[FemCities]

An initiative by the Executive City Councillor Sandra Frauenberger

FemCities Conference

Challenges and potentials from a gender perspective, promising approaches of local authorities:

Migrant women in European cities and municipalities

Basel, September 22nd and 23rd, 2011

Conference Documentation

www.femcities.at

Präsidialdepartement des Kantons Basel-Stadt
Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern

Frauen MA57
Stadt Wien

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FemCities Conference 2011

Challenges and potentials from a gender perspective, promising approaches of local authorities:
Migrant women in European cities and municipalities

A stereotypical view of migrant women, traditional roles of women and men in our society as well as prejudice and fear in general influence the discourse on this topic in media and politics. Discriminating factors that limit the opportunities of migrant women are not considered in the discourse. But migrant women are often trapped in their traditional roles or face structural obstacles that push them into a traditional role. The skills, resources and potentials of migrant women are often neglected and not appreciated while the public discourse focuses on their shortcomings. The fact that migrant women do not get the opportunities they deserve and that this is a great loss for society and the economy is hardly mentioned in the political discourse and in shaping society and the economy.

The FemCities conference invites you to consider the situation of migrant women from a different point of view, to question stereotypes and prejudices, and to explore the scope of action of local authorities and the benefits of local policies that focus on the potentials of migrant women.

	Thursday, 22 September 2011
12.30 Uhr	**Registration**
13.30 Uhr	**Welcome** Guy Morin, President of the Government of the Canton of Basel City / Leila Straumann, Equal Opportunities Advisor of Basel City / Marion Gebhart, Head of Department for the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues, Vienna
14.00 Uhr	**Discourses about migrant women in politics and media** Gabriele Dietze, Humboldt University of Berlin
15.00 Uhr	**Migrant women and precarious working conditions: emancipation at the cost of migrant women** Rosie Cox, Birkbeck, University of London
16.00 Uhr	**Break**
16.30 Uhr	**Workshops: good practice examples from Europe, and innovative approaches** **Workshop 1 / Migrant women as target groups of local politics. Identifying, using and facilitating potentials.** Diversity Check, Barbara Szerb-Mantl, Municipal Department 17 – Integration and Diversity City of Vienna, Migrant women in urban society – between differences and emancipation, Susanne Omran and Maria Junger, Department for Equality and Integration, University Town of Tübingen

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Café Secondas, Filiz Kutluata and Janitha Reetz, Café Secondas, Basel
Facilitator: Asiye Sel, Vienna Chamber of Labour, Vienna / working language: German

Workshop 2 / Migrant women – nothing but shortcomings? Just victims?
A change of perspective for more successful approaches.
The development of integration policies in Switzerland, Susanne Bachmann, University of Berne
The other side of the medal – integration for all, Ronald Kloeg, IFA Foundation, Tilburg
Facilitator: Jana Häberlein, University of Basel / working languages: German and English

18.30 Uhr	**Summary – conference highlights at a glance** Inés Mateos, Office for Gender Equality of the Canton of Basel City
19.00 Uhr	**Drinks**
18.30 Uhr	**Public evening event: strategies for good transcultural relations in the city from a gender perspective** Discussion between experts from the academia, administration and politics

Friday, 23 September 2011

9.00 Uhr	**Gender inequality on the labour market at the interface between gender and ethnicity** Yvonne Riaño, University of Berne
10.30 Uhr	**Break**
11.00 Uhr	**FemCities network: learning from each other, cooperation and perspectives** Alina Zachar, Martina K. Sommer, Municipal Department 57 - Women‘s Department of the City of Vienna
13.00 Uhr	**End of conference** / Optional: lunch and guided city walk in the footsteps of women

Conference languages: German and English (simultaneous interpretation)

Chairs: Inés Mateos and Martina K. Sommer

Opening Speech
Guy Morin, President of the Government of the Canton of Basel City

Dear partners and guests from Vienna,

Ladies and gentlemen,

200 million people worldwide do not live in their home countries. Half of them are women. In Switzerland too, women account for approximately half of all migrants. They work as janitors, as kindergarten teachers, as domestic workers, as nurses and carers for the elderly, in the hospitality service, in industry and sometimes in prostitution as well, but they are also employed as professors and highly-qualified academics, as teachers in schools and occasionally even as managers. Through their work and the taxes they pay, migrant women contribute substantially to our economic and social well-being. By transferring large sums to the families who stay behind in their home countries, they also improve the lives of the latter, acting as development aid workers across borders.

Migrant women work many hours and have become an indispensable feature of our society. Many areas of the economy would be unthinkable without migrant women and integration and social life would suffer without them.

If we include all the second and third generation residents with foreign roots, almost half of the population in Basel is migrant. This is why they are as much part of the city as the long-established citizens, the Basel carnival or the river Rhine. Maybe this is also why Basel City has such successful integration policies to look back upon. Our integration concept based on potential orientation still serves as a pioneering example beyond our canton and our country. We have understood that migrant women can only be an enrichment for all of us. Our city would not be the same without them.

This is why it is so important for us that migrant women feel at home here. It is essential that they are included in public life if our society is to reap the full potential of their diversity.

Admittedly, though, a lot remains to be done in this respect in Switzerland and in Basel too. In order to be appreciated and promoted, migrant women are still required to perform better than their female colleagues without a migrant background. There is plenty of room for improvement in Switzerland. 28% of all gainfully employed migrant women in Switzerland have a university degree compared with only 24% of women of Swiss origin. Yet, on the labour market,

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migrant women have worse chances of selling their qualifications. 30% of the above women of Swiss origin work in managing or academic positions compared with only 7% of the above migrant women who work in qualified positions. This has a lot to do with the ideas people have in their minds about migrant women. They often perceive them as victims of suppression whose lives are determined from outside. It blurs their vision and makes it difficult to access the large diversity of women who have migrated to our country. The conference today addresses this very issue. Today and tomorrow you will have the opportunity to listen to and speak with top international speakers to expand your vision of migrant women and adapt it to life realities. For the purposes of administration and politics, we hope to draw results that will support us in our endeavour to place migrant women on an equal footing. We must stay vigilant and do everything in our power to give migrant women – and migrant men – the same opportunities in society.

We are fully aware of the fact that structural hindrances in the way of improvement and success for migrant women are not easily done away with. Equality in this context means more than gender equality. Equal opportunities in society go hand in hand with equality of the genders. The department for equality has long recognised this, focusing as it has done on this field of action from early on. Our success and several prize-winning projects at the department prove that we are on the right track.

Organising this conference in cooperation with the women's department in Vienna was only a logical consequence of our long-term endeavour to achieve equality for migrant women. Nevertheless, it is a special honour for Basel and a particular pleasure for me as the president of the cantonal government to officially address this meeting. Our location at the crossroads of three countries forces us to look beyond our borders, in fact it is part of our tradition to work with colleagues from Germany and France. We know from this continuous experience how important international networking conferences are. I am pleased to see that our topic today is going to extend our range of cooperation to include Vienna and I would like to take this opportunity to thank our colleagues from Vienna for having built this European city network, FemCities, which brings equality in cities and municipalities into the international discussion arena.

I would also like to thank the university of Basel for hosting us on its beautiful premises and last but not least the department for equality of women and men for providing us with such an excellent programme, which will no doubt make for an intensive and informative time in the days ahead. And don't forget to take a walk along the Rhine before you leave to witness the full range of our diverse population.

May this conference give us many new insights and prospects so that our scope of action for the equality of migrant women will be a greater one.

Opening Speech
Leila Straumann, Equal Opportunities Advisor of Basel City

Ladies and gentlemen,

‚Migrant Women' – Migrant women in European cities and municipalities. Our colleague from Basel has just explained why we agreed on this topic. We did not choose an easy task for this year's FemCities conference in Basel, yet I trust a particularly interesting one no less. As you have heard from the president of the Basel government, migrant women have been in the focus of local equality policies for some time. We have the added advantage in our equality work of being able to launch a wide range of projects with a variety of different partners. We often stand in as initiators or give birth to projects before we hand them over to our partners where they subsequently become autonomous. They usually carry on independently, as in the case of the project Log-in migrant women at the School for Bridging Education and Employment, either developing in their own environment or distinguishing themselves at a higher level, such as the Café Secondas or Mentoring for Youth (previously Mentoring for Migrant Women). Both these projects were originally created under the direction of the Office for Gender Equality and were subsequently awarded the Basel integration prize, a fact we are particularly proud of.

The secret of our success lies in the clear premises on which we base our work with migrant women: we are guided at all times by an approach that focuses on potential. In other words, we try to sharpen our minds to the abilities and resources migrant women can contribute. We want to make them participate in our projects because they usually know best what is needed. Appreciating the strength most migrant women have at their disposal is another important element in this field.

Our experience has shown that migrant women often display a kind of self-assertion rarely reflected in media debates or people's perception of migrant women. In many cases, they have left behind hopeless situations or have come here in search of a better education, to be reunified with their families, to find work or a better life. In other cases, they are highly qualified and employed by international companies, start up their own business, or teach at universities. At any rate, most of them have a very clear idea of where they want to go. Essentially, migrant women are independent and strong. This conference aims to give all of them a true face, to investigate their independence and diversity and to try to get to the bottom of antiquated perceptions of migrant women.

Yet we must not disregard the kind of discrimination to which women in a migration context in particular are exposed. Not only in the sex trade, but especially in services related to private households, as domestic workers, child-sitters, in nursing and in care for the elderly and sick, they are frequently exploited on a regular basis. We are called upon to improve these precarious working conditions and to make sure care workers (as they are referred to today) are granted their residence status.

From the equality point of view we cannot be neutral to the fact that many women who take on domestic or care work do so under precarious conditions. We need to think about the concept of care drain which means that because they come here to work for us – far away from home, from their children and relatives – they cannot perform that same work there, and consequently the tasks of taking care of the sick or educating the young are no longer guaranteed in many countries.

Migration experiences are often far more lasting than the much-invoked cultural origins, which is why migrant women more than others are faced with having to redefine their life design. Traditions and family structures are also undergoing enormous changes. These topics are highly relevant for the equality of the genders. The conference aims to cast a discerning eye on these issues and motivate decision-makers and experts into concrete action.

The public evening event will focus on a critical dialogue between migrant women active in civil society and experts from the administration and science. We will place an empty chair on the stage as an invitation for you to participate in the discussion. I do hope you will avail yourselves of this opportunity.

Finally, my thanks, like those of the president of the government of Basel, go to the university and to the City of Vienna for their smooth and productive cooperation.

I look forward to the excellent speakers announced by the programme and to many interesting discussions with all of you.

Opening Speech
Marion Gebhart, Head of Department for the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues, Vienna

Ladies and gentlemen!

I am very pleased to see that this year in Basel we are convening for the second FemCities, which, while not held in Vienna, was organised with our cooperation. It allows us to gain new insights and perspectives that may be of great interest, and also offers an enriching experience for all of us, as we already witnessed with the first such cooperation in Stuttgart last year.

I consider this rolling aspect of the events to be very important, which is why I mention it here before I move on to the more general information: what is FemCities and what is it trying to achieve?

FemCities, the European city network for women, was conceived as a forum for city administrations engaged in women's and equality issues (departments for gender equality/equal opportunities/ women) with the aim of providing a platform for the exchange of good practice models, as well as for developing administrative structures conducive to women's issues and gender equality. There are several ways to engage in networking and the exchange of expertise, such as the website www.femcities.at, the newsletter or FemCities experts meetings (international conferences, seminars on specific topics). The key objective of FemCities is to promote networking amongst relevant administrative departments, allowing them to learn about (transferable) practical examples, to facilitate knowledge transfer and thus to create an added value for partners participating in the network.

The beginnings of the network date back to 1997 when its precursor "Milena" was established upon the initiative of the City of Vienna. The network at the time extended across cities in Central and Eastern Europe, especially Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Its objective was to promote communication among city administrations, experts from universities, NGOs, and businesses concerning women's and gender issues and "Good Practice" models. Partners were to be supported in building up and institutionalising structures relevant to women's issues and subsequently in implementing EU directives at community level as needed. Thus, in 2002 the network

ran the project "Preparing the Ground", supporting women in Bratislava in establishing a contact office for women at the city administration.

Subsequently, all of the above mentioned countries became EU members themselves. At that point, the network's objectives and structures were revised and what was formerly Milena ultimately turned into the city network FemCities in 2005. The Department for Women's Issues at the Vienna City Administration is still responsible for its coordination but its range of operation and cooperation has been expanded to include the entire EU and associated countries in Europe.

Basic network coordination functions exercised by Municipal Department 57 – Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues - in Vienna, range from supporting the organisation of international conferences and events on issues relevant to regional and local women's policies, promoting the exchange of transferable practical examples, updating the website, as well as preparing and publishing papers in the network.

2011 has seen a number of important incentives for the FemCities Network:

- As a follow-up to the FemCities Conference 2010 organised in cooperation with the Department for Individual Equal Opportunities in Stuttgart, the latter will now venture forth into yet another cooperation: as of autumn 2011 Stuttgart will assume responsibility for coordinating the FemCities network in the D-A-CH Region (D – Germany, A - Austria, CH - Switzerland).

- The FemCities Network will receive further impetus with the launch of the EU Strategy for the Danube Region. Starting in autumn 2011, FemCities with its project 'FemCities Danube Region' intends to take concrete steps towards implementing the strategy. Being a network of municipal administrations across Europe, it only makes sense to focus its measures for implementation of the strategy on the objectives set out in priority area 10 – stepping up institutional capacity and cooperation. During this year's international FemCities Conference in Basel, the project "FemCities Danube Region" will be introduced to the FemCities network partners and potential project partners (i.e. city administrations in the Danube Region) for the first time.

- This year's international FemCities Conference 2011 (including the FemCities city networking workshop) today and tomorrow is held at the university of Basel in cooperation with the Department for The Equality of Women and Men in the Canton of Basel City. The topic 'Migrant women in European cities and municipalities. Challenges and potentials from a gender perspective, promising approaches of local authorities' is dedicated yet again to a burning set of issues for European city administrations.

Migrant women decisively shape European cities today. Yet all too often they are perceived in a one-dimensional way only. Inadequate images of migrant women being poor, uneducated and suppressed still dominate public perception and consequently political action too. The conference is to promote a more discerning view of the diversity amongst migrant women, their potentials and strengths. At the same time, it is to highlight the structural hindrances and negative general conditions which make it difficult and downright impossible for women with a migration background to participate in the economic and cultural prosperity of society as a whole. Cities and municipalities which have recognized the individual talents and strengths of migrant women, and which are seeing pluralism in society as an

opportunity, and which allow migrant women to actively participate of their own accord will have a clear advantage over those who do not honour and respect such diversity.

MA 57 – Coordination and Promotion of Women's Issues – has been mentioned several times already this afternoon so I would like to add some information on our department myself:

2011 is a very special year for us too; we will be 20 years old in December, having been installed by the decision-making bodies at the City of Vienna just before Christmas 1991. The department was given the title 'Municipal Department 57 – Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues' to roughly describe our fields of activity. We started out very modestly, by Viennese standards, with a staff of eight and have since become quite a respectable department with 40 employees (part-time and full-time) and currently an operational budget of 8 million Euros.

Of course, our range of activities has also increased over the years and we now offer telephone consultation, a 24-hour emergency hotline for women, we handle allocation of subsidies for women's associations and we do groundwork for various women's issues including public relations at information booths and events. Examples include the International Women's Day at the City Hall with approx. 2,000 visitors annually and the Vienna Daughters Day, which last time attracted a total of 170 participating businesses and 3,000 girls.

Of course, the women's department and its employees would be unable to make much of a difference on their own. Women's issues must be recognised as a crosscutting matter by all departments and organisational units of the city administration. The heads of the administration, the chief executive office and policymakers in Vienna have pledged their support in the pursuit of this goal. Gender budgeting, gender mainstreaming, a women's health commissioner, criteria for gender equality in planning and construction, the Vienna model for awarding of public contracts on the basis of women's promotion at company level, and many other standard procedures developed in different areas, bear witness to this commitment.

The City of Vienna expressly endorses the promotion of women and gender mainstreaming as complementary strategies in the pursuit of gender equality. For as we know, active promotion of women has a beneficial influence in abolishing existing disadvantages and, in fact, provides an essential 'repair tool'. Gender mainstreaming aims to ensure that the measures planned and taken from the outset do not give gender-specific discrimination a chance. Once gender equality becomes a reality in all spheres of life, promotion of women is no longer needed. Until then, we as the women's department stick by our mission, which is to track down disadvantages for women and actively counteract them.

Finally, let me get back to the main issue for this afternoon, the conference that is about to begin, which I very much look forward to myself. I wish you all a vibrant exchange of information and that you may take home with you new ideas for tackling the challenges in your 'own' city.

Migrant women in politics and the media

Gabriele Dietze,
Humboldt University of Berlin

Introduction

Let me start by thanking you for the invitation and for giving me the opportunity to speak before so many of you engaged in migration issues related to, and implemented in, national and European politics. You are the addressees not only of political and legal instructions, but of the ideas, the fantasies and the panic circulating in the media debate as well. As a cultural and media scientist and gender researcher I do not claim to have any competence with administrative procedures. Yet I am confident that I can contribute a few facts on the ideas, fantasies and the panic, which are currently influencing public opinion and migration policies.

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that for some time now there has been, in various countries and at varying moments – especially during elections – a tendency to periodically stir cultural panic in the face of migration and Muslim migration in particular. I will give you two recent examples. The first is a picture showing posters of the "Pro-Deutschland" (pro Germany) movement which stood for the mayor's office during last Sunday's elections in Berlin and which fortunately did not gain any votes worth mentioning:

See slide 1 (page 26)

This is a classic in racist paranoia. It projects the bizarre idea that the dress code adhered to by a minority of religiously orthodox migrants (7% of all Turkish migrants by their own account) might become imperative for the non- Muslim host society.

During the mayoral elections in Vienna (with Michael Häupl as the Social Democrat candidate), the opposition took it upon themselves to point out in a poster campaign what the new uniforms about to be introduced for staff of local public transport would look like if multiculturalism were to be given too much leeway.

See slide 2 (page 26)

Here too take-over and xenophobia are played with almost jokingly.
And here is an example from the election campaign for the Swiss national and parliamentary elections to be held on October 23, 2011. You may have come across these yourselves in the streets of Basel.

See slide 3 (page 26)

These suggestive posters published by German, Swiss and Austrian right-wing populist movements reveal at first sight the highly gendered rhetoric upon which they rely. Portraying a woman as virtually locked up behind the burka (iron bars) with the subtitle 'Our women will stay free' suggests that mass immigration (the Swiss term) might force our women, in other words the occidental ones, to wear the burka as well.

The poster on mass immigration in turn clearly refers to the imagined danger emanated from foreign men (feet in heavy working boots). They are trampling on sacred ground marked by the Swiss cross, and there are many of them. No Islamophobic elements are visible on the face of it, yet they are easily retrieved from the Swiss collective memory of the iconography used for the much-disputed SVP poster on the minaret ban.

See slide 4 (page 26)

Here you see the same colours, the same composition using slanted Swiss ground and unmistakably the same orientalised others portrayed as the objects of a scare campaign. (I will get back to this later).

It is not the objective of my presentation to criticise right-wing populism, although, of course, it must always be criticised. What I find even more alarming is the fact that the world of ideas and images it articulates has found its way into liberal middle-class and even progressive thinking.

See slide 5 (page 26)

These images are so embedded, or rather wired to our visual hard drives we can recognize them even without context. The left-wing liberal newspaper Tageszeitung uses the following picture to illustrate an article on a study commissioned by the Emnid Institute to analyse growing anti-Muslim xenophobia in Europe.

See slide 6 (page 26)

In the foreground you see a sliced hemisphere covered in colourful material (possibly silk because of the way the fibre shines and flows) against a blurred red background. The colours; black (slightly wider) and yellow (a narrow strip) are framing the red. The subtitle reads, 'Islamophobia has risen just like anti-Semitism or hostility towards the socially disadvantaged.'

Even though the narrative of the image, highly abstract, fragmented above the slicing and with a blurred background, appears puzzling at first glance, the newspaper without comment relies on its 'readability'. And rightly so, as you will see in a moment. Readers make out a headscarf (burka/hijab), they assume its bearer is a Muslim woman, and behind they see the German flag (narrow yellow strip, the gold in black/red/gold). They also believe to detect a contradiction between the nation summoned by the flag and the headscarf. The headscarf in this case signifies at least two givens, 'Islam' as a problem (for the nation) and the figuration and existence of women suppressed by this very Islam. The seemingly obvious readability of the press photo is induced by what art historian Marion von Osten refers to as the 'occidental visual memory' composed of a clearly defined pool of images. Kaja Silverman calls it a screen equipped with a system of display parameters similar to that in languages which organises what and how we see, and what significance we ascribe to what we see, in other words, how we decode the image we see.

Incidentally, visual memories or screens like these are entirely contextual. In the US, the headscarf hemisphere would probably not have been recognised or understood right away. While Islamophobe rethoric is not unheard of there, the headscarf is still considered an expression of freedom of religion and is therefore neither controversial nor emblematic. This has to do with the fact that freedom of religion in the US has a positive connotation as a refuge for those religiously persecuted.

Europe, by contrast, reflects on its 'occidentalness', ironically claiming for itself both Christianity (in opposition to the other religion, for the cross, nun habits, the kippa and priest berets are not forbidden) and secular enlightenment (the freedom not have a religion). The headscarf is a nuisance to both (contradictory) fundamental convictions.
Yet how does this specific European screen come about and what role does the veil play in this visual repertoire? Let us return for a moment to the study commissioned by the Emnid Institute to compare people's attitude towards Islamophobia across Europe, which the newspaper taz chose the hemisphere to illustrate. 81.5% of Germans, when asked what they thought of when they heard the word 'Islam', mentioned the 'discrimination of women' (and still as many as 80.2% in Holland, 68.2% in France). Reports on the study in Welt and FAZ online papers were illustrated like this.

See slide 7 (page 27)

In the left picture *(see slide 7, page 27)* you will note that taz has electronically edited that part of the dpa photo that the newspaper die Welt printed in full (shifted and only a section – takes away the outspoken national symbolism – irony or criticism?). At this point let me stress that none of the articles mention the "headscarf", yet assume its unquestionable significance (Tom Holert would call it its "evidence effect"). I would also like to point out that the woman wearing the headscarf has her face turned away in all of these visualisations. In the side view of the FAZ photo, the girl is almost removed from the picture because of the slicing. Placing the headscarf motif in the frame of the picture (frame of mind) insinuates the difficult position the wearer is in (turned away, along the margin, not self-confident because she does not look into the picture).

It is quite clear from this that we do not simply 'see', but as the feminist art historian Silke Wenk aptly points out we are 'given to see'. In other words, we see the effect of 'collective symbol' referred to by Jürgen Link in his essay on „Zu der medialen Kollektivsymbolik an der Medialisierung der Einwanderung" (on medial collective symbolism for mediatisation of immigration). To him, the collective is an uninterrupted recycling of topics and symbols 'coupled stereotypically to form symbolic equivalences' in any number of combinations. These collective symbols are able to create the often-implored consensus to a far greater extent than matching arguments and claims in rational dialogue. The headscarf in the above sequences becomes the collective symbol for the rejection of Islam by a wide majority (not just maintained in the article), expressed through the assumption that women are suppressed.

In the following I would like to explain how and why it so happened that the figuration of the 'Muslim woman', or as we shall see later on, why the notion of 'oriental patriarchies' has become a collective symbol for the fear of migration across Europe. I will do so at the theoretical level to complement the visual one already mentioned. I will focus not so much on what the extremely heterogeneous situation of Muslim women and men in Europe is really like but on how this fixation with gendered Muslim images reflects on women and men in the host society.

Part 2 – the rise and culturalisation of xenophobia

To begin with, I wish to contend that the current perception of migration through culturalised gender stereotypes is a very recent phenomenon. Following image policies on migration you will find that during the first period of post-war development there was mostly an iconography of poverty. Marion von Osten refers to this as the 'station image' which describes the 'guest worker' as a countryman longing for his home country. Swiss regulations on seasonal workers have legally radicalised this attachment to the native country.

See slide 8 (page 27)

Zwei kleine Italiener am Bahnhof da kennt man sie
sie kommen jeden Abend zum D-Zug nach Napoli

Two little Italians at the station they've become a staple
Every night they wait for the train to Naples.

Eine Reise in den Süden ist für andre schick und fein
doch zwei kleine Italiener möchten gern zuhause sein

A trip to the south may be chic for some
For two little Italians it means going home.

Guest or seasonal worker as a denomination contains the word 'work' which implies that in their physical functions they have something in common with the 'resident' population, yet they remain 'guests' or are employed for the season only, therefore they do not belong and will soon go 'back home'. While the same is true for the term 'migrant worker', which was introduced later, 'work' or 'worker' as an appendix to the word migrant (and their disturbing urge to settle) was dropped more often than not. Their religious affiliation was irrelevant to begin with because their subclass status allowed the local proletariat to gain supremacy.

Today's tendencies to picture migrants – personified as Turkish in Germany, as Arab in Switzerland, as Kosovan or Chechen in Austria – as mainly Muslims, who are subject to a culturally distinct system of beliefs, is related to a diversity of changes in world politics which has blurred real and imaginary internal migration with external problems and has shifted them towards demonising the orient and Islam.

Most conspicuous among these changes in world politics was no doubt the fall of the Berlin Wall. In Cold War times, the East-West contrast (freedom versus socialism, planned economy versus capitalism, democracy versus dictatorship) provided the single most important factor to constitute identity for western societies. They felt united in freedom and democracy.

As communism collapsed they were deprived of this constitutive outside, to use gender research terminology, and thus they began to look for a new contrast that would give them identity and actually found one in the so-called orient, which I will discuss in more detail later on. Added to which, looking at the situation in Germany, the new citizens from the former GDR felt a great urge to belong, a fact that triggered an onslaught of 'xenophobia' (or hostility towards foreigners, a euphemism for racism). The slogan, 'we are one people' immediately excluded those of non-German origin.

Using the term 'hostility towards foreigners' (hostility towards newcomers in Switzerland), Mark Terkessides framed the argument that the racist discourse generates its own objects through institutional practices. Migrants and their families remained 'foreigners or newcomers' in Germany/Austria/Switzerland simply because the 'ius sanguinis' (law of blood relationship) prevailing there before the new immigration act introduced (in Germany) in 1999 did not grant them, as other comparable countries did, naturalisation through birth, that is, 'ius solis' (citizenship determined by the place of birth). Migrants were thus denominated foreigners through an ethnicised interpretation of citizenship. A number of problems evolved from this very issue.

See slide 9 (page 27)

In this slide you see both hands in all skin colours of the universe reaching for the precious document, and threateningly black crows/vultures descending upon the country because the passport has given them permission to abuse and ransack it.

The ethnicising xenophobia/hostility towards Turkish and Arab 'guest workers' caused a change in the fantasies in circulation about migrants. They were no longer discriminated against because of their subclass status but because of their origin and the culture to which this related. Segregation thus zoomed in on Islam, the religion common to the largest group of migrants, which had meanwhile also been labelled the most 'foreign'.

This 'Muslimisation of Migrants' (Schiffbauer), fails to see the great diversity of religious affiliations amongst migrants, while reducing their complex realities to a monolithic perception of Islam, which is now considered threatening. This Swiss ban on minarets is only one of many negative spin-offs. External events, such as 9/11, the ensuing wars in the Middle East or Al Qaeda contribute their part in drawing a new axis of evil, which no longer runs between communism and capitalism but between orient and occident (a stance now frequently taken by Swiss Islam scientists, amongst others).

Creating the constitutive outside, in other words, inventing the entirely different, produces feelings of superiority, or hegemony to use a political term. The orient-occident axis has a long and frequently interrupted history upon which to look back. It starts out with the crusades, across the Spanish Reconquista directed at the Moors, and includes the 'Turks before Vienna' complex (see 'Vienna Public Transport' poster), which still has the Austrian collective imaginary unsettled. Yet all of these were imperial conflicts involving warring parties.

European colonialism which made all the world its vassal, according to Edward Said, the founding father of post-colonial thinking, brought in its wake a new pattern, that is to define the subjected as 'entirely different', to subject them to 'epistemic force'. European colonies in North Africa, the Arab peninsula, the Levant and India conjured up a new imaginary orient in the minds of Europeans, one that Said referred to as 'orientalism'. According to his studies, European science (oriental studies), literature and art falsely 'invented' imaginary orientals, feminised lords of harems surrounded by wanton and willing playmates, to deliberately set them apart from European/white male discipline, superior civilisation, female virtue and culture. You will all be familiar with the genre of 'orientalist painting'.

See slide 10 (page 27)

Edward Said thus supported his analysis of colonial orientalism using gender images.

In my second part I will approach the initial issue of gendered images in migration today. Modern orientalism, or rather neo-orientalism, also manifests itself in the arena of sexual politics. Yet it employs different fantasies in the course. At the core of the current imaginary there is a fixation with sexually suppressed (and veiled) Muslim women and the Muslim male as the oriental and brutal patriarch and/or Muslim terrorist. This neo-orientalism on the European side creates 'being occidental' which I will refer to as Occidentalism in the following. It is no longer about the West revolting against communism, it is about the occident, characterised by the enlightenment and a Jewish-Christian canon of values as its leading culture, rising against alleged backwardness, fanaticism, religious fundamentalism, inability to reform and resistance towards enlightenment.

With all this we tend to forget that less than 75 years ago 'our' civilisation – with the exception of Switzerland of course – was steeped in barbarity and genocide. Looking at the sceptical distance towards the recent revolutions in North Africa and widespread concerns that the entire Maghreb might now fall prey to Islam, it is easy to see how deeply embedded in the political discourse the new binarities have become so soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Part 3 – Occidentalism and Sexual Politics

I will now move on to sexual politics and Occidentalism. When we speak about the 'canon of values' or the 'leading culture', we invariably, either directly or indirectly, think of the emancipation of (western) women being a seal of quality of the occidental culture (in the singular). The discourse on occidental superiority focuses on gender relations – especially the 'issue of women' – as its key point. There are many reasons for this, which I will have to deal with in detail later on. One of them is that political discourse following the 'iconic' or 'visual turn' has increasingly shifted to the level of visibility because it is in most cases a medial one. Thus the 'veiled woman' becomes a significant element of the 'otherness'. The headscarf is used as the master metaphor. This is contrasted by the 'freedom' of the occidental woman expressed by her not being veiled and even naked, in some instances.

See slide 11 (page 27)

Yet freedom of women must be filled with 'equality' if it is not to remain an empty notion. This touches upon a central node of the occidentalist discourse and its fixation with the headscarf: the 'issue of women' for the occidental principle of equality raises one of the biggest legitimisation concerns, as it is democracy, equal opportunities and justice which are considered the main indicators for its superiority. More than 200 years since the principle of the emancipation of women was first formulated in the enlightenment discourse (Olympe de Gouge's Erklärung der Rechte der Frau und Bürgerin 1791, Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women 1792), more than 160 years since the first women's rights groups were formed (1848 Declarition of Senitments in Seneca Falls, USA) and barely 100 years since they achieved the right to vote (e.g. Finland 1906, Italy 1945, later still in Switzerland) women still earn less, and because of gender specific distribution of labour they are often solely responsible for reproduction, they operate as the main agency for raising children and taking care of the elderly and are thus deterred from engaging in significant gainful employment, in addition to which they have a lower half-life than men because their exchange value due to the rising power of visual regimes is increasingly dependent on sexual attractiveness and youth.

You may argue that this legitimisation concern can hardly be a serious one as there is no perceivable new gender revolution – with the exception of the heydays of second-wave radical feminism during the 1970s. A structure comes

into play, which I would like to refer to as the 'occidentalist dividend'. I have derived this term from men's studies. Australian men's studies researcher Connell (herself a man at the time) coined the notion 'hegemonic masculinity'. For masculinity to evolve, relations among men are as important as relations between men and women. While hegemonic (white, rich, heterosexual) men suppress marginalised men, such as homosexuals, subclass men or men subjected to racism, the latter still enjoy a patriarchal dividend because as members of the male gender they not only feel superior to all women and their women in particular, but they also benefit from gender-specific distribution of labour even though they rank very low in the male hierarchy.

Similarly, culturally 'white' women enjoy a superiority dividend over the neo-orientalised 'others'. Occidental women compared with 'Orientals' can imagine themselves free in their choice of lover, they can live a life as sexual beings, allowed to reveal and show their physical assets.

Scandalising the act of covering is possible only where being without cover works as a cultural norm. This is why research distinguishes between the 'open' occidental and the 'covered' oriental gender system. Jennifer Fluri calls it the 'naked veil'. Christina von Braun and Bettina Mathes elaborate on this:

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> 'If you look for the historical contexts which have led to the unveiling of western women you will find that their bareness has little to do with nature or freedom but rather is the result of cultural constraints and disciplining, which have been laid around the naked female body like a second skin in the course of western history […] Before the west allowed women to bare themselves they had learn to wear their bareness like a dress.' (von Braun/Mathes 2007: 154)

Freedom to reveal oneself therefore represents one side of the enlightenment discourse, which is in fact the claim for transparency and visibility.

Feminist history of art has been pointing out for some time that women are permitted to embody the values of future and community, in other words they may pose as allegories, yet at the same time they are not allowed to participate therein. The most famous example in support of this argument is no doubt Delacroix's 'heroic painting of the French Revolution, 'Liberty Leading the People'.

See slide 13 (page 28)

It is well known that the French Revolution did not achieve any civil rights or freedom for women, yet it is symbolised in this picture by a bare woman.

In a sense the headscarf or veil as a sign performs as a negative allegory. An allegory for the lack of freedom, it unwittingly allows the occident's achievements to shine all the brighter. The so-called 'headscarf woman', as the emancipation deficit personified, subcutaneously reminds us of the incomplete emancipation of women. The majority of occidental women are fully aware of the fact that real emancipation would imply the abolition of gender-specific division of labour, full access to all professions (including organised child care), equal pay for work of equal value and

a breaking of the glass ceiling. These issues are currently a hindrance to their careers. All of these projects - long claimed and not fulfilled - are not allowing for a gender democracy to become reality.

While the discourse on leading culture maintains they have already been implemented, its interpretation of female freedom, in the enlightenment tradition, is that of self-ownership, in other words the right to speak, freedom of contract as well as the right to abort and divorce. These issues have been accomplished by and large by the male party in the emancipation negotiations. The rights as alluded to already, conveniently do not put the claim to which men have become accustomed, (which is to be taken care of) at risk, nor do they abolish women's surplus work in the household. On the contrary: talking about the freedom of western women ostentatiously makes men's privilege as providers almost disappear, a fact which naturally saves unemployed or retired husbands from contributing to any household duties.

It also explains the sudden enthusiasm, or retroactive progressivisation, as I would call it, that culturally conservative and right-wing populist male politicians are showing for the liberation of women. In doing so they simply shrug off the reproach of being sexist and pile it on the 'oriental patriarch', which is why Margret Jäger in the context of this neo-orientalist pattern refers to the 'ethnicisation of sexism'.

The photograph of the 'terror father', which went around the world in 2002 and made it to the covers of several (western) non-fiction books on terrorism perfectly illustrates this point of view.

See slide 14 (page 28)

A man, a father in fact, during a demonstration evidently run by Palestinians, is carrying a little girl, his daughter, on his shoulders. The girl has a belt of explosive dummies made of paper rolls strapped to her body and a martyr's bandana complete with writing wound around her head. This photograph and the story subsequently reported by the papers about a civil war refugee granted permanent residence in Berlin, like a matrix summarises a bundle of occidental fears. The potential Muslim terrorist (iconography of the suicide assassin) inconspicuously living inside 'our' society (a sleeper) sacrifices his daughter (oriental patriarchy – in our tradition we sacrifice our sons) to blow up 'our' society (she is wearing a martyr's headband instead of a headscarf).

Clearly, this manifestation was a one-off incident and to my knowledge there was no repeat performance at demonstrations across Europe, yet the picture remained emblematic of the politicised oriental patriarchy as a threat to our society for a long time.

This melange of antidotes, or negative allegories as developed above, generates something I would like to call the 'occidentalist gender pact'. As the suppressed oriental woman is rejected and stigmatised, there suddenly appears a justification and a need for emancipation which was previously considered unnecessary or superfluous in the androcentric-patriarchal structures fundamental to occidental societies – simply 'kerfuffle' as the former German chancellor Schröder would call it.

In this process, however, the second step is taken before the first, with no material ground to stand on, simply because of a male recognition of the rightfulness of emancipation. The occidental woman, in a performative act, is staged as

being emancipated already. The 'emancipation performer' thus privileged (Sichtermann) in turn refrains from engaging in irritating battles for justice and equality.

Up until now, articulating the remnants of discontentment was left in the hands of the ageing veterans of second-wave organised feminism and their voices –e.g. the magazine EMMA. Some of them, however, seized the opportunity to give their rhetoric of emancipation a new turn. This brings us to the superstructure of the occidental gender pact (or compromise), which in fact means that mainstream feminism, as characterised by the influential Alice Schwarzer, amongst others, has taken on the role of opinion leader in criticising the oriental patriarchy. It is not by chance that Alice Schwarzer uses the French Revolution as an example in this context.

See slide 15 (page 28)

> The oh so smarts ones will argue that the burka ban is a symbolic policy only and does not stop the threat of being infiltrated by literalist Stone-Age Islam. That is quite true. Yet a symbolic policy is still a policy. A ban would be a first step and a visible sign not only for the invisible women. It is not by chance that the French parliament adopted the burka ban on the eve of July 14, which marks the anniversary of the French Revolution – the day itself is a national holiday, a day of celebration and no work in France. It was this French Revolution which more than 200 years ago proclaimed 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' for all.

Julia Onken, a well-known Swiss feminist, joins her in this rhetoric:

See slide 16 (page 28)

> The Koran, which is a legal source for all Muslims, prescribes misogynist rules and rules disdaining of women, such as covering the entire body (…) chastisement by the husband in case of disobedience. Mosques are men's abodes. Minarets are male symbols of power. By allowing minarets to be built the state visibly accepts the suppression of women. This has to be stopped at all costs.

In this case, the occidental 'othering' is masked as solidarity for the suppressed oriental sisters. Alliances are formed between occidentalist mainstream feminism and official migration regimes; thoughts are spoken out loud as to how to deprive unwanted oriental patriarchs of their right to residence.

It is therefore totally misleading to deplore in hushed tones the political error of feminist factions, which, in the heat of sisterly solidarity with the suppressed oriental women did not realise that they themselves were being instrumentalised by conservative governments. On the contrary: the fact that expertise on female suppression is now called upon by the dominant discourse is considered a victory, now finally a central 'text' has been accepted.

The occidentalist gender pact, however, proves to be an 'asymmetric compromise'. For the dark side of the above process is that organised feminism, because of the contrast created with 'oriental' women, is losing its capacity for conflicts in the face of 'our own' incomplete emancipation 'at home'. The cultural gain in hegemony is not paid off by a gain in justice in the occidental patriarchy. To put it differently: the occidental gender pact is a peace contract between the protagonists of an unfinished revolution and the local patriarchy signed at the cost of Muslim women.

You could also say, the headscarf allegory is a (fear-repelling) sign of tangible, yet unrecognised, western feminism deficits.

Postscript

To finish up and to make sure my presentation does not contribute to wiring the paranoid excesses of the headscarf iconography deeper still into our minds I would like to show you a few visual counter-strategies. I will use a well-known controversial right-wing populist poster to support my ideas.

See slide 17 (page 28)

Swiss colleagues have reassured me the 'Maria' portrayed here does not coincide with a candidate of the same name. The model is used here to portray the archetypal open and friendly European woman as opposed to the veiled one. Bettina Dennerlein and Elke Frietzsch, two Muslim scientists from Zurich, analysed the poster, pointing out that the green background behind the occidental Maria emphasises her naturalness in contrast to the artificially veiled oriental woman against the dark blue background.
The poster picks up yet another context, which is that of Maria as the icon of Christianity and Catholicism in particular, versus the Sharia, the legal code of Islam, which is considered brutal.

This comparison (using the omnipresent image of the caging veil) seems odd insofar as there are practically no portrayals of Mary without a veil. Algerian born artist Zineb Zadira who later moved to France and now lives in Great Britain depicts this very clearly in her tryptichon 'Self-Portrait of Virgin Mary'.

See slide 18 (page 28)

While even from a culturally neutral point of view, the shining white disappearance of Virgin Mary may still be interpreted as a divine manifestation, other installations also designated as self-portraits (without Mary) bear a more distinct reference to the traditional Algerian veil.

See slide 19 (page 29)

It remains unclear whether the near disappearance to the white background picks up on the structural invisibility (and depersonalisation) of the woman behind the veil, whether there is a claim for sanctification, or whether this is to point out that according to today's racialisations, Mary must have been oriental or that both the Muslim and the Christian tradition have made a cult of virginity. The artefacts are open to all of the above interpretations.

The references stand out even more in this photomontage by artist Thomas Bayerle,

See slide 20 (page 29)

Looking closer you can see that behind the fully veiled woman is the classical Madonna, her head inclined to the left and her hands folded for praying.

In the same way as the artist points to the "veiled character" of the Christian iconography, it is possible by contrast to note the sexualisation of the visual western one.
Instead, here we see her for the second time in der Speigel, with Western underwear advertisements contrasted with the portrayal of the unfree covered woman.
See slide 21 (page 29)

Pictures of underwear in public space may also be 'covered' with a critical artistic intention as the French graffiti pirate 'Princess Hijab' is showing on the Paris underground.

See slide 22 (page 29)

By having a naked model parade alongside a fully veiled woman, Moroccan artist Majida Kattari exposes the naked woman rather than her veiled counterpart:

See slide 23 (page 29)

This is my last example, a piece of work by Shirin Nesrat from the cycle 'Women of Allah', which once more superimposes the occidental collective symbol of 'veiling' with the fear of terror typically linked to men.

See slide 24 (page 29)

Showing you these works by transnational artists has given me the opportunity to demonstrate how productive critical awareness of the sexual demonisation of migration can be.
It is imperative that we also display a critical awareness of racist gender perceptions. Those of you working in the administration of cities and municipalities will know better than I that there is no Muslim woman as such but instead there exists an endless variety, expressed in the way they manifest themselves, the problems and idiosyncrasies they have to deal with just like non-Muslim migrant women and, what is more, just like many women (and men) in the host society. Violence in the home is no more a Muslim problem than locking up sexual hostages for years is an Austrian one or years of incest in the face of blind-eyed villagers is a German one.

Solidarity among women is especially important where women are being suppressed. Yet this solidarity must not to abused to develop xenophobic scenarios and create occidental superiority on the back of orientalised migrant women.

Slide 1

Mayoral elections Berlin, September 18, 2011

Slide 2

Campaign against SPÖ (Social Democrats) during Austrian elections

Slide 3

SVP – Swiss national and parliamentary elections, October 23, 2011

Slide 4

Referendum on the minaret ban 2009

Slide 5

Slide 6

TAZ: „citizens are becoming more brutal"

caption

Islamophobia has risen just like anti-Semitism or hostility towards the socially disadvantaged.

Slide 7

Evidence effect of headscarf images

Welt online on the Emnid Study

photo dpa

Faz.net on the Emnid Study

Slide 8

Two little Italians at the station they have become a staple,
Every night they wait for the train to Naples.
Two little Italians quietly they wait.

A trip to the south may be chic for some
For two little Italians it means going home.

Slide 9

Slide 10

Slide 11

Photograph from der SPIEGEL

Slide 12

If you look for the historical contexts which have led to the unveiling of western women you will find that their bareness has little to do with nature or freedom but rather is the result of cultural constraints and disciplining, which have been laid around the naked female body like a second skin in the course of western history […] Before the west allowed women to bare themselves they had learn to wear their bareness like a dress.« (Braun/Mathes 2007: 154)

Slide 13

Eugène Delacroix,
La Liberté guidant le People, 1930

Slide 14

„Terror father“

Slide 15

Ein Burka-Verbot sei nur symbolische Politik und das Problem der Unterwanderung durch den schriftgläubigen Steinzeit-Islamismus damit nicht gelöst, argumentieren die ganz Schlauen. Das stimmt. Aber symbolische Politik ist auch Politik. Und ein Verbot wären ein erster Schritt und ein sichtbares Zeichen – nicht nur für die unsichtbaren Frauen. **Nicht zufällig verabschiedete das französische Parlament das Burka-Verbot am Vorabend des 14. Juli, des Jahrestags der Französischen Revolution – am Nationalfeiertag selbst wird in Frankreich nicht gearbeitet, sondern gefeiert.** Diese Französische Revolution proklamierte vor über zweihundert Jahren die „Freiheit, Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit“ für alle Menschen. Und wir Frauen fügten die „Schwesterlichkeit“, genauer: die „Geschwisterlichkeit“ hinzu. Dahinter wollen wir nicht mehr zurückfallen.

Slide 16

Julia Onken

The Koran as a legal source for all Muslims prescribes misogynist rules and rules disdaining of women, such as covering the entire body (...) chastisement by the husband in case of disobedience. Mosques are men's abodes. Minarets are male symbols of power. **By allowing minarets to be built the state visibly accepts the suppression of women.** This has to be stopped at all costs.

Slide 17

Plakatkampagne der SVP Bremgarten im Aargau

Slide 18

Zineb Zadira,
Self-Portrait of Virgin Mary

Slide 19

Zineb Sedira - Self-Portrait

Slide 20

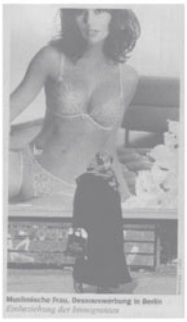
Madonna Mercedes –
Thomas Bayrle

Madonna Merceds

Painting of the Madonna from Rothenburg

Slide 21

Photo from der SPIEGEL



Slide 22

Princess Hijab I

"This is the story of a young woman fighting every day for a noble cause: **she wants to "hijabize" advertising**. (...) By day, she wears a white veil, symbol of purity. By night, her black veil is the expression of her vengeful fight for a cause. She knows all about **visual terrorism**!

Slide 23

Models parade during a performance called "VIP Volie Islamique Parisien" (Parisian Islamic Full-Face veils) by Moroccan artist Majida Khattari in Paris April 10, 2010.

Slide 24

Militante Images

Shirin Nesrat Women of Allah

Migrant women and precarious working conditions: emancipation at the cost of migrant women

Rosie Cox,
Birkbeck, University of London

Introduction

This paper examines the growth of care work/domestic work in private homes as a sector that illustrates the complexities of struggles for women's emancipation. It outlines the precarious living and working conditions of migrant care workers in many countries and relates these to the improvements in opportunities for citizen women.

In many parts of the world, the working conditions of care workers are characterised by precarity. Care workers are particularly likely to work in the informal sector, or to be employed formally but without the protections that other groups of workers have. Precarity does not happen by accident but is planned - or allowed to continue to exist – by governments, in order to produce the type of workforce and the type of migrant populations, which are considered useful (Anderson 2010). As Helle Stenum puts it 'The legalizing and illegalizing of different types of migration and migrant statuses are important tools in governing the non-citizen population and in separating desired from unwanted migrants' (Stenum 2010 p23). The precarious working conditions of migrant women are not coincidental to the fact that they are women or migrants. Policy and public attitudes towards women's traditional roles in the home underpin the 'non-worker' status of many migrants and hold wages and conditions down.

The paper begins by outlining the growth of the care economy in the last two decades. It then examines in detail the precarious living conditions of domestic workers by highlighting the specific migration rules and employment regulations to which they are subject. These rules restrict workers' rights to citizenship and deny their status as 'workers', giving employers extensive control over them. The paper then looks at the relationship between the precarious lives of care workers and the 'emancipation' of women, before discussing the responses which local municipalities may be able to have.

Throughout, I focus on care workers and domestic workers in private homes, as I have been researching paid domestic employment in the UK for over 15 years, but some of the debates presented here are also relevant to those

employed in poor conditions in other care settings such as private nursing homes or childcare centres. At every level care work draws in migrants, many of whom are subject to restrictive visa regimes and are denied citizenship in host countries. For example, despite government guidelines that are supposed to prohibit the recruitment of staff from the poorest countries, in 2001 about 40 per cent of new entrants to nursing in the UK were recruited from abroad and the countries supplying the largest numbers of nurses were the Philippines, South Africa, Australia, India and Zimbabwe.

In 2000, health and associated professionals formed the largest group of work permit holders in Britain and about 26 per cent of doctors currently working in the National Health Service were trained overseas. The most important source countries for doctors included India, Pakistan and Nigeria (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Doctors from overseas are often ghettoized in the least popular specialisations and have difficulty accessing additional training. The qualifications of nurses trained overseas are not always recognised and they may spend long periods on temporary or student visas, working in low-skilled jobs while they apply for recognition.

The growth of the care economy

The 'care economy' encompasses a range of activities inside and outside the private home with the most important elements being childcare, elder care, nursing and housework. In each country, the balance between public and private provision of these services differs, but in almost all countries in Europe we are seeing an increased privatisation, or commodification of care services. That is that care is increasingly provided for by money in the private sector where previously it was provided publicly or for free within households. While other forms of low-paid work have been outsourced from richer to poorer countries, care work cannot be. It has to be performed where the care recipients are and this involves the workers moving to the work, rather than the other way around.

Writing in the 1980s, the historian Frank Victor Dawes described domestic service as 'gone for good'. He argued that 'service' had been ended by improvements in working class living standards and because poor people no longer accepted that it was their lot in life to serve their 'betters'. Little did he know that within a decade domestic employment would be on the rise again, not just in Britain (where he was writing) but throughout Europe, North America and parts of Asia.

Writing on domestic work would no longer be just about the history of ladies' maids and butlers but was now social science; research on contemporary life investigating the working lives of the many thousands of migrant women who now provide domestic services. Paid domestic labour has become an increasingly important topic for those interested in migration and gender relations. As Helma Lutz says, 'growing demand for labour power in the domestic work sector has contributed to the feminization of migration more than any other area of work' (2008a p3).

Domestic employment has been increasing in many parts of the world and migrant women make up the vast majority of this new domestic workforce. The low pay, long and unpredictable hours mean that few workers with any choice will take on these jobs. One hundred thousand migrant women work as domestics in Singapore, and similar numbers work in Hong Kong and the Gulf states. Canada imports domestic workers from Asia, the Caribbean and Britain, as does the USA, while European countries often have domestic workers from former colonies, or poorer neighbours in southern and Eastern Europe.

Within Europe there has been a general pattern of movement of women from poorer areas in the south and east to the richer areas of the north and west. Many countries also import domestic workers from places further away but with which they have historical and colonial links. Traditionally, women from Ireland and the Caribbean worked in Britain, Algerians in France, and Surinamese women worked in the Netherlands. More recently, migrants from within Europe have become more important.

There are, broadly speaking, three patterns of domestic employment that have been found in European countries. The first, characterised by Spain, Italy and Greece is described as characterised by a shift from a pattern of 'family care' to 'migrant in family care' (Williams and Gavanas 2008). In these countries, large numbers of migrant workers live-in and this pattern is encouraged by government regularisation policies.

The second group includes countries such as the UK, Germany, France, Austria and Poland, where there is little policy encouragement of migration for domestic work but large numbers of domestic workers are still employed with varying levels of legality. In the third group, the Nordic countries, domestic employment is growing from a small base and supported by a range of cash payments to families. In Sweden, Denmark and Norway the au pair scheme is an increasingly important source of domestic labour.

To look at the first of these groups in more detail, Spain has quotas for domestic / care workers and these, along with policies to regularise the status of illegal immigrants, have led to an implicit normalisation of the employment of migrant women to fill the care deficit (Williams and Gavanas 2008). There are about 150,000 documented household workers in Spain and probably a similar number of undocumented workers. Similarly, Italy relies on migrant women to provide household labour and work as care assistants to the elderly. By 2003 there were 500,000 documented domestic employees of foreign nationality in Italy, but it is estimated that 77% of all care and domestic labour is undocumented (Scrinzi 2008). The vast majority of these workers are women but migrant men are also involved in care roles in Italy. Care workers to support the elderly within the home are a particularly important part of the sector. In Greece, domestic and care workers come from Bulgaria, Albania, the Philippines, Georgia and other former USSR states (Hantzaroula 2008).

Within the second group, domestic services take a slightly different form. In Germany it is estimated that 3 million households use some form of domestic service, yet there are very few domestic workers legally employed. Germany only has recruitment policies for two groups of domestic workers – au pairs and care workers for the elderly – both of which are temporary schemes. The vast majority of domestic workers are affected by 'dual illegalization' – that is they are migrants without a valid residence permit and they have no work permit (Lutz 2008b). There is very little live-in domestic work (this is restricted to care for the elderly and occasionally children) and most domestic workers live-out and work for a number of households everyday.

The pattern in the UK is similar although live-in work is more common and more likely to be provided for young children. Very large numbers of households employ a cleaner on an informal basis for a few hours a week. There are extremely limited opportunities for migrants from outside the EU to access the UK domestic labour market legally and the majority of employment in the sector is undeclared. Many domestic workers in the UK are therefore legally allowed to live and work in the country but still work in an informal manner (Busch 2011). Austria has very tight restrictions on labour migration but the category of 'au pair' has become important as a source of domestic workers since 2001 when this group was excluded from the quotas for workers from non-EEA countries. In 2007 there were 14,597 registered au pairs in Austria, 80% of them from Eastern Europe (Haidinger 2008). There are also large numbers of domestic workers in Austria without legal residence or work permits and these include women from Poland and Ukraine. Ukrainian women also work in Poland in large numbers (as well as Italy, Greece and Spain) and since 2003 have used short term visas to migrate in a circular pattern – working for a few months in Poland and then returning home.

In the Nordic countries, the last group discussed here, paid domestic labour has recently re-appeared as a phenomenon and this reappearance has prompted wide-ranging debate over the appropriateness of employing domestic workers in egalitarian societies (see Isaksen 2010a). One of the most important new sources of domestic labour is au pairs – the majority of whom come from the Philippines. While total numbers are still low they have increased rapidly. Stenum (2008 p25) shows that in 1996 there were 318 au pair residence permits issued in Denmark and 202 in Norway. By 2007 there were 2939 in Denmark and 1760 in Norway. Other migrant care workers are also present in Nordic countries. Both Norway and Sweden import care workers for institutional settings and as nurses (Isaksen 2010b; Platzer 2010) and Sweden has domestic workers in a range of undocumented situations (Platzer 2010).

Increases in other personal services

Alongside the privatisation of care we have also seen the growth in a range of other personal services. This growth is often underpinned by similar trends and employs a similar workforce – migrants, particularly women on low wages without recognised skills. Some of these personal services take place within homes, such as specialist forms of cleaning, pet care and maintenance, while others service households from outside, such as with pre-packaged and take

away food, dry-cleaning and laundry. For the wealthiest households it is possible to buy almost any service. There are companies who will water your house plants, walk your dog or wash your wheelie bins. New 'concierge' services are designed to help people who do not have time to spend all the money they earn, they help with booking holidays, selecting gifts, organising parties and almost anything else imaginable.

Whilst I will not be discussing these services in detail in this paper (see Cox 2006 for more) they are worth considering. The growth of personal services reflects a polarisation of incomes between the wealthiest and poorest in society, which makes it increasingly easy for those who are well off to pay for the labour of those who are not. Personal service workers are also often subject to long hours of work, low pay, insecure working conditions and informal work. Workers are often isolated or in very small workplaces, unlikely to be unionised and hidden from the gaze of regulating authorities. The conditions of personal service workers are poor because their skills are not respected and because services are seen as replacing work which is generally done for free by household members. This keeps wages down and means that the tasks done are not regarded as 'real' work.

The precarious lives of carers

Domestic work tends to produce particular working conditions that are a result of the fact that it largely takes place in the private sphere, is hidden from view and is highly unregulated. Migration and employment regimes categorise this form of work as different from other forms and produce precarity for domestic workers.

Fiona Williams and Anna Gavanas (2008: 15) have shown how the phenomenon of female migration into domestic and childcare work 'can be understood as part of the dovetailing of childcare regimes (state policy responses to changes in family and work) with migration regimes (state policy responses to changes in work, population movement and change).' Opportunities (or not) for migration to carry out domestic work are, therefore, directly related both to state policies on childcare, family leave etc and to cultural expectations about how domestic and care work should be done and who should do it. The resulting migration policies seek to produce particular types of labour (low waged, 'unskilled', insecure) performed by particular migrants (women, often from specific countries) who are seen as appropriate to the type of work and undemanding to the state (Walia 2010).

Following this, domestic workers are often subject to specific and highly restrictive migration rules. For the most part such rules give domestic workers fewer rights (for example, the right to permanent settlement or family reunification), than other migrants and impose stricter controls on their behaviour (Ozyegin and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2008). Most commonly these include stipulations that domestic workers live in their employers' homes but there may also be regulations that govern aspects of a domestic worker's private life, such as restrictions on personal relationships. Migration regulations can also act to empower employers to impose additional, even stricter, conditions on domestic workers, which can cover aspects of dress, hairstyles and most other areas of life. Requirements that workers live-in

and those that tie a worker to a particular employer increase the power of employers over domestic workers in their ability to enforce such rules.

Migration schemes developed expressly to allow the import of domestic labour rarely give domestic workers protection against low pay and long hours of work. They may specifically exclude domestic workers from employment protections or they create other conditions – such as tying the worker to a named employer with whom they must live – that make it almost impossible for the worker to insist on their rights (see for example Anderson 1993). All of these rules make life precarious for the worker, she can be sacked from her employment for no reason and can face expulsion from the host country with very little notice.

Migration rules

One of the strictest schemes of this kind operates in Hong Kong, which in 1996 had over 160,000 foreign domestic workers (Tam 1999). Here, migrant domestic workers are recruited on two year contracts that stipulate job rules, task timetables and appearance.

Domestic workers can find that they are banned from having long hair or wearing make-up and must submit to compulsory pregnancy tests as part of their visa regulations. Nicole Constable (2003: 120) found that it was not uncommon for employers in Hong Kong to issue lists of instructions to domestic workers that tried to control every area of their life and sometimes directly contradicted official employment contracts. A similar scheme for importing migrant domestic labour is in operation in Singapore, which employs about 100,000 foreign domestic workers - one for every eight families in the city.

Domestic workers are recruited directly from their home countries to Singapore through agencies and are expected to sign a two year contract. During the two year period they may not leave the country without a release paper from their employer and are entitled to only one day off a month. In addition they have to sign a statement prohibiting them from marrying or co-habiting with a Singaporean citizen or permanent resident and have to take a pregnancy test every six months. Domestic worker's passports are regularly held by their employers who are also allowed to retain 20 percent of a workers' earnings to cover the costs of their return passage. While employers are allowed to replace domestic workers within the two years, a domestic worker voluntarily leaving an employer must return home and, if insufficient notice is given, must forfeit a portion of her salary (Yeoh and Huang 1999a and 1999b).

It is not only the city-states of Asia that have pursued methods of recruiting migrant domestic workers while denying them the rights of other employees. Canada operates the 'live-in caregiver programme' as a way of meeting demands of Canadian families for child and elder care. The programme allows workers into Canada for a period of up to four

years with the condition that they have a contract for employment as a caregiver in a family and will live-in with that family. After two years, workers are allowed to apply for an open visa and later for permanent residence - the Canadian equivalent to the US 'green card' (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010). The programme treats domestic workers differently from other migrant workers by considering them as temporary visitors for the first two years, rather than allowing them to become landed migrants upon arrival (Pratt 1997, 1999). The additional stipulation that they live-in make them vulnerable to abuse and overwork, and they are also exempt from many of the employment protections that cover other workers (Walia 2010). As Abigail Bakan and Daiva Stasiulis (1997: 7) put it: 'Canada shares with more authoritarian regimes a glaring willingness and indeed determination to exploit female migrant domestic workers from developing countries whose limited wage earning options have made them particularly vulnerable to political and legal control.'

Israel operates a similar policy, known as the 'binding arrangement', which links the employment permit given to an employer with the visa given to a migrant worker. If the employee's contract expires, for any reason, the visa also ends. Careworkers are one of the few groups granted work permits by the Israeli state and they are expected to provide round the clock care for elderly or disabled people, normally living in their employer's home. Perversely, because only the disabled or elderly in need of care are eligible to receive a work permit, a market has now developed in Israel for undocumented domestic workers who work for families not eligible for a work permit, for example those wanting childcare or housework. Undocumented workers can be paid up to 50 per cent more than documented workers because of this large market for their labour (Mundlak and Shamir 2008). The binding arrangement therefore restricts documented workers' employment rights by severely limiting their ability to negotiate with employers or to leave abusive situations, whilst simultaneously supporting demand for undocumented domestic workers who are also vulnerable due to their migration status even though they are better paid.

Immigration regimes can induce precarity both by overlooking migrants as well as by overseeing them closely. In contrast to the specifically developed schemes outlined above, the United States does not have a formal government policy or system to recruit migrant domestic workers. The method most often used to bring domestic workers from abroad is the 'blind eye' turned by immigration authorities (Chang 2001; Hondagneu Sotelo 2001). The Immigration and Naturalization Service has traditionally served employers by ignoring the employment of undocumented migrants in private homes and some employers deliberately seek out undocumented domestic workers because they will accept lower wages and will be less likely to insist on their employment rights. Doreen Mattingly (1999) has found in her research that legislation designed to reduce illegal immigration from Mexico to the US has actually fuelled the growth in the employment of undocumented migrants as domestic workers. The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), passed in 1986, made it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers. Prior to this, it was illegal for such workers to seek work, but their employers had not committed an offence by employing them. The Act made it much more difficult for undocumented migrants to work in the US and a larger

proportion of them sought work that was informal and hidden from the immigration authorities, as domestic work is. In addition, the Act had the effect of driving down work opportunities and conditions for all migrants, even those who were legal, as many employers would no longer hire them. This had the knock-on effect of reducing the incomes of migrant households that had been dependent on a male wage earner and of pushing more migrant women into work to make up the loss in earnings. Mattingly (1999: 76) comments that, because of the efficiency with which it has driven migrant women into domestic labour as nannies and housekeepers, 'the IRCA may well be the country's most effective policy for supporting professional women.'

Through their specific restrictions, or by turning a blind eye, migration regimes produce a particular type of worker with particular characteristics, able to command particular pay and conditions (Anderson 2010). In the case of domestic workers, the characteristics demanded are generally a low cost to employers and insecurity. Migration regimes achieve this in a range of ways – from tightly regulating the migration of workers and giving them only limited rights to creating conditions which encourage the supply of undocumented workers who are inherently insecure, or as in the case of UK au pairs, by creating a non-worker category that only migrants can fill.

While domestic workers are by no means unique in having their pay and working conditions shaped by migration regulations (see Anderson 2010 for a fuller discussion of this process) the gendered nature of domestic work plays an important role in shaping the precise nature of paid domestic workers' conditions. The assumption that domestic work is women's work plays a part in who gets a visa or work permit and in rules, such as those from Singapore and Hong Kong, that restrict domestic workers' reproductive rights. Lutz (2008), Williams and Gavanas (2008) and Sollund (2010), amongst others, have demonstrated the ways that gendered welfare regimes also shape employers' lives and so create demand for particular forms of paid domestic labour.

A more subtle affect of gendered assumptions is the condition that many domestic workers face, that they must live in their employers' homes. This requirement is both a cause and effect of the gendering of domestic work. The imagining of domestic work as women's natural duty means that paid domestic work becomes confused with the unpaid work of female household members and its true extent is overlooked. Simultaneously, the requirement that domestic workers live-in seems logical or natural when their work is compared with women caring for their own families. Domestic work is cast in a particular light, as a form of labour that is unique and not easily separable from familial relations. This elision between paid and unpaid work is also reflected in employment law and has far reaching outcomes for domestic workers.

Domestic labour and employment rights

As well as being subject to specific migration rules, domestic workers often face reduced employment rights, including not having the right to a minimum wage or maximum working hours that are available to other workers. Rules

which exclude domestic workers from employment protections are often targeted specifically at those who live in. Living in differentiates domestic workers from most other groups and makes it easier for laws to include or exclude them specifically. These rules are generally framed in terms of either 'family membership' – that is that the domestic worker cannot be treated like any other employee because she is a 'member of the family' - or engaged in 'different work' – that the tasks domestic workers do are not equivalent to other forms of labour. This rhetoric, and the regulations it supports, arise from class and gender based assumptions about domestic work and domestic workers.

Discourses of 'family membership' are particularly used to describe live-in domestic workers. Rather than signalling that these workers are cared for and treated as equals by their employers, family membership is often used euphemistically to describe paternalistic relations which echo the dependent relations of Victorian-era (and earlier) domestic servants and their employers. When these discourses are invoked in employment regulations they are given as a reason why domestic workers should not have access to the same rights as other workers. For example, Geraldine Pratt (2004: 49) recounts an exchange in a British Columbia legislative debate when a member of legislature, Ms Sanford, tabled an amendment to the B.C. Employment Standards Act to extend overtime pay provisions to live-in domestic workers. Another member spoke against the amendment saying:

> Remember that a domestic has to be accepted into a family. She [Ms Sanford] misses that point. That is the reason a domestic cannot keep time. You are accepted into the family, as part of the family, and the principle that you have your time recorded doesn't work in the family scene […] A domestic is part of the family and as part of the family takes part in family life, and that's the way it should be.

As Pratt comments, this discussion places the domestic worker in the 'highly gendered discursive frame of familialism' (2004: 50) rather than recognising her as simply an employee. Similarly, Mundlak and Shamir (2008) review a legal case brought by a Romanian domestic care worker in Israel to claim overtime payments because of the long hours she had worked. The court found that while live-in workers were due some additional payment for long hours, the law did not apply to them as it did to other workers. Mundlak and Shamir (2008: 168) comment that an unspoken question lingers behind the court's decision 'would a mother demand overtime for attending to her children at night?' They argue that the court's aversion to treating the domestic worker as a worker reveals the regulative connection between paid and unpaid care work. If a housewife is unpaid and considered unproductive, how can a domestic worker be fully regulated and rewarded? In the USA live-in domestic workers are also excluded from the right to overtime pay. As Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001: 213) writes, 'the legislation seems to encode the assumption that live-in domestic work is closer to being ' just like one of the family' than to wage employment.'

In all these cases there is an imagined continuity between the unpaid 'housewife' and the paid domestic worker that denies the labour of both.

In the UK, a similar frame is used to exclude domestic workers from working time regulations and health and safety protections. The UK has a maximum working week of 48 hours and other regulations that govern rights to rest breaks and limits to night work. The legislation governing working time regulations uses a definition of a 'worker' which is taken from EC Framework Directive (89/391) which states that a worker is 'any person employed by an employer, including trainees and apprentices but excluding domestic servants' (DTI 1996: 13). This definition then specifically excludes 'domestic servants' from key protections including the limit on total hours worked and the right to have a health assessment before being assigned night work (as other groups of workers do). In addition, domestic servants are exempt from a regulation that requires employers to ensure that employees doing monotonous work are given adequate rest breaks for the sake of their health and safety (Working Time Regulations 1998). They are also excluded from health and safety legislation more generally (Lourie 1998)[1]. The use of the word 'servant' and these exclusions from key protections that are offered to other workers construct domestic workers as inherently different. It is as if once a worker is a member of a household she is imagined as being a member of a family and her work is not distinguishable from the labour of family members, and therefore cannot be counted, limited nor organised in a way that is helpful or safe to her.

The UK regulations suggest that domestic work is distinct from other forms of work not only because it takes place in private households, but also because of the nature of the work involved. Whilst not expressly articulated, the exemptions of domestic work from regulations, which are designed to ensure the health and safety of workers, suggest that domestic work is not imagined to be work. The USA federal legislation, which guarantees basic labour protections and minimum wages specifically, excludes domestic employees who work as caregivers to children or the elderly from the right to earn minimum wage or overtime pay (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). This exclusion suggests that the content of domestic work is also somehow seen as inherently different to other forms of labour. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (NRLA) states that 'The term employee shall include any employee … but shall not include any individual employed … in the domestic service of any family or person in his home' (quoted in Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001: 221). This exclusion means that in the USA, domestic workers do not have the legal right to organise collectively as other workers do.

Together, restrictive immigration policies and exclusion from employment protections mould domestic workers into a particular relationship to the labour market in many countries. Immigration rules that restrict domestic workers to a particular employer or to live-in conditions limit their ability to seek work freely or to leave the worst employers. At the same time, exclusions from minimum wage and working time regulations bring down the pay and working conditions for all domestic workers, making their labour more easily available to employers.

[1] I would like to thank Vincent Keeter of the House of Commons Library for his help with locating and clarifying these policies.

Emancipation at the cost of migrant women?

The growth of the 'care economy' is generally explained with reference to two trends. Firstly, the withdrawal of state support for care services such as elder care and childcare and secondly, the movement of women from unpaid labour in the home to paid work in the public sphere. While the first of these trends is rarely applauded by social scientists, except perhaps economists, the second is a change that was fought for over many years by millions of women in many countries. So has the emancipation of middle-class, citizen women been achieved at the cost of poorer, migrant women?

There is still no country in Europe (or elsewhere) where women do not devote more time and take more responsibility for housework and care work than men. For most women, 'emancipation' takes the form of a second or even third shift as they are increasingly forced to combine paid work with unpaid care work for their own households and other relatives.

However, some women in some countries have been able to escape the full extent of this burden and this is more likely to be through the employment of poorer women than through the full sharing of domestic responsibilities with men.

The process of emancipation at the cost of migrant women is perhaps most clearly drawn in the case of the Nordic countries which have introduced a plethora of policies to support women's participation in the paid work force. These countries provide forceful examples because of their relatively high levels of both real and rhetorical gender equality. In Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark there is evidence that strong welfare policies developed ostensibly to enhance gender equality have in fact underpinned the growth of low-waged domestic labour carried out by migrants. The most obvious case is migration policies, which have been designed to encourage the inflow of migrant women to do low status jobs, or act as au pairs, but other policies, such as tax subsidies and cash payments for home assistance also underpin this growth.

Ellinor Platzer (2010) explains how the entry of Swedish women into the paid workforce was accompanied by an assumption on the part of government that families with two working members would need domestic workers, and policies were developed to allow migration for domestic work and to subsidise the cost through tax allowances. Women are responsible for carrying out domestic tasks and for organising and monitoring them in the case that the work is carried out by other women. Men continue to avoid responsibility for housework and care work. Writing on Norway, Karin Carlsson has shown that even when policies are developed to lessen the domestic burden of citizen women, they are still based on a traditional understanding of gender roles and offer no challenge to them. The 'woman friendly' Norwegian welfare state is constructed in a way which 'exempts some groups of women from domestic work by presupposing that it will be carried out by other groups of women' (Carlsson 2010

p208). An example of just how this works comes from the city of Copenhagen in Denmark. The city saw the solution to the small numbers of women in high-level administrative jobs as being to offer a subsidy for au pairs and cleaning services as part of recruitment packages. The Mayor of Copenhagen commented:

> It is not even necessary for modern women to be faced by the dilemma of family and career. … In special cases, the local council can even offer a subsidy for au pair and cleaning services as part of the salary package. We will create good possibilities for more female executives. We simply have to make it possible for women to make it to the top. (Quoted in Stenum 2010 p40).

There was, of course, no mention that men might have any responsibilities at home.

While tax subsidies and payments in Nordic countries have been introduced in part to increase the number of domestic workers employed formally and with employment rights, the majority of domestic workers still work without protection. Furthermore, middle-class female employers are more likely to act to exert downward pressure on conditions and wages of domestic workers than to stand alongside them as 'sisters'. For women working in demanding jobs, the 'flexibility' (which normally means long and irregular hours) of those providing domestic services can be invaluable. Many employers find that they can ensure this flexibility at an affordable rate by employing the most precarious workers – those who are undocumented or tied to them. This means the immediate material interests of middle-class, female employers appear to be in stark opposition to those of migrant domestic workers and, as it is middle-class women who have political, social and economic capital, it is their interests that are protected by government policy.

One of the most interesting illustrations of this was what has become known as the 'Zoe Baird incident' in the USA. When newly elected as president of the United States, Bill Clinton first selected Kimba Wood and then Zoë Baird as nominees for the post of Attorney General. In a series of events that was both shocking and comical each of the two women was revealed to be unfit for appointment because they were employing undocumented domestic labour and not paying the correct employment taxes or social security payments. Much of the press coverage that followed the incident revealed an acceptance of the employment of undocumented migrants by middle-class Americans. This included a piece in the New York Times by Erica Jong which argued that women's groups should defend Baird and Wood and that 'We should be marching down Fifth Avenue waving banners that say 'I hired an illegal alien'. In such pieces, female employers were clearly portrayed as the oppressed group and the employment or immigration rights of their employees were not considered. Feminist action was seen to be defending the right of middle class women to employ migrant women in conditions that most undermined their rights.

When care work is seen as the individual responsibility of individual women, this problem will always exist. Measures of women's emancipation which focus only on their participation in the public sphere without questioning what is happening at home will tend to lead to 'solutions' which shift reproductive labour to less powerful women. Not only does men's involvement in unpaid labour need to be tackled, gender-aware analyses also need to be consistently aware of the effects of class, ethnicity and citizenship.

Conclusion: Local solutions to global problems?

These examples show that great care needs to be taken in the provision of care-related services and subsidies. Policies which, on the face of it appear to support all women can in fact underpin growth in the most marginal and poorly paid jobs which ghettoise migrant women in roles related to domestic tasks.

Public provision of high quality, flexible care services appears to be the most obvious way in which local communities can put a stop to the process which encourages the emancipation of some women at the cost of others, who are more disadvantaged. In the past we have seen extensive campaigns around the provision of childcare, in the future it may well be elder care services that feminists and others find themselves fighting for.

Beyond this there is also the question of who should do this work. Why is it still the case that it is transferred from one group of women to another? Policies which take for granted men's equal responsibility for caring labour are also needed. This is not about legislating that men should do housework (they should but are unlikely to respond to legal rulings). It is about thinking though the operation of parental leave and family friendly policies and workplace and social attitudes towards men's and women's roles. Local municipalities have a part to play in involving men in schemes to participate in childcare, schools and youth work and to encourage men to volunteer in the sorts of community roles that are taken for granted that women will do. Men – including privileged men - need to be visible in caring and reproductive roles without this being unusual or overly celebrated. When a task is done by the most privileged in society, the status of that task is raised and with it the status of others associated with the work.

One of the greatest influences on the organisation of domestic work is the organisation of paid work outside the home. Long hours, inflexibility and presenteeism all make the reconciliation of work and home life harder for anyone with caring responsibilities. Municipalities have a role in creating good working environments for all their employees – not only those with known caring responsibilities - and in supporting good practice amongst employers in their regions. The reconciliation of paid work and home is a 'whole environment' problem that needs to be thought about not just in terms of working practices and home lives but also the links between them – provision of services, transport, opening hours etc. At best solving this problem also relates to planning to reduce commute times, design of housing and much more.

To address the problem of precarious conditions for care workers we need to address the status of their work. This can only be done by societies recognising the value of this work and seeing it as a communal rather than an individual good. When care work is hidden from view and considered to be a problem for individual families or individual women, care workers are also hidden and considered to be a problem. The status of the sector as a whole needs to be raised and this can only happen when this work which is currently viewed as 'unproductive', is recognised as being the most important thing that any society can do.

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Diversity Check Guideline for integration-oriented diversity management in the Vienna City Administration

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'The administration must prepare itself for the diversity of a society ever more mobile. Openness to the world and appropriate language skills for communicating with clients are becoming increasingly important.'
Dr. Erich Hechtner, Chief Executive Director, Inaugural address, July 1, 2010

Cities as managers of migration, integration and diversity

As a European metropolis, Vienna now more than ever is characterised by migration, internationality and diversity, as reflected in the many social groups, classes, environments, lifestyles and cultures represented.

Ever since the late 1980s, Vienna has been witnessing a consistent increase in residents with a migration background. Like few others in Europe, our city during the past two decades has been shaped in its development by political events on the international stage, which have also changed the general conditions for migration as a whole. Incidents of major relevance for this development were the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the wars fought in the wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia starting in 1991, Austria's accession to the EU in 1995, as well as the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007.

Yet the past two decades have not only changed the city but so too its policies towards migration and integration. Vienna's current population is approximately 1.7 million, 28 percent of its inhabitants were born abroad and

approximately 44 percent have a migration background.[1] In other words, they were either born abroad themselves, are foreign nationals or at least one of the parents were born abroad.

The city's local and cosmopolitan international flair, along with its capacity for innovation and its openness towards a diversity of lifestyles and cultures, is the key to its attractiveness and quality. If and how Vienna can hold its own in the globalised competition for business, science, cultural and tourism locations largely depends on how the world views us, which in turn depends on how the city handles its own diversity and the opportunities, potentials and challenges this entails.

Integration–oriented diversity management in the administration

The term 'diversity' implies a broader view than that proposed by the conventional integration debate, one that also takes into account the opportunities inherent in the growing pluralisation of urban societies. The old viewpoint which concentrated on deficits and which dominated public debate on integration policies for the longest time is now shifted towards a viewpoint which focuses on potentials. Establishing Municipal Department 17 – Integration and Diversity - in 2004, provided the general conditions at the organisational level for implementing this new orientation towards diversity. To endorse the fact that the diversity approach does not make integration policy concepts redundant by any means, the city introduced the title 'integration-oriented diversity policies' as a way of joining the two terms.

It is essential to recognise and appreciate migrants' individual potential and to give them the chance to use their potential if integration is to succeed. The city and its departments bear a huge responsibility in the course. All of the city's institutions and offices, its organisational structures, facilities and services must be adapted to the needs of a city marked by ethnic, cultural and social diversity. To accomplish this, the administration has to build and expand its diversity competences.

There are three central dimensions relevant to integration-oriented diversity management in the city administration

Functional dimension relevant to the organisation

- Adapting services and products tailored to client needs
- Improving effectiveness and quality of structures and processes
- Improving internal and external communication
- Increasing knowledge and reflection as a "learning organisation"
- Raising diversity competence

Recognition dimension

- Recognising and appreciating social, cultural and ethnic diversity
- Visualising and developing their products
- Taking migrants for granted instead of viewing them as a separate group requiring separate measures
- Promoting and identifying with a city that permits unity and diversity

Inclusion and participation dimension

- Perceiving the city as a service provider and employer for all
- Assuring quality and access to services for parts of the population
- Taking into account different life situations, approaches and needs
- Increasing the share of staff with a migration background
- Improving access to and career opportunities in public administration

[1] Integration monitor for the City of Vienna (2009), p. 23

MA 17 as a guide for knowledge and competence in the administration

To embed the diversity approach in the administration structurally and for the long term, Municipal Department 17 (= MA 17) – Integration and Diversity – was established in 2004.

The department is responsible for the following activities:

- StartWien: integration guidance programme for newly arrived migrants
- Integration promotion: development and promotion of German language and orientation courses, advice centres
- Measures to improve coexistence, dialogue and communication
- Groundwork – law, studies, monitoring and networking
- Regional work in the districts
- Implementation of diversity management in the city administration

The department's 65 employees come from approximately 20 countries and altogether speak more than 20 languages. About two thirds have a migration background.

MA 17 also acts as a promotional and supporting knowledge and competence centre, providing technical expertise and proactively guiding individual administration units to implement and further develop their diversity management.[2]

To this end, the diversity management unit at MA 17 has developed several services for other departments, such as:

- Diversity-oriented structural development, consultation and coaching
- Further training, seminars and lectures
- Diversity Check
- Networking with communities, international city administrations and the private sector
- Factsheets and publications

Diversity Check at a Glance[3]

Objectives and Benefits

Employees are given a system of indicators and together with MA 17 analyse their own department, in the course of which they identify new fields of activities and prepare specific measures for future implementation. In a nutshell, the Diversity Check can generate the following benefits for individual departments:

- Analysis of spheres of action and processes with a view to existing measures and optimisation potential
- People concerned become participants – employees analyse their own fields of work and in their role as experts find suitable measures to perceive, promote and utilise diversity
- Participation and transparency support the entire process and the measures developed along the way

[2] MA 17 homepage http://www.wien.gv.at/menschen/integration/

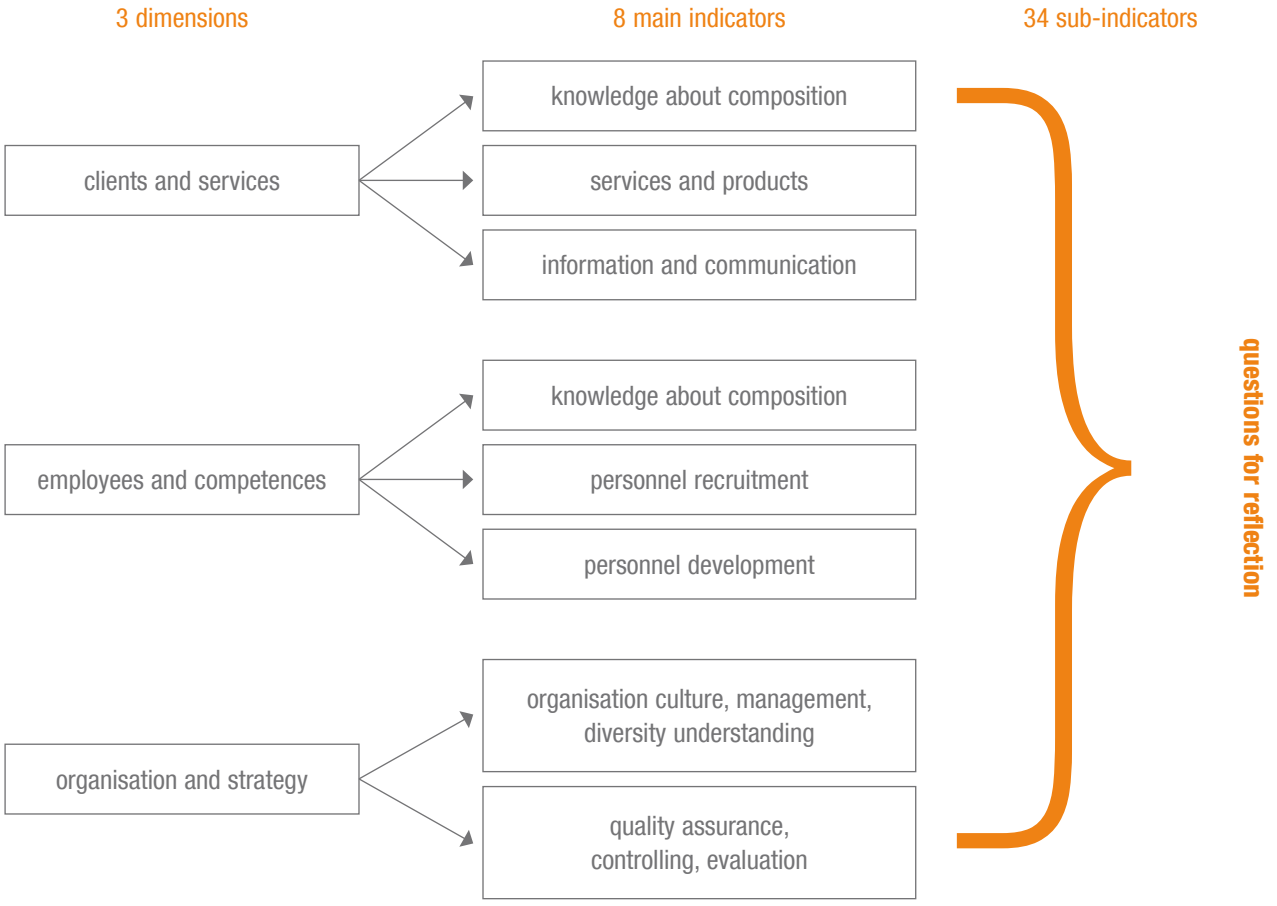
[3] Diversity Check http://www.wien.gv.at/menschen/integration/pdf/diversity-check.pdf

- Professional input from MA 17 supports the development of diversity-relevant knowledge
- Employees become aware, reflect and exchange with others to create diversity-specific dialogue
- Process guidance and technical expertise from MA 17 adds a valuable perspective from the outside

Duration and Working Methods
The Diversity Check takes about seven days and is spread out across a period of four to six months.

10 to 16 employees from different units of a department are given a set of indicators to analyse their department with the support from MA 17 during half-day or full-day workshops. Working in small groups and holding a plenary session with a focus on the process, serves to analyse and develop future measures. Yet it also provides an opportunity to exchange with others and reflect on diversity issues. The setting is complemented by professional input from MA 17 during the workshops, for example on diversity management, intercultural competences and personnel development.

A total of 8 main indicators and 34 sub-indicators in the form of questions for reflection were developed for the three core areas in every administrative unit. These are: clients and services, employees and competences, and organisation and strategy. They identify the prerequisites for efficient and effective diversity management within any organisation:



Carrying out the Diversity Check[4]

The Diversity Check is split into several stages:
1. The preliminary and development stage
2. Analysis of the current situation
3. Development of measures
4. Implementation of measures, evaluation & further development

1. The preliminary and development stage

It takes careful planning, coordination and preparation to properly perform a diversity check. Project management at the relevant department and MA 17 need to clarify several essential points during the preparations, including, amongst others:

- Are senior staff members supporting the progress?
- Why is diversity competence relevant or potentially relevant for the department? Which areas of a department are particularly relevant to diversity?
- Is there a structure of competences for diversity issues at the department?
- How much time, personnel and which organisational resources are required for the project and can these be made available?
- What project structure and communication paths are needed?
- What time frame needs to be set for carrying out the diversity check?

2. Analysis of the current situation

The analysis of the current situation is performed by an analysis team with guidance and facilitation from MA 17. The team consists of 10 to 16 employees and great care should be taken to include representatives from all relevant levels of the hierarchy and organisational units, as well as decision makers. Members of the analysis team must show their commitment and motivation and display a willingness to view fields of actions with a critical eye. Project organisation is documented in writing.

The aim of this stage is to assess the organisation's current situation with regard to diversity using the main and sub-indicators. MA 17 as the expert department and competence centre of integration and diversity issues supports and accompanies the process and provides the professional anchor. At the end of this stage, initial topics for suitable measures should be ready and set. Below are some examples:

- Making "intercultural competence" part of personnel development
- Diversity controlling based on a diversity score card
- Institutionalising integration-oriented diversity management at the department level
- Introducing a diversity dimension to employee orientation interviews
- Awareness raising workshops for all employees, etc.

[4] see Struppe, Ursula/ Benesch, Victoria (2011): Integrations- und Diversity-Management am Beispiel der Stadt Wien, in: Bauer, Helfried et ali. (editors): Gutes Regieren. Konzepte - Realisierung - Perspektiven, Schriftenreihe: Öffentliches Management und Finanzwirtschaft, volume 13, Neuer Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, Wien-Graz, page 375-391

Once the analysis of the current situation has been performed, MA 17 writes an interim report and submits it to the head of department. Taking into account the general conditions and options specific to the organisation, the proposed measures are discussed with the head of department and priorities are set according to their practicability and strategic fit.

3. Development of measures

During the subsequent stage, measures are developed together with an action plan for implementation. One or several working groups, as needed, are formed whose members dispose of the knowledge, qualifications and competences required to develop specific measures (personnel, control, public relations, etc.). The measures of the developing team need not be the same as the analysis team.

The measures identified during the analysis and selected by the head of department now have to be specified and fit into an implementation plan. During this development process, each measure should be addressed with regard to result and process targets, implementation and controlling methods. To conclude this stage, a concrete action plan is defined.

4. Implementation stage

Individual measures are now implemented in accordance with the time frame set out in the action plan. The project managers in the departments carry out evaluations to find out whether the individual measures have reached their targets. These are complemented by one or two evaluation interviews with MA 17 after three to six months to adapt measures as needed.

Maximum transparency must be maintained throughout the diversity check. Relevant processes and results must be communicated to the employees of the department and to the organisation at all times. Employees at the department must understand the point and potential benefits of diversity management and fully comprehend the individual steps of the diversity check if the process is to be successful in the long term. It may be worth considering a kick-off event to illustrate the full process and/or a concluding event to communicate the results. Both can provide valuable information and intensify participation of members of the organisation in the change process.

Administration Prize 2008

The Diversity Check was awarded the Administration Prize in 2008 on the grounds that it can be used in every department to increase employee satisfaction and client orientation.

Migrant women in urban society – between differences and emancipation

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Integration and Equality Policies in Tübingen

Social sciences consider gender and ethnicity two socially stratifying constructions and change-marking categories closely linked to each other. For this reason, the university town of Tübingen has decided to treat equality and integration as cross-cutting tasks in local politics and the administration. In cooperation with politics, the administration and civil society, the department for integration is committed to promoting equal participation in social life for everyone. Its aim is to implement equal opportunities for all citizens of Tübingen with or without migration background and to unfold their diverse potentials and resources for the benefit of urban development.
In 2010 a comprehensive participation process was launched to draw up an integration concept for Tübingen. The following five fields of activity were defined for local integration policies:

- Education and language training,
- Paving the way for intercultural approaches in the administration,
- Culture and cultural encounter,
- Social participation and working life
- Health and sports promotion (university town of Tübingen 2010).

The department for equality and integration is responsible for uncovering the structural access barriers and discrimination mechanisms within the different areas and for drawing public and political attention to the fact that measures are needed to make equal opportunities a reality. Parallel to this, the department also develops concepts and strategies to improve participation opportunities for all citizens and monitors the integration indicators in the different fields. Priorities are set in those areas where targeted measures are believed to enhance equal participation of the structurally disadvantaged. It is essential in this context that all relevant actors and institutions are networked in a discursive and participatory way, locally, regionally and across the regions. This is to enable the exchange of best practices, to promote and expand cooperation and to develop innovative approaches. Integrative measures in the

different fields are built on the life designs and realities of men and women, the aim being to create space for participation in different areas of involvement, including active citizenship.

Life Realities of Migrants

The university town of Tübingen is characterized by a great diversity of migrant inhabitants from more than 140 countries. In fact, one quarter have a migration background. 14 percent of the migrant population have German citizenship and 11 percent have dual nationality. The share of women among foreign nationals is approximately 53 percent (university town of Tübingen 2010).

This plurality in the town's population is due in part to the university which, because of its international focus constitutes a significant employer for scientists from all corners of the world. By the same token, many international experts have chosen Tübingen as a business location for the close dovetailing of research and business in the fields of biotechnology and medical engineering in the town. These highly qualified employees who often come to Germany with their families for a limited period of time thus represent the one side of the spectrum. On the other side, many migrants living in Tübingen display far less spatial, professional and social mobility. Some of them have been living here for decades and are involved in social life to different degrees in accordance with their individual potentials and resources. Small and medium sized enterprises, amongst others, are building on them to increase their range of services.

The diversity in the population of Tübingen is also reflected in the social circumstances and socio-cultural environments. Looking at the integration process by the four dimensions of structural, cultural, social and identificational integration reveals significant differences not only between different ethnic groups but also within them (Heckmann 2005). While some individuals connect to the social subsystems quite easily, others find it difficult or downright impossible to overcome the access barriers. This largely depends on individual migration experiences, the time of migration, legal residence status, educational background and language skills.

Women in this context are faced with particular challenges: migrant women for one thing are more affected by educational disadvantages, which has a bearing on access and opportunities on the labour market. For another, many women are employed full-time or part-time to help improve the family income. The changing role of women within the family and the reconciliation issue this entails, easily create conflicts in the core family and even in the social environment beyond that. According to the Sinus social study, most migrant settings are characterised by traditional images of gender roles, the division of tasks into classical male and female ones depending on the prevailing cultural and social backgrounds in these settings (SINUS Sociovision 2007; Wippermann & Flaig 2009). Migrant women are therefore frequently faced with conflicting expectations and demands. On the one hand, they experience a highly charged relationship between foreignness and being different and on the other hand, they experience the emancipation of traditional role images and family orientation (Mushaben 2009; Treibel 2008). Of course, these conflicting

expectations are not only felt by women and mothers in migrant families, yet in the case of the latter they are much more strongly linked to a search for identity and belonging. Once the practiced gender roles no longer conform to the traditional model of the society of origin, positive identification with the host society becomes increasingly important. However, developing a sense of belonging, which is part of the identificational dimension, depends very much on the level of integration in the other three dimensions.

Local equality and integration policies, especially at the structural level, are seeking to open the social subsystems as a way of establishing equal opportunities for migrant women. Their aim is to dismantle formal and informal access barriers on the one hand and to promote recognition and strengthening of migrant women's intercultural abilities on the other.

Set out below are two measures relevant to strengthening social participation of migrant women in the fields of 'education and language training' and 'health and sports promotion'. Both address two quite specific groups of women: one is the group of women already integrated into social subsystems. These are typically women in employment, closely tied in with intercultural social networks, with good language skills and whose children are enjoying a good school education. The other group includes women from less well educated and socio-economically disadvantaged environments with minimal language skills frequently not employed or employed in un- or low-skill activities. Their children tend to have greater difficulties at school and their social contacts are restricted to their own ethnic group.

Measures for Migrant Women

1. Swimming International

Representation of migrant women in sports and physical activities is below average. This is true for organised sports where women have more difficulties accessing clubs than men with a migration background. It is also the case in non-organised sports, where migrant women are underrepresented, and due in part to the fact that many sports facilities are geared to the requirements of male-dominated sports. Swimming is a particularly striking example. Most swimming pools do not offer set times for gender-separate swimming, depriving migrant women of the opportunity to engage in sports. Their physical activities and their social contacts too are thus restricted.

Swimming International was established by the department for equality and integration to promote this sports experience and to provide a protected setting in which to learn how to swim. Women gain confidence in water, which also has a positive effect on other parts of their lives. Aside from the health aspect, Swimming International enhances social interaction and mutual exchange. The added side effect is that migrant women are given a sense of being addressed as a target group.

The first swimming course for migrant women launched by the department for equality and integration and Volkshochschule Tübingen (adult education centre) in April 2010 was free of charge. Originally it was to last for six months but because of popular demand the department decided to offer it as a regular feature. The department is responsible for paying the trainer, coordinating pool reservation and assuring low-threshold support from a member of staff with migration experience. The course is run weekly, three hours at a time, and is split into three sections: (1) introducing women with a fear of water to the pool, (2) instructions for beginners and (3) advanced swimmers. The course is open to everyone, no prior registration or compulsory attendance is required. A maximum fee of € 1.00 is charged depending on the individual's financial means.

The group of participants is highly heterogeneous: the women come from Egypt, Algeria, China, Eritrea, Georgia, Greece, India, Italy, Iran, Yemen, Kosovo, Croatia, Latvia, Lebanon, Morocco, Russia, Romania, Turkey and Tunisia. There is also a wide mix of ages, from very young to sixty and over. Half of the participants stated that they now have regular social contact with women they met on the course. They make friends across ethnic groups and thus potentially foster mutual intercultural knowledge. The women display a great willingness to help each other, both during the classes and outside, such as by forming car-sharing networks to get to the pool.

Approximately two thirds of the participants did not know how to swim when they first attended the course. 90 percent claimed they improved their swimming significantly through the course. Only one quarter of the non-swimmers joined the course for the purpose of learning how to swim. Most women considered sports, fitness and physical activity, as well as the health aspect (e.g. helping to ease back pain) the main motivators, followed by relaxation, escape from stress, time for themselves or simply fun. Some participants enjoy greater personal freedom at the course because it is the only place where women with headscarves can swim freely.

Swimming International promotes equal participation of migrant women in health and sports. In some cases it helps to increase their social contacts and thus to strengthen their confidence. They see themselves as belonging to a heterogeneous group whose members show mutual respect and tolerance for each other. Low-threshold personal course guidance is vital as it creates an atmosphere of trust and gradually reduces access barriers, especially for newcomers to the course.

2. Intercultural Parental Education

Girls fare better in the education system – a statement confirmed by results at schools in Tübingen at first sight. On closer inspection, however, the picture is quite different for girls from migrant families. While the share of primary-school leavers who move on to Gymnasium (grammar school) is 52 percent, it is only 41 percent for female students with a migration background. This difference becomes even more apparent when looking at the general disadvantages for young women looking for training.

The causes for educational disadvantages for women and girls with a migration background are manifold. Parental guidance is clearly very important for a person's successful education.

The Intercultural Network for Parental Education (INET)[1] established by the department for equality and education is a sponsored project installed to strengthen parental education competence in families with a migration background. One of the measures is aimed at qualifying voluntary multipliers with migration experience to contribute their knowledge towards supporting and conveying information to other parents.
Although the measure is essentially targeted towards both genders, most of its recipients are women. This reflects the traditional distribution of roles among the genders, although most of the women involved are in a working situation. Multipliers were primarily recruited through formal and informal networks of migrant self-organisations. Depending on how well these were organised they were very successful in contacting interested parties. Candidates were selected on the basis of personal interviews carried out to gain a first impression of their attitude towards educational issues and intercultural competencies. Additional selection criteria included good German skills and the willingness to work voluntarily.

Based on this procedure a total of 30 persons with diverse language and cultural backgrounds were qualified as parent multipliers. Training modules included both subject-specific and generic topics. Subject-specific ones related to structures and functioning of the school system, parents' rights and obligations, the school's expectations towards parents, etc. while the latter aimed at explaining the role of parent multipliers, acquiring communication and presentation techniques, knowledge-conveying methods and strengthening participants' intercultural competences.
Teams of multipliers have been operating at primary schools in Tübingen since the beginning of the academic year 2011/2012. They are assisted closely by the project worker and also receive further qualifications in the course.
Seeing as the project was launched very recently, it was not possible to evaluate more than the qualification phase to date. Participants' feedback included a gain in knowledge related to the functioning of schools, different school types and subjects, as well as personal changes and growth and further progress of the group as a whole. Personal growth for most participants meant having greater self-confidence, recognising their own competences, increasing cultural knowledge, expanding their scope of actions and generally reducing social distances to educational institutions by being able to communicate at eye level. Special significance during the qualification phase was ascribed to the group as a structure which not only helped to make new contacts and friends but also encouraged participants to address common issues in an atmosphere of trust and with the assurance of mutual support.

By gradually dismantling access barriers, the multiplier initiative has contributed towards opening up the education system to parents with a migration background. It strengthens parents in their role as guides and tutors for the

[1] The project is funded by the Federal Ministry of the Interior for a period of two years, as decreed by the German Bundestag.

children in their educational progress. At the same time it addresses intercultural processes in school development that are essential if the multipliers are to cooperate in partnership.

Summary

While the two measures described are located in different areas of local integration policies, it is still possible by way of summary to identify common experiences.

Migrant women constitute a very important target group for local policies, the aim of which is to use their competences for the benefit of urban development. This endeavour requires resources-oriented measures, which no longer view migrant women from the victims' perspective but instead highlight their subjective achievements potentials. Migrant women have developed substantial self-help potential and a great willingness to engage in active citizenship, both of which frequently go unexploited. Yet their practical knowledge and their ability to apply it to different contexts bear an integrative reserve waiting to be activated through appreciation and to be rewarded through compensation, amongst others. Women from less well-educated social classes have also shown a keen interest in (further) qualification, especially when the knowledge acquired proves of practical use for themselves or their families (Krüger-Potratz 2007). Women need to experience personal, low-threshold contact if they are to participate in the measures. This requires sustainable networks and long-term relations built on trust, for which time, patience and personal resources are of the essence. Furthermore, migrant self-organisations can contribute valuable support. To make the measures more effective, migrant women's informal networks need to be activated. Developing a sense of belonging is especially important for ethnically, linguistically and culturally heterogeneous groups, bearing in mind that migrant women's intercultural competences can facilitate cohesion.

Using the conditions for success experienced with the above and with other measures, it is possible to develop further concepts for local policy actions. One can draw on the potential and expertise of migrant women who are exploiting the conflicting situation of difference and emancipation productively for their own benefit and for that of their environment. Major emphasis with future integration policies in the university town of Tübingen will be on district-oriented measures. This is to ensure that challenges are met appropriately as needed in different locations of the town and that local resources, practical knowledge and self-help initiatives of migrant women are recognised and used to the full. Low-threshold activities at district level facilitate personal contacts and strengthen sustainable networking among women, allowing them to enjoy equal participation in the urban social community.

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The meeting place for young women with foreign roots

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The café Secondas was conceived as an exploratory pilot-project. Between 2005 and 2007 the Equality Office in Basel invited young women with foreign roots to come to the monthly Café Secondas. This was not only about drinking coffee. A particular focus of these regular meetings was to encourage the exchange of ideas on a variety of themes. The main objective was to find out about the specific needs of the Secondas and to make use of this knowledge to create a basis for ground-breaking potential projects. Thus, the project not only set itself concrete objectives in regards to the topics addressed (talent management, networking and empowerment of second generation young women), but also encouraged innovative ideas to be developed in the target-group.

These meetings not only lead to important networking contacts and new friendships but also engendered the wish of young women to become active themselves in the future. After the pilot phase, the Secondas created a community of interests and from 2009, with the support of numerous organisations, Café Secondas was able to carry on autonomously and in a new form.

The project is still oriented towards building potential, networking and sharing information. In 2010 it received the integration award of the city of Basel. It has a transregional significance and enjoys international recognition.

The development of integration policies in Switzerland from a gender perspective

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Until well into the 1980s, it was commonly believed that migrating was predominantly a male activity. Women were perceived as accompanying wives only. Meanwhile both the public debate and science have recognised them as independent actors on the migration stage and there is now a wealth of research available on various issues concerning migration and gender.[1] Yet the inadequate picture of migrant women as miserable, uneducated and dependent on their husbands persists to this day and has even found its place in immigration laws and migration policies (see Prodolliet 1998, Riaño/Wastl-Walter 2006, Riaño/Wastl-Walter 2006b, Riaño 2010, see also the paper by Gabriele Dietze in this issue). Ultimately, these attributions reflect the subordinate role female migrants play in the professional world and in society, as well as the restrictions they are faced with in Switzerland when it comes to providing for their own subsistence and earning money: statistics clearly show that the majority of migrant women earn less than Swiss women or men, but also less than migrant men. They have a lower occupational status, higher unemployment and poverty rates and are more often found in precarious working conditions (see BFM 2007a, BFS 2008, amongst others).

In this context, the structures of international and gender-specific division of labour are linked to gender hierarchies in a complex way. As more women are gainfully employed, a new ethnic division of labour among women of different origins evolves which is derived from a global genderised and ethnicised market for domestic and caretaking work (see Franck/Spehar 2010, Lutz 2007, Wichterich 1998, Klingebiel/Randeria 1998). Migrant women are increasingly employed in domestic work, nursing and caretaking positions, their ethnicised attributions making them particularly suitable for such work. Their living and working conditions largely depend on the immigration and labour laws in force, as Bridget Anderson's comprehensive study on migrant women in paid domestic positions reveals (2006).

Seeing as legal regulations and the notion of gender roles upon which they are built have a significant impact on the way migrant women can exploit their integration opportunities (see Riaño/Wastl-Walter 2006), it is important to take a closer look at the concepts, standards and attributes related to official migration and integration policies. The aim of my contribution is to highlight legislation and implementation practices in the context of integrating migrants and

[1] Kofler/Fankhauser (2009) provide an overview of the current research debate including a commented bibliography.

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to identify the gender notions behind these. To begin with I will give an overview of the legal regulations concerning integration in Switzerland before I embark upon the gender-specific dimensions of some of these legal requirements.

1 Integration as a Legal Term

Up until the 1960s foreign workers, in the political debate, were perceived as only temporarily present in Switzerland (see Mahnig/Piguet 2003). There was no apparent need for the hosting society to work in any way towards facilitating permanent residence for migrants. It was not until much later that Switzerland recognised it was essential to introduce integration measures when a large part of these migrants settled here for good and not temporarily only (see Wicker 2009, D'Amato/Brigitta Gerber 2005, Niederberger 2004).

Starting in the 1990s, political debates increasingly focused on issues relating to the integration of migrants. The federal government, which for many years had made little effort to assist integration, was now seen to become active (Prodolliet 2006a). The federal integration report was published which provided a first analysis of the situation in different social and economic fields (BFM 2006, critique see Adrian Gerber 2006, Schoch 2006). At the same time, objectives and principles for Swiss integration policies were defined in the new aliens law (AuG) which eventually entered into force on January 1, 2008. It was the first time that the term 'integration' was anchored in a federal law and defined as a political goal. Fostering integration was thus given more financial and social weight (Schönenberger/D'Amato 2009: 11).

Integration as a legal term, however, has not been clearly defined yet. Legal requirements merely hint at how to interpret integration in the legal context: integration aims at ensuring equal participation in Swiss society for all foreigners legally residing here for the long term. The integration of foreigners is considered successful if and when 'their statistical figures in various fields of integration (e.g. education, employment, delinquency) are comparable to those of Swiss citizens in similar life situations with regard to age, gender, social and economic status, family situation and professional training' (item 2.1, instruction IV). Thus, the federal government, the cantons and municipalities have an obligation to foster integration as a crosscutting task to be taken into account with all government matters. Integration, in this context, is considered a mutual process in which both Swiss-born nationals and migrants have a share.[2] The wording of the law stresses 'the need for foreigners to show a willingness to integrate' (message related to AuG: 3733). Their contribution is to learn the official language, to 'respect the rule of law and the values anchored in the federal constitution' and to display 'their willingness to participate in the economy and to acquire education' (Art. 4 VintA). The government in turn will provide the means to promote integration. This concept of integration is easily summarised with the formula 'demanding and promoting' (TAK 2007: 2).

[2] In reality, though, integration requirements are primarily addressed at migrants rather than the local majority population.

As of late, integration is also a criterion for awarding residence titles. The degree of integration is a criterion for awarding residence and settlement permits. Foreigners who have 'integrated successfully' may be awarded their settlement permits after only five years of residence. This is to provide an 'incentive for making a personal effort to integrate' (message related to AuG: 3750). Awarding or extending residence permits may now be tied to compulsory attendance of integration or language courses. Authorities may even sign integration agreements with individuals containing relevant measures and sanctions.[3]

Citizens of EU and EFTA member states, however, are not subject to the legal imperative of integration[4], their residence permits are not tied to the criterion of integration and they may not be obligated to attend language or integration courses, while at the same time members of third countries are asked to prove 'successful integration' as a criterion for being awarded a residence permit. Regulations concerning integration therefore primarily aim at persons from non-European states.[5]

2. 'Demanding and Promoting' from the Gender Perspective

Migrants, as requested by legislation, must prove their 'integration potential' (message related to AuG: 3796) and, what is more, their 'willingness to integrate' (message related to AuG: 3714). The criteria used to determine the degree of integration in each case, are laid down in the integration regulations and are further specified under instruction IV. One major criterion in this context is the 'willingness to participate in the economy and acquire education', which is measured through employment and educational commitments. Persons receiving social assistance benefits may have their permits revoked. In this case, 'being prevented from working or acquiring education through no fault of one's own', such as due to serious health impairments, must be taken into account (item 2.2, instruction IV). Care responsibilities, as applicable, are not considered a criterion for non-revoke. Women are, to a far greater extent than men, responsible for looking after children and others in need of care, makes it more difficult for them to engage in gainful employment. Bearing this in mind means that this essentially gender-neutral criterion poses a serious disadvantage for them.[6]

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[3] For an evaluation of the integration agreements see Tov, amongst others (2010).

[4] Citizens of EU/EFTA countries are subject to the agreement on the freedom of movement FZA (for detailed legal provisions see Spescha/Kerland/Bolzli 2010: 63-66). Provisions for integration may also apply to EU/EFTA citizens in those cases where they are more favourable than the FZA provisions (item 1, instruction IV).

[5] Taking into account that highly qualified persons need not attend integration courses (see BFM 2007c: 4) the category citizens of third countries is further split into "more and less educated" (EKA 2006, quoted from Schönenberger/D'A mato 2009: 12), qualified, privileged foreigners are not the focus of integration policies, integration measures are addressed at „everyone who (might) incur costs for the state „ (Prodolliet 2006: 3). Integration as a criterion thus becomes an instrument for fending off low-qualification, low-class immigrants. Concentrating admission policies on highly qualified migrants ignores the fact that state practices are sustaining the structures for the recognition or abrogation of qualifications and thus play their part in producing the categories of ‚qualified' and ‚not qualified' migrants (Erel 2003: 125).

[6] This is aggravated by the fact that in Switzerland there is a serious lack of care facilities outside the family. Added to which, external child-care facilities do not always meet the needs of migrant parents, e.g. because their working hours often do not fit in with the opening hours of care facilities (statistics for the city of Zürich 2003: 8).

Following this logic, unemployment may be interpreted as a lack of 'willingness to participate in the economy', in other words, lacking an effort to integrate. Successful integration as a criterion thus becomes a legitimisation to include or exclude. This circumstance has helped to promote an understanding of integration which assumes that participation is a 'process solely determined by a person's own will, an achievement each and everyone can make if only they show enough effort' (Kabis 2004: 95). The responsibility to provide protection in problem situations and with risks is therefore shifted from the social welfare state to the individual: 'People are to skilfully manage themselves to secure their own ‚employability', and by the same token they are to blame if they fail' (Tuider 2010: 23). What significance does this perception of integration in the state discourse have when considered from a gender perspective? In Swiss integration policies, the paradigm prevails that migrants have an inferior professional status and a higher poverty risk because of their own individual deficits, and it is these deficits which have to be remedied with the appropriate support measures. The majority of integration programmes funded by the federal government consist of advice facilities and low-threshold language courses only to reproduce and consolidate the omnipresent inadequate image of migrants as being uneducated (see Bachmann 2006: 64).

Promoting integration through education and information ultimately means that disintegration becomes the migrants' own personal problem, which leaves the structural conditions for positioning themselves socially and economically unaccounted for. Other factors also contribute towards establishing disintegration, such as selectivity in the educational system by origin, discriminatory access practices on the labour market, restrictive recognition of qualifications, etc., all of which are not addressed by language and integration courses. These support measures perpetuate the belief that the cause of social injustice lies with the migrants' own integration and education inadequacies.[7]

To summarise, one can say that migrant men and migrant women are equally affected by this ever more blatant shift of responsibilities for social and economic participation, as reflected in integration requirements such as the proof of 'willingness to participate in the economy'. Gender-neutral application of measures for successful integration, however, does not have the same implications for women and men. While migrant men also feel the brunt of practices and structures for disqualification and experience difficulties with labour market access, migrant women frequently see their status devalued even more. Gender-neutral regulations, such as the criteria for successful integration, which may seem gender-neutral at first sight, do not reflect the inferior professional and social position in which many migrant women find themselves, nor do they regard the limited livelihood and job opportunities available to migrant women.

[7] The share of semi-skilled workers among non-Swiss employees is in fact disproportionally high: almost one third have compulsory education only, compared to approx. 13 percent of Swiss workers (BFS 2008: 39). Foreigners living in Switzerland, however, have widely varying degrees of qualification. In 2008 the share of foreign employees with tertiary education was 29 percent, compared with 30 percent of Swiss employees (see above). The number of well-qualified migrants is on the rise – not least because of the regulation attempts undertaken by migration policies to this end. 60 percent of foreigners who arrived in Switzerland less than 2 years ago have tertiary education (see above: 38). Nonetheless, qualified migrants frequently work in positions with low pay and bad working conditions (Pecoraro 2005). They frequently encounter difficulties finding positions appropriate for their training and professional experience (see Riaño/Baghdadi/Wast l-Walter 2008, Riaño/Baghdadi 2007). Restrictive practices in recognising educational certificates acquired outside Europe, on the part of the authorities, only aggravates the situation.

3 The 'special concerns' of women

The wording of the law refers to the 'foreign population' in a gender-neutral way. Yet it explicitly states that the federal government, the cantons and the municipalities 'take into consideration the special integration concerns of women, children and youth' (Art. 53 section 4 AuG). The integration provision also provides that 'the special concerns of women, children and youth shall be taken care of' (Art. 2 section 3 VIntA). The legislators are obviously aware of the difficulties faced by migrant women, as these are reflected in lower wages, inferior professional positions, a higher risk of unemployment and thus a higher risk of poverty. So, what precisely are the special concerns of migrant women?

The Federal Council message concerning the AuG specifies that women are considered a 'significant target group' for integration support: 'this is especially true for women arriving in Switzerland as part of family reunification who because of their role in the family as mothers and housewives cannot, at least not right away, be introduced into the labour market which is known to have a highly integrative effect. Nevertheless, it is imperative that they familiarise themselves with the conditions and features of the host country. Knowledge of the official language and the fundamentals of our education systems are essential if parents want to guide their children during elementary education. For this reason the federal government, in defining the integration programme, places special emphasis on language training projects which are also available for women with small children' (message in relation to AuG: 3801).

Similarly, women are given a special mention in the federal government's priority programme for integration support. The programme specifies the substance matter of the measures, which according to the AuG are financially supported by the federal government (BFM 2007b). Top priority with these funding measures is given to 'language and education', and in particular to the acquisition of the official language.[8] Women with children of preschool age are addressed as one of the target groups (see 5). Setting great store by language training and targeting women with children reflects two basic premises in Swiss integration support: one is to assume that language is essential to social integration and the second premise is that mothers are the key to their children's education (Prodolliet 2006). This is also made evident by the integration measures funded by the state: the majority of projects are language and literacy courses frequently coupled with information on Swiss institutions and authorities (Bachmann 2006: 53–56). They are mostly geared towards women. In many cases childcare is available cheaply parallel to the courses.[9]

Integration promotion primarily addresses and supports migrant women in their role as mothers in charge of household and child-raising matters. This is supported by stereotypical ideas of largely patriarchal gender relations among migrants adhering to the traditional division of labour between men and women: while men are considered

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8 Several authors have elaborated on the critical aspects of linking language with integration, a fact which tends to reduce the integration process to a person's individual language skills (Mateos 2009, Prodolliet 2007, 2006, Achermann/Künzli 2009, Schönenberger/D'Amato 2009: 17–19, Achermann 2007: 127f.).

9 These language courses are widely attended. The majority of participants in the gender-neutral courses are also women. In summary, the share of female course participants is approx. 70 percent (Federal Council 2004). The language courses are very important for the participants, not just because they help to improve their language skills and convey important information on the Swiss health, social and educational systems. Women are also taking the opportunity to establish contact with other women (Prodolliet 2006b). The courses, as a rule, do not provide any vocational qualifications.

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the breadwinners, migrant women are largely tied to the house and are not perceived as gainfully employed. This labelling entails the risk of reproducing traditional gender roles (see Riaño 2010), while disregarding other life situations of migrant women. At the same time, this perception of migrant women as housewives and mothers is structurally influenced because most immigrants from third countries are women arriving as part of family reunification (BFM 2009: 120). The options for staying in Switzerland for the purpose of being gainfully employed are extremely limited so that in most cases women are admitted only on the grounds that they are 'staying with the husband'. This obviously reflects the way in which the authorities view migrants.

4 Integration only for 'long-term and legal' residents

Migrants without legal residence – most of them women[10] – in principle are excluded from integration policies. Various authors have established a link between gender relations, global gender-specific division of labour and the presence of illegal migrants (Lanz 2003). They suggest that breaking traditional gender roles in western host societies produces a new division of labour along ethnic demarcations. The fact that middle-class women now have a wider range of employment options to choose from does not mean that men take on more of the unpaid reproduction and homemaking activities. These are increasingly transferred to migrant women. Migrant women are put in charge of performing the balancing act between gainful employment and family work – frequently enduring precarious working conditions and without legal residence. Private households are the second biggest sector behind the hospitality business to employ foreign workers (contact point/GBI 2004: 17).

Workers from third countries face enormous obstacles on the way to admission and experts therefore assume that the number of 'Sans-Papiers' (illegal aliens) in Switzerland will continue to rise (Longchamp u. a. 2005: 42). The more restrictive immigration regulations, the more migration will be pushed into the realm of illegality, especially among women (Le Breton 1999: 86). Integration policies directed only at migrants enjoying 'legal' residence ultimately perpetuate the moralising right-wing populist dogma of abuse and 'criminality among foreigners' (see Fekete 2006) while ignoring the structural reasons why tens of thousands of migrants are living in Switzerland without legal status. This is particularly detrimental to women who make up the largest share of persons living there illegally.

Migrants, according to the Aliens Law, must not only be 'legal' but 'long-term residents' in Switzerland to be promoted in their integration (Art. 4 AuG). This supports the general assumption that a stable residence status provides the foundation for integration (Piguet 2006: 122). Requesting migrants to integrate (the demand part of the formula) is based on the notion of migration as a permanent move. Recent research has revealed that some migration patterns do not correspond to this point of view: circular transnational migrants do not leave their home country to settle permanently elsewhere but instead develop mobile forms of migration to improve their living standards at home. Their country of origin continues to be their central reference and focal point in life, even though they may end up

[10] An estimated 70,000 to 300,000 people live in Switzerland without residence permit. They are called Sans-Papiers and the majority of them are women (contact point/GBI 2004). According to a study commissioned by the federal office for migration there are 90,000 Sans-Papiers currently living in Switzerland (Longchamp u. a. 2005). Other projections refer to between 70,000 and 180,000 persons (Piguet/Lo sa 2002).

spending less time there than in migration. It is often women who are involved in this mobile form of migration (see Dahinden 2010).

One such case is that of commuter migrants from Eastern Europe who accept precarious working conditions to look after persons in need of care in their own homes. In her current research project, Sarah Schilliger (2009) from the university of Basel focuses on this group of migrant women to show how a new precarious, frequently informal, genderised and ethnicised labour market in private households is conflating gender relations, the (care) labour market and migration policies. Now that women are increasingly working in gainful employment and the population as a whole is getting older there is a growing demand for paid care work in private households. It is often highly qualified women from Eastern European countries with a high unemployment rate (among women) who are engaged for this type of work. Restrictive admission practices in Switzerland make it impossible for these women to settle legally for the longer term, so they subsequently develop a 'life of two mainstays' (Ebd.).

With these mobile forms of transnational migration there is a link between gender-specific division of labour and specific gender representations: while men, as the 'breadwinners' send money to their families back home, yet rarely or for a short time only, return home themselves, women who continue to be in charge of the family try to align gainful employment and care for their own family by returning home frequently (Dahinden 2010: 330). This model of a 'transnational household' (Pries 2005: 397) makes it possible for women to reconcile their productive with their reproductive duties (Dahinden 2010: 330). A study carried out by Gül can Akkaya and Bernhard Soland (2009) reveals a connection between gender-specific division of roles and labour within the family and transnational mobile migration patterns, taking Albanian migrants as an example: husbands emigrate to Switzerland permanently to earn a living while the wives back home take care of the children and parents-in-law. In this situation, some of the women become commuter migrants in order to fulfil their childcare duties and at the same time uphold their partnership.[11]

Transnational mobility patterns in many cases are not a matter of choice but the result of legal restrictions. This is particularly true in the case of cabaret dancers, a special residence category for temporary employment of women on the erotic market.[12] The permit for cabaret dancers is limited to eight months. The women may not engage in any work other than that of nightclub dancers. The temporary residence permit does not allow for family reunification either (Spindler/Schertenleib 2006: 35). The regulations pertinent to cabaret dancers reinforce the circular character of their mobility and their continuing focus on the home country and at the same time curtail their integration into Swiss society (Dahin den 2010: 337, 342).

[11] The 'migration model of the separated family' (Akkaya/Soland 2009: 65) is practiced in different ways. In some cases the wives stay behind as single parents to take care of the children, in other cases the women also emigrate permanently and the children are taken care of by relatives, in others again the wives commute to join their husbands in Switzerland for longer periods of time to maintain their marital relationships and look after their family members in the home country at the same time. There is one particularly remarkable case where a woman spent twenty years commuting between Switzerland and her home country every six months (Ebd.: 66).

[12] Cabaret dancers by legal definition are 'persons who during a musical show programme strip fully or in part several times' (instructions restriction regulation BVO, appendix 4/8c, 1.2, zit. n. Dahinden/Stants 2006: 13). According to the agency FIZ an average 200 women monthly, but no men, officially work as cabaret dancers in Switzerland (www.fiz-info.ch, März 2011).

Mobile transnational forms of migration, which are closely linked to the global and genderised division of labour and in many cases are possible only under illegal conditions, are not taken into account when considering the legal aspects of integration policies. Thus many migration patterns primarily replicated by women are not included in integration promotion.

5 Conclusion

Current integration policies in Switzerland rely on a perception of integration built on a mesh of incentives for personal integration efforts on the one hand and repressive demands on the other. Successful integration becomes a criterion for legitimising inclusion or exclusion and thus a control and steering instrument in the context of migration. Integration is seen as the sum of personal abilities and individual willingness and migrants are consequently largely responsible for their own participation or exclusion. While this allocation of responsibility for failed or successful integration is directed at women and men equally, they are affected by it in different ways. A system which declares sustainable employment a measure of successful integration and detects receipt of social assistance as a lack of willingness to participate ignores the fact that the risk of unemployment and poverty is not the same for women and men and that women and men are involved in unpaid care work to different extents which makes it even more difficult for migrant women to earn a living wage, especially in view of insufficient external childcare facilities.

Whenever gender is explicitly mentioned in the texts examined it is done so only in the context of special needs of women. Migrant women with small children are considered a risk group because statistically they are most affected by unemployment and poverty. It is striking that migrant women in the regulation are perceived primarily as mothers and housewives but not as working in gainful employment. The regulations ultimately rely on stereotypical ideas of traditional gender roles among migrants and replicate widespread standardising images of migrants.

Various researchers in the context of the feminisation of migration have pointed out that because of post-industrial restructuring and a new division of labour among women of different origins there is a growing demand for women on the global labour market. Due to restrictive admission policies, women are also forced to develop transnational migration strategies based on circular mobility, for example as temporary domestic workers, private carers or travelling sex workers. These practices are often possible only under illegalised conditions. Interaction of the (care) labour market, gender relations and migration policies is not reflected in the legal regulations on integration. Integration promotion is addressed only at permanent and legally resident migrants which means that other migration practices which have emerged in the context of the global, genderised and ethnicised labour market and which primarily affect women are not taken into account.

Clearly the official debate on integration on the one hand is based on normative perceptions of integration and migration which do not reflect the differences in life situations and practices among men and women. On the other hand the regulations avail themselves of genderised and ethicised stereotypes only to consolidate these. The examples

illustrate that even seemingly gender-neutral legal regulations may have gender-specific repercussions and thus structure the scopes of men and women in different ways.

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The other side of the integration coin

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IFA-Foundation, Tilburg

IFA stands for Integration For All. Our foundation is particularly focused on the integration of immigrants and the intercultural dialogue and cooperation between people from different cultural backgrounds.

IFA has developed a number of good practices (practical courses and video films) that have proven to be useful means for each organisation dealing with integration and immigration matters. For these good practices IFA has won several European prizes.

IFA's concept is based on the idea that integration should come from two sides. This means that the members of the receiving society show an open mind towards immigrants and people who have a different cultural background. We call this 'The other side of the integration medal'. IFA's work focuses on translating this theoretical concept into practice. We give concrete opportunities to professionals, policy makers, teachers, coordinators, journalists, policemen, and other people who are involved directly or indirectly in the work concerning integration and diversity.

For IFA, building a house of diversity is our challenge and policy. For us diversity is much more important than race and gender. It gives people the opportunity to ask themselves how well they have addressed diversity and integration issues in the past and how prepared they are to address them in the future. Our approach has already affected many professionals in the integration field. It has opened their minds and hearts to the complexity and ambiguity of diversity issues.

The Giraffe and the Elephant

In a small suburban community just outside the city of Calabra, a giraffe had a new home built to his family's specifications. It was a wonderful house for giraffes, with soaring ceilings and tall doorways. High windows ensured maximum light and good views while protecting the family's privacy. Narrow hallways saved valuable space without compromising convenience. So well done was the house that it won the National Giraffe Home of the year Award. The home's owners were understandably proud.

One day the giraffe, working in his state of the art wood shop in the basement, happened to look out the window. An elephant was coming down the street. 'I know him,' he thought. 'We worked together on a wood-project. He is an excellent woodworker too. I think I will ask him to see my new shop. Maybe we can even work together on some projects.' So the giraffe reached his head out of the window and invited the elephant in.

The elephant was delighted. He walked up to the basement door and waited for it to open.

'Come in, come in,' the giraffe said. But immediately they encountered a problem. While the elephant could get his head in the door, he could go no farther.

'It is a good thing we made this door expandable to accommodate my wood shop equipment,' the giraffe said. 'Give me a minute while I take care of our problem. "He removed some panels to allow the elephants in.

The two were happily exchanging woodworking stories when the giraffe received a telephone call from his boss. The giraffe told the elephant. 'Please make yourself at home; this may take a while.'

The elephant looked around, saw a half-finished project on the table in the far corner, and decided to explore it further. As he moved through the doorway that led to that area of the shop, however, he heard an ominous scrunch. He backed out, scratching his head. 'Maybe I'll join the giraffe upstairs,' he thought. But as he started to climb up the stairs, they began to crack. He jumped off and fell back against the wall. It too began to crumble. As he sat there dismayed, the giraffe came down the stairs.

'What on earth is happening here?' the giraffe asked in amazement.

'I was trying to make myself at home' the elephant said. The giraffe looked around. 'Okay, I see the problem. The doorway is too narrow. We will have to make you smaller. There's an aerobics studio near here. If you would take some classes there, we could get you down to size.'

'Maybe' the elephant said, looking unconvinced. 'And the stairs are too weak to carry your weight' the giraffe continued. 'If you'd go to ballet class at night, I'm sure we could get you light on your feet. I really hope you will do it. I like having you here'

'Perhaps, 'the elephant said. 'But to tell you the truth, I'm not sure that a house designed for a giraffe will ever really work for an elephant, not unless there are some major changes.'
(From the book: Building a house of Diversity)

What could we learn from this story?
Elephants are people in other people's houses or in houses that were not made for them. They are outsiders. The elephant experience is universal. All of us function as elephants at certain times and in certain settings. At the heart of the elephant experience, even in this minor example, it is felt that this is not our house, and we don't know the rules for getting along in it. The example also makes clear that elephant status is not necessarily determined by ethnicity, race or gender. Many other factors can trigger the elephant experience.

Diversity incorporates similarities as well as differences. Dealing with differences can take so much energy that we forget to acknowledge similarities. Effective diversity means that awareness of similarities encourages cooperation and cohesion. The elephant experience may be totally negative, it may be tolerable, it may even be positive. To be an elephant in a giraffe's house is not necessarily an unrewarding experience, but it is likely always to be characterised by

the tension that occurs when being an outsider, when occupying another's house. For the elephants, the critical question becomes: 'Can I meet my needs here, or would I be better off in someone else's house?'

The Concept of IFA

IFA's concept tries to find concrete answers to respond to Giraffe - Elephant situations in ways that minimise the potential negative impact of the elephant experience. Therefore one has to move out of his own culture in order to learn about it. When we put this into practice in our films it is obvious that if we do not see how we behave in the uniforms of our own culture we cannot deal and understand the uniforms of other cultures.

IFA's work is based on a concrete concept and on concrete facts and it has delivered clear, positive and eye opening results that could be used in any integration policy that aims to narrow the gap between the immigrants and the inhabitants of the host country. Our approach contains a serious understanding of how to deal with other cultures and understanding the needs of the immigrants before putting in place a policy or an integration program.

The concept will fully affect policy makers, case managers, professionals, teachers, coaches and intermediary people who deal with and work in the immigration and integration field. If these people go through such concrete integration experiences themselves, they will be careful in addressing this integration issue and its policy. Once this is done and the professionals are ready to compete and to come out with a healthy integration program, then we can start talking about the End of the Beginning to meet diversity effectiveness.

Starting with optimistic assumptions and acting on them will increase the likelihood of turning the elephant experience into a personal and organisational triumph.

Grundtvig workshop 'The other side of the medal'

This practical training programme, comparable with the regular immigration programmes for newcomers in Europe, is carried out in the Turkish mosque in Tilburg, the Netherlands. The programme includes lessons in Turkish as a second language, a home stay with Turkish families and practical work placements at Turkish companies.

See further:
www.integration4all.eu
www.newcomersinturkey.com

Migrant Women between concernment, participation and self-determination

In September, the international FemCities conference was held for the first time in Basel.
The highlight of the two-day event was the panel-discussion under the guidance of Inés Mateos. Well-known representatives from science, the administration, policy and civil society lively debated on the theme of 'migrant women between concernment, participation and self-determination'. An excerpt from the discussion was published in the newsletter Brise (issue 2/11) and is reproduced here with kind permission from the Office for Gender Equality of the Canton of Basel City.

Crowded auditorium at the University of Basel

Inés Mateos: A question addressed to the three migrant women on the panel: What is your criticism of the European policy on gender equality and migration?

Ylfete Fanaj (YF): The fact that it is scarcely allowed to criticise anything. Of course we appreciate the fact that we live in Switzerland and that we have a good life here. Nevertheless there are themes that have to be addressed. The current debate on migration, for example, is focussed on skills lacked by migrants - a 'deficit' approach. The potential that lies in our diverse society is being dismissed. Migration today is a highly political field, where arguments are strongly tinged with prejudices and stereotypes. Integration work is based on such simplifications.

Delia Krieg-Trujillo (DKT): Migrant women who are living with Swiss men only get a permanent residence permit if they are married for a period of at least three years. This puts women under pressure, which is neither conducive for the professional nor for the personal process of integration.

Luzenir Caixeta (LC): We, from «MAIZ» are against integration in the sense of a political control and cultural

Ursula Matschke, Stuttgart, and Barbara Szerb-Mantl, Vienna

verification. We know that we are not the mouthpiece for all migrant women. Many women prefer to conform. This is legitimate. But our discourse is aimed at all those who want to question the current power relations.

How do you, as representatives of the Administration, react to such a critique?

Ursula Matschke (UM): I would like to say something regarding the critique of the deficit approach. There are deficits, and many migrant women are absolutely disfavoured without being able to react against it. There are girls who are born as quasi 'loosers'. Our duty is to care about these women and girls, to search for paths to help them on. By reducing the deficits we want to increase their opportunities. That is our challenge.

Barbara Szerb-Mantl (BSM): I can very well understand all of the points criticised, especially as regards the deficit orientation. Here, the administration has to catch up considerably. Until 2004 integration in Vienna only denoted the deficits, which migrant women and men should catch up on. Slowly a paradigm shift towards a diversity policy is taking place. We have understood that structures have to be changed. In Vienna, 44% of the population have a migrant background. Thus, we have to think about how we could enable these people to get more involved in the administration and have a say.

YF: I have the same impression. I am the integration officer of the Canton of Nidwalden. Even in these administrative centres, there are scarcely any employees with a migrant background. In fact there is not much movement regarding the opening of administrative units for migrant women and men.

Given these figures, the discussion can no longer be about 'integration', because we aren't talking about a minority anymore.

BSM: In fact, integration always concerns the compliance of the 'Others' with the dominant society. For me the fundamental question arises as to whether ethnicity as a

→

distinguishing mark is still valable at all. Instead, we should talk about socio-cultural disadvantages. This is because in all societies there are classes with no formal education, who independent from their origin are reliant on support measures from the state. We should detach ourselves from this fixation on ethnicity and in terms of diversity policy see the differences, which all humans bring along. This would be a step towards a society in which all people can be who they are, can follow their interests and are not continuously subject to restrictions.

To what extent are migrant women and men involved in integration work?

UM: Our task is to make sure that political agreements are implemented at grass roots level. That's why we are strongly working together with migrant women's and men's associations. We have a good network and know the needs. Unfortunately we can never reach everyone. That is why we are always searching for new paths, in order to build contacts. As of late we are, for example, working together with the Imams, who have a lot of contacts to families. Or with the business enterprises, in order that they provide trainee positions for migrant women.

Luzenir Caixeta, Linz

YF: In Switzerland I have the impression that on the one hand the administration likes to benefit from the experience of migrant women and men. At the same time we should in no case claim too much. Otherwise we are immediately felt as troublesome. Therefore, many migrant women's organisations are a little spiritless. This is a pity.

LC: The discrimination is structural and that's why the administration has such an important role to foster changes. It is important that we have a say in this process. But here no dissonance is allowed. Participation is only possible by fitting in.

BSM: Of course the administration doesn't like it when you make demands. This lies in the nature of things. But it is your task to be uncomfortable and I can only encourage you therein. Be annoying!

→

Delia Krieg-Trujillo, Basel

Ylfete Fanaj, Luzern

DKT: I don't want to be an annoying migrant woman, I am a partner. For me progress can only take place with good cooperation. We are responsible for the next generation, we must look today at what we do for our offspring. It is only thus, that I see a future.

YF: Integration should not be looked at in an isolated way, as it previously was, it is a cross-cutting issue that penetrates many spheres of life. On the legislation level, integration should not only be part of the Aliens Act, but also of the Education – or Further Education Act in which, for example, the recognition of foreign diplomas are treated. Many migrant women are structurally discriminated against, because their diplomas are not recognised in Switzerland.

The feminists once claimed that men take on more responsibility for chore work in order for women to be able to work. Today these women pursue a career, but at home a migrant woman is doing the cleaning. Migrant women care for their elderly parents and look after the children in the after school child-service. There is no mention of men anymore. What challenges do we face because of this development?

LC: We, the feminists have to deal with the fact that in Europe there is a huge demand regarding services, which can be summarised with sex, care and house chores. It is in these areas that many migrant women are engaged. This is a reality. We must therefore enable these women to receive recognition and create legal and fair working conditions. For care- as well as for sex workers.

DKT: We must define common objectives in order to improve the situation for as many women as possible. When I came to Switzerland, I was shocked, because there were no core times at school. For me and many other migrant women this was a matter of course back in our country of origin. And still, core times are not generally introduced. This is structural discrimination! Such objectives are not only relevant for me as a migrant

→

Inés Mateos, Basel

The panel offered much to think about.

woman, but for me as a mother as well, and also for all the other women and mothers.

BSM: This is a very important theme. It is a question of power and how the power is being distributed. That's why we won't be able to find a response today. The power question will continue to keep us busy for a long time.

Composed by
Dorothee Minder and Janine Kern

Panel Guests

Luzenir Caixeta: Philosophe, theologian and social ethicist with roots in Brasil, freelance writer lecturer and co-founder of the Centre for and by migrant women MAIZ in Linz (A).

Delia Krieg-Trujillo: Jurist and journalist from Bolivia founder and director of the Intercultural Information Center Nosotras Basel, which supports women from Latin-America.

Ylfete Fanaj: Seconda, originally from the Kosovo social worker, member of the Lucerne Canton Council, president of Second@s Plus Switzerland and integration expert for the Canton Nidwalden.

Ursula Matschke: Administrative scientist, political scientist and historian, head of the Department for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men at the City of Stuttgart for ten years.

Barbara Szerb-Mantl: Pedagogue, ethnologist, freelance coach and supervisor. Since 2004 working for the Department Integration and Diversity of the City of Vienna.

FemCities Conference
September 22 and 23 2011, Basel

Gender Equality
National Research Programme NRP 60

Gender inequality on the labour market at the interface between gender and ethnicity

PD. Dr. Yvonne Riaño
Institute of Geography
University of Berne

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PROJECT FRAMEWORK & TEAM

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Project management:
PD Dr. Yvonne Riaño
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Gender Equality
National Research Programme NRP 60

University of Zurich, Geography

Quantitative study:
Dr. Elisabeth Bühler

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PROCESS

1. problems at stake and research issues
2. conceptual approach
3. methodical approach
4. first results
5. conclusions

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1. PROBLEMS AT STAKE

Gender inequalities on the Swiss labour market:

- Despite the many differences in women and their diverse experiences of inequality it is not clear how and where *gender* and *ethnicity* interact to generate different situations of inequality.
- It is not clear how women *maintain* and *further develop* their *qualifications* to find access to the labour market.
- There is no information on the strategies women develop to overcome obstacles in working life and in the process of applying their qualifications on the labour market.

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1. RESEARCH ISSUES

To gain new insight three research issues are established:

(a) how do *gender* and *ethnicity* interact to generate (un)equal access opportunities among women with and without migration background? (differentiated perspective)

(b) how do women manage to apply, maintain and further develop their *occupational qualifications* on the labour market *in the long term*? (dynamic perspective)

(c) which *strategies* do women develop to acquire, apply and maintain new occupational qualifications? (resources orientation)

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The analysis of (in)equality: what do we want to achieve?

The perspective of 'economic citizenship':

Equal access to gainful employment with long-term occupational perspective (wages, stability) for all individually in accordance with their qualifications (wages, stability) (Riaño 2010)

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Understanding (in)equalities in access to the labour market: designing the analysis

I. intersectional approach: *gender and ethnicity as a resource*

II. family models & decision-making in the family: *time as a resource*

III. location, infrastructure, mobility: *home and work address as a resource*

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

I. Intersectional approach: *gender and ethnicity as a resource*

1. *gender*: processes of characterising oneself and the other with regard to *female and male identity*, using ideals depicting the 'natural' differences between women and men and relevant roles in society (West/Zimmermann 1987)

2. *ethnicity*: processes of characterising and distinguishing between *the self and the other* using (imagined) criteria of ('cultural') *similarity and difference* (Barth 1969, Bommes 1991, Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999, Lutz / Davis 2009, Bradley / Healy 2008) .

3. ethnicity and gender seen as process categories, therefore focus on the 'becoming' rather than its essence

→'doing ethnicity' und 'doing gender'

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

I. Intersections of gender and ethnicity

5. social *constructions* of gender and ethnicity: *fluid* and *situational* in specific contexts and social zones (Davis / Lutz 2009)

6. intersectionality: social inequality from the integrated perspective: combining allocation of gender and ethnicity creates different opportunities for different people (Crenshaw 1989, Anthias 2001, Nash 2008, Degele/ Winkler 2009, Riaño 2011)

7. intersectionality describes a continuum of social situations ranging from inclusion to exclusion

What (different) experiences do women and men with and without migration background report and which (un)equal opportunities are open to them when they try to position themselves on the Swiss labour market?

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

II. family models & decision-making in the family: *time as a resource*

1. "work" as paid and unpaid activity: gainful employment as well as 'care work' (child and family care, domestic work) (von Streit 2010)

2. household arrangements: there is still a great imbalance in Swiss households in the division of paid and unpaid labour among women and men (Levy / Ernst 2002, Bozon 2009).

How do family models affect the professional careers of women and men with and without migration experience?

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

III. *Home & work address as a resource:* location, infrastructure, mobility:

analysis of paid and unpaid work with a focus on the geographic situation as a resource – emphasis on :

- vicinity/mobility of access to infrastructures (e.g. childcare, public transport) and existing labour markets (von Streit 2010)
- local gender cultures: dominant gender norms and family models (Pfau-Effinger 2000, Bühler/Meier, 2002)

What bearing do spatial factors like location, vicinity and mobility have on (un)equal access to the labour market for women and men with or without migration background?

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2. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Research hypotheses

(a) Some *household arrangements*, such as the traditional model '*husband full time/ wife part time employment*', restrict women's chance to achieve equal access to economic citizenship (Levy/Ernst 2002)

(b) Household arrangements, such as *'both in full-time employment' and 'both in part-time employment'* increase women's options for equal access to economic citizenship (Baumgartner 2008)

(c) The situation *single parent,* with a view to economic citizenship, in some cases bears a poverty risk, in others it has emancipation potential and activate government support for access to the labour market (Bühler & Heye 2005; Riaño & Baghdadi 2007)

(d) *Couple imbalance in couple households*: the partner (man or woman) considered an 'outsider' because of their origin/education is in a weaker negotiating position than the established one (Riaño, Baghdadi & Wastl-Walter 2008).

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3. METHODICAL APPROACH

Purpose of the quantitative study: *to give a descriptive and statistically representative overview of the diversity of (unequal) situations among persons with or without migration background in paid or unpaid work*

→ statistical database: Schweizerische Arbeitskräfteerhebung (Swiss labour force survey) 2008 (SAKE)

a) validated indicators from education, employment, income, unpaid work

b) indicators of education adequacy and current employment

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3. METHODICAL APPROACH

Purpose of the qualitative study: *to achieve a differentiated understanding of the reasons, processes and strategies behind the (unequal) labour market situations of women and men with or without migration experience.*

Paid and unpaid work analysed from an everyday and *biographical perspective* (Schier / von Streit 2004, von Streit 2010):

(a) biographical interviews: documentation of the career biographies of both partners in a couple household (as well as of single mothers) with the purpose to establish a relation between each partner's career and their situation before and after the birth of their children (60 interviews, 30 households)

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3. METHODICAL APPROACH

(c) MINGA workshops: interactive method during which a small group of previously interviewed women and men exchange expert opinions and experience and with the researchers develop the strategies they need or might use to increase their options for access to the labour market (6).

(d) experts interviews (careers advisers & equality experts): collecting relevant information to understand the dynamics behind gender inequality and make visible the chances and limits of current/past measures and programmes (6).

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3. METHODICAL APPROACH

Qualitative study: selection criteria (German speaking Switzerland)

Groups	'Established'/ 'Outsiders'	Women's education	Women in households with children	Women's age
Group 1: Women without migrant experience	Born in Switzerland of Swiss parents	Tertiary or technical education	Couple/single parent	40+
Group 2: Women with migrant experience (EU & non-EU)	Born abroad of foreign parents: first generation migrants			

Sampling strategy (theoretical sampling): wide range of different situations / comparative and continuous reflection

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4. FIRST RESULTS

Gender Equality
National Research Programme NRP 60

Career biographies: comparing to couple households

	Ms Bucher-Müller		Mr Müller	
	event	place, country	event	place, country
1970	born	St.Gallen	born	Basel
1996	lic.iur.	Basel	lic.iur.	Basel
1996-98	assistant at uni	Basel	assistant uni, Dr.iur, training as attorney, bar exam	Basel
1998-1999	LL.M.	NY, USA	LL.M.	NY, USA
1999-2001	Job with NGO, part-time, limited contract	NY, USA	full-time employment in law ofice	NY, USA
2001	Dr.iur., unemployed	NY, USA (CH)		
Nov 2001	1st child born	NY, USA	1st child born,	NY, USA
2002	return to CH, unemployed	Zurich	return to CH, blind application with law office	Zurich
März 2003	60% position in federal administration, Berne	Berne	full employment as lawyer	Zurich
Juli 2005	2nd child born	Zurich	2nd child born	Zurich
2005	80% position in federal administration, Berne	Berne		
2007	full-employment assistant-professor	Zurich		
2008	Notice at uni	Zurich		
2008	80% employment with BSV	Berne	partner in law office, full time	Zurich
2010	80% employment with EDI	Berne		

Bucher-Müller family

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UNIVERSITÄT BERN

4. FIRST RESULTS

Gender Equality
National Research Programme NRP 60

Career biographies: Comparing two couple households

	Ms Güney		Mr Güney	
	event	place, country	event	place, country
1956/59	born	Turkey	born	Turkey
1979	history	university of Ankara	engineering	Ankara
1980/84	temporary jobs	Ankara	temporary jobs on building sites	Ankara
1984	marriage, 1st child born	Ankara	marriage , 1st child born	Ankara
1985	move to the country with child, without husband	Turkey	1 year military service	Turkey
1986	unemployed, job search abroad	Switzerland	unemployed, job search abroad	Switzerland
1986	Return to Ankara	Ankara	full employment on building site	Schlieren, Switzerland
1987	entry into Switzerland	Schlieren, Switzerland	entry into Switzerland, working visa (B)	Switzerland
1987	unemployed, learns German	Schlieren, Switzerland	full employment as foreman	Schlieren, Switzerland
1989	2nd child born	Schlieren, Switzerland	2nd child born	Schlieren, Switzerland
1990	50% employment with Red Cross as intercultural mediator (child in Spanish crèche)	Schlieren, Switzerland		Schlieren, Switzerland
1995	unemployed	Schlieren, Switzerland	independent construction business	Schlieren, Switzerland
1996-1997	training as accountant	Schliering, Switzerland		
2000	employed with cantonal integration project Zurich, further training, adult education	Schlieren, Switzerland		
2000-2007	NDS at university of applied sciences, part-time project manager HEKS, teaching assignment at university of applied sciences	Schlieren, Switzerland		

Güney Family

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FIRST RESULTS

Comparing career biographies (Bucher-Müller & Gülay)

- qualifications **valued** differently in Switzerland (Bucher-Müller ⇔ Gülay)
- subsequently different **efforts** to attain economic citizenship (Bucher-Müller ⇔ Gülay)
- **childcare**: Bucher-Müller are able to reconcile work and family because of their high income/childcare is outsourced; Gülays are able to do so because of the location they live in/the efforts of other 'outsiders'(money as a resource vs. location as a resource)

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FIRST RESULTS

Comparing career biographies (Bucher-Müller & Gülay)

- both women's career biographies are characterised by frequent **job changes** (compared to their husbands):
  - Ms Gülay: unstable working conditions, efforts to acquire further qualifications
  - Ms Bucher-Müller: unstable working conditions to begin with, subsequently changes based on interests, accompanied by the desire for more family time
  - Mr Gülay: construction business the more stable economic niche
  - Mr Müller: highly stable employment in law office (intersection of gender and ethnicity)

The intersectional perspective allows for a more differentiated explanation of different career courses when comparing the 'established' with the 'outsiders'

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5. CONCLUSIONS

Significance of the proposed approach for equality policies

- the *intersectional perspective* provides for a more differentiated understanding of (in)equality and sets the course for detailed equality measures
- the *intersectional perspective* enables synergies between different areas of society and politics which are frequently treated separately
- interpreting *career biographies* provides for a dynamic understanding of how (in)equalities develop over time and space. Thus it is possible to develop equality measures which specifically address *critical moments* in *career biographies*
- focusing on the analysis of *time* and (family models) *and space* (location of home and work) as resources makes it possible to link three important areas in politics, i.e. family, equality and local infrastructure

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Thank you for your attention!

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FemCities network: Learning from each other, cooperation and prospects

Martina K. Sommer and Alina Zachar, Municipal Department 57 – Women's Department of the City of Vienna

The international FemCities conference 2011 (including the FemCities networking workshop) was held on the 22nd and 23rd of September 2011 in Basel, at the University of Basel in cooperation with the Office for Gender Equality of the Canton of Basel City. With the theme of 'Migrant Women in European Cities and Municipalities: Challenges and potentials from a gender perspective', promising approaches of local authorities', the FemCities network again dedicated itself to a highly charged topic for European city administrations. The more then 80 participants from 27 European cities and municipalities demonstrated once more, how valuable and inspiring an international exchange of expertise can be.

The point on the agenda of the FemCities networking of cities marked the end of the conference. In an introductory talk, the two network-coordinators, Alina Zachar and Martina K. Sommer presented the history and development as well as current structures and projects of the network that was started by the City of Vienna in 1997 and has since been coordinated by the Department for the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues, Vienna (MA57).

In the following discussions, the opportunities for engaging and involving the different actors from science, economy, the administration, policy makers as well as civil society were lively debated. In three working groups – spirited but acting under time-pressure - the most relevant themes from the point of view of the participants for the FemCities network in the next three years as well as the expectations for such a network were gathered and discussed. With a look towards possible activities of the FemCities network in 2012 and an appeal to active participation regarding the exchange of women's- and equality related administrative practices at the level of European cities and municipalities, the FemCities conference 2011 was officially closed. As a pleasant conclusion to the highly successful two-day conference, the Swiss organisers of the conference offered a feminist walk through Basel, in which many conference participants took part.

1) FemCities network

What is FemCities?

FemCities
= (informal) network of specialist administrations of European cities and municipalities

= Forum for specialist administrations of public local administrations to discuss women and gender related issues

= Platform for the exchange of best practices for the advancement of women and gender equality

The network supports the exchange of successful models in the field of local and regional women's policy and enforces the lobbying for women's issues in Europe. Equality issues and opportunities for action of municipalities are at the centre of FemCities. That is why the network is especially useful in providing a forum for representatives of cities and municipalities without neglecting the exchange and the transfer of know-how with actors from other fields.
FemCities is a more or less low-threshold network. (Specialist-) administrations, which are working in the thematic areas of gender equality and the advancement of women, are invited to become network partners. You, as well as representatives of the civil society, of the economy or science can take part in FemCities projects and participate in FemCities events.

Who is coordinating FemCities?
The Women's Department of the City of Vienna (MA 57) coordinates the network and with FemCities offers a forum for the exchange of good-practice models, strategies for the implementation of acts and the creation of administrative structures, which promote women and de facto gender equality. In 2011, as a result of successful cooperation, the Department for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men of the City of Stuttgart took over the network coordination in the German-speaking FemCities D-A-CH region (Germany, Austria, Switzerland). Since 2010, the specialised international FemCities conferences have been followed by German work-meetings in Stuttgart for further development of the content.

The Department for the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues, Vienna (MA57), together with a partner city organises the FemCities conferences that are taking place approximately once a year focusing on a current women's rights and gender equality issue, manages the FemCities website, initiates projects and encourages bilateral exchange. The primary working language of the network is English.

Who can become a 'FemCities network partner'?
FemCities network partners are interested specialised administrations (Gender Equality, Equal Opportunities/ Women) of European cities and municipalities. There are no formal obligations that you have to fulfil as a partner. However, network partners are warmly invited to contribute to FemCities projects and events or to carry them out of

their own initiative. To become a FemCities network partner, you have to fill in a contact form and to send it to the network coordinator in Vienna (form to be requested with **martina.sommer@wien.gv.at** or **alina.zachar@wien.gv.at).**

New decision since Basel 2011:

In the FemCities networking meeting it was decided that NGOs can become 'Associate Partner' and as such on the one hand provide the network with information, inputs and expertise regarding gender equality issues and on the other hand by a close interaction, in return, receive information on current topics and activities inside the network.

What are the benefits of a FemCities partnership?

- Simple access to (specialised-) administrative units, which are concerned with the topic of gender equality and the advancement of women.
- The FemCities platform offers a good opportunity for exchanging new findings and/or tested practice examples and to learn from each other.
- By the well-balanced transfer of field-tested models and theoretical findings a development and shaping of the European discourse on gender equality becomes possible.
- The FemCities website and the newsletter offer partners the possibility to publish topic-relevant news and projects.

2) Findings of the FemCities network workshop:

2a) Especially relevant topic on which the FemCities network should focus:

- Migration (especially the recognition of diplomas, risks of disqualification, age/care, political representation of migrant women, opening of gender equality offices for women with a migration background)
- Backlash: the threat to feminist achievements and claims (amongst others regarding the young generation and the gaining in strength of reactionary men's movements; caesura – what has been reached yet?)
- Sexist advertising (gender roles, representation in media, dictate of commercialisation)
- Violence against women (e.g. structural violence; gender-specific trauma after migration-/fleeing experiences; trafficking in women)
- Women's political representation
- Prostitution
- Elderly women (especially age & migration, poverty among elderly)
- Compatibility of work and private life (amongst others returning to work after maternity leave; distribution of unpaid work in conjugal cohabitation)
- International commitments and agreements (e.g. Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women CEDAW; the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in local life – implementation of the action plans)

2b) Expectations, requests and proposals of the participants regarding the FemCities network and its coordinators:

A compendium of different opinions

One benefit is the exchange of practice-related best practices, as well as a subject-specific networking at local level. This enables an easy access to specialised administrations, a rapid informal exchange of expertise with an international context, as well as mutual argumentative support with the enforcement of concerns with respect to the content. Common events/ projects in cooperation with other cities and municipalities locally demonstrate that gender equality related issues are more than just an isolated topic of one city.

The participation in the FemCities network is marked by giving and receiving. The variety of women, of experts and the creativity result in a professional network with a media presence (at the FemCities conferences). The contribution to the network makes it possible, by its international character to reach a better positioning of gender equality related issues in the own city and municipality.

As some further requests the intensified involvement of small cities in rural areas as well as more extensive opportunities for exchange were mentioned. Furthermore, the FemCities network should initiate activism and together perform 'bold' actions to enforce claims regarding gender equality.

2c) Decision by the networking participants:

Creation of the category 'Associated partnership' for NGOs.

Résumé - conference highlights

Inés Mateos, Office for Gender Equality, Canton of Basel City

The keynote speeches of the conference identified two relevant directions in the analysis of the fields of migration and equal opportunities. While Gabriele Dietze dedicated herself to a comprehensive iconographic and discourse analysis, Rosie Cox deepened the political and tangible aspects of the discussion.

To introduce the complex topic, Gabriele Dietze analysed a comprehensive range of medial images. With these pictures she impressively illustrated what we 'get-to-see', when it comes to the topic of migrant women. By drawing on this visual material, she was able to demonstrate how the gendering of the current debate on migration works, and the impact it has on our viewing habits and furthermore on policy and its implementation. In an eloquent manner, Dietze described how the figuration of the 'oppressed muslim woman' and embedded therein the concept of 'oriental patriarchs' have become collective symbols of European immigration fears.

In this process, the gendered rhetoric helps with the construction of the constitutive 'other' of the muslim woman. Thereby the headscarf serves as an effective 'master metaphor'. Thus, the Muslim woman wearing the headscarf becomes the embodiment of the orientalised 'Other', the central significant of 'Otherhood'. On the one hand there is the 'we' of occidental women, which is occidentally enlightened and equated, on the other hand are the oppressed oriental 'Others'. This construction is insofar obstructing the progress toward gender equality as it conceals that in western and democratic societies a substantial deficiency in matters of gender equality still persists (division of labour, equal pay, life concepts and so on). Through the personification of the deficit in matters of gender equality in the Muslim woman (and moreover categorically with migrant women), we divert from the actual deficiency in matters of gender equality in our society. Using pictures to portray women wearing the headscarf as the embodiment of oppressed orientalised 'others' on the one hand, and the idealised libertine, emancipated occidental women on the other hand makes the 'normal women' - to which migrant as well as native women belong - with their legitimate concerns and concrete claims for gender equality, disappear. But these claims would benefit all women. Therefore, at the end of the presentation held by Dietze, an appeal was made to refocus critical attention on the incomplete emancipation of women.

Rosie Cox later reported on the worldwide gender regime in the division of labour - it can be interpreted this way - is based upon this iconographic-discursive slide, which was explained by Dietze. Cox was impressive in her demonstration of how the construction of these 'Others' compensates for our biggest unredeemed claim toward gender equality, namely that of a gender-equal division of labour. The analysis by Dietze broadened her theses insofar as it demonstrated

that our society is dependent on these 'Others' (women and men), in order not to be forced to treat them as equal individuals, but consider them as a pure 'workforce'. That is why the so-called 'feminisation of migration' is primarily the result of our demand for low-wage carework.

The distribution of care- and house-chore work in particular, neither changed the emancipation movement nor the official policy on gender equality considerably.

This work is still mainly being carried out by women and thus continues proceding along the gender boundaries. However, what is added to this fact is that now the boundary is also marked by ethnicity. While in former times care-work was mainly unpaid and assumed by women in the unequal traditional family arrangement, today it is indeed being paid. However, the work continues to be carried out by women - namely migrant women - and mostly under precarious working conditions and exploitative wages, often illegal or under irregular employment contracts. A characteristic here is that this essential work for the common good carried out by women remain 'invisible' and unrecognised.

In her presentation, Cox mentioned some striking examples of exploitative employment in the care-sector in the whole European and Pan-European area.

The supply shortfalls of care services in the countries of origin of the often unprotected care-workers came up, as well as the care-chains established across national boundaries. Cox put a further accent on the significance of the ' family' as the core of paternalistic relationships, which favoured exploitative relations and on the claim for the acknowledgement of care-work, with all labour-law related (regular working hours, wages and so on) and especially immigration-law related consequences (such as the right to stay, to family reunion, of access and equality of chances).

After the comprehensive statements of the morning presentations, the workshops oscillated between a deepening of critical analysis and the introduction of concrete examples from a project pool of a variety of countries.

A special accent was put on the potential-oriented offers and projects, such as Workshop 1, where approaches were presented on how administrations can be designed in a diversity-sensitive way (Diversity Check from Vienna), how migrant women can be specifically empowered, be able to organise themselves (Café Secondas from Basel) or how in joint projects with migrant women mutual learning about differences and emancipation becomes possible (Tübingen). Workshop 2 strongly focused on the morning presentations and then continued by drawing connections between migration policy and gender equality. Susanne Bachmann (Bern) took a closer look at the Swiss 'integration policy' as an example and demonstrated how migrant women are forced into classic roles because of legal provisions. Ronald Kloeg (Tilburg) demonstrated how the premise of 'Integration as a mutual process' increasingly focuses on the other side of integration, namely on the representatives of the so-called majority society.

By making experiences of strangeness, which migrants experience on a daily basis understandable to them through empathic understanding, they become themselves capable of integration.

During the evening session, representatives from science, administrations, policy and civil society together with the public, lively debated on how a gender equality policy, which is created together with, and supported by migrant women should look like.

Thereby it became clear that more importance has to be given to the self-organisation of migrant women as well as their voice in the future. The objective is to leave paternalistically oriented propositions behind and move towards equal participation.
Yvonne Riaños, on the second day, drew on her extensive experience researching the theme of inequality on the labour market along gender and ethnicity lines.

The richness of examples and deliberations given by Riaño were impressive.

In addition to the discussions around the presentation, Riaño was able to show in an impressive manner how the non-recognition of foreign diplomas significantly limits labour-market opportunities and forces migrant women into classic dependencies (as wives) or in traditional activities (care-sector). That in turn reinforces the current picture of non-educated, oppressed and powerless migrant women, which the public likes to present. Thereby Riaño stressed the need to increasingly focus on the different situations of women and to enforce basic structural equality claims for all women.

In conclusion, the big and paradoxical challenge, which the work on equality with regards to migrant women is facing, could be summarised as follows: How can work on equality improve concrete problematic situations of migrant women without joining in the current discourse on oppressed migrant women and without loosing a view of the whole? An answer provided by the conference could be: FemCities as a city network will also continue to care about equality deficits in the future and set an agenda to push forward equality for and with all women. Regarding the issue of migrant women, special attention has to be paid that we generally acknowledge them as equal citizens and fight together with them for elemental rights. There is much to do.

Short biographies of the speakers at and persons involved in the FemCities Conference 2011

(as of September 2011)

SUSANNE BACHMANN

is a PhD candidate in the research team on cultural geography at the University of Berne Institute of Geography. She holds a scholarship for the ProDoc interdisciplinary graduate school on 'Gender Prescripts and Transcripts' at the universities of Berne and Fribourg. Her thesis examines gender constructions in Swiss integration policy. Susanne Bachmann holds a degree in sociology from Bielefeld University and has worked as an editor and NGO project coordinator on women's rights, refugees and migration.
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LUZENIR CAIXETA

is an expert on social ethics and co-founder of the Swiss migrant organisation maiz (www.maiz.at), where she coordinates the organisation's counselling & guidance service as well as research activities. She studied philosophy and liberation theology in Brazil, as well as social ethics in Austria. As a freelance writer she has published several articles and she holds lectures in Innsbruck and Linz (Austria). Her practical and scientific work focuses on the phenomenon of international female migration and the transformation of labour in a globalised world.

ROSIE COX

is Senior Lecturer in Geography and Gender Studies at Birkbeck, University of London. She has a long standing research interest in paid domestic labour in contemporary cities, which she has been researching since 1995. She has written widely on many aspects of paid domestic employment including the relationships between domestic workers, au pairs and their employers, migration policy and domestic labour as well as income inequalities and domestic employment. She is author of ‚The Servant Problem: Domestic Employment in a Global Economy' (2006 I.B. Tauris), which explores the growth of paid domestic work in contemporary London, and co-editor of ‚Dirt: New

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Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination', a collection which looks at the importance of dirt and cleaning in social and economic relationships. She also has a research interest in Alternative Food Networks and is a co-author of ‚Reconnecting Producers, Consumers and Food: Exploring Alternatives' (2008 BERG). Her most recent research project is on the commoditisation of male labour in the home in New Zealand.

GABRIELE DIETZE

teaches cultural studies as well as gender and media research with a special focus on race/ethnicity, migration and gender. She has recently held visiting chairs at universities in Austria and the US, and is a member of the research unit on 'Cultures of Madness. The Liminal Phenomena of Urban Modernity' at Humboldt University Berlin. She currently holds a visiting chair for the Gender-Net of the Universities of Basel and Zurich.

Publications on the topic at hand include: „Weiß – Whiteness – Weissein. Kritische Studien zu Gender und Rassismus Herausgegeben", co-edited with Martina Tissberger, Jana Husmann-Kastein, Daniela Hrzán, D. Peter Lang Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006. (2nd circulation 2009); „Gender als interdependente Kategorie. Neue Perspektiven auf Intersektionalität, Diversität und Heterogenität", co-authored with Katharina Walgenbach, Antje Hornscheidt and Kerstin Palm. Budrich Verlag, 2007; „Kritik des Okzidentalismus. Transdisziplinäre Beiträge zu (Neo-) Orientalismus und Geschlecht." Co-edited with Claudia Brunner and Edith Wenzel, Bielefeld, transcript, 2009. In preparation: „Weiße Frauen in Bewegung. Genealogien und Konkurrenzen von Race- und Genderpolitiken", Bielefeld: transcript, 2011.

YLFETE FANAJ

29, unmarried, lives in Lucerne. Having come to Switzerland from Kosovo at the age of 9, she went to primary and secondary school in Sursee (LU). She had a hard time looking for an apprenticeship, but eventually found a position as a business apprentice. Ylfete Fanaj subsequently took the vocational university entrance exam (Berufsmatura) and studied social work at the University of Lucerne. Since her graduation in 2009, she has worked as an integration expert for the Canton of Nidwalden. During her university studies, she began to actively support a number of community projects and associations. She was a team member of „zwangsheirat.ch", a programme on forced marriage that promotes human rights, and organised tutoring courses for migrant children. Furthermore she was among the co-founders of Second@s Plus Switzerland and has served as the organisation's president since 2009. In 2007 she was elected to the Lucerne City Parliament as a representative of the Social Democratic Party, and held this position until August 2011. In April 2011 she became a member of the Lucerne Canton Council. Alongside her job, she is set to start studying law at the University of Lucerne in mid-September 2011.

MARION GEBHART

studied law in Graz (Austria) and has been working for the City of Vienna since 1986. From 1994 to 1999 she worked as a Vienna Children's and Youth Ombuds-Officer; since 2008 she has been head of Department for the Promotion and Coordination of Women's Issues, Vienna. She also works as a mediator and lecturer.
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JANA HÄBERLEIN

Centre for Gender Studies, University of Basel.
Jana Häberlein holds an MA in English, German and Education from the University of Hamburg and has also pursued her studies in Cologne, London and Greenwich. She is currently a research assistant and lecturer at the Centre for Gender Studies of the University of Basel, coordinating the graduate school 'Representation, materiality and gender: current and historical new formations in gender relations'. Jana Häberlein teaches in the fields of critical migration and gender studies at several Swiss universities, with a focus on illegalisation, queer migrations, transnationalism and gender theory. Her current research project is on biographical narratives of refugee women between discursive regulation and individual practices. She has co-edited an anthology on gender studies and has published on migration.
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MARIA JUNGER

2004 – 2008: studies of political science and sociology at the University of Tübingen; 2005 – 2008: research assistant to the chair for political business studies and comparative political field analysis at the Institute of Political Science; 2009 – 2010: scientific coordinator of the interdisciplinary post graduate school MEUS („Master of European Studies") at Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen; since 11/2010: working for the third-party funding project INET (Tübingen Intercultural Network for Parent Education), Department for Equality and Integration, University Town of Tübingen.

RONALD KLOEG

holds a part-time position as senior advisor in the Innovation Services Department of a Regional Training Institute in Tilburg, the Netherlands. He is member of the steering committee of The Dutch Alliance, a foundation of VET institutes in the Netherlands. Since 2009 he has been appointed by the EACEA in Brussels as independent expert and evaluator for development projects under the EU Life Long Learning programme. Ronald Kloeg has built up particular expertise in the field of the intercultural dialogue. As international coordinator he has prepared many study programmes for groups of experts on intercultural issues. As member of the board of The IFA Foundation he has carried out intercultural training programmes for European professionals including a Grundtvig Workshop and a Grundtvig Partnership.

FILIZ KUTLUATA

Second-generation Swiss (born and raised in Basel) with Turkish roots. Training in business and commerce. Current position: team leader in the real estate sector. Radio presenter in a Turkish-language programme broadcast by Radio-X Basel, Co-President of Café Secondas Basel and of Second@s Plus Basel.

INÉS MATEOS

is an expert, moderator and lecturer on gender mainstreaming and migration issues. She is actively committed to promoting the rights of foreign citizens, and to encouraging transfers between theory, practice and political decision-making. In line with this commitment, she works as an academic expert and project coordinator at the Office for Gender Equality of the City of Basel, where she has been in charge of gender, education and migration issues since 2004. Ms Mateos initiated the foundation of Café Secondas, a participation project for women from the second generation of migrant families. Previously she worked as a research and teaching assistant at the University of Basel, and took the first graduate course on gender studies at the University of Basel.

URSULA MATSCHKE

studied political science and history in Stuttgart. Since 2001, she has been head of the Department for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men at the City of Stuttgart. The key activities of her work include inter-municipal studies of modernisation processes in the public sector, strategic corporate management in an international perspective, diversity and gender mainstreaming in the public sector. Since 2001, a particluar focus of her work has been on the implementation, coordination and controlling of the Stuttgart Partnership against Domestic Violence (STOP).

SUSANNE OMRAN

1986 – 1993: Diploma course in education studies at the University of Dortmund;
from 07/1993 research assistant at the Center for Research on Higher Education and Faculty Development, University of Dortmund. 1994 – 1998: scholarship at the German Research Society (DFG) graduate school on „Geschlechterverhältnis und sozialer Wandel“ (Gender relations and social change), preparing her doctoral thesis on „Frauenbewegung und ‚Judenfrage‘. Diskurse um Rasse und Geschlecht nach 1900“ (The women‘s movement and the ‚Jewish question‘: aspects of race and gender after 1900); 1999: graduation and doctoral degree (Dr. phil.).

1999 – 2000: teacher of sociology at the Universities of Dortmund and Paderborn; 2001 - 05/2002: research assistant at the Simon-Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture in Leipzig; since 06/2002: gender mainstreaming coordinator of the university city of Tübingen; since 12/2008: head of the department for equality and integration, university town of Tübingen

JANITHA REETZ THAYAPARAN

Second-generation Swiss (born in Sri Lanka, living in Switzerland since 1984) with Tamil roots. Married, two children. Training: chemistry laboratory technician (vocational university entrance diploma), further training in technical commerce. Current position: chemistry laboratory technician, Co-President of Café Secondas Basel, jury member of the Integration Prize of Basel City.

YVONNE RIAÑO

is a Social Geographer who works as a Senior Lecturer ("Privatdozentin") at the Department of Geography of the University of Berne. She also has an appointment as Research Project Leader at the "Centre for the Understanding of Social Processes" of the University of Neuchâtel. She carried out postgraduate studies in Environmental Protection (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (EPFL), Lausanne,1982) and Urban and Regional Planning (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zürich, 1985). Subsequently she spent several years working as a Programme Officer at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa, Canada. In 1996 she obtained her PhD in Geography from the University of Ottawa (Canada). Her doctoral research examined the governance strategies of barrio populations in Quito (Ecuador) within a context of socio-spatial exclusion. Since finishing her PhD studies, she has taught at the Geography Departments of Ottawa University (Canada), Karl-Franzens University Graz (Austria) and the University of Bern (Switzerland). Her recent research has focused on issues of migration and gender, transnational social spaces of migrants, forced marriage and the return strategies of sans-papiers migrants. She has extensively published on these issues, both in the form of articles in peer-reviewed journals and chapter contributions in edited books. She currently leads a research project on "Inequalities of Access to Spaces of Paid Work: The Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity", which forms part of the Swiss National Research Programme NRP 60 on Gender Equality in Switzerland.

ASIYE SEL

migrated to Austria with her parents as a pre-schooler in 1976. She obtained her degree in sociology from Vienna University. Since 19991 Asiye Sel has been active in the field of migration and integration: Integration and learning assistance for migrant children; Various German language and integration courses; Job counselling in a counselling centre for migrants, coordination of several EU projects on equal treatment, anti-discrimination and the recognition of qualifications; Concept development and implementation of events on migration and diversity for educational and counselling institutions, public authorities and NGOs. Since early 2008 Asiye Sel has been working as a case officer for the Vienna Chamber of Labour. Her main field of work is labour market policy for women, with a special focus on migration.

MARTINA K. SOMMER
has been in charge of EU matters, international relations and migration as well as coordinating the FemCities network at the City of Vienna Women's Department since 2007. Her previous positions include working for an international NGO network combating violence against women, and as an expert for the Austrian Federal Ministry of Health and Women's Affairs during the Austrian EU council presidency. She took unpaid leave to work at the City of Stuttgart Department for Equal Opportunities for 1.5 years. Martina K. Sommer holds a degree in political science and has studied in Austria and the US.

BARBARA SZERB-MANTL
educationalist, ethnologist, supervisor and mediator, has been working in the field of integration and diversity since 1993 – originally for the Vienna Integration Fund, and since 2004 in the Department for Integration and Diversity (MA 17) of the Vienna City Administration. Her work initially focused on communication and conflict management at district level; since March 2010 she has been Deputy Head of Coordination and Diversity Management.

Ms Szerb-Mantl also works as a freelance supervisor and coach (focusing on youth and social work), and she is a trainer for conflict management, intercultural communication, migration in Austria and counselling in intercultural settings. Furthermore she teaches conflict management at Danube University Krems and gives lectures on various course subjects (intercultural competence, mediation and conflict resolution, psychosocial counselling).

ALINA ZACHAR
a trained psychologist, has been working as an officer for basic research and FemCities network coordinator in the City of Vienna Women's Department since January 2009. From 2006 to 2008 she coordinated the European NGO Network WAVE – Women Against Violence as well as a number of international and local women's NGOs in Vienna and Brussels. She does freelance work for the OSCE and is an expert on anti-violence work, especially in the fields of stalking/ technology and violence against women.

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