign citizens. Finns is the largest immigrant population, with 193,465 people (18.8

percent of all immigrants), and immigrants from the other Scandinavian countries are numerous as well: 43,414 from Norway and 38,870 from Denmark. Among the other large immigrant groups we find 73,274 Yugoslavs and 52,198 Bosnians, 55,696 Iraqis, 51,844 Iranians, 40,506 Poles, 32,453 Turks, 27,153 Chileans, and 20,228 Lebanese. Among the new immigrant groups we find 13,489 from Somalia, and among the older ones we find 14,027 from Hungary (Data from Statistics Sweden).

Related to these two different phases of immigration, immigration policy can be divided into two periods: an "open" era when immigration policy dominated, and a second, a more restrictive era that was marked by integration policy. In this first period, during the 1950s and 1960s, there was a great demand for labor and few steps were taken in order to restrict immigration. On the contrary, it was promoted and Swedish companies and the Swedish Labor Market Board set up labor force recruitment campaigns in European countries. Nevertheless, it might be instructive to mention some important events that took place during this era: One of the first important steps was the establishment of a common Nordic labor market in 1954, which made it possible to immigrate to Sweden from the other Nordic countries without having residence and work permits. Another step was the Aliens Act of the same year, which gave foreign residents legal protection in Sweden. Moreover, the concept of tourist-migrant immigration was implemented in the 1953 OEC Work Regulation, which made it possible for non-Nordic immigrants to come to Sweden on their own initiative and apply for residence and work permit on place in Sweden. Also in 1954, Sweden signed the Geneva Convention (the UN treaty of 1951), which resulted in the Swedish Asylum Act. Hence, during the 1950s practically all legal steps taken facilitated immigration to Sweden. However, this era of less restrictive immigration policy ended in 1967, when the Swedish labor unions put pressure on the Government to reinterpret the Swedish Asylum Act in a way that would make it more difficult for non-Nordic immigrants to enter Sweden without first having arranged their work and residence permits. However, as was indicated above, substantial labor immigration persisted until the oil crisis in 1973, although a higher proportion came from the Nordic countries (in particular Finland). And as we have seen, when labor immigration declined, refugee immigration increased. The Swedish Aliens Act of 1954 was in many ways interpreted more generously than the Geneva Convention; not the least on granting asylum for humanitarian reasons. This and other practices were being formalized in the 1989 Aliens Act. However, during the 1990s Sweden has implemented stricter immigration policy: in 1993 the non-socialist government imposed visa restrictions on Bosnian citizens, and in 1996 the Social Democratic-dominated Parliament approved a

government proposal leading to the abolishment of the concept of 'de facto refugees' and that certain grounds for asylum, including refusal to serve in military forces, were removed (Vilhelmsson 2002; Widfeldt 2001).

As indicated above, during the last three decades, Swedish immigration policy has largely focused on integration. There has also been an explicit goal to work against discrimination against immigrants as well as inequality between immigrants and native Swedes. Already in 1975 the Swedish Parliament stated that the goals of equality, cooperation, and freedom of choice should govern Swedish immigration policy. The goal of equality implied, among other things, that immigrants (refuges included) should have the same living conditions and the same possibilities in the labor market as native Swedes. The key word, which has been repeated in later policy records (e.g. SOU 1996:55), is the right of having the opportunity to self-support, and hence, of not being dependent on state subsidy programs (Ekberg & Hammarstedt 2002). The Swedish anti-discrimination law was also enlarged in 1999 in order to assure the creation of conditions for plurality, and to protect against direct as well as indirect discrimination, and against ethnic harassments on the place of work (Lindgren 2002: 31; Höglund 2000: 21). Yet, despite these legal documents and policy programs Swedish labor market is *not* characterized by equal conditions for immigrants and native Swedes, and there are strong arguments suggesting that discrimination against immigrants—in particular against non-European immigrants—is rather extensive in Sweden.

The Cities: Stockholm, Malmo, and Ostersund
Some Background Information

We have selected three cities that differ in four salient ways:

First, whereas Stockholm (758,148 inhabitants in the municipality of Stockholm and 1,850,467 in Greater Stockholm) and Malmo (265,481 inhabitants) are big cities—from a Swedish perspective—Ostersund (58,156 inhabitants) is not.

Second, Stockholm and Malmo are centers of the two most dynamic regions in Sweden, whereas Ostersund is located in a depopulated area of the North (although the city of Ostersund counters this trend, thanks to its university college).

Third, whereas Stockholm and Malmo have large migration populations—19.2 percent in the city of Stockholm and 24.3 percent in Malmo—Ostersund has a very small one (4.4 percent of the total population are born abroad).

Finally, there are also some important labor market differences. While Stockholm, being the capital city, gradually has succeeded to take the step from industrialism to post industrialism, this transformation has been dramatic in Malmo. Malmo was until recently dominated by industrial production: in 1960, 40 percent of the population worked in the manufacturing industry, especially in the shipbuilding industry and textile industry. Both these branches plunged deep into economic crisis during the 1970s, which forced Malmo into a transformation process: in 1995, only 15 percent of the population worked in the manufacturing industry. However, the working-class history of Malmo is still visible in the statistics: Malmo has for instance the lowest proportion of highly educated of the major cities in Sweden. Furthermore, Malmo has considerable lower employment rates than average: in 2001, only 64.3 percent was employed, which could be compared to 75.3 percent in the municipality of Stockholm (77.5 percent in Greater Stockholm) and 75.7 in Ostersund. These kinds of differences are also reflected in the fact that the average income per person and year is lower in Malmo than in most other Swedish cities: 169,000 SEK in 2001, which could be compared to 228,451 SEK in the municipality of Stockholm (230,854 SEK in Greater Stockholm) and 186,114 SEK in Ostersund.

Chapter Two: The Research Process

Eight focus groups and five individual interviews were conducted in three cities, Stockholm, Malmo and Ostersund over a two-month period and a total of 57 people formally participated in the project. All interviews were tape-recorded and moderated by Lena Sawyer. Maja Lilja assisted and took notes on the non-verbal dynamics between group members during the discussions.

A pilot group was conducted with migrant university students in Ostersund to test run the six questions used in WP2. Afterwards the students and moderator discussed the questions used as well as the questionnaire, taking into account students overall thoughts about participating in the discussion.

Recruitment for the seven (other) focus groups occurred primarily through the usage of an introductory letter. This letter described the project, the time and place of the focus group discussion, the criteria for participation, as well as the contact information to the researchers. Immigrant organizations were contacted via telephone and/or these letters were sent out with follow-up calls being made after one week. Occasionally organizations gave telephone numbers to members they thought might be interested in participating in the project. However it was soon realized that immigrant organizations could not be the only source of recruitment, first because only a proportion of migrants in Sweden are members of immigrant organizations (many migrants are critical of them for a variety of reasons), and secondly, that many organization members said it was hard to find people who were interested in participating in a group interview. Some of the reasons given were that immigrants were tired of being studied by Swedes and that there was little follow up, as one man said, "nothing happens, just endless studies." One woman at an immigrant organization in Alby, and immigrant suburb in Stockholm, apologized when contacted for a follow up interview about the lack of interest when we came to do the interviews. She explained that her organization members were frustrated by countless Swedish researchers coming to the immigrant suburbs and asking them to spend their time telling them about how it is to be an immigrant and then disappearing in their fancy clothes never to be heard of again. That the two people making the recruitment phone calls sounded Swedish was not a plus many times in convincing migrants of the importance of the research, however that the project was led by an immigrant seemed to

make some people more willing to participate. Overall one could say that there is a general sense of disillusionment towards research, possibly based in our opinion on that migrants have understood that Sweden is a "project culture," with soft monies for a variety of short term projects and studies, whereby people (some of them immigrants) make their living by dreaming up research projects that fit the criteria of the latest institutional interest. However while these studies may produce glossy reports on topics, and even declarations by politicians, there is a general sense that in the end nothing changes in the lives of those migrants who have participated in the studies. This sense of there being a lack of return and reciprocity, may be one explanation as to why some people were keen on knowing before agreeing to participate "what will I get?" As symbolic thanks sandwiches, cakes and beverages were available during the focus groups and two movie tickets were given to all participants. Further, copies of this report will be sent to those people who left their address with the moderator.

In recruiting highly educated non-Europeans in Malmo an advertisement was put on the Malmo municipality home page with a link to the introduction letter—this resulted in more participants than needed, and after efforts were made to have as ethnically diverse group as possible, some people had to unfortunately be turned away. In Ostersund highly educated non-Europeans were contacted via immigrant organizations, the town mosque, as well as word of mouth in both the community and at the university. As the immigrant community in Ostersund is quite small and two of the project participants are teachers at the university there in a program that has a significant migrant student population, it was not difficult to find participants.

To recruit youth for the groups in both Ostersund and Malmo city schools were contacted and helpful guidance counselors, teachers and rectors circulated the introduction letter and students themselves contacted the research team via e-post. For the youth group in Stockholm a well-known Kurdish-Swedish debater (for a fee) gathered a group of very articulate young people, many of who were active in his anti-racist projects and quite used to speaking about integration, discrimination and racism in Sweden.

The low educated non-European and European groups in Stockholm were contacted through a variety of methods. The non-European group was organized by a Pakistani man involved in different immigrant organizations in Alby and who, in exchange for a monetary contribution for his school in Pakistan, was willing to gather migrants who met the educational criteria.

The Stockholm group with European low education background was most difficult to recruit. It is possible that it was difficult to recruit this group due the time frame lying close to the beginning of the summer vacation period, however it could also be due to that, as some of contacted people at the European immigrant organizations said, "they" (Poles, Russians, Finns) had not experienced discrimination. In the end, this particular group was recruited by word of mouth and used and friends, of friends, of friends ended up participating.

The size of the focus groups varied significantly, some were as small as four persons (the European low educated group) and others as large as eleven people (the youth group in Stockholm), however in general the average size was six-to-seven people which seemed to be a good size and allowed for the possibility for everyone to participate in the discussion. On at least two occasions people who did not fit the criteria ended up participating in the discussion, as only mid-way through the discussion it was discovered that they deviated from the criteria. In the end these people were not asked to leave the group and their contributions are included in the material. This occurred twice, for example a Turkish person participated in the non-European discussion, and a person who had been born in Sweden participated in a group with migrants. Individual interviews were recruited first though the focus groups, as individuals with particularly interesting opinions were asked to participate in an individual tape-recorded interview, and usually lasted 45 minutes to one hour and were conducted the following day.

A one-page questionnaire was used to gather background information from the focus group participants. This was distributed and filled out by participants at the beginning of the meeting and asked for information about ethnicity/nationality, citizenship, age, marital status, employment status, educational level, and level of inter-mixing with Swedes (marriage and friendships). Not all of this information has been used in WP2, however it has been used to gain basic contextualizing information about participants (see appendix A).

Finally, a short note on the running of the focus group discussions: At the beginning of each discussion the moderator thanked the participants for coming and then made a short presentation about the research project. A flyer was distributed that contained information about the project (taken from the home page) and the project home page address was pointed out to participants and they were encouraged to follow the developments of the project. Other information included in the flyer was the project aims and methods, the countries and researchers participating in the project, as well as contact information for researchers in the project. Lena Sawyer (the moderator) then gave a short presentation about herself:

identifying herself as an immigrant from the US, as a cultural anthropologist who had done research on African identity and racism in Sweden, and a person who was a member of a multi-racial family. It was stressed that there were no rules in the discussion; only that one person at a time speak and that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions, we were interested in hearing many different opinions. Participants were then asked to give a brief presentation of themselves giving their name and "background," which usually resulted in people giving their ethnicity/nationality, date of migration to Sweden, and sometimes even where they worked and/or studied. After this period of presentation, the first (of seven) question was presented to the group and the moderator attempted not to intervene too much in the discussion, interventions made by the moderator were limited to; occasionally asking follow up questions to the group, calling on people who sometimes raised their hand or signalled to the moderator that they wanted to speak, and summarizing what people had said. Dynamics in the group varied, in the beginning often being a bit stiff and hesitant and become livelier after the coffee break midway. While all questions elicited response from participants, noticeable differences in the volume of contributions were particularly notable around questions four, on right wing political parties, and question five, on strategies used to cope with racism. The question around right-wing political parties was usually met by first silence and then questions of clarification by people such as "what do you mean confrontation?" In comparison the question around strategies usually elicited animation and laughter among participants, and people began to tell stories and joke and group dynamics became more visible with people filling in the end of sentences, nodding and making sounds of agreement, and laughter. Discussions ended usually with the moderator asking participants if they felt there was need for such spaces to discuss experiences of discrimination, and after a short discussion around that, thanking the participants for participating. The majority of the groups went over the two hours allotted to the discussions and people often stayed afterwards to discuss more with each other and the moderator and assistant; sometimes for example thanking them for the opportunity to come and speak about their experiences and to hear other persons experiences or to say that they were glad to have the opportunity to think more about discrimination in Sweden.

The transcription of the tapes was done using a general transcription method that aimed to relay both actual words and utterances as well as, when possible, significant non-verbal dynamics (such as laughter and silences) between participants. They aim to be direct transcriptions that include original sentence formulations (and possibly grammatically incorrect) repeated words and unfinished sentences. Lena Sawyer with the exception of three

questions of one transcript summary did all translations from Swedish to English. Here an effort was made to include direct translations, and when phrases and colloquialisms were used both Swedish and direct translations into English are given. Summaries of the transcripts were made employing a content analysis as well as inspiration from both frame and critical discourse analysis (Wodak et al 1999) in terms of paying attention to the usage of argumentative (framing) strategies in discourse (particularly visible in Chapter Three).

The group discussions were held at a variety of public settings and efforts were made to find neutral, centrally located, quiet settings that had a round table with chairs around it and where people felt secure (for example sites that had windows where people on the street or in the building could look directly in where rejected). The most common sites used were university rooms (in Malmo and Ostersund), immigrant organizations, and rented spaces. In Malmo an immigrant unemployment center generously assisted the research team providing free rooms, help with recruitment, as well as Internet services to the team while in the city.

The anonymity of group participants was promised and this has been fulfilled through changing all names of participants and using a coding system. The following coding system was used to retain relevant information about the participants: for example town of the interview, gender of participant, type of group (youth, highly educated, low educated) ethnicity/nationality (based on self presentation in questionnaire) and number in-group. For example the code (and order of the code) is as following:

Town, Gender, Type of group, Country, Number in Group

City	Gender	Type of group	Ethnicity/nationality		Number
O - Ostersund	M - Man	H - Highly educated	Aa- African American	K- Kurd	Every person in the group has an individual number (for ex. 1, 2, 3)
S - Stockholm	W - Woman	L - Low educated	Af- Afghanistan	Ka- Kazakhstan	
M - Malmo		Y - Youth	A- Algeria	Ko- Korea	
			B- Bosnia	L- Lebanon	
			Ba- Barbados	M- Morrocco	
			Ban- Bangladesh	P- Palestine	
			Br- Brazil	Pe- Peru	
			C- Chile	Po- Poland	
			Ca- Cameroon	R- Russia	
			E- El Salvador	S- Somalia	
			Et- Ethiopia	T- Turkey	
			Er- Eretria	Tu- Tunisia	
			G- Guinea	U- Uruguay	
			I- Iran	Z- Zaire	
			In- India		
			Ir- Irak		

For example: SMYI4=Stockholm, Man, Youth, Iranian, participant 4 (in this group)

Individual interviews: "I" at the beginning and numbered by being 1, 2, 3, 4, or number 5 of the individual interviews.

Chapter Three: The experience of discrimination in general

"But if we come back to the question [...]
I can answer like this, yes BUT."
(Highly educated man from Iran living in Malmo)

"Does Sweden unwelcome immigrants?" was the question used to elicit information about migrant's general view of the society. As the first question focus group participants either gave stiff short concise contributions or asked for questions of clarification, for example, asking if we meant Swedish individuals or Swedish policy. However after some time, the discussion flowed more freely, with participants speaking to each other, disagreeing with each other, and laughing at each other's jokes. Further, as this question was posed in the negative (i.e. if Sweden unwelcomes), it became apparent that participants were using a variety of *frames* when answering this question, to provide *explanations* for their agreement or non-agreement with the question. Some of the frames used in their answers are as follows:

One way the question was framed was through a *differentiation between politics and people*, as seen by a Polish man with low education in Stockholm who asked the moderator:

> The question is, who is Sweden? Do you mean the leaders or people? Because you cannot say that people are not welcome since there are thousands of people who come here, but they are TREATED in a bad way later. It is clear that they have taken 50-60,000 people when there was a war in Yugoslavia, but they have not adjusted themselves at all. They have not gotten a job, so it is clear, you give them social welfare and then you live as a second-class citizen, that is the truth, the brutal truth.

Another framework used to answer the question was that of *Swedish labour market needs and a historical context.* Here Swedish people are described as humane and differentiated from "politics" and a "system" driven by labour market demands and needs. This could be seen in the contribution made by a highly educated Kurdish man in Malmo:

> I think we still have to compare between [...] if we take after the Second World War and right after the seventies. Ah if we think about

how the economy was and how it is today. Because it is like this if we see after the forties in Sweden immigrants started to come here for work. And it was this need that made the Swedes want them here. It wasn't the people themselves; it was the roles, the politics, and the system. And at the same time for the people it was something human after the Second World War, all the misery, it started with the Jews and then the need for labor from Yugoslavia, or Greece, Turkey and there hadn't any experience of this. But then after 1973 when it was starting to get worse, when Sweden's production sold out, it became stop of the need.

Comparing the situation to other countries, through which Sweden, depending on the country chosen was popular frame used to present ones opinions around Sweden as more or less welcoming. For example, in the following exchange between three non-European highly educated participants in Malmo, Sweden is positively portrayed as humane, democratic and civilized, thereafter another participant sarcastically teases the person as believing in "the American dream," making subtle comment (and critique?) of positive descriptions of Sweden as American, whereas the third person brings in another comparison, this time re-establishing the theme of Sweden as humane, democratic, and civilized.

MMHK1: But we have to answer the question, first we have to think we are in Sweden, in a democratic country, in a country where humans have their value, here at the peak of civilization.
MWHU5: You have believed in the American dream and the culture you talk about like it is ((Looks a bit sarcastically at MMHK1)).
MMHI3: But its right what he says. In Iran there are two millions of Afghanis but it is no law that says that they will apply for work. They have no rights and none give them any rights ether. But he is right.

A young Afghani women in Malmo compared Sweden with Germany, saying of immigrants in Sweden that "It is better than Germany, no idea, but I have been there and there are many police there who take people." Yet the frame of comparison was not used to say that discrimination did not exist in Sweden, only that it was *worse off* someplace else, as seen in contribution made by a low educated Turkish man in Stockholm that

Yes, I am a politician and I experience discrimination EVEN there, there is a lot of discrimination, I know that. *But when you compare with our own countries for example, Sweden is much better, I think personally.* (my emphasis)

If some people answered this question by favorably characterizing the experience of immigrants in Sweden through comparing it to places where it is worse (such as Germany, Afghanistan, and Turkey) others chose to compare Sweden with countries such as Canada seen in the contributions of a highly educated African American woman in Malmo who said:

I have lived in Canada and if you are an immigrant there you are a part of the society. There is nothing to say about that, *you have your duties and your rights and you are on the same level with the others*, as long as you acquit oneself well, like the ones that already live there. But this situation as I have experienced and with the friends I know here, we don't exist. (my emphasis)

This argumentative strategy, of *comparing the situation of immigrants in Sweden with that of those in the US, Canada, and England,* was also often used to frame answers to the questions about discrimination in education and employment and the better "return" of education on the employment market, in particular for those with higher educations. These frames were usually accompanied by "success stories" of (educated) friends who had migrated to these countries and now had well-paid jobs, fine cars, and were according to the narrator, now full members of the society, seen as individuals and not immigrants. The US and Canada where characterized as countries where immigrants had more rights, and discrimination was more recognized by the state, than in Sweden. For example a Russian man in Stockholm with low education emphasizes how *quickly* anti-discriminatory laws work in the US, giving the (hypothetical) example of what happens there if one is called *svartskalle* (literally blackhead, a racial slur) at an American workplace: "If you say […] in the US […] something like svartskalle something like that then you will be guilty IMMEDIATELY at once." Later in the same group a Polish man returned to this same example and compared what would happen in Sweden "But in Sweden there is no punishment." However they were also uncertain of this characterization of the US, as immediately after this exchange, the moderator was asked to affirm this characterization of the US and anti-discriminatory laws and practice.

Amount of time in Sweden, and comparisons between *how it was when one first arrived and how it is now*, was another way to frame an understanding of Sweden as welcoming or not to immigrants. Some people talked of different time periods, and described that earlier, in the 1970s and 80s, it was easier for immigrants than it is today due to then there being a limited amount of immigrants in Sweden and that they had easy access to residency permits. Today there was a different situation; the Swedish refugee policy and system are "overloaded" and experiencing "growing pains" and refugees are waiting for years in refugee camps for a residency permit. Highly educated woman in Malmo from Iran explained:

> To answer your question, if you come to Sweden regardless of what reason. I myself came here as a refugee in eighty four and I have […] worked as an interpreter and […] I can say it has changed a lot. I felt really welcome to Sweden. Despite we end up in Sundsvall and […] in a refugee camp that was a nursing home, but it was free for us, free to do what we wanted. But then it was the people […] or the system wasn't used […] with people from so many different countries and all of us where so young, we where not more than twenty, twenty-one years old. But during the years people have come, more and more and more and more and then suddenly the Swedish society maybe didn't understand that it had growing pains. It came so many people from different countries, from other cultures, "what are we going to do with them now?" That's what I feel personally and it has took time for people to get residents permit, been in different refugee camps for many years, and of course you don't feel welcoming to such a country. But if you have got the resident permit in a couple of months and then it is just free forward [*fritt fram*] and do what ever you want, of course it is free forward [*fritt fram*] and that you feel welcome. But the ones who came in ninety in the beginning of the nineties, especially the ones who came from the war between Iran and Iraq or this war in the Balkan, and the ones who have had to wait for their residence permit, then it's a totally different perspective ((laughing and MMHI3 is nodding)).

The differences between **"**then and now" was also used in another focus group, however this time, it was not Swedish refugee policy that stood in focus, but a growing consciousness of the individual about what it means to be an immigrant in the Swedish society as he encountered boundaries within Swedish employment. A Russian man with low education in Stockholm explains:

> Unwelcome, I do not know if they do, but it is true, in the beginning it feels really welcoming, and then there is a boundary, you start to compete with Swedes on the work place for example. And I think that when you do not succeed you begin to blame that "yes, as soon as you start to compete, you are pushed away". But then when you think a little, that when you come to a strange country, you have to adjust, and you also try to remain yourself, what you are used to. Then you do not succeed and […] then you blame. But I cannot give a definite answer, from the beginning the feeling is welcoming, the first, second, and third month for example.

This difference between then and now was also discussed in the Stockholm non-European group with lower education, once again highlighting how migrants are separated from Swedes in the Swedish society, and how this knowledge comes only with amount of time in Sweden and language abilities:

> SMLPa6: If you look at immigrant you can see that immigrants are not welcome. They take in a limited number of immigrants when they built when they took in limited numbers when people were in different situations. And as you said, I agree with what you said. In the beginning you maybe do not understand society, you have other problems for example, language is the most important. You maybe do not understand the language, you do not understand the society you do not understand each other. And so then you maybe need to go to work and do something good for society for yourself ((unclear word)). And when you start to understand society this is when these kinds of questions start to appear as he said you are looked down upon and there are maybe some problems in this society.
> L: How are people put down?

SMLT2: Put down is maybe a strong word ((laughs)) but I mean, I cannot name a specific example, you see in different settings that ONE IS one separates immigrants and Swedes.

Views that Sweden is a society that does not welcome immigrants were agued through a *frame of evidence and proof:* most often through discussing migrants' unemployment, housing segregation, and symbolic violence, as well as more subtle signals such as looks and questions. For example a young Somalian man in Malmo did not agree with the characterization of Sweden as welcoming and provided as evidence the unemployment of educated immigrants and many language courses people take. He said:

MMYS3: We are unwelcome in Sweden.

L: Why?

MMYS3: It feels like that there are many […] adult persons who come to Sweden they maybe have gone to school in their homelands but when they come to Sweden no job. Just sit at home and read SFI [Swedish for Immigrants course] for 6 months 6 years. And many months, no I think we are unwelcome.

Housing segregation of immigrants was another recurrent theme used as evidence of discrimination, for example in the youth group in Malmo where most of the participants lived in the immigrant housing area of Rosengard, people discussed why it is that so many immigrants live in these kinds of suburbs; if it is the Swedish state which places people there or if immigrants themselves chose to live in these areas. However, on Kurdish youth in Malmo noted that:

I don't think the Swedish people want to have people here. And the proof for that is this segregation. If we look at it, when a immigrant family moves to a flat, the first that happens is that the closest neighbor irrespective if it will cost them two, three millions they will move out.

The recent, and still unsolved, case of the burning down of a part of the largest Mosque in Scandinavia was used by one Palestinian youth in Malmo as evidence that Sweden does not

welcome immigrants. He responded to the question of Sweden as a welcoming or not by saying simply "No, no. Look at the Mosque here, the racists burned it down."

These examples of generalized, more structural evidence (housing segregation, employment segregation, the burning of the Mosque), were also sometimes accompanied by *personal stories* of discrimination (see following chapters for a discussion of education and employment). Incidents of being called a racial slur (for example *svartskalle* and *blatte*) were common, but surprisingly not an area that was discussed with much concern. Rather people seemed to take for granted that this happens and already had formulated clear strategies with how to cope with this (see chapter seven coping with racism). Instead what generated anger and indignation from many people were what where seen as the more subtle implicit signals of non-belonging received by the society on daily basis.

"Hard" gazes and looks received by Swedes were commonly understood to communicate migrants own out-of placeness, and of their trespassing across symbolic boundaries into spaces and arenas understood to be Swedish (such as in the center of the city, in certain housing areas, in shops, and on the street). For example a Turkish woman with low education who covers her hair with a shawl living in Stockholm described how:

> They look hard, sometimes one feels a little afraid and disappointed
> and so, when they look at one like that. There are many who say this
> too, mostly when they are in places where there are only Swedes,
> they look at you and do not want you to be there.

Another woman, highly educated Kurdish woman, who did not cover her hair, also described experiencing these looks at the workplace

> At two different workplaces, with two really different age groups
> you can see this, I practice at a daycare, and already then, these small
> children, *I saw their looks*, and then at the home services with the
> elderly. There is a big, a really big age difference between them, but
> they had the same attitude, I do not know, it is the parents who
> cultivate this prejudice in them, I heard even "I do not like her"
> ((using a young child's voice)). (my emphasis)

Some people discussed the gendered aspects of these hard looks and gazes and while women described getting these looks, many described how immigrant boys were particularly prone to such gazes. In Ostersund, a young Lebanese girl said: "[…] It seems to be more difficult for guys to come into a shop and if they are three yes then it is they then will get looks, that is clear." Looks and gazes produce effects, and people described how they restrict movement in the city: "When one goes out, for example people look at me, they do not want immigrants to be seen, sometimes I one does not dare to go to the city" (SWLT5). Hard looks were sometimes followed by actions; for example police coming to question about what they are doing, shop owners coming to question them if they needed assistance with a sly smile, and children saying "I do not like her." These were all described as evidence of what some migrants termed *sneaky racism*, *racism that lies sleeping*, or as OMHI1 described it "*a racism that is behind a smiling face.*"

Another signal that one does not really belonging in Sweden that migrants took up was the irritation, and even humiliation; they felt when asked endless times the question "*What country do you come from?*" A Russian man with low education in Stockholm described how personal this question is when he said: "I think that that question is the same as asking what color underwear I have on me." Many people, especially those born in Sweden, felt that this question was a way for a person to tell them they were "an immigrant," and term that means non-Swede. Immigrants born in Sweden in particular spoke with anger about Swedish people telling them with a smile "how good Swedish you speak" as they interpreted this to be offensive signals that they were being perceived to be not authentically Swedish. In these cases such neither the criteria of birth (*jus soli*) nor language were enough to counteract the criteria of appearance and skin-color as signs of their non-belonging.

Health problems accrued by non-integration and discrimination was another area discussed by many people, for example one woman spoke of how many women immigrants in her organization have psychological problems due to unemployment and money problems in the family ISWLT5 said: "Yes when they have a bad economy then they think a lot about it, which makes the brain sick. When women come here to the organization we always hear the same problems." Other participants discussed suicide and suicide attempts of immigrants due to feelings of hopelessness in Sweden and not being let into employment and society. However, even when employed bad treatment experienced by co-workers and employers was also described as having physical repercussions. For example, an Iranian male social worker

in Malmo told of how he gets a painful migraine headache for 3 days after he goes to battle with a co-worker who makes racist statements about immigrant and minority clients.

The differentiation of immigrant's was an area where there was a clear consensus in all of the groups. Country of origin, appearance (skin-color in particular), religion, age and language were all understood to be important to an immigrant's experiences in the Swedish society. For example, after the moderator's self-presentation as an immigrant from the US one informant interrupted and argued that *not everyone is an immigrant* in Sweden,

> STLT2: […] WHO is discriminated against in Sweden. That is the most important and WHO is counted as a […] immigrant in Sweden that is more important. You said you come from USA and I do not think you count as either an immigrant or as discriminated in this […] here country. The most important when such a discussion or all discussions is that one takes up this question, WHO is discriminated against in Sweden and their background […] at least that is what think.

In another group the importance of age, skin-color, education, and gender were also described by MWHAa4, a highly educated African American woman:

> But I want to say this with whether you are welcome or not welcome depends of who you are. ((MMHI6 MWHI7 MMHI3 nodding and seem to agree)) If you are a white Englishman, twenty-five years old and have a good education, you are welcome, if you are a young or German girl and want to work as a nurse in Sweden you are very welcome. So I think you have to accept that you are less depends on what country you come from, how you look, what color you have, and what age you are in and so on. And this group who sit here you can say is much unwelcome, not at all welcome.

In the same group, an Iranian man described who is most unwelcome by characterizing the stereotypes associated with the real immigrants, he said:

But if I assume from laws and roles, I think Sweden has human laws and roles to admit other people, then discrimination comes. Wrong skin color, wrong religion, wrong dialect, wrong language. The education doesn't classify as equivalent and if a man come from Asia then they are women […] oppressors, you become Fadime's father,[310] is it any problem with the Muslims schools also have to pay the bill, despite I am against discrimination. But yes "where do you come from, why do you do this to your to your women, why do you abuse?" Why you, you, you? I am I.

Here he rejects this objectification as an immigrant asserting "I am I" asserting his individuality in light of the stereotypes presented in the media during the last year; of immigrant men as oppressing of women and girls and Muslim schools as institutions of patriarchical "culture." This stereotype of immigrantness was given specific names by focus groups participants in the different cities and suggests the existence of specific core shared meanings around an undesirable immigrant in Sweden. For example people joked of how they should try not be seen as "*An Ahmed*" "*a Mohammed*" "*an Abdullah.*" It is significant that cultural arguments were used by only a few people to discuss immigrant reception in the Swedish society, for example a highly educated Barbadian mans statement about how migrants (like himself) might have an easier time in Sweden due to being from "Western societies" was challenged by many people.

In general most people in all the groups were positive to their cities. The groups in the larger cities (Stockholm and Malmo) described their cities as welcoming to immigrants, just because there are *so many immigrants living there*. In this frame racists would have a hard time expressing themselves since immigrants are in the numerical majority. A few people clarified this positive statement about their city with interjecting that it depends upon *where they are* in their city. For example some made the distinction between immigrant and Swedish areas of the city and named specific immigrant areas as places (Rosengard, Alby, in the suburbs) where they felt comfortable. Swedish segregated areas, which often lie in the center of the city, are spaces where they meet stares and looks.

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[310] Fadime was a Kurdish woman who was murdered by her father in 2002 and whose story has been used in the Swedish media and by different interest groups to argue, among other things, that "Middle Eastern cultures" are essentially and fundamentally non-compatible with "Swedish culture" when it comes to issues of gender equality.

In Ostersund, a comparatively smaller city with few immigrants, there was no consensus in the focus groups over the city being welcoming or not to immigrants. For example while individuals in the groups gave examples of discrimination in the public sphere (boys not being let into discotheques, a bus driver being verbally humiliated by a person in the street) the same person also described how they think it is easier to "come into the society" in a small city like Ostersund *just because there are so few immigrants*. Youth in particular characterized Ostersund positively in that there were not large segregated immigrant communities (like in Malmo and Stockholm) and because immigrants are able to learn the Swedish language and make friends faster and easier.

In the highly educated non-European group in Ostersund there was little consensus. This focus groups was particularly heterogeneous in age, ethnicity and amount of time in Ostersund, for example one young Kurdish woman, who had not lived in Ostersund so long, compared it to the larger city she is from in the south of Sweden, a city she said has a lot of immigrants and people there were more "hard." In comparison, she said Ostersund was a place she felt welcomed, as people are more curious and friendly just because there were so few immigrants. However another informant, an older Barbadian man, who had lived in Ostersund for almost two decades, described the town as "racist" and "a typical little village very closed and in-bred and thus racism and discrimination comes here in a way that is hard to detect." He described how while immigrants may live here and be well met on the streets they are "not counted on you do not come in" and gave an example of how immigrant businesspeople are treated differently at meetings and kept out from the group. These divergent characterizations suggest that there may be divergent experiences based on amount of time in the particular town, what one is doing in the town (being in university as opposed to in the workplace) as well as gender and age.

How is it possible to achieve belonging in society?

Many people stressed the role that immigrants themselves have in achieving belonging in Sweden. Some people talked of the importance of not generalizing and stereotyping Swedes, characterized by OWYI4's statement that

> […] I do not know if Sweden, I personally do not think that it is
> prejudiced in any way. OK there are people who are it but it anyway

feels like one should not draw everyone over the one and same comb [*kan inte dra alla over en kamm*] because there are those who are like wholly open for everything. And I thought because like we all like friends in the largest way only with Swedes, so I mean it is not so that all Swedes are the same.

Immigrants role and attitude in integration was brought up by many participants, as a Turkish man in Stockholm, stressed, immigrants must claim Sweden as one's own:

One should look at this question a bit reciprocal. It is clear that discrimination exists everywhere. Today I had some older men visit me. We had a discussion among us and then it was said that we live in the world's best country. Due to we were comparing it to our own country, to Turkey. […] I usually say, our members more often 1970 and 1980s we were often Turkish citizens […] now we have ended up in the 2000 and then 80, more than 80% in our group, has become a Swedish citizen, that means that we are going to live in this country, this is our country. As long as you see this country as OURS then it will be OURS, then there will be no problem with the future. But as long as you feel strange in this country then you will be strange the whole time. One should, I see here in Alby, for example, this is my little village in Turkey, as long as you look at this (unclear) then it is this discrimination and racism and all this, it disappears, in my opinion.

Another way for immigrants to achieve belonging was the understanding that immigrants have to "believe in oneself" and "work hard," even if it means working doubly as hard as Swedes. An a Iranian man with higher education living in Malmo said:

But at the workplace when it is about looking for work and such one meets discrimination I think one has to believe in oneself. One has to believe in oneself and be so fucking self-centred, self-centred is a chance it is the key to success I think at least. One should not give up.

If he spoke of being self-centred as a way to achieve success, others framed integration in terms of "proving" to the Swedish society that they had value and equality as citizens. Another Iranian man in the Malmo group, also highly educated said:

> And now when we are here we have to show that we are exactly like any other citizen, we will do everything, we can to be a part of the society despite that there are hindrances and discrimination and racism that is sneaky [*smyg*] or structural racism.

Employment, and working hard in particular, were seen for many participants as a key to belonging in the Swedish society, a sign of "being part of society." With work one proves oneself as a good person a good citizen. A Pakistani man in Stockholm with lower education described what should happen to a person soon after they arrive: "And so then you maybe need to go to work and do something good for society for yourself." Employment inscribed value and was seen as evidence of one's good intentions to the whole of society.

Finally, *learning the language* was presented by many participants as crucial to achieving belonging in Swedish society; it gave access to the employment market and education as well knowledge about the rights one has in Sweden. This can be seen in particular among low educated parents living Alby, a segregated immigrant community in Stockholm, as they complained that their children were learning a Swedish that was too easy, and that would end up making it difficult for them later if they wanted to go to the university. While many adults criticized SFI courses (Swedish for Immigrants), there was consensus that it is important for migrants to learn the Swedish language. However on the other hand, while many people said it is important to learn the language, they also described how unreasonable language demands were used as a way to exclude them from employment. For example, a Polish man described how he was told when applying for a job at a travel agent, that "Swedish as a mother language was required," a requirement he could never obtain.

Chapter Four: Institutional Discrimination and Work

There was a general consensus that discrimination in the labor market does occur, although no consensus about neither the size nor the causes of this kind of discrimination could be reached. As expected, being highly abstract and less visible, structures were generally less commonly identified as a cause of labor market discrimination, whereas teleological narratives underpinned migrants' own understanding to a much higher extent.

From WP1, we were able to identify three basic mechanisms playing a major role for discrimination in the labour market: statistical discrimination (based on stereotypical thinking), network-effects (due to separated, ethnically homogeneous networks), and institutional discrimination. Key actors holding gatekeeper positions in the labour market discriminate against migrants in a two-fold way: by making decision about recruitments, etc. based on stereotypical—and often prejudiced—beliefs about group-specific characteristics rather than on individual skills; and by choosing people they know or who have been recommended by someone they know for vacant positions (network-recruitment).

In the first case, migrants and other ethnic minorities are deliberately treated differently because of their *ascribed* characteristics, i.e., on bases on what they *are* rather than on what they *have*. Sometimes this is caused by direct racist attitudes (*preference-based discrimination*) but more often it is an effect of *statistical discrimination*. Statistical discrimination occurs when decisions are based on the employer's beliefs about typical characteristics of the group the individual belongs to or are believed to belong to (such as "certain migrant groups are not particularly productive, because they are absent too often due to sickness," or "they lack the capacity to work in teams"). Irrespective of whether these beliefs are true or false, statistical discrimination is always *stereotypical*: decisions are based on group belonging and not on the individual's skills.

Direct discrimination and statistical discrimination

We can find several examples of voices that express experiences of both direct, preference-based discrimination, and statistical discrimination. First, there is no doubt that mistreatment does occur. A highly educated Kurd from Malmo, for instance, tells us "many of my friends,

dentists, doctors, they work as caretakers, cleaners, bus drivers." However, there is a general tendency that less educated migrants are more prone than highly educated migrants to experience discrimination. One migrant of Pakistani origin, living in Stockholm, says:

> Immigrants are clearly discriminated on the work place. If an employer could choose between a Swede and an immigrant the Swede will clearly have priority, it is natural, if not that the immigrant has very clear stronger capacity. It is a fight at the workplaces, the person who has the highest competence gets the jobs, but if you are an immigrant then you do not count. For me it is clear.

The group later qualified this statement by saying that it only relates to non-European migrants. There were several examples of direct discrimination, based on an a priori belief that (native) Swedes should have priority. One highly educated Barbadian man in Ostersund, for instance, told the story about a man who needed a carpenter and, since he knew that the unemployment rates were high among the migrant population,

> […] he wanted an immigrant carpenter. But when he took contact with the employment agency and said he wanted to employ an immigrant carpenter then he was told that "You should understand it clearly that we have 200 Swedish carpenters that are unemployed, you should take them first."

Yet, fear of immigrants and cultural difference are often believed to be a reason, rather than racist attitudes. As a young women of Lebanese origin, living in Ostersund, expressed it, "oh are we going to have an Abdullah here, then it will be a little […] then one does know how he functions […]." Another example of migrants' understanding of the mechanism of statistical discrimination was provided by an Iranian migrant living in Ostersund:

> Say for example in a car factory that wants someone to clean their floor. They already have their gang there, say 10 Swedes, low educated, the language they speak is a lot of slang, then there suddenly comes an immigrant, they really do not want that person there, rather a Swede who eats fermented Baltic herring and likes moist snuff, etc.

Most groups expressed that foreign-sounding names often becomes a proxy for ascribed group-specific characteristics and triggers prejudiced stereotypes (and sometimes lead to exclusionary discrimination). This is also true for looks and appearance. There were even stories about kin and acquaintances that had changed names (like a man named Mohammed who had changed to the more typical Swedish name Anders).

Yet, there are also other strategies to counter exclusion based on foreign-sounding names and "non-Swedish" looks. One university researcher of Iranian origin, who took part of the group session in Malmo, for instance, stopped waiting for employers to call him in for an interview, and "forced" a face-to-face encounter with the person in charge of recruitment—a strategy that increased his chances that he would be judged as a person and not just as an an ethnically-based category:

> But when I applied for it they didn't even answer if they had got it, so I contacted them several times, I mean three times and my papers had just disappeared. So that was really funny to hear ((with irony)). *And finally I just called them and asked if I could get a personal contact and there it began. When they met me and saw that I didn't look violent or that I didn't look like a rapist or something. And we started to talk and they saw that I also have humor, so we sat there and laughed and so on.* That was there it started, there I got an opportunity […]. (my emphasis)

However, there is consensus that Muslim women wearing veils and covering their hair are most exposed for prejudices and the ones most likely to be discriminated against. There are several stories about women wearing veils that have been presented with the ultimatum to stop wearing the veil or not being appointed to a job. There are even stories about officers at the employment agency asking women with veils "how hard they sit" on their heads, that is, if they would consider to take them off in order to get a job.[311]

But, not only Muslim women are affected by prejudiced stereotypes. A Polish migrant living in Stockholm, who after seven years on a factory he advanced from the factory floor to the office department, and provides a very illustrative example of how stereotyped thinking works:

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[311] Yet, also women originating from the Middle East not wearing veils meet prejudiced stereotypes in their contacts with employers. One highly educated women originating from Iran tells about an employer who were taken aback when, at their first meeting, were wearing shorts and a vest instead of a veil.

The first day I went to the old entrance, the old back way, but then I thought I should go in the front. And this woman would not let me!

SWLKa3: Not let you in or? ((laughing))

SMLPo1: No, not let me in, "Where are you going to go?" Since there were only Swedish people from the constructor section here. "I am going TO work" ((indignantly))

SWLT4: And she was like, "the cleaning firm is back there" ((ironically, laughs))

SMLPo1: I was so angry, yes. I went. And she did not think to let me go [she tried to physically stop him]. And I thought here is someone at the office willing to break I mean to sit and [...] she could never think that [...] and later when someone from the personnel boss, she was so embarrassed, like what should I do? She was so embarrassed, she could never think that a fucking foreigner could work at an office, and this was in the 1980s!

However, perhaps intuitively, it is a recurrent theme that many migrants are frustrated over the reasons why they have been mistreated in their contacts with employers, etc. Although most of them avow that discrimination against migrants do occur, several of them are cautious to explain their own experiences as being the result of ascribed characteristics (i.e., discrimination), and do not want to exclude the possibility that their job applications have been turned down, etc. because of their achieved characteristics. In the youth group conducted in Ostersund, for instance, the following dialogue took place between a 19-year-old woman of Lebanese origin, who in vain had applied to all possible summer jobs she could think of and instead had to work with her father in a restaurant, and an 18-year woman of Iranian origin:

OWYL1: Yea I am going to work with him it just became like this but I wanted to be out I mean he works in the restaurant business then, but I do want to be there, I want to be in something else. And like but that I have not been successful, it is not possible ((looks at OWYI4)).

OWYI4: I understand that I have also heard that to get a summer job, it is not possible ((OWYL2 giggles)) I mean this here is serious, it really is not possible

OWYL1: *And then one does not really want to believe that it is* (my emphasis)

OWYI4: *Yeah precisely one does not want to believe that is […] because one* I have friends who have applied at the same place

OWYL2: And they have gotten in

OWYI4: They have gotten it but I have not gotten it and you can feel it also right here and well yes how many times will I have to got there, how many times will I have to call to get that job, when they can go there one time and get the job.

[…]

OWYL1: But then it is also easy because I became irritated about that for a while and so I thought "Well" then you add on "it is just because I am an immigrant, it is just because that I am." Because one becomes angry and then one says that there is something sick but one never knows what it can be based on, they maybe do not seek me as a person, they maybe do not seek my age, whatever ((OWYI4 nods in agreement)).

Similarly, a highly educated woman of Iranian origin, in Malmo, stated:

We come to another country and we have to learn a lot and we become disappointed in some things, when we want something to happens, and when it doesn't happened we think "that's because of that and that." But if we think about it logically maybe we had too many expectations, when I look for a job where it is fifty applicants and when I don't get the job "(ah) it was discrimination, they have sorted me out."

Network recruitments

Individuals holding gatekeeper positions (e.g., who are in a position to employ people, to promote people, etc.) are likely to chose someone belonging to the same network. Furthermore, information about vacancies tends to spread through networks. However, networks tend to be biased towards homophily: in general, people tend to dwell among others who are similar to themselves in a number of salient. In Sweden, we would argue, ethnicity is one ground for homophily; networks tend towards ethnic homogeneity. Native Swedes and different migrant groups are very often part of separate networks. Since key actors holding

gatekeeper positions tend to be native Swedes, this leads to a situation in which native Swedes are favoured and non-Swedes disfavoured.

This is an example of a structural explanation of ethnic discrimination, which is less concrete and immediately visible for the individuals involved. Yet, the topic was raised at least twice. A highly educated Kurdish woman, living in Ostersund, for instance, stated:

I do not think it is very common, that the majority of immigrants, during the first months, when you apply for work you will not come in; you have to go through the employment office to get work. People have to get to know you, but it is hard the first months since no one knows you, the majority of Swedes get their jobs through private contacts. The unemployment office only has certain kinds of jobs, it is a shame.

Hence, being excluded from the (native) Swedish networks, migrants—in particular newly arrived migrants—are confined to use the public employment offices or (minority) ethnic networks. The importance of contacts and networks was also brought up during one of the in-depth interviews (with an Iranian man living in Ostersund), who observed that about 70 percent of the public positions are—in practice—already appointed when they are announced.

Institutional discrimination

When apparently neutral requirements for recruitment or routines for how to organize the work affect certain ethnic groups more than others, or more generally, when certain rules, instructions, or everyday practice within a social system have intended or unintended discriminating consequences, we may talk about institutional discrimination. In WP1 we found that the most common type of institutional discrimination in the Swedish labour market has to do with requirements for good knowledge in spoken and written Swedish. These requirements are sometimes motivated, but often not.

Language requirements were also a topic that frequently came up during the focus groups sessions. There seemed to be a general belief that many language requirements are exaggerated, although no consensus could be reach for which jobs that should have one, and which ones that should not (e.g., should bus drivers have to pronounce Swedish street names correctly?). Nevertheless, to provide some examples of this theme, a Polish, less educated

man in Stockholm, said, "you can see on TV that Chinese will always speak English a certain way, they cannot say 'rrrrr' it doesn't matter if you are a professor who cannot say it, but here in Sweden you seek a normal job and they say 'Yes, but you have an accent and that is like.....'" There was also a laugh in this group that there is a language requirement even for many cleaning jobs.

Another topic that came up was the feeling that immigrants could be exploited because they did not know the rules, laws, and regulations. One peculiar form of structural discrimination, which came up during the session in Malmo with a group of highly educated migrants of non-European origin, is that affirmative action in benefit of one group (i.e., women) can discriminate against another (or at least present employers with a pretext to do so). A highly educated Kurd tells us that one of his job applications—for a job he was highly qualified for—was turn down with the motivation: "we are sorry, but we can't give you this job, we have to think about the equality." Instead the job was given to a Swedish woman (with less qualifications for the job in question).

Labor Sector and Labor Place Discrimination

There are also experiences of labor sector discrimination and labor place discrimination, that is, that after entry to the labor market there is a discriminatory selection to different sectors—where migrants typically get low-status and low paid jobs. As an Iranian man living in Ostersund stated in one of the in-depth interviews: "As long as I have lived in Sweden I have watched the news and have been here and there and I have never seen someone colored who has been in a position of power, very seldom."

Focus group participants also oldl of a more subtle form of discrimination that occurs on the workplace manifested in migrants; being forced to work less attractive hours, in colleagues freezing out migrants and even in outward bullying. At least in the group of highly educated migrants in Malmo, there is an understanding that Swedes do not admit this kind of discrimination when it occurs: they rather tend to justify it in means of that the immigrant in question "just doesn't fit in."

However, there were also some positive examples of working places, located in the suburbia areas south of Stockholm, were nearly all employed are migrants (and were many wear veils or turbans, etc.). There is a belief—at least in the group of less educated migrants in Stockholm—that more stores should try this concept as a way to expand its circle of customers.

Conclusion

Hence, there is a shared experience among the migrants that ethnic discrimination occurs on the Swedish labor market. In comparison to other countries, many migrants cite the US and Britain as countries which make it easier for migrants to enter the labor market (and society in general), and Germany as a country which makes it worse. Yet, there is a near consensus that Sweden is not without flaws in this respect. It is particularly alarming that some of the migrants—one in particular—expresses doubts over the use of education: why invest in education, when you will not get any gains in return?

Yet, before we put this chapter to an end, the diversity of the voices should be noted. Some, two in particular, expressed the opinion that the high unemployment of migrants is a result of the lack of energy and good will of the migrants themselves: it is also implied—by these particular voices—that the Swedish "cradle to the grave"-society makes it too easy to live on social allowances. In the youth group conducted in Malmo, for instance, the following conversation took place:

> MMYP7: They do not want to work, they are tired.
>
> MMYS3: There is no work, I know that no it is really hard
>
> MWYB1: But there are many who do not want to work
>
> […]
>
> MMYK6: There are six people at home, and my father works every month maybe 22,000 a white job and he pays taxes and the rent maybe 3,000 kronor after, if he sits at home the welfare pays to him 10,000 kronor and he just sits nothing, which one is better? It is true, they pay electricity, and what it is called study welfare, child welfare, CSN, everything, and he sits at home only and does nothing, if he works 8 hours he is tired and maybe 2-3000.

Chapter Five: Experiences of Discrimination in Education

What are the experiences of migrants in education? To elicit responses the question *"Have you or someone you know experienced discrimination in education?"* was posed to focus group participants. In their answers clear differences of experience can be seen between youth and adults as well as between the higher and lower educated non-European groups. In particular youth tend to be more positive about their educational experiences and the treatment of immigrants in schooling that adults. The thematic topics that the youth discussed in the focus groups in response to the question of discrimination in education are:

School Culture

Some youth discussed how specific traditions that are part of the school culture are perceived as exclusionary, for example traditions around graduation from upper secondary school where alcohol is an important part of the rituals as well as the singing of (for many) unfamiliar songs. In general the attitudes of youth participants towards schoolteachers varied though they can generally be characterized as positive. Youth gave examples of positive experiences with teachers who were "supportive" and "nice" as well as teachers who were characterized as "racist." However racist teachers were the abnormality, described as exceptional people who were quickly dispelled of when their ideas became known to the school officials. However, there were some examples of differential treatment in grading and evaluation, an area that youth debated if this could be classified as discrimination or not. For example an Iranian male youth in Ostersund described

> Like when one does a project (work) for example in school and it is
> so very very good and it is even maybe better then the other students.
> SO like it seems like the teachers like do not accept this or
> something. Or they cannot understand how I like "how could YOU
> be good at something like that."

Here he suggests that it is difficult to be recognized for the achievements one does in school when the dominant image of immigrant students is of under-achievement. However another girl in the discussion responded to this example by saying OWYL1"They look a little surprised because of this, but discrimination, I do not know."

Presentation of Islam

Many youth discussed the negative and stereotypic images of Islam and Muslims that is presented in the media in general but also in schools. In particular they described how teachers inadequately dealt with stereotypes and media debates (such as the murder of Fadime) in which understandings of Muslims and Islam were central. Youth told how they felt uncomfortable being put (often times by teachers) in the situation of having to teach their classmates about Islam and counteract gendered stereotypes of immigrants (see Chapter Three and discussion of stereotypes of immigrants). They tell of being subjected to ignorant questions from classmates and of being forced to take on roles they feel teachers should instead take and be more active in playing. An Iranian girl in Ostersund said:

> And then there are many who are curious […] there are some in my class dumb Swedes I have met in the first grade and have gone with them almost three years now and they are curious and so they ask and I answer like as good as I can because they are curious and wonder how it is and. It is different maybe me and another girl from another Muslim family like, there are differences there as well, so I try to explain and so.

Parents meetings with children's school

Another area discussed by the youth were their attempts to limit their parent's contact with their schools as they gave examples of "what happens" when their parents come to the school. Some youth talked about how they do not encourage their parents to attend school functions and meetings and gave examples of their parents being excluded, or excluding themselves due to limited Swedish language abilities, from other parents and activities. Children seemed to worry about how their parents will be received and how they will deal with the school environment, as a Lebanese woman in Ostersund described what happened the last time her parents came to the school

> My parents came and I am the only foreigner in two classes […] at school so my parents did not have anyone to sit with and it felt a little so there "ok well" and I really did not want to take them with me because I

know that it is like that that parents do not blend, my father does not blend himself so much because he is social but he is not like that when he meets new people he is just "hello how are you" he is not like that and my mother cannot speak the language so much she speaks but she can like a little bit. So that one had to sit with them when then all of my friends sat by themselves at a table, but I am sitting with them like so […] one has to talk a little with each other, while all the others interacted/visited a lot.

In the same focus group, another youth (woman from Iran) agreed with this portrayal saying:

That is how it is for me too "do not go" because if she goes there who will she sit with? All the parents can give and take with each other [but] mamma will just sit there in a corner and not feel at home. So to expose her to that it feels like she can stay at home and then I can check with another parent what happened.

In general the consensus, in particular in the Ostersund group, was that an appropriate strategy for dealing with this "problem" was to try to limit their parents participation in school functions, and instead tell their parents as a young Lebanese woman in Ostersund does that: "Yes but do not go it does not matter since one knows the most important things and so."

Parent's expectations

If youth try to in general limit their parent's access to their schools, they at the same time also discussed their parent's high expectations for their educational success. It was understood that parents high expectations on children (that they should for example study at the university and in specific subjects such as dentistry and law), was a way for them to have access to the economic opportunities and integration their parents had missed out on in the Swedish society. In Ostersund the discussion was that:

OWYI4: I think that all […] foreign parents have higher expectations on their children than what Swedish parents have.

OWYPe3: […] you should show that we also can in some way ((OWYL2 giggles)) because all of their desires and dreams it is like that 'Yes well ok should I go and carry these now or what should I do.' So one does not want to make them disappointed.

OWYL2 went on to describe that it is only s specific kind of work that her parents are encouraging her to go into: "My mother is only like wanting DOCTOR DENTIST ((laughs))." However while they feel the pressure from their parent's to "succeed" in society by going into specific kinds of work, on the other hand, the majority of the youth said they do not feel they can get help from their parents with much of their school work or with the practicalities of studying at a higher level. Many said their parents did not know "the system." Instead most youth felt confident that they had enough information about how to proceed if they chose to continue their studies, garnered mainly via what they said are the countless brochures sent home to them and school field trips to different schools. However, a few participants still expressed uncertainty about whom they would ask about the practicalities of studying; only some felt that school guidance counselors could be used and useful.

If youth discussions were mostly based on experiences and thoughts about upper secondary school culture, adults on the other hand, both in the higher and lower educated groups, brought up different kinds of themes to respond to the question of discrimination in education. They discussed the following themes:

Concern about their children's education

In the Alby focus group people were interested in discussing the segregation of Swedish and immigrant children into different schools in Botkyrka (where Alby lies) and the different language educations children are given in the Northern and Southern schools in this community. In particular parents said that their children were being taught a lower level Swedish in the immigrant school and that this meant their children had lower prerequisites for success in higher education than the Swedish children did. A Turkish man in Stockholm in the lower educated group described why so few children from immigrant segregated areas such as Alby go to university saying:

> Our children, born in Sweden, in school do not study the same Swedish that Swedish children do, they study Swedish as a second language, if one is going to be honest it is "light Swedish," so they can pass the core subjects in Swedish and this means in someway that the children's future is in someway darker. If it had been harder they would have fought in some way, but when it is easier and easier and then when they come to upper secondary and university it is harder and harder. And so in these areas only a few children go to university it is very few, I think it is a (unclear-successive?) system.

In response to these institutional differences in Swedish instruction some parents said they chose to move their children to schools that are more integrated with Swedish children and hence have better resources. In the same group in Stockholm a woman from Bangladesh said:

> […] I can say schools, in Botkyrka for example it is mostly immigrant children who go here in the schools. The municipality has not invested enough they do not have enough teachers or even if they have them they are not qualified and it is really rowdy in the classrooms so it is it does not produce a good result. So I solved the problem through moving my children to another school. There […] are Swedish children, mostly Swedish children.

If low educated non-European parents in Alby worried about their children's educations and inadequate preparation for study in higher education, participants in the more highly

educated non-European groups seemed to be generally more secure that their children were getting an (equal) education. They seemed secure that by having a Swedish education their children would be better equipped than they were with their foreign degrees, to find a more equitable return in the Swedish labor market.

Validation of Degrees

Highly educated participants framed their discussions of discrimination in education by spending a significant part of the time discussing the validation of their own or friends' foreign degrees. A clear consensus that emerged in all the groups was that Swedish education and degrees are most preferred in Sweden and that (specifically among those who had been in Sweden for many years), the validation process was improving in Sweden. Here a frame of "before and now" was used, as a highly educated Kurdish man in Malmo pointed out

> […] Now they have opened themselves much more, it has become easier to be able to evaluate, independent if you do not get the same evaluation, but still a few points to complete. It is much better than that they said 'No, start over from the ground to educate yourself' that is not like appropriate [*det passar inte*].

Though it was generally understood that the process of validation was improving (in terms of both the validation of the actual degree and the creation of field specific Swedish language courses), many people voiced irritation that there still existed a differentiation among foreign degrees. This differentiation depended upon both the *kind* of degree (professional or technical) as well as *where* the degree came from. Participants spoke of the existence of a hierarchy not unlike that discussed in Chapter 3 about immigrants, according MWHI7 "Some countries and some educations are absolutely not accepted."

Migration Stories

Migration stories were an important frame to discussions about education and discrimination for the highly educated participants in particular, and would often emerge at those moments in the discussion when negative examples of an educated immigrant's success being limited and their capacities and degrees unrecognised. As such migration stories can also be understood

as argumentative strategies of resistance that played an important function in the focus group discussions (see more on strategies in Chapter seven on coping with racism). These were stories of success, recognition, and conversion: from struggling to have ones competencies recognized in Sweden and wasting years either doing menial work or endless complementing courses, the main figures in these stories are always portrayed as meeting immediate recognition in the new societies they migrate to. At the end of these migration stories individuals are given qualified employment, status, money, and recognition of education. For example a highly educated Kurd in Malmo told of how many migrants sit and think about the dream of migration:

> I have many friends who have been here and worked as cleaners and then suddenly 'Why do I not change country?' They have gotten their permission and work as a dentist and get 80,000 in their wallet. Instead [they now have] an apartment, a car, all of that it is a dream that many sit and think about.

In Ostersund this migration story were also told, this time of a successful return of educational prerequisites in the US. An Iranian highly educated woman told:

> […] many years ago a friend of mine who had studied as a rehabilitation nurse [*sjukgymnast*] in England and she had gone to a masters level. When she came to Sweden […] they said "Nah you have to do it over" ((voice becomes higher and nasal)) the rehabilitation studies it is the whole world! She had to study 20-40 points in Sweden then she lost the desire totally for studying so she sought to the USA and there she got a job directly.

Finally, if youth seemed fairly clear about their options and possibilities for further study and generally had faith in their teachers and guidance teachers as sources of information, adults were unsure about their options and had less faith in employment office counsellors and consults. Some adults gave examples of misinformation, and described how they had spent wasted time in courses their employment counsellor had encouraged them to take. Others described a gendered bias to such advice and described how women were encouraged into studies and men away from education and into (unqualified) employment. However like the youth, adult migrants also did not see their parents to be sources of information in regards to

education. For example a highly educated woman in Malmo from Iran described how it was a struggle to figure out how to move forward with her dreams of studying at the university

> Where do you get an education? And it took time for us all, many […] friend or an acquaintance came to me and they said 'Yes we study this and this' 'Yes but to it, do that and this' That which I should have gotten from my parents or their friends or the others.

Without the support of parents, adult migrants looked to their friends and migrant network for support and help in navigating the educational system.

Chapter Six: Racism and the Extreme Right

The extreme right-wing populist parties—which have made great strides on programs emphasizing ethno-nationalism and cultural racism in Western Europe since the mid 1980s—have so far been marginalized in Sweden (electorally, politically, as well as in the mass media); although the Sweden Democrats increased its support to 1.4 percent in the 2002 legislative election. Moreover, like similar parties in other countries—such as the French Front National—the Sweden Democrats and to some degree the National Democrats tend to concentrate their campaigns to places close to areas with a high proportion of migrants, whereas they seldom are visible within these areas. As a consequence, few migrants have had any contacts with them, and, in fact, the question did not provoke much discussion. This was also true for the focus groups held in Malmo; the region where the Sweden Democrats have been most successful and active.

Yet, some migrants have had contacts with the Sweden Democrats, although typically in an indirect way (e.g., via flyers in their mailboxes). One migrant in Stockholm expressed the fear that Sweden Democrats might make it into the Swedish parliament in the next election in 2006. Moreover, one of the youths in Ostersund tells that the Sweden Democrats got twelve votes in the school election at her school (however, this is very low compared to schools in southern Sweden).

Contrary to the "parliamentary extreme right," neo-Nazi organizations have been strong in Sweden, seen from an international perspective (although the activists and supporters only count—at most—a few thousands persons). There is a tendency to conflate neo-Nazis, skinheads, and Sweden Democrats (which possibly bear some truth, at least at the local level). Some migrants have had experiences of neo-Nazis. One spectacular example is given by one of the highly educated migrants in Ostersund, who tells us that a colleague once did a Nazi greeting sign when he entered the room. Furthermore, one migrant in particular expresses the frustration about not daring to speak up against neo-Nazi skinheads demonstrating in the Old Town of Stockholm, as well as harassing people in the subway. There is also a feeling of frustration that the police did not do anything at these occasions, as it is against the law to wear political uniforms and Nazi symbols in Sweden.

Yet, the Stockholm-group of migrants of non-European origin also expressed the belief that there is a cost associated with being a neo-Nazi in Stockholm, since there are migrants willing and able to attack them physically and inflict significant damage on them. Finally, one of the migrants in Stockholm tells us that the Turkish organization she belongs to have, at least once every month, received leaflets saying "Kill Turks, Kill Turks." However, it is not clear what organization that is behind these leaflets.

Looking backwards, one of the highly educated migrants in Ostersund, originating from Barbados, argues that Sweden has an old tradition of being a racist society. He argues that Sweden supported Nazi Germany during the 1930s, and that many of the old Swedish Nazis are still around. He furthermore argues that the Social Democratic party during most of the 20th century has propagated an ideology (the idea of 'the People's Home,' which was the name given to the project of the Swedish welfare state) that in many respects is close to Nazi ideology. Yet, it should be noted that this man generally is extremely critical of the Social Democracy, and that this latter statement did not provoke support from the others in the group.

When it comes to racism, there is a general tendency not to make any distinction between biological racism and cultural racism. The standard definition being used by participants is mostly biological racism, which means that people speaking out against immigration are deemed non-racists, even when their arguments in fact are based on cultural racism. According to a migrant of Russian origin, living in Stockholm, for instance, "many of them say they are against immigrants not races […] so you could be against immigration why not?" Migrants in other focus groups express the belief that you "do not have to be a racist to be against immigration" as well. Similarly, one of the highly educated migrants in Ostersund, is reluctant to classify New Democrats as racist, just because they are against immigration.

However, there are also some voices, like one of the highly educated migrants in Ostersund, that seemingly wants to play down and normalize Swedish racism: "No, but racists exist in all countries. And are tied to nationalism, it is the same thing; it exists in all countries." In reply to this statement, a women of Kurdish origin says: "It is not specific for just Sweden, it exists in all countries […] I know immigrants that are nationalists. They say 'my people and no other people.'" This could be seen as an expression of an understanding of racism in its cultural sense.

Furthermore, the belief that hidden racism is worse than the blatant anti-immigration rhetoric of the extreme right parties often came up, as in the quotation below:

> MWHI7: I think both at work at work or in society those who you should really be afraid of are those who say "I am not a racist but" It is them who on should really be careful of, because those who belong to Swedish Democrats have at least the courage to say what they think and why they think this that.

This belief is not especially surprising, considering the absence of a strong right-wing extremist party in Sweden. Along these lines, one migrant, in Ostersund, intimates that politicians of the mainstream parties might be racists while talking informally to friends, although they talk nicely about migrants and immigrants in public. Such believes were given impetus last fall, when a journalist acting as a racist voter, with a hidden camera, debunked that representatives of the mainstream parties—the Conservative Party in particular—were willing to join in racist discourses if someone took the initiative (and if they thought it was an informal chat).

Chapter Seven - Coping with Racism

How do migrants resist or cope with racism? As the previous chapters outline, informants discuss a variety of experiences of discrimination in different settings, not only in employment and education, but also in contact with police, social workers, and employment office counsellors. Many people also spoke of discrimination in public settings experienced through racial slurs, meaningful gazes, and loaded questions. This chapter deals with the ways that migrants cope with discrimination and humiliations and the strategies they discussed. The question used in the focus group to elicit responses around this theme was *"What strategies do you use when you meet discrimination and prejudice?"*

Interestingly, the strategies discussed in all the focus groups had to do with individual strategies to discrimination; collective and institutional strategies were absent from their examples. Instead discrimination was something to be handled alone and individually and there was little discussion of trying to bring in police or the legal system. In general, there was a sense that anti-discriminatory laws, if in existence, were not being fully put into practice. Some people suggested that they were only "words and no action," and hinted that the difficulty in proving various cases was just another example of how sneaky racism was part of Swedish institutions. A highly educated Iranian man in Ostersund described:

> Ok, I have been discriminated against, what should I do, file a charge? What happens then? Almost NOTHING. Because the person who sits there at the discrimination Ombudsman, that woman lifts a 50,000 kronor salary every month, she does nothing. No case has gone to court! All of them that come to her she throws it away, like on a computer when you put things in the trash bin. That is how she reacts. She has not found a case that adequately strongly proves that discrimination to go […] and then discrimination 20-35,000 (kronor), so you go to court and pay 20-35,000 and then you are free. So it is no danger, I can buy you for 20-35,000 kronor.

If collectives and institutions were not often part of the participant's strategies, a variety of individual coping strategies were discussed. Some of the most common themes discussed included the following:

Informing and educating: not sinking to their level

Though a few people said they responded to prejudice and humiliations by attacking the person verbally, there was general consensus that the best (and most dignified) strategy was for migrants to inform and educate the person. In Ostersund a highly educated man from Guinea characterized how he would react when he someday encounters a racist:

> […] I have not met racism, but the first day I will meet a racist it will be really fun, since they are crazy and need help (Unclear). ((many people are laughing)). When I meet them I will try to help them UNDERSTAND who I AM. (Unclear) And then I will show them that there is something that is missing in them.

In this characterization racists are crazy people who are sick and in need of help, hence the role of the immigrant is to help the person. Another person, also in Ostersund, reminded the group that it is important not to "sink to their level," and it was implied that the person who makes racist statements has proved that they are at a "low level." Hence, by responding not with the anger they may feel, but with calm and reason immigrants are able to maintain moral superiority. A youth in Ostersund described how one must hide the anger OWYPE3 said "One becomes so […] very upset if someone would just come forward someone you do not at all know and just [say] "fucking svartskalle" or something. But to just be like "why do you say so" it is like so."

To respond in anger was according to many migrants a way to live up to the stereotype of immigrants as violent. OWYPE3 pointed out:

> But like it is rather that then to think you have to do it for yourself, one wants to show off for oneself and all the others instead of reacting or jumping on someone and fighting. Because then it is just worse "Yes of course they are like that [and] fight and like I knew they were like this and" it is just more prejudices.

Hiding the anger and instead calmly educating the person was also described to prove that one was not only morally superior but also not weak. A Kurdish highly educated woman in Ostersund described how it felt after she had called a person back on the phone and taught

them how to behave after they had hung up on her when she called to ask if she had gotten a job:

> Yes, ((laughs)) it was REALLY nice, she is going to learn! Maybe she needs to learn to say goodbye, in my country we are. ((Voices: Yes)) That I am not the weak one who can be nonchalant, without reacting.

Achieving: Showing them, proving to them

However, some participants disagreed with the strategy of reason and education, questioning the possibility to really change a person's opinion of you. Some said this strategy could only be used with people you knew, rather than strangers, or with people in groups on the street. Alternative strategies offered were, as seen in the following exchange, to "not care anymore and keep going" and to "show them we can be someone:"

> OWYL2: Because I think because my brother has also heard that type of "fucking svartskalle go home" like so many times. Then one is then I am upset and he like just goes from there because he is used to it, what should he do? There is no what should he go back and he has like given up like to sit and explain to him that it is not so, so he does not care anymore. He like takes the shit and keeps going like […] there is no alternative.
> OWYI4: But I think that it does not matter it is so irritating with those kind of guys also. Because what is he going to do find that guy in the town and kill him?
> OWYL1: It will just be worse then he would show that that is how it is we hit you like that is that.
> OMYI5: It does not matter that is it doesn't do anything to talk about it. The best that one can do is do the best with our life and show that immigrants also can be someone.

Proving that "one is somebody" was described as a strategy and as possible through obtaining not just any kind of employment, but employment in Swedish careers and positions of status

(for example becoming doctors and politicians). A Lebanese youth in Ostersund describes: "But I also think that that is my motto really. That is like I will prove to them, just like prove for them like that, it feels like one must prove the whole time really. But I do not know, it is crazy all of that." However while younger informants seemed to see this as a reasonable strategy, older migrants such as MWHI7, an older Iranian woman who is highly educated and who had lived in Sweden for many years, described how she had become tired and given up trying to prove herself:

> I think one thing that we should never forget is unfortunately it is so that we who come to Sweden have to work doubly as hard to reach what we want. Unfortunately it is like that. No but it is so they who have the same education as us must work doubly as much. For the first we have to show that we can [speak] the language and for the second thing we have to show [that] we have the same knowledge as you do and for the third we have to show [that] we are worth just as much as you are. Have you come there you are acceptable but that rule takes many years and […] I think many of us have become super tired of struggling. I have finished struggling I have done it anyway ((laughs)).

Being tired of struggling was a topic discussed by a few of the informants, particularly the older informants, and who now used the strategy of silence. One older African American highly educated woman in Malmo described how she had lost belief that it is possible to reason and change people, and that resignation and silence was now her strategy.

> Yes I have to say that maybe I am just becoming old but I DO NOT HAVE THE ENERGY [*jag orkar inte*] I cannot handle (unclear) and I feel it. Often […] I have a feeling I do not know what you others think but I can have a feeling that it is not worth saying the truth to Swede that cannot take it. So even if a person is very lovable and a friend and I cannot because they take it so PERSONALLY.

The repercussions of speaking out

While most people in the groups were encouraging of those individuals who said they chose to "speak out" and "educate" when confronted with prejudice, people also showed empathy shown for those who like MWHAa4 had after years of speaking out decided to now be silent. There seemed to be an implicit understanding that speaking out not only took energy, but also had costs. For example, in Stockholm a Turkish man with low education said speaking out means you are seen in a specific way: "[…] as long as you listen and do like this ((nods head up and down)) then you are a nice boy or woman. And as long as you [are] a bit loud and talk then you are like what is it called cheeky." He went on to describe how this cheekiness resulted in you being "kept outside of the family," using the metaphor of family to describe Swedish society. However other participants gave more explicit examples of the repercussions that speaking out can have for an individual, for example an Iranian man in Malmo described how he does not advance at work, has migraine headaches, and cannot answer the phone after speaking out at work. In Stockholm a Polish man described what happened to one of the few immigrant members of parliament a few years ago who spoke out "And Fonseca told me that in the Parliament, NO ONE talked to him he was totally FROZEN OUT. So he was very aggressive that there was racism in Sweden, then he was ccchck ccchck, ((makes sign with his hand hitting something downward to the floor)) less and less!" While speaking out was on the one side portrayed as a way to maintain self-dignity, moral superiority, and contribute to the betterment of society, it was also described as requiring not only energy, but as having negative repercussions for the individual in terms of health, salary, and career advancement.

Finally, there were some strategies that were not only negatively portrayed but a source of much debate among the participants over if they could really be classified as strategies at all. Violence and suicide for example were said to be questionable strategies along with the practice of immigrants changing their names as a way to "have a chance" on the employment market and at least get an interview. For example, in Stockholm a woman from Kazakhstan made a (half-joking?) suggestion with laughter that "I think that a strategy can also be to BECOME Swedish, change your name and refuse to speak your mother language […]." However this suggestion was challenged and rejected (also with laughs) as being in the long run a road that "led to failure." Another negatively portrayed strategy was that of immigrants,

in response to prejudice and discrimination, choice to be part of what one person described as the "dark world," a world of illegal employment.

Joking telling: stories of redemption and solidarity

One particularly interesting strategy noticed in all of the groups was how when this question was asked many people became more animated and told *stories* of particular encounters with discrimination and prejudice. During moments of story telling, storytellers would playfully embody various characters in the story, often times to the delight of the other focus group members. For example, during the course of telling a story the narrator would creatively switch between themselves and the other person--changing their voices to either a higher or lower pitch and changing their facial features and gestures to vivid portrayals of those involved in the incident. This was usually met by the encouraging laughter by the other group participants. This can be seen in the story told by a Russian taxi driver who lived in Stockholm who told about an elderly woman who got into his cab and explained to him that she is a member of the Swedish royalty. In the following excerpt he tells the story so that in the end it is he, not she, who is shown to have the upper hand and the power to silence.

> She said something more about that that was a put down to me [*nervarderande*] then I said "Oh YES I know what ROYAL PEOPLE ARE, they are not from Adam and Eve, they are those who are from the APE! ((Everyone laughs))
> SWLT4: What did she say then?
> SMLR2: She was silent, she said NOTHING.

Another strategy used was that of *joking between immigrants* and strategically re-appropriating stereotypes and slurs hegemonically used against immigrants. For example in the same Stockholm group of European migrants with low education a Kazakhstani woman gave an example of immigrants using the term *svartskalle*:

> SWLKa3: There was a girl from Turkey and she said "Ahh haa do you have *svartskalle* stripes in you hair now" it like was gold. I know myself that she is not like ashamed of *svartskalle* except that

she says it to ME I take it totally as a joke, as fun, because she can

get it back from me also. BUT if a Swede would say that.

SWLT4: Yes then you can be offended.

SWLKa3: THEN it is ON THE BOUNDARY.

These joking strategies seemed to perform at least two functions, first of defusing the term *svartskalle* of some of its negative meaning and infusing it with new counter hegemonic meaning (for example of ironic endearment and closeness). Secondly such joking strategies are also a way through which solidarity and group consciousness is enacted, as jokes reference shared positionality (and struggle) in the Swedish society as immigrant.

Chapter Eight: Possibilities for Multicultural Citizenship

This discussion was dominated by one wish that came up in all groups, namely the need to integrate migrants' social networks and the social networks of native Swedes. There was a general feeling that because of ethnically homogeneous networks, native Swedes and migrants seldom meet one another, which was believed to be a major reason behind the creation and maintenance of prejudiced stereotypes. Prejudiced stereotypes were understood as being built on ignorance, and more integration would cure the ignorance:

> The State, county and municipality need to spread more information on integration and immigrants and create networks were they can meet. There should be such casual places where people can meet; why you are hostile or hate immigrants it is due to lack of real information. I have had Swedish neighbors and they do not hate me. We meet everyday, and he has said to me that "The first time I met you I did not like you" but NOW I like you (said by a less educated man of Pakistani origin, living in Stockholm).

Hence, one concrete suggestion for creating increased integration—in the sense given above—was to create more meeting places. As it is now, society is structured in a way that counteracts meetings between migrants and native Swedes (because of segregation in the housing market and the labour market, as well as because of the "empty spaces" built in modern architecture). The need to create more meeting places came up in most of the focus groups.

There was a shared feeling that Swedes are reserved and reluctant to take contact with unfamiliar people, although some stressed that this goes for many migrants as well:

> The loneliness is so big in Sweden and the respect for being alone and so on. We have difficulties getting in contact, and it isn't just the Swedes, also we have become Swedish in that way, as a immigrant you also have got slightly more need to be alone, be yourself and loose this art of being together with each other. I definitely don't, I have been much worse in this than I was before, because Sweden since Sweden allows people in some way to isolate themselves (said by a highly educated man of Iranian origin in Malmo).

Notwithstanding, many thought that it was the migrants that would have to initiate contact; Swedes would not do so. When migrants were asked at the end of the focus group discussions if they thought there was a need for such spaces to discuss experiences of discrimination, the overwhelming majority of group participants answered yes; however many added that it would be important to also include Swedes in the discussion, so that they as one woman said "could learn what Swedes are thinking about us and what they are thinking."

However, this stress on integration is not to say that migrants wanted assimilation, quite the contrary. The integration they want should only be understood as a fusion of ethnically homogeneous networks—but it should be based on a respect for difference. As one highly educated woman originating from Uruguay puts it: "I don't want to be like the Swedes […] like the Swedes, I've got another culture, another history, mine is good, I'll take the best from them and the best from myself […]."

The second most common theme was the wish to be treated as an individual rather than an instant of an ethnic group. Also, many of them expressed their resentment of the concept of "immigrant," which in Sweden is used officially, to label of them. Immigrants are not a homogeneous group, the in-group variation is enormous, and many expressed a wish to be treated as "me," not as an 'immigrant.' One highly educated woman from Uruguay, living in Malmo, for instance, remarked apropos the invitation to the focus group meeting:

> And its one thing I thought about, when I got this email and it said "immigrants", the first thought I got was "I don't feel like a immigrant", have you been living here this long you don't feel like a immigrant. How long do you have to be a immigrant, I immigrated one day and that was the last day I was a immigrant, why then do I have to be a immigrant for nineteen years?

Concerning values, two different themes dominated. In line with the discussion above, many stressed the value of equality (when it comes to economic, political, and social rights) combined with the right of individuality (i.e., cultural and personal freedom to be different from the majority). However, although several migrants stressed the value of equality

("everyone should be the same") there was also some voices that demanded affirmative action (which *could* be seen as a deviation from that principle or value; depending on whether you focus on inputs or outputs)—although no consensus could be reached on the usefulness of such measures. Secondly, many stressed the values of hard work and of doing one's best. As a migrant, one should not sitting waiting for acceptance; one should work harder than the rest to show oneself worthy of respect, some migrants described how they should prove to the society that they are good, normal, and human beings. For instance, one less educated man of Pakistani origin, living in Stockholm, said

> As she said some of the problems are with us immigrants. Not only that Swedish people discriminate. There are people who have lived here for 10 years 15 years and cannot speak Swedish. That is WRONG I think. One must try to interact with society and *prove that one is something* and then one advances. *One should not just sit and the whole time complaining* about discrimination and so, one has to try also to move up in society that is what I think. (my emphasis)

Also, some migrants—in the group of highly educated migrants in Malmo—stressed the responsibility of 'successful' migrants to make themselves visible and thereby counteract biased representations and stereotypes (as well as being role models for other migrants).

There were some additional concrete suggestions for improvements, such as making language courses more effective and having substantial courses in Swedish politics and society. One man of Iranian origin living in Malmo, suggested that is should be a law against appointing jobs (in the public sector) before they have been announced. In his opinion—as we interpret it—this might counteract the effect of network-recruitments. There were also some voices risen that although there is an anti-discrimination law in Sweden, it does not work effectively. "Action, not talk" was warranted.

Finally, it should also be noted that several migrants expressed their gratitude to Sweden for welcoming them to stay there in the first place, while at the same time agreeing that improvements would be possible (and welcomed).

Chapter Nine: Analysis and Conclusion

It is impossible to generalize the findings of this study; the participants are individuals who come from certain segments of the Swedish society and are different not only in life experience, but age, gender, ethnicity, and education. However, that similar topics and experiences arose in discussions held in three different Swedish cities among different groups suggests that some experiences are shared and hence suggest more structural patterns.

Age

Age of migration seemed to be important differentiator for many people as migration at a younger age for many meant that there would be more possibility to learn the language and obtain a Swedish education. Youth informants in general described how they thought it is more difficult to be older and an immigrant in terms of finding work and getting examinations validated. Older informants generally felt it was easier to be younger and an immigrant since then the language and education would be Swedish and thus youth would have an easier time on the job market than they had experienced. However some older immigrants said that in terms of identity and questions of belonging it is more difficult for those who migrate as young children or who are born in Sweden as they face more challenge to their belonging.

Ethnicity

All groups discussed a hierarchy of exclusion of immigrants—for example there was consensus that Africans and Muslims, men and specifically those women who wear a hair shawl or veil, have the most difficult time in Sweden and face the most discrimination in finding employment and in the public sphere. Name and appearance were described as potent markers used to limit access and in particular, skin and hair color were the markers most often specified. The general consensus was that the darker the color the more one is seen as, and treated as, an immigrant in the Swedish society.

Surprisingly, those Africans and Muslims who participated in the focus groups *were not* the most vocal in presenting examples of discrimination and humiliation—for example while two

of men of African ancestry (in Malmo and Ostersund) and one woman (in Malmo) explicitly described Sweden and Swedes as racist and exclusionary towards immigrants, other African participants (for example in the individual interview with a man from Somalia) presented a more tentative perspective. Informants attested not only to the importance of appearance, age, and gender for framing ones experience of, and reception in, the Swedish society, but also the importance of an intersectional perspective (Collins 1991; Essed 1991). For example, immigrant non-European male youth were described as experiencing a higher level of exclusion and violence in the public sphere (for example by discotheque guards and police) than did young non-European women.

Muslims in the groups all spoke strongly about Swedes misunderstanding and ignorance about Islam and Muslims and how they as individuals are frequently forced to respond to and prove oneself as individuals who differ from these stereotypes. The media was described as particularly important in perpetuating stereotypes about Islam and Muslims. It is also worth pointing out that the name that many people gave to the stereotype of "The Immigrant" was decidedly male and Muslim. Focus group participants joked of how they had to try to avoid being "*an Mohammed*," "*an Ached*" names that seemed to signify a bundle of intersecting meanings of cultural, gendered, religious, and racial Otherness. Those Muslim women who wore a headscarf gave differing perspectives on the topic of discrimination; one highly educated Kurdish woman living in Ostersund said she had not ever encountered discrimination and argued through the frame of individuality and that ones reception in society all depends upon how open the person is. This is in comparison to the experiences of a low educated Turkish woman in Alby who gave examples of discrimination and humiliation by both employers and social workers. These differences of experience might have to do with individual differences or structural differences related to their different cities, education, and/or the employment sectors they sought work in.

Dissonance between structural and individual racism

Other findings in the report are the potential dissonance, or ambiguity, between structural racism and individual experiences. Although most of the participants agreed that discrimination occurs in Sweden, some were hesitant in interpreting their own experiences as being caused by ethnic discrimination. Although they expressed having a *gut feeling* that their applications had been turned down, for instance, because they were immigrants, they

could not be sure that that was the case; there could be other reasons. This dissonance was seemingly very frustrating, and shows the difficulty of dealing with structural discrimination on an individual level. Although it is possible to see at the aggregate level that migrants, statistically, are mistreated because of ethnic reasons, it was for many migrants difficult to infer (if there is no additional particular, situation-based evidence) that this mistreated was because of their being of non-Swedish ethnic origins. There could be other reasons.

Generally, highly abstract structures are somewhat removed from the immediate experience of people's everyday lives. Hence, there were some tendencies that migrants participating in the focus groups interpreted their experiences of ethnic discrimination in a teleological way—as being caused by the will and attitudes of individuals—rather than in structural terms. However, at the same time there was a shared understanding that (political and legal) institutions matter.

Philomena Essed`s (1991) theorization of *everyday racism* is particularly useful for understanding immigrants focus on the individual aspects of discrimination as well as their hesitancy in naming experiences of bad treatment with the term racism and/or discrimination. For while informants did not name different examples with the terms discrimination and/or racism, in all three cities informants talked of this *feeling they had* of being unwelcome. The evidence of these feelings was what they said were individual encounters with *hard looks, stares, and meaningful questions* in many different sectors of the Swedish society. Bridging the distinction between *institutional* and *individual racism*, Essed argues that structures cannot exist outside of everyday practice and are in fact created and confirmed within the everyday (1991: 36-37). Hence everyday racism is the systematic reproduction of racism through ethnic minorities both implicit and explicit confrontation in the everyday with behavior and language that communicate the message that "you do not belong." According to Essed intuitive feelings of uneasiness and unsureness about ones own experience are how racism is not recognized and perpetuated, as people are instead told that their interpretation of the individual situation is that they are making a "a big deal" out of a small meaningless encounter. Central to this theory is that everyday expressions are *not* singular acts but instead multi-dimensional and bring forth memories of other "similar situations" that are used to identity the situation as racist. Within this framework, Swedish focus group participants´ multiple examples of *hard looks, gazes*, and *meaningful questions* as well as their concern and worry about *sneaky racism, sleeping racism*, and *racism behind the smiling*

faces, all reference the existence of structural racism in the Swedish society. As such they are evidence of how structures are part of, and reproduced within the "non-spectacular" everyday.

Political measures

Finally, among the political measures suggested by the migrants, the demand to create more meeting places stands out as particularly important. When asked if there was a need for spaces to discuss experiences of discrimination, the overwhelming majority of participants said yes, however and significantly, most people added that it would be important that Swedes be included, so that migrants could hear what Swedes thought about their own experiences about life in Sweden. Many people said they did not really know what Swedes thought about them and what they were thinking. There was a widespread wish of increased integration between migrants' networks and the networks of native Swedes. Social contacts, networks, and meeting spaces were understood as a way to not only gain the mutual understanding necessary to combating ignorance and prejudice (once again seen on an individual level) but as leading to migrants treatment as individuals with equal access to qualified employment, education, and social rights.

Joking was an important strategy for coping with prejudice and disempowerment used in all the focus groups, however was absent from the individual interviews. Hence, while focus group members *talked* of individual strategies for coping with racism, they *enacted* collective strategies when in the focus group discussions. Jokes were a way to collectively poke fun and challenge the negative meanings associated with the term immigrant they were all, in different ways, forced to encounter and negotiate in their daily lives. As such, they can also be understood as the enactment of solidarity and group consciousness as the jokes both referenced shared positionality (and struggle) in the Swedish society as immigrant and rearticulated negative meanings with more positive ones (Gilroy: 1987). Like the stories of migration told by informants when discussing education these stories can be understood as collective strategies used by migrants to *remind themselves and each other* that educational recognition, qualified employment and equal treatment are possible, and attainable, goals.

Chapter Ten: Summary

- People generally think that their city is welcoming to immigrants, based on either there being few immigrants or many immigrants

- Cities are segregated into "Swedish" and "immigrant areas;" places where immigrants feel more or less comfortable

- Youth are generally positive to teachers and schools; uncertain about their future on employment market

- Youth concerned about the exclusion of their parents at school, use strategy of limiting parents contact with schools

- Youth do not feel they can get help from their parents with their studies and study in higher education

- Highly educated adults concerned about the validation of their degrees, lower educated adults living in segregated areas concerned about their children's education

- Hierarchy of difference also used in the validation of foreign degrees

- Migrants perceive the US, Canada, and England as giving better educational return to highly educated migrants

- At workplace exclusion of migrants takes place through subtle practices such as of being "frozen out" and bulling by co-workers

- Name used to sort out immigrant applicants

- Networks important in employment

- Language requirement used to limit immigrants access from specific jobs

- When employed some immigrants perceive that it is difficult to advance

- Speaking out against discrimination and humiliation at work comes with costs in form of no career advancement and health problems

- Hard gazes, "looks," and meaningful questions, are understood to be potent signals of migrants non-belonging and used to exclude migrants

- Hard gazes and "looks" forms of social control that restrict migrants mobility and movement in public spaces (specific stores and areas of the city)

- Concerns about a "sneaky" and "sleeping" discrimination that is evidenced in the everyday

- Migrants hesitant to label actions with terms discrimination and racism

- Core meanings of the term immigrant are today linked to religion (Islam) and appearance (skin and hair color in particular)

- Name, appearance, sex influence experience of discrimination in Sweden

- Immigrant male youth, in particular those who are perceived to be Muslim and/or black are particularly vulnerable to exclusionary practices and violence

- Immigrant women who cover their hair with a veil experience discrimination and exclusion in the labour market as well as in the public sphere

- The media is important in creating stereotypes about immigrants

- Migrant strategies used for coping with prejudice are perceived to be individual and not collective or institutional

- Migration stories, as well as jokes, are an important collective strategy used to cope with discrimination and prejudice

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Participants are coded by:

- Type of interview (group/individual)
- Place (Stockholm, Malmo, Ostersund)
- Gender (male/female)
- Participant number in a group (1-9)

In total:
8 focus groups were conducted
5 individual interviews were conducted
In total 57 people participated

Ethnicity, age, and gender of participants:

Group Ostersund Pilot Study (OP)
Place: Department of Social Work, Mid Sweden University
Date: May 5, 2003 Time 18.15-20.00

OMPCa1: Cameroonian man, 35 years old university student
OWPEr2: Eritrean woman, 26 years old, university student, came to Sweden in 1992
OWPK3: Kurdish woman, 23 years old, university student, came to Sweden in 1992
OWPAl4: Swedish Algerian woman, 28 years old, born in Sweden

Group Ostersund (OH)
Non-European, highly educated
Place: Social Work Department, Mid Sweden University
Date: May 13, 2003 Time: 18.00-20.30

L: Moderator L

OWHBr1: Brazilian Woman, 35 years old, employed as personal assistant and studies, came to Sweden in 1995
OWHK2: Kurdish woman, 32 years old, employed as computer specialist, came to Sweden in 1991
OWHK3: Kurdish woman, 35 years old, student, came to Sweden in 1995
OWHK4: Kurdish woman from Iran, 24 years old, student, came to Sweden in 1990
OWHM5: Moroccan woman, 42 years old, unemployed doctor, came to Sweden in 2001
OMHG6: Guinean man, 35 years old, teacher in compulsory school, came to Sweden in 1999
OMHTu7: Tunisian man, 27 years old, employed as a machine constructor, came to Sweden in 1985
OMHBa8: Barbadian man, 46 years old, employed as researcher, came to Sweden in 1981
OMHI9: Iranian man, 38 years old, employed as computer specialist, came to Sweden in 1990

Group Ostersund Youth (OY)
Social Work Department Mid Sweden University
Date: May 13, 2003 Time: 16.00-18.00

L: Moderator Lena

OWYL1: Lebanese woman, 19 years old, upper secondary school student, came to Sweden in 1987

OWYL2: Lebanese woman, 17 years old, upper secondary school student, came to Sweden in 1987 (sister of OWYL1)

OWYPe3: Peruvian woman, 17 years old, upper secondary school student, came to Sweden in 1992

OWYI4: Iranian woman, 18 years old, upper secondary school student, came to Sweden in 1989

OMYI5: Iranian man, 16 years old, compulsory school student, came to Sweden in 1989 (brother of OWYI4).

Individual Interview Ostersund (IO)
Non-European, highly educated
Place: Social Work Department Mid Sweden University
Date: May 15, 2003 Time: 13.00-14.00

L: **Interviewer Lena**
IMMI1: Iranian man, 38 years old, came to Sweden in 1992

Group Malmo (MH)
Non-European highly educated
Place: IMER, Malmo College
Date: May 26, 2003 Time: 18.30-21.30

L: Moderator Lena

MMHK1: Kurdish Man, 51 years of age, employed in state bureaucracy has lived in Sweden since 1983

MMHP2: Stateless Palestinian Man, 59 years of age, employed in state bureaucracy has lived in Sweden since 1985

MMHI3: Iranian Man, 32 years of age, researcher at the university, has lived in Sweden since 1988

MWHAa4: African American Woman, 64 years of age, unemployed artist

MWHU5: Uruguayan woman, 47 years of age, unemployed economist, participating in unemployment courses and internships

MMHI6: Iranian man, 48 years old, employed in state bureaucracy, has lived in Sweden since 1992.

MWHI7: Iranian woman, 39 years of age employed in state bureaucracy, has lived in Sweden since 1984

Individual Interview Malmo (IM)
Non-European, highly educated
Place: Data Lingua, Malmo
Date: May 28, 2003
Time: 11.00-11.45

L: Interviewer Lena
IMMS2: Somalian man, 41 years old, unemployed, came to Sweden in 1989

Group Malmo Youth (MY)
Place: Multi Ethnic Center

Date: May 27, 2003 Time: 16.00-18.00

L: Moderator Lena

MWYB1: Bosnian woman, 19 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 1992
MWYB2: Bosnian woman, 19 years old, upper secondary, came to Sweden in 1992
MMYS3: Somalian man, 19 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 2000
MWYAf4: Afghani woman, 19 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 1997
MWYAf5: Afghani woman, 16 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 1999
MMYK6: Kurdish (Iraq) man, 17 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 2001
MMYP7: Palestinian man (born in Dubai), 19 years old, upper secondary student came to Sweden in 1998

Individual Interview Malmo (IM)
Non-European, youth
Place: Data Lingua, Malmo
Date: May 28, 2003 Time: 14.00-15.00

L: Interviewer Lena
IMMP3: Palestinian man, 19 years old, upper secondary student came to Sweden in 1998

Group Stockholm (SL)
Non-European, low education
Place: Turkish Organization, Alby Stockholm
Date: June 3, 2003 Time: 18.30-20.00

L: Moderator Lena

SMLPa1: Pakistani man, 50 plus years of age, employed in the municipality, came to Sweden in 1975
SMLT2: Turkish man, 47 years old, employed in an immigrant organization, came to Sweden in 1973
SMLIn3: Indian man, 36 years old employed in a supermarket.
SMLPa4: Pakistani man, 43 years old, employed as a security guard, came to Sweden in 1986
SMLAf5: Afghani man, 47 years old, unemployed, came to Sweden in 1995
SMLPa6: Pakistani man, self-employed in the produce business, came to Sweden in 1986
SWLBan1: Bangladeshi woman (came late, enters at question on right wing parties), 46 years old, unemployed, came to Sweden in 1980
SWLT2: Turkish woman (came late, enters at question on right wing parties), 43 years old, employed as a project leader in an immigrant cultural organization, came to Sweden in 1976

Group Stockholm European low education (SL (E))
Place: Brygghuset, Odenplan
Date: 25 June, 2003 Time:18.00-20.00

L: Moderator Lena

SMLPo1: Man from Poland, 55 years old, unemployed but has an employment internship at a library, came to Sweden in 1976

SMLR2: Man from Russia in his 30s, employed as taxi driver, came to Sweden in 1990
SWLKa3: Woman from Kazakhstan, 32 years old, employed in clothing boutique, came to Sweden in 1994
SWLT4: Woman born in Sweden with Turkish parents, 18 years old, studies at upper secondary school.

Individual Interview Stockholm (IS)
Non-European Youth
Place: Interviewees Apartment, Vasastan Stockholm
Date: June 9, 2003 Time: 12.00-13.00

L: Interviewer Lena
ISWE4: El Salvadorian woman, 19 years old, upper secondary student, came to Sweden in 1989

Group Stockholm (SY)
Youth
Place: ABF house, Stockholm
Date: June 5, 2003
Time: 16.00-18.00

SWYKo1: South Korean woman (adopted), 22 years old, upper compulsory student, came to Sweden in 1981
SWYK2: Kurdish woman, 22 years old, upper compulsory student, came to Sweden in 1992
SWYE3: El Salvadorian woman, 19 years old, upper compulsory student, came to Sweden in 1989
SWYEr4: Swedish-Eretrean woman, 19 years old, upper compulsory student, born in Sweden
SWYZ5: Zairian woman, 19 years old, upper compulsory student, came to Sweden in 1992
SMYK6: Kurdish man, 23 years old, employed as a journalist, came to Sweden in 1980
SWYC7: Swedish-Chilean woman, 19 years old, upper compulsory student, born in Sweden
SMYEt8: Swedish-Ethiopian man, 26 years old, employed as a consultant in multiculturalism, born in Sweden
SMYL9: Lebanese man, 18 years old, unemployed, came to Sweden in 1989
SMYK10: Kurdish man, 24 years old, unemployed, came to Sweden in 1983
SWYPo11: Swedish-polish woman, 16 years old, employed in clothing store, born in Sweden

WorkPackage 2

Summaries and General Conclusion

As was emphasized in the introduction to this report, representation is **not** an important criteria when carrying out focus group research. Given the relatively small numbers of participants who are involved in the discussions and the lack of representativeness in the groups it is not really possible, or even desirable, to make generalized claims or conclusions. Arguably the strength of focus group research is in its capacity to provide an impressionistic picture of a particular area of research; this explains why focus groups are frequently employed at the beginning of research projects in order to frame key issues for further enquiry. So, rather than providing a basis for universalized claims and strong conclusions, the idea with the focus group method is to get a picture of participants' beliefs, strategies and legitimations, as well to observe the emergence of common discursive themes. In the case of WorkPackage 2 our aim was to provide a forum for the 'voices of migrants' - to reflect something of the experiences, strategies and opinions of migrants in the eight partner countries (Austria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK). Given this aim, and the aforementioned limits of focus group enquiries, it is very difficult to draw too many conclusions from the report as a whole. The intention of this section is to provide a a brief summary of each partner's national report, followed by a section of general overview, which identifies some common themes that emerged across the national studies.

Austria

The Austrian report utilized the method of critical discourse analysis, focusing on the 'discursive representations' of participants' stories, with particular emphasis on the recurrent nature of certain themes or argumentation structures in the group discussions. Their work concluded that everyday racisms, such as the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about 'foreigners', are distinct from more institutionalised forms of discrimination but serve as a huge barrier to the integration of migrant populations in Austrian society. The report also cautioned of conceiving of 'migrants' as a homogeneous group, as very different strategies and value systems emerged in the course of the focus groups.

The discrimination identified as the 'most conspicuous' - the everyday, routine racisms - was linked not so much to migrant status as to other social characteristics, especially ethnic and religious ones. By the same token migrants who had gained Austrian citizenship did not suddenly become immune from discrimination. From the experiences represented in the focus group discussions it would seem that the participants have found that there exists a hierarchy of Austrians, with some migrants who have citizenship not considered 'real' Austrians regardless of the supposed universalism of this citizenship. It was suggested that this is perhaps then linked to the fact that often migrants who have Austrian citizenship often do not identify themselves with an Austrian identity, with other associations more significant for their self-definition. The level of association with Austrian society was less likely to be problematized by ethnically 'white' participants, for whom 'looking Austrian' is seen to be a factor in their reception experience. This notion is underlined by the experiences of many of the black participants in the group who often suggested that even in the absence of displays of overt hostility directed at you, it is still very difficult to feel a sense of belonging in society generally. A strong sense of the segregated nature of the cities which hosted the focus groups emerged. It was frequently suggested that certain areas were 'open', 'welcoming' or 'friendly' to foreigners, whereas others were 'closed' or 'unwelcoming'.

Cyprus

In their focus groups the Cypriot partners found that the vast majority of participants felt that they encountered discriminatory practices on a regular basis. For example, as the Cypriot labour market is extremely hierarchical, migrants are employed in the least-desirable jobs that Cypriots do not want to do. From the participants' stories the Cypriot team concluded that there is structural, institutional discrimination in the framework of the economy, as migrant workers are blocked in terms of career development, training and promotion. Discrimination at an institutional level goes unchecked as employment policies fail to address contract violations and other abuses. Participants also told of routine violations by employers, who engage in overtly discriminatory practice against migrants.

However, although there were stories of incidences of overt and direct racisms in the labour market, it was subtler and more routinized forms of discrimination that were much more common. The undervaluing of migrants' qualifications and competencies was a major impediment to success in the world of work. The marginalized position of less highly educated migrant workers is compounded by the fact that many are actually qualified to

perform higher occupations but are forced to work as manual labourers. The research suggested that construction workers from Arabic countries are routinely paid less than Cypriots, with employers often not paying social security contributions. There were also low levels of unionisation in the migrant workers who participated, in contrast to their Greek-Cypriot counterparts who on the whole are highly unionised.

None of the participants had had any direct experience of violence perpetrated by extremist, far-right political groups. However, all the research participants had something to say about violence and abuse they fear or have faced, and many knew of a person who had suffered from violence of some kind. Participants made reference to the strain inherent in coping with, and challenging, racism on a daily basis in different sectors of society. The actual strategies that the participants referred to were highly dependent on context, with some trying to ignore any racism they faced, others diverting their frustrations into hard work, or challenging prejudiced views directly.

France

This report provides a number of stories of how bureaucratic barriers lead to structural discrimination. Some of the migrants who participated in the French focus groups told of their experiences of a range of hardships when trying to organize suitable accommodation. Here the most vulnerable migrants were doubly disadvantaged in the very competitive social housing sector. The extreme difficulty many migrants face in paying the large cash deposit required to rent an apartment is compounded by a reliance on personal referees, who may be impossible to find for new migrants who lack a social support network. It was suggested that these exclusionary structures often lead to migrants' criminalization, as for example, they are more likely to engage in squatting due to a lack of any other accommodation. Participants also described how difficulties in the housing sector can have knock-on effects for their children's education possibilities, as children are assigned the closest school to their home without official residence papers it is difficult to register children in school.

The report also underlines how many of these structural issues are compounded by the notion of integration inherent in the French state's response to migration, in which migrants are considered as individuals rather than part of a community. Accordingly the emphasis is on the individual to intergrate herself into the wider community. This general context had led to some participants being placed under pressure to compromise something of their identities; participants included a woman who, because she wears a veil has difficulty finding work and an Arabic man who changed his surname to be more readily accepted.

The French discussions also revealed that most participants were working in a job that was not commensurate with their professional qualifications or skill level - participants did say that in their experience this situation changed upon being conferred with French citizenship, suggesting that formal citizenship status, or lack thereof, is of vital importance for one's acceptance into certain social spheres. Certainly participants had very different positions regarding the way they perceived their stay in France dependeding heavily on the legal situation in which they found themselves in. Aside from legal status (as symbolized by residence 'papers') the French research found that the experiences of the participants in their focus groups were dependent largely on the cultural capital possessed by the individual migrant. Individuals familiar with French culture before their migration were much more successful at negotiating bureaucratic systems. Language was found to be one key aspect of the 'cultural capital' that allows a migrant to settle comfortably in France, with accent, or lack thereof, considered important by the participants for how they are perceived by the French and by other migrant groups. It was suggested in the report that this again illustrates the heterogeneous nature of migrant communities and the large variation in the migrant experience.

The French researchers conclude that subtle, disparate forms of racism often appeared 'faceless' to the participants, and left little or no evidence of its existence. A common way the participants challenged such forms of 'everyday racism' was by underlining the economic benefits of migrant labour to the French economy. However, and despite stories of resistance, the report concludes that the highly racialized notion of migration that is visible in the policies of some institutions, as well as in the minds of some individuals, has led to commonplace racist discrimination against migrants.

Germany

The German report emphasized the temporal aspect to migration, with participants frequently drawing a distinction between their own experiences of Germany initially or 'in the beginning' and later on, or 'now'. Initial problems for new migrants were seen by the participants to include a lack of familiarity with the language (see below) and general anxieties and uneasiness about the disjuncture and trauma frequently associated with the process of migration. The German report argued that such insecurities were initially likely to be internalised, with the migrant turning inwards to sometimes questions of their own worth as well as containg the pain of rejection within themselves. The research found that

participants who were more well established tended to externalise any discrimination they encountered, blaming 'Germans' or institutions they felt to be discriminatory.

It is suggested that competency with the German language is a key in this respect as it allows the defence of oneself from racist innuendo and comments. Migrants without such competency are often unable to comprehend or subsequently exist such taunts, which is a very disempowering situation to be in. Participants also spoke of another routinized form of racism, that of stares and other aggressive forms of body language. Some participants also told of the questions about ethnic origin, or the origins of one's grandparents that often accompany such glares. Perceptions of organized right-wing political groups and other racist movements were polarized, with a significant number of participants suggesting that they had never encountered any Neo-Nazi groups in person and that they didn't feel threatened by such groups. However, there were also people in each discussion who knew someone who had been victim to violence perpetrated by the far-right and who felt these movements posed a significant, and very real, danger. There was a general suggestion in the report that level of contact with such groups depended to a great extent on the area in which one lived; a strong notion of spatial segregation emerged in this theme. On this point it was also argued in the report that certainareas of the cities studied were perceived by participants as very welcoming to migrants, and places in which one could feel at home and 'safe'.

Organizations have emerged to provide support for new migrants in areas such as for example translation, help finding accommodation, and language classes, but these organizations are relatively few and often have a low profile, which means pareticipants' level of knowledge about the institutional supprt networks was variable. There were many other example of collective responses to discrimination, with some participants telling of how they bought houses with the expressed intention of letting them to less well-established migrants, or of the emergence of social clubs and recreational activities specifically for one group.

Italy

Certain themes in the Italian discussions were recurring and predominant, notably the participants' experiences in relation to work, education, housing and the legal system. Participants also spoke of a hostile reaction amongst some individuals and groups who tolerate inward migration merely as temporary solution to address a short-term economic necessity. The Italian research suggests that two of the main difficulties faced by migrants to Italy are finding employment and somewhere to live. Education in schools was represented as

a vitally important area for multiculturalism and was frequently reffered to as a key site for the development of an understanding of and a respect of other cultural communities.

For the focus group participants, jobs and housing often took on great importance as they had been central to the motivation to migrate in the first instance. It was apparent from the discussions that newly arrived migrants can struggle to find adequate housing of legal employment, especially if their visa arrangements are not straightforward, as is often the case. Language skills were presented by the participants as vital to the negotiation of these initial problems Participants told of how, without the necessary residence documents and a lack of Italian language competency, they are easily marginalized and forced to accept whatever work is offered to them – legal or illegal. The report suggests that this kind of situation typifies the disempowered position many new migrants can find themselves in Italy, with the illegal economy the norm for many. Of course such vulnerable migrants told of how they were forced to take such work – it is a bitter irony that such illegal employment offers many the only hope of a route to escape from such a marginalized position in the economic and housing sectors.

Participants revealed that when faced with racist attitudes from native Italians, who often excentuate the 'difference' of the migrant as 'the other' as a way of affirming their own Italian identity. Daily encounters with prejudice and other forms of discrimination were common experiences for participants it seemed that most extreme difficulties were faced by black immigrants from Africa. Physical characteristics such as skin colour led to discriminatory practice, and in general superficial of judgements, bound up with a Euro-centric vision were found to undervalue specific competences and professional abilities, as well as the overall contribution that migrants make to Italian society.

Focus group participants did not tell of encounters with strongly racist situations and attitudes, but rather felt that discrimination was due not so much to strongly racist views but rather to ignorance and lack of knowledge of the migrant as an 'other.' Resultantly many participants described their strategies of resistance at a face-to-face level as focusing on educating the prejudiced and challenging ignorance. Discriminatory actions were predominately felt to occur in everyday times, places and situations, (e.g on buses, in places of work, in government departments, in the street). The Italian researchers also found that participants often had a contested relationship with other individuals from their country of origin; although a key referent in identity terms and a potentially valuable social support network it was not uncommon for participants to to describe a situation where their co-nationals themselves had acted in an exploitative manner towards those in vulnerable positions, for example by seeking payment for (sometimes false) information relating to

openings and opportunities in housing or work. Given the diffuse nature of discrimination and the importance of social networks in finding opportunities, migrant participants had often sought help from the indigenous Italian population when looking for jobs and housing. At the same time, many found that integrating closely with members of the same community of origin was a way to develop solidarity against disparate everyday prejudices and discriminations, regardless of the potential dangers described above.

First generation migrants who participated in the research did not have a great deal of contact with the education system, except in the cases of Italian language courses and professional training, unless they have come to Italy specifically for study reasons or as school aged children of migrant parents ('1.5 generation'). The educational experience of second-generation migrants was a very different one with some seeking to acquire professional skills to be used in the country of origin. Others seemed to be determined to build their future in Italy due to the unfortunate circumstances of the country of origin as well as because it seems difficult to think of maintaining or giving up the quality of life or lifestyle known in Italy.

Poland

Generally speaking better educated persons, especially those from the West, perceived Poland as a country that was 'friendly' to foreigners. People coming from the East (especially coming from the republics of the former Soviet Union), also from Asian or African countries (especially less educated or unsuccessful) perceive Poland as a less tolerant country (especially towards persons of a certain nationality or having a different colour of skin). Many participants described an ambiguous relationship with Poland, as in spite of the many problems and prejudices they had faced at the hands of the official system there was still a strong association with Poland as a 'second mother country'.

Most participants were engaged in employment that was not commensurate with their educational or professional qualifications or their level of skill in general. This was found to be particularly true with migrants from the former Soviet Union. The Polish research team also suggested that participants were very aware of the difficult labour market situation in Poland in general; their opinion concerning labour offices and their staff did not differ to large extent from the opinions of native Poles. In their opinion high unemployment in Poland is one of the key causes of problems to legalize the employment of foreigners. Indeed, there was a suggestion in this report that many of the negative encounters with bureaucrats and other

officials described by participants cannot be explained only with reference to xenophobia as many Polish citizens describe similar encounters. The Polish team saw the fact that migrants are vulnerable as the key thing, rather than their actual status as migrants, but the 'Voiovedship' Offices, (where migrants attempt to resolve legal and residential issues) were very often highlighted as unfriendly institutions. It appears that the migrants' perception of these offices as unwelcoming places is compounded by a complicated legal system that is difficult to penetrate without a good deal of knowledge of how the system operates.

The participants in Poland seemed to feel the question of migration was a marginal issue on the Polish political scene. Some participants interpreted this as an indifference on the behalf of politicians and their parties to engage with the migrants' problems, and accordingly with Poland's future. This lack of political interest in the question of migration is in contrast to the media treatment of migration, which participants felt was represented in a shallow, sensationalist way. The strategies the participants described for combating racist prejudice were closely linked to the individual's legal status, their knowledge of Polish language, and their network of contacts. The strategies of resistance most commonly described by participants were to seek support from informal social networks (including Polish friends), to engage in a legal case, to familiarize oneself with Polish regulations to learn one's rights, or to set up migrant support associations and organisations.

Sweden

The Swedish report discovered that participants frequently had experiences of a very highly racialized concept of migration, with biological codifiers of 'race' significant for perceptions of the migrant as the 'other'. This racialized notion of migration is also frequently equated with religion (and especially Islam) as well as 'race' (as represented by physical appearance, with skin and hair colour particularly strong codifiers). Indeed the focus group participants in Sweden referred on many occasions to the importance of outward appearance for framing one's reception, with factors such as ethnicity and gender felt to be highly significant in shaping migrants' experience of Swedish society. It was also emphasized by the research team that these factors should not be considered in isolation, but that it is often the interconnected nature of forms of inequality that make them so pervasive and so difficult to challenge and combat.

For example, the Swedish report also identified age as an important variable for how migrants relate to Sweden and in turn how they are perceived. From their discussions with

participants the Swedish researchers concluded that the younger migrants they spoke with were much more likely to learn the language and obtain a Swedish education. Younger participants in Sweden generally felt that it is more difficult for older migrants to be fully included in Swedish society. Older informants generally agreed with this perspective, feeling it is easier to be younger and a migrant since one would have language skills and a Swedish education, conferring advantage in the labour market.

Muslims in the groups all spoke strongly about Swedes misunderstanding and ignorance about Islam and Muslims and how they as individuals are frequently forced to respond to and prove oneself as individuals who differ from these stereotypes. The media was described as particularly important in perpetuating stereotypes about Islam and Muslims. Although most of the participants agreed that discrimination occurs in Sweden, some were hesitant in interpreting their own experiences as being caused by ethnic discrimination. While informants did not name different examples with the terms discrimination and/or racism, with many participants mentioning a general *feeling* they had of being unwelcome. Many of the migrants in the Swedish groups had found that cities were highly segregated in spatial terms, with clearly demarcated 'Swedish' and 'immigrant' areas.

Education was of great concern for participants regardless of their level of formal qualification, with more highly educated adults concerned about the validation of their degrees and other qualifications, and other adults living in the highly segregated areas described above concerned about their children's educational opportunity. The Swedish report also conveyed something of the participants' concerns about covert and institutional forms of racism and discrimination, and the difficulty of identifying and challenging such forms of injustice. The Swedish team also found reluctance amongst participants to label racist discrimination as such, and it was suggested that this reticence was inextricably bound up with the 'sneaky' or hidden nature of the discrimination they encountered.

This report also stressed that migrants should not be considered a homogeneous group, and that certain groups of migrants are in even more vulnerable positions than others. For example, the groups revealed that immigrant male youth, in particular those who are perceived to be Muslim and/or black, are particularly vulnerable to exclusionary practices and violence. The main the strategies for challenging discrimination and coping with prejudice described by participants were individual responses, as opposed to collective or institutional.

UK

Almost all the research participants had encountered what would usually be considered 'discrimination' as a result of their migrant status, even if they were reluctant to consider their own experience in this light. The discrimination participants had experienced took many different forms. There were stories of overt and covert racisms, both at the level of institutions and of individuals, and participants employed very different strategies for dealing with racist behaviour in different contexts. As is suggested above, some participants were reluctant to consider their experiences of racism as such, but even so told their stories of, for example, discrimination in the labour market based on their status as migrants or segregation in the housing sector due to discriminatory policy. Significantly most participants felt that ethnicity, as codified by physical characteristics such as skin colour, were more significant than their status as migrants in being subjected to this behaviour. There was a strongly racialized understanding of migration in the groups.

Nevertheless, it should also be emphasized that focus group participants seldom pointed to many encounters with strongly racist people or attitudes. There was the common suggestion that forms of 'everyday racism' or individual's prejudices are due not so much to a conscious racism but rather to some deeply ingrained form of ethnocentricism underpinned by an ignorance and lack of knowledge of the world of the 'other'. As a result of this reasoning most participants felt that educating the prejudiced individual was usually the most effective, although tiring and stressful, anti-racist strategy to employ at the level of face-to-face interactions. Racism at the level of institutions was considered in a very different light to encounters with racist individuals. There was a high level of awareness in all the groups that institutional racism can exist over and above the individuals in an organization, and a number of participants told their stories of struggles against bureaucratic decisions that they had believed to be discriminatory. Ethnocentric judgements often led to professional qualifications and skills being questioned or overlooked in the education system and the labour market. Difficulties in transferring qualifications compounded this problem that participants felt pervaded many institutions.

Language skills were regarded as a vitally important factor for a wide range of integration in any respect, with the symbolic and practical importance of language a recurring theme in all groups. Discussion centred on the importance of spoken English as a way to gain entry to certain spheres of society, most especially work. Participants suggested that without a good, or even excellent, knowledge of English it is very difficult to acquire a job; even menial, low paid employment seemed to require considerable language skills. The participants'

experiences of language classes for migrants were mixed. In general the teaching on such courses was thought to be of a high standard, but there were other issues such as lack of childcare, inconvenient timetabling and unsuitable curriculum material that had led to participants struggling in such classes. Frustration was frequently voiced about what was perceived as a 'mono-lingual' British culture, in which the emphasis was always on the migrants to learn practically perfect English before they are afforded respect in the workplace or in wider society.

Levels of knowledge about far-right political groups were very low, with no participants mentioning any direct experience with such groups. Many felt that the anti-immigration strategies employed by the two main political parties meant that in this respect the far-right had powerful political allies. Participants felt that the two main political parties were responsible for the creation of a coercive and aggressive climate for discussions of migration, which are frequently conflated with questions of asylum. As well as anger about the anti-immigration stance taken up by mainstream parties the participants all expressed a high degree of cynicism about the political process in general. This disenchantment with mainstream politics was a recurring topic in the groups, with participants frequently suggesting that politicians make 'political capital' out of the issue of migration, which is often conflated with that of asylum by politicians and the media. Living in communities with other ethnically similar migrants was usually presented in one of two polarized ways: either as an act of solidarity or as a form of 'self-exclusion'.

General Observations

As was suggested at the beginning of this section it is very difficult to make anything stronger than general observations about focus group research. Here I identify some recurring themes and ideas that had a resonance in each country's groups. To reiterate, the following should be treated as indicative of certain trends that were present in the majority of the focus group discussions across the eight countries. It is difficult to substantiate any claims beyond this, although these recurrent themes do certainly suggest certain directions for further research.

It is apparent from looking at the national reports that they contain few stories of racist violence directed against participants. Of course, this is not to say that the participants had never experienced such incidences, but rather that there might have been a reluctance on their part to talk about it in the particular research context. Given that there are very few encounters with extreme racist violence, it is perhaps not surprising that the vast majority of participants

reported incidences of what Philomena Essed has termed 'everyday racism'. This form of racism involves 'systematic, recurrent, familiar practices. The fact that it concerns repetitive practices indicates that everyday racism consists of practices that can be generalized…. it involves socialized practices and behaviour' (Essed, 1991: 3). Nearly every participant described encounters with attitudes that could be considered in this way, with incidences occurring predominately in public spaces such as bars, restaurants, on public transport, and in the streets.

Almost by their very nature 'everyday racisms' are disparate and often covert, frequently proving very hard to challenge, such is their routinized and reoccurring character. The strategies employed by the participants for dealing with such encounters tended to be based in a challenge to the protagonist's ignorance. Arguably this approach is considered successful, and was described as a widespread response in the national reports, as it challenges the assumption that the migrant is the disempowered 'victim' of racism and also the racist's assumption of cultural superiority. The face-to-face nature of many of these 'everyday' encounters dictates that resistance to them must also be at an individual level; a significant number of participants across all eight countries described highly individualized resistances to such prejudice. It is also important to state that the 'subtle' forms of racism, such as euro/ethno-centric value systems, stares and other symbolic violences, 'jokes' and so on, often led participants to express doubt as to whether what they were experiencing was actually linked to their status as a migrant, their ethnic group, or if they were just being over-sensitive, or paranoid. The doubt many participants felt when classifying their encounters with racism as such underlines the point about the everyday nature of racisms. cthat they were actually experiencing racism when This sentiment reveals something of the pervasive, diffused nature of much of the racism described by participants, many of whom were reluctant to categorize discriminatory behaviour as such for fear of being marginalized. The empowering ways to challenge racism identified above were usually described by participants who were addressing an obviously racist individual or comment; coded racisms or general 'feelings' often passed by unchallenged.

Challenging racism and other forms of discrimination at a bureaucratic level poses a very different problem than tackling an individual's racism. In the focus groups in general there existed a high level of awareness of how discrimination operative at an institutional level can be subtle, covert and difficult to prove. Some of the participants had found ways to challenge large government bureaucracies by becoming experts in immigration policy and the appeal systems, or by challenging rulings and so on in a legal or complaint way. There were stories of successful challenges to racist individuals within their institutions though, were participants

had lodged complaints or gathered evidence against a prejudiced individual. There were also a significant number of stories from migrants who had engaged in situation testing (for example changing their 'foreign' surname on an application form of piece of academic work to a 'native' one to assess how far their treatment could be considered discriminatory) as a way of challenging the culture of institutional racism that exists in a range of services and organizations.

There was a relatively low level of knowledge across the eight countries about the activities of far-right political parties. Although there was awareness at a general level about some far-right groups, none of the participants recounted any direct experience with them and very few could provide any detail about their manifestos of ideologies even with reference to migration. Participants were largely cynical about the political process in general, with very few expressions of support for the stance of mainstream political with regard to migration. Participants often suggested that politicians were often said to be manipulating the question of migration to gain political capital, with a common feeling emerging from the groups that by doing so politicians were 'playing a dangerous game'.

A recurring frustration for many of the participants across the partner countries was the difficulty many had faced in transferring professional skills, educational qualifications and other competencies into the country they had migrated to. It seems that often an ethno- and Euro-centric ideologies serve to undervalue and undermine the frequently considerable skills that migrants bring with them. These abstract views are often compounded by a bureaucratic system that demands references, detailed accounts of studies undertaken and other evidence that can be very hard for migrants to get hold of.

Language was flagged up as an important issue in every country, and was frequently referred to by the participants as *the* key skill to facilitate access in a range of social sectors, perhaps most significantly in the labour market. Certainly participants emphasized the importance of language competence not only for securing a job, but also for more general 'acceptance' in the host society. Those less skilled in the official language of their country of residence told of marginalization in or exclusion from key areas such as education and housing. In this light of the importance placed by participants on these skills it is perhaps significant that many of the participants felt that language provision for migrants was poor, or that provision was not necessary suited to the need s of new migrants. It is also revealing that some participants with a high level of language competency still told of prejudiced comments directed at them due to, for example, a slight accent.

Although the media was not included as a scheduled theme in the focus group discussions, the national reports generally make it apparent that participants felt that the media is a key

institution for the perpetuation of negative attitudes towards migration in general. In many countries the participants suggested that hostile headlines and hysterical reports of asylum seekers have led to a public who are misinformed about migration and hostile and defensive about any inward migration at all. However, as was suggested in, for example, the Austrian and the Italian reports, an opinion was also conveyed that as the media is such an influential institution then it also harbours some potential to set up a reasoned and rational debate about migration.

So, in summary it can be suggested that in general participants in WorkPackage 2 felt they had been discriminated against in a range of ways. Although the actual form that discrimination took varied a great deal, it seems reasonable to divide these experiences into categories of institutional racism on the one hand and more routinized forms of racisms on the other. Of course, this is something of a false dichotomy, as it is important to keep in mind that structural or institutional racisms are manifested in everyday face-to-face interactions, which can in turn contribute to the development of exclusionary cultures emerging in institutions. However, it is apparent that the majority of the participants who contributed so fully to this report conceptualise the discrimination they face in such a way, with different strategies of resistance employed depending on the nature of the injustice they face.