



SIXTH FRAMEWORK
PROGRAMME

SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

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AUTHORS:

Colectivo Ioé

Walter Actis, Carlos Pereda y Miguel Ángel de Prada

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
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[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]**

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<i>Scientific deliverable N° 6</i>	
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PRESENTATION

Ce document représente la synthèse de l'ensemble des rapports élaborés par chacune des neuf équipes du Programme TRESEGY pendant l'étape du WP3 : *Working paper on national socio-economic and political patterns in local settings* (décembre 2006-mai 2007). Le Colectivo Ioé est responsable de sa réalisation.

Les objectifs et la méthodologie des rapports à réaliser au cours du WP3 ont fait l'objet de clarifications et d'accords lors de la rencontre de Metz (novembre 2006), selon le schéma suivant :

- A) Description de l'aire locale retenue : 1. *Sélection socio-territoriale* et 2. *Dimensions à prendre en compte* : démographie et immigration ; situation socio-économique ; politiques en matière de jeunesse et d'immigration ; gestion de la diversité.
- B) Méthodologie à appliquer : 1. *Compilation de sources secondaires* et 2. *Entretiens auprès d'informateurs-clé*.

Le fait d'avoir adopté une méthodologie mixte, quantitative et qualitative, a permis de mettre en perspective l'information officielle, tirée de sources secondaires, et de la contextualiser en ayant recours aux informateurs-clé, spécialistes ou acteurs sociaux de chacun des espaces retenus. Nous avons décidé de procéder à une série d'entretiens dans chaque unité locale (autour de dix). Toutefois, le plus important n'est pas le nombre d'entretiens mais le contenu de l'information obtenue (selon le critère de « saturation de l'information »). Dans la liste des entretiens de chacun des rapports, on notera la diversité des personnes consultées et leur compétence. En tout, plus de 150 personnes ont été interviewées. L'information obtenue a été utilisée en respectant les règles de l'éthique professionnelle propre à la recherche, afin de fournir une description et une explication du contexte local.

Les informations recueillies sont de plus ou moins bonne qualité et plus ou moins récentes selon les rapports et les espaces considérés. Cependant, le point fort de ces rapports est que grâce à eux chaque équipe dispose désormais d'une information mise en perspective, qui actualise autant que faire se peut l'ensemble des matériaux disponibles dans le contexte local. Cette information pourra être rapportée aux résultats obtenus lors du WP2 (« contexte national ») et elle permettra de contextualiser les résultats des WP suivants, contribuant ainsi à affiner les enquêtes de terrain.

Le rapport de synthèse se compose de deux parties. La première partie présente la version finale des neuf rapports réalisés sur les unités locales retenues pour le programme de recherche TRESEGY. La deuxième partie est une réflexion globale et transversale élaborée à partir des neuf rapports sur le contexte local (WP3). Le premier chapitre de la seconde partie présente de façon succincte les unités locales retenues par les équipes partenaires. Le deuxième chapitre cerne de façon globale et transversale les caractéristiques des unités retenues. Enfin, le troisième chapitre développe les deux axes principaux du Programme TRESEGY : les dynamiques d'inclusion/exclusion et la gestion de la jeunesse et de l'immigration.

La présentation et le débat qui ont eu lieu autour des rapports locaux lors de la Rencontre de Madrid (24-26 mai 2007) ont permis à chacune des équipes de prendre connaissance des caractéristiques propres de chaque unité retenue dans le cadre du Programme TRESEGY, ce qui a facilité la réflexion sur les lignes transversales et les éléments de comparaison globale.

PREMIERE PARTIE
RAPPORT DES UNITES LOCALES DU PROGRAMME TRESEGY

Scientific deliverable N° 6

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(Version finale des Rapports locaux)

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FIRST PART – Local situation and Statistical data analysis

1. Introduction

Before the early '70s Italy was a country of emigration rather than immigration. However the situation has radically changed in the last three decades and Italy has become the target of large migration flows from non-EU countries (Barsotti, 1994 Pugliese, 2002). Actually, the number of migrants in Italy and Genoa is not as significant as for other European Countries but the phenomenon is rapidly increasing. Data show that in the last decade migration in Italy is constituted of a large number of national communities, rather than a large number of migrants belonging to few communities like in other EU nations (King & Andall, 1999). This process was the typical consequence of colonialism and its devolution in the '50s and '60s and in this respect it did not have a great impact on Italian history.

In addition there are some particular reasons for the special appearance and conformation of the phenomenon. Firstly, geographical location: Italy has become a crossing point, a gateway of migration flows from Eastern Europe, The Balkans, Middle East regions and Africa toward the heart of Europe (Bonifazi & Sabatino, 1998). More in specific Genoa for its geographical location has always played a role of crossing point for immigration from North-Africa. Secondly, since immigration is a quite new and recent phenomenon, Italy has lacked proper immigration and social policies (Brugliardo, 1998): permeability of borders and relatively easy access for illegal migration are the most significant effects of this situation. After Martelli law¹ –1990- and following modifications (1994 and 1996), Turco/Napolitano law, Schengen agreement and Bossi-Fini law in 2003, Italy has been forced to restore a strong control over entry, without producing at the same time a stable consistent and coherent social and welfare policy for immigrants. Despite a lack of institutional social services Italy remained and still remains a favourite country of destination for large immigration flows. On the one hand private, charity and NGOs organisation have subsided the constitutive inadequacy of public institutions providing useful support to migrants and on the other hand the Italian policy over the control and management of illegal immigration at internal level resulted always poor and inadequate to contrast the increasing phenomenon. Italy more than other EU countries resulted to be a good place to go where a kind of “*laissez fait laissez passez*” logic was allowing potential and relatively secure and durable opportunities for all migrants no matter whether legal or illegal. Finally absence of strong integration policies at national and local level have caused in some circumstances frictions and conflicts between immigrant and resident communities while at the same time they have also –more importantly- created an alternative and positive image of freedom in the collective imaginary of immigrants.

Genoese economic context for migration is essentially different from that of other traditional migrants-host Italian urban areas and European countries. The process of economic restructuring and the movement from a first toward a third sector economy has changed local opportunities available in the local labour market and forced migrants to modify their migration projects. The extensive informal economy, widespread use of non qualified labour force, the appearance of a large housekeeping and elders'-caring market and the rise of flexible forms of labour are the most relevant variables that have contributed to shape the characters and typology of migrants' presence in Genoa. However some socio-cultural variables remain a relevant element in organising migrant communities' livelihood in the local context: i.e. ethnic belonging determines and influences migrants' opportunity of employment within the Genoese economic system. Local normative, socio-cultural and economic factors all together contribute to shape and organize migrants' socio-

¹ It is recognised to be the first organic set of norms concerning immigration policy in Italy. Despite it was an emergency answer to a critical situation, it represents the Italian line-up to the E.U. migration policies.

economic opportunities and activities in the urban space (Wallman, 1984; 1986) as well as their image in the perception of local resident community, media and political ruling class (Grillo, 1985). Both these perspectives, in fact, contribute to the characterisation of migration processes: migrants are likely to go where there are opportunities coherent with their background and migration project (mostly generated by the relatedness and connectedness with other fellow members in the migrant community- namely chain migration effect via network strategies) rather than where there might be larger opportunities that are not in line with their own communities' abilities, strategies, plans and expectations.

2. Genoa and migration

The total number of legal migrants residing in the metropolitan area of Genoa is calculated at 34.500 (Dec. 2005) and the distribution by national origin points out that the five most relevant communities are respectively the Ecuadorian, the Albanian, the Moroccan, the Peruvian and the Rumanian. In order to make intelligible the main issue concerning the Genoese local context and the forthcoming situation analysis, it is now important to outline and analyse some statistical data concerning the quantity and quality of immigration phenomena in the area. Therefore a secondary data analysis will allow us to focus upon the migration phenomenon as a whole and more importantly to outline and reveal in detail some specific traits and features of two most relevant and second generation-related migrant groups among all migrated communities: namely the Ecuadorian and the Moroccan ones. The choice therefore it is not only related to the numeric relevance but more importantly because these two groups are the most important immigrant communities if the appearance of second generation migrated youths is considered. Another element that is accounted, here, in the decision process is the socio-cultural variable. If we want to tackle the research topic (inclusion/exclusion processes among second generation youth) in a broader perspective it should be important to widen our analysis to Ecuador and Morocco. In this sense they provide two very different perspectives in terms of socio-cultural and religious heritage, historic circumstances that have caused, and political and economic constraints and factors that have sustained emigration toward Italy and Genoa. Finally this approach will lead our extended case study research process to identify in comparative terms the local contextual variables – no matter whether social, cultural, economic, political – that affect and constraint young second generation migrants' perceptions, expectations and judgements about their inclusion/exclusion in the public sphere. Given that the context as a whole might not change sensibly it would be possible to grasp different perspectives according and following the relational interaction between Genoa as an integrated system and different national, ethnic, socio-economic and political oriented immigrated communities and their members.

First of all Genoa has suffered more than other Northern Italian urban areas a tangible decrease of the residing population (from 816.000 in 1971 down to 638.000 in 2001) as well as a general increase of the average population age connected to a sensible loss of population in working age (see table below)

Age group	1991 Census	2001 Census	Absolute Var.	% Variation
0-19	109.757	82.625	-27.132	-24,8%
20-59	375.177	342.858	-32.319	-8,7%
Over 60	193.837	212.517	+18.680	+9,6%
Total	678.771	638.000	-40.771	-6,1%

Source: Genoa's Statistical Year Book 2002

At the same time Genoese economy has changed dramatically over the last 30 years. During the 70s' Genoa was the bottom end and gateway to sea for the industrial North-western triangle

constituted by Milan Turin and Genoa itself. Cargo and Oil port activities in conjunction with a primary economy based on metallurgic and naval factories were the backbone of a strong economic post-war development. With the economic involution triggered off by the oil crisis Genoa has slowly lost its productive activities and since the 90s' has shifted toward an economy sustained by tourism and third sector services. Poor birth rate, emigration of local labour force have contributed figure out the current socio-statistical configuration and have set the contextual conditions for a consistent incoming migrants' flows. Therefore these two relevant elements have influenced immigration processes not directly as a response to increasing demand of labour force in primary activities but more indirectly via social and economic transformation in Genoese local society and economy that have reshaped typology and characteristics of a new emergent labour-market connected to services and social local stratification. A good example is the relevance of female immigrant presence in the context as well as its economic and historical importance within some specific communities (Latino-Americans and Philippines).

More in general the most relevant statistical processes at work in the local resident Genoese society are the following:

- There is a general and long-lasting negative tendency in birth rates
- Death rates are increasing and provide an image of an ageing and old population
- Immigration patterns even if tangible, are not able to contrast this process. More specifically there is a continuously increase of foreign population meanwhile the balance from internal immigration/emigration is negative.

In this context many immigrant groups have settled permanently and have fulfilled the lower gaps and available positions in the local labour market, especially those characterized by the "3 Ds" – Dirty Dangerous and Demanding (Castles, 2002). Employments that local Italian population was not keen to do anymore (cleaning and elders caring), hard and low-wage jobs (building and renewing industry) as well as the ones covered by a large, well established and some how structural black labour market (all the aforementioned plus commercial activities both ethnic and non) were rapidly become available for new incomers willing to improve their livelihood. According to Ambrosini (2005) there are three main typological models of migrant economy according to labour availability in local territorial contexts: the *Extended Industry*, the *Metropolitan* and the *Seasonal* model .

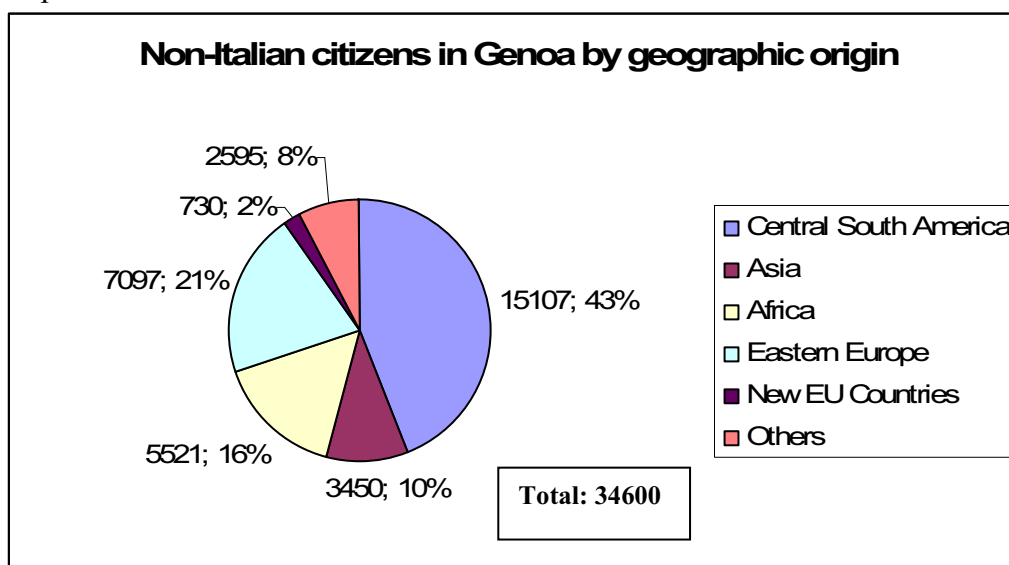
Nazionalità	Liguria	Genova	Imperia	La Spezia	Savona	Modello di insediamento
	v.a.	%	%	%	%	
Ecuador	13.180	87,8	3,2	3,1	5,9	metropolitano
Albania	11.536	36,7	18,7	12,3	32,3	cittadino
Marocco	7.266	42,0	20,1	16,3	21,6	diffuso
Perù	2.497	82,4	7,9	1,7	8,0	metropolitano
Romania	2.425	44,6	17,0	16,6	21,8	diffuso
Cina	1.911	53,6	14,3	15,8	16,3	cittadino
Rep. Domin.	1.810	21,5	1,6	73,8	3,1	cittadino
Tunisia	1.517	40,4	36,7	10,2	12,7	localizz-cittad
Ucraina	1.180	48,2	15,6	13,0	23,2	diffuso
Egitto	1.012	28,4	15,0	3,3	53,4	periferico
Senegal	1.007	73,8	5,6	10,7	9,9	metropolitano
Sri Lanka	998	88,4	3,1	0,3	8,2	periferico
Colombia	765	65,0	4,1	11,6	19,3	cittadino
Turchia	740	6,9	92,6	0,4	0,1	perifer-cittad
Polonia	683	47,4	15,7	22,3	14,6	localizzato
India	655	70,4	5,0	5,5	19,1	metropolitano
Filippine	620	71,3	13,2	6,8	8,7	periferico
Brasile	586	53,2	18,1	9,9	18,8	diffuso
Nigeria	580	79,7	4,3	10,5	5,5	metropolitano
Russia	548	50,7	15,9	12,0	21,4	diffuso
Cile	536	88,6	6,0	4,1	1,3	localizzato
Serbia-Mont.	397	61,7	7,6	2,5	28,2	periferico
Bangladesh	376	61,2	21,8	4,8	12,2	perifer-cittad
Cuba	369	50,4	16,8	16,5	16,3	diffuso
Algeria	364	33,8	26,6	11,0	28,6	periferico
TOTALE	65.994	55,1	16,7	11,4	16,8	

Source: Third Genoese Report on Migration – MEDI (2006) – F.lli Frilli .Eds

Given local circumstances, Genoa is definitely based on a metropolitan economy of labour characterised mainly by ethnicisation processes and horizontal expansion rather than a vertical one: migrants are employed in manual and often unskilled jobs, they seek to improve their position with poor expectations and the tendency is therefore to expand in same and/or similar activities rather than to move up in better positions.

In the early stage of this process, networks and chain migration have functioned to establish quite clear patterns of immigrant workers' distribution in the local labour market and their occupation in specific labour niches. These same patterns still manage influence and organise migrants' and their family life, livelihood and socio-cultural and economic opportunities.

Following the most recent data available at local level (Dec.2005), the legal non-Italian citizens living in town were 34.500 whose only 3.310 (9,5%) were coming from EU and other industrialized countries. By continent the two main relevant are South America and Africa followed by Asia and Eastern European Countries.



Source: Third Genoese Report on Migration – MEDI (2006) – F.lli Frilli .Eds

It is possible to observe that in Genoa the most relevant immigration patterns are three: the one from South America then followed by Eastern European countries (mostly now considered EU members since enlargement occurred on January 2007) and Africa. With respect to our research interest it should be noted that, in 2005, Ecuadorian are represented by 10.990 migrants out of 15.107 (72%) of the whole South American origin immigrated population meanwhile Moroccans are composed by 2986 out of 5521 (54%) African origin residents. Both communities are the most relevant according to their continental origin.

But more in detail the entire non European population is very widely distributed by national origin and more than 35 main national origins are represented. However it should be noted that the main five national migrant group altogether (19.215 out of 34.500) count for more the half (55,6%) of total immigrant population residing legally in Genoa town Council.

More in detail if we look at the quantitative and qualitative changes in the last 15 years we can figure out the following important information:

Until the end of the '80s the major immigration movements were from North Africa while since the early '90s immigration from Ecuador and Peru expanded considerably. Moreover age composition, gender, distribution and location in the urban territory have shift quite sensibly.

Average age of migrant population is generally lower that local residing population (32years against 47) but more in particular the main concentration in within the working age (more than half of migrant population is between 25 and 44). Interestingly it comes to evidence how at general level of consideration the rapid increase of young migrant population can be related both to a strictly traditional second generation category appearance (based on a more stable and durable trend in

some communities' migration project) and the rise of migration flows based on reunion procedures of first immigrant flows' young family members. In 2004 approx 21,3% of legal immigrated population (with exclusion of other EU and North America wealth countries) was between 0-and 19 years old.

Other important data concerning young migrant population refers to school attendance rates. First of all in Genoa's metropolitan area there is the highest concentration of immigrant students than in all other parts of the region (7500 out of 12.200 with a mean of 61,5%). This is due to labour market conformation and typology based on the main economic activities such as building, family and house caring and services. Student population distribution and characterisation reflects the adult one: in 2005 the three main national group in school population are Ecuadorian (tot.3449) Albanian (tot. 833) and Moroccan (tot. 546) respectively. To the porpoise of our investigation another important data in school population refers to the distribution in the different grades (Pre-Primary – Primary – Lower Secondary- Upper Secondary). Here data can help to provide both an overview on young immigrant population in general and particular patterning according to national origin. Current enforced norms state that all children in compulsory schooling age (6-16) are obliged by law to attend school no matter whether they come from and/or they are legal or illegal resident. Similarly all children and teens that enrol in school for the first time are obliged to join their own equivalent age class with no distinction according language skills and subject knowledge. This liner system guarantees a positive framework of reference to outline trends and evolution among young immigrants and Italian born children of migration. As a Whole non-Italian citizens enrolled in public/private schools in Genoa's Province in 2004/2005 are the following:

- **Pre-Primary (PP)** 1310 non Italians out of 20254 of Italian born corresponding to a 6,1%
- **Primary (P)** 2640 non Italians out of 33122 of Italian born corresponding to a 7,3%
- **Lower Secondary (LS)** 1853 non Italians out of 21509 of Italian born corresponding to a 7,9%
- **Upper Secondary (US)** 1697 non Italians out of 30822 of Italian born corresponding to a 5,1%

Provincia	Tipo d'istruzione	Totale alunni	Totale alunni immigrati	Incidenza alunni immigrati
GENOVA	Scuole paritarie			
	Scuola dell'infanzia	11.202	605	5,4
	Scuola elementare	4.260	203	4,8
	Scuola media I grado	1.657	32	1,9
	Scuola media II grado	3.607	102	2,8
	Scuole statali			
	Scuola dell'infanzia	9.052	705	7,8
	Scuola elementare	28.862	2.437	8,4
	Scuola media I grado	19.850	1.821	9,2
	Scuola media II grado	27.215	1.595	5,9
TOTALE PROVINCIA		105.705	7.500	7,1

Source: Third Genoese Report on Migration – MEDI (2006) – F.lli Frilli .Eds

As it concerns the national origin representation in all schools' grades the following information can be provided similarly:

- Young migrant school population in Genoa is largely represented by the main immigrant national origins. Similarly to adult population Ecuador Albania and Morocco are the three most important respectively.
- Ecuadorians are far more the largest and most representative group in Genoa in all schools grades. As a whole 3454 Ecuadorian students out of a 7500 non-Italian citizen students population (representing a 46,1%) were enrolled in Genoa's province in 2005
- Moroccans are consistently represented in Primary (187) and Lower Secondary (144), while their number rates decrease in compare to other main national groups for the Pre-Primary

(96) and Upper Secondary (132). This can be explained with a large tendency among Moroccan migrants not to familiarly rejoin very young children and to allow teens students to leave school as soon as they complete the compulsory programs at 16 years of age. This has to deal strictly with migrant population characterisation and Moroccan migration project typology focused upon mainly family members migration who are able to collaborate consistently to family economic production and livelihood.

Stato	Genova	Imperia	La Spezia	Savona	TOTALE	Incidenza su alunni immigrati	Incidenza sul totale degli alunni
Ecuador	3.449	86	78	115	3.728	30,6	2,0
Albania	833	432	300	572	2.137	17,5	1,1
Marocco	546	262	240	196	1.244	10,2	0,7
Perù	425	39	6	30	500	4,1	0,3
Romania	233	48	66	55	402	3,3	0,2
Cina	187	68	43	31	329	2,7	0,2
R. Dominicana	83	3	204	7	297	2,4	0,2
Tunisia	74	101	15	21	211	1,7	0,1
Colombia	126	3	15	22	166	1,4	0,1
Russia	76	18	17	29	140	1,1	0,1
Cile	119	12	2	2	135	1,1	0,1
Brasile	67	30	11	26	134	1,1	0,1
Ucraina	60	28	22	23	133	1,1	0,1
Turchia	7	122	0	0	129	1,1	0,1
Germania	29	65	11	17	122	1,0	0,1
Sri Lanka	90	5	2	8	105	0,9	0,1
Francia	42	46	11	5	104	0,9	0,1
Filippine	76	10	9	5	100	0,8	0,1
Jugoslavia	58	0	10	24	92	0,8	0,0
Polonia	40	14	16	12	82	0,7	0,0
Altre nazioni	805	216	188	205	1414	11,6	0,7
Non rilevato	75	6	9	405	495	-	-
TOTALE	7.500	1.614	1.275	1.810	12.199	100,0	6,4

Source: Third Genoese Report on Migration – MEDI (2006) – F.lli Frilli .Eds

Data provide a figure with a quite sensibly young population and an higher concentration in Pre-Primary and Primary schools. On the contrary young immigrants presence in Upper Secondary schools is lower both according to a general trend in immigrant population and as Upper Secondary schools cover also non compulsory school ages. Overall young immigrant population in Genoa is a recent phenomenon and

On the contrary the elderly population while rapidly rising in the Genoese resident community is still under-represented in the immigrant population. Obviously it is too early in historical terms for an establishment of an elder migrant population in the local context but in some circumstances it also a matter of fact that aged migrant population (basically not in working age) prefer to retire and to move back to the home countries.

All together these data provide a quite instable and dynamic picture of non-European immigration to Genoa: it comes to evidence how the process, despite a consistent increasing in the last 15 years, is still in an intermediary phase subsequent to the first fragmented flows but too early for the more stable and structured immigration patterns typical of old-dated processes. By national origin, some immigrant communities appear to be more stabilised - see i.e. Latino-Americans, Sri-Lanka and Philippines- meanwhile. Rumanian, Bulgarian and Moroccans tend to be connected to more instable settling strategies and temporary oriented migration projects.

As it concerns gender composition the situation is even much more fragmented. As a general idea the overall rates are quite different if compared to the national one: in Genoa 55,2% of migrant population is female. Historically speaking this value has been always considerable since the South American emigration flourished in the late '90s. This means that before the gender predominance

was the opposite. Typical male migration from Africa regions (see i.e. Senegal with a 96% and Morocco 83% of male residing population in 1997) influenced the whole picture even if some Latino American countries such as Ecuador (29%) and Peru (32%) provided always an opposite picture. In the last decade the overall composition has changed: on the one hand Latino-American countries maintained approximately same gender trend meanwhile African population (with the only exception of Senegal) have moved toward a more balanced relation between genders; on the other hand it should be accounted that the amazing growth of Ecuadorian population in Genoa in the last decade has contributed to reverse the overall gender distribution tendency of the early migration stages. Statistically speaking the turning point of this gender typisation toward the feminine occurred in 1999.

As it concerns spatial distribution following data help to catch an idea of very different housing strategies and underlying different migration projects. Far more they should be also accounted as providing interesting information on discrimination process occurring in the metropolitan area. In fact it is not only a matter of where migrants plan to go but more importantly where housing opportunities are made available for new incomers. One of the most relevant variable in this respect is the economic one. New incomers and locally residents immigrants who are employed in poor and low-wage works cannot afford to buy or rent flats in high expensive urban areas and they can only afford to settle in cheap residential spaces and location where prices are affordable and competition with local residents is low. This recalls another important element concerning a marginalisation process performed by local resident society. Where there is a high demand of houses and flats Italian owners naturally tend to rent properties out to Italians rather than to foreigners. These phenomena contribute to a immigrant population concentration process in poor and well defined neighbourhoods in Genoa metropolitan area.

The size that falls within Genoa metropolitan area is approx. 240,4 square km and the central area of the town occupies 73 square km. The first general evidence is that the presence of foreign citizens within the city area is not equally distributed. Basically the largest non-Italian population is concentrated in the old-town or inner-city and more recently in the west bank and hilly suburbs in the west meanwhile the residential areas on the east banks are not touched by large number of incoming immigrants (with exception of some Europeans and North Americans original from developed and wealth countries). At this stage it would be important to compare the distribution evolution process in the last decade. In 1997 the largest immigrant population was based in the old city centre neighbourhood and Centro-Est Borough. In the following table the % distribution in city-centre by nationality in 1997 and 2004 is presented to provide the evidence that still at the middle of large scale immigration history most immigrants are packed in a very narrow and concentrated area.

Nationality	% migrant population residing in the Old city Centre in 1997	% migrant population residing in the Old City Centre in 2004
Senegal	89,5%	90,2%
Morocco	66,4%	46,2%
Nigeria	50,3%	54,8%
Tunisia	70,4%	65%
China	61%	32,6%
Philippines	37,2%	32,6%
Ecuador	33%	28%
Peru	44%	32,8%

Source: Genoa's Statistical Year Book 2005

More specifically it appears how some ethnic groups (Senegal, Tunisia and Nigeria) have maintained or strengthen their presence in the inner part of the city meanwhile some others (Peru

and Ecuador) have always diversified their presence and have enlarged considerably by expanding their presence toward the west bank of Town (particularly Principe station area, Fossato and Sapiardarena Campasso and Bassa Val Bisagno neighbourhoods). Finally some other communities (such as Morocco and China) have maintained a strong link with the original area despite an interesting part of the population has moved out in the surrounding areas (especially Oregina, Lagaccio, Bassa Val Bisagno and Portoria). In many ways these trends and values are largely related to other relevant variables such as age, gender and economic and labour strategies. Above all it appears how the working and economic variables play an important role in the distribution patterns. Basically all migrant communities that have been traditionally involved in housekeeping and elderly services have now largely moved out from the old-town. The inner part of the city – characterised by tiny alleys and old poor and cheap houses- was basically the first place to go but as soon livelihood improved it was time to leave for a better place. Ecuadorians –who were largely woman and played and still play a crucial role in cleaning and house services- have left the poor and precarious location in town to rent or buy flats in the west bank. Prices are much affordable and housing there guarantees a decent accommodation for incoming fellow-members of the family (mainly husbands and children). On the contrary Philippines and Sri-Lanka tended to live in the employers' houses and therefore they housing strategies were much more related to employers' wealth areas or as an alternative the poor ones in the town if accommodation was not provided at work place.

Senegalese and Moroccans (largely male) who are much more connected to informal activities such as street-vending and small enterprises and Nigerian (mostly women) who are largely engaged in prostitution have always looked for cheap accommodation and relatively hidden places to maximize the working benefits and reduce their visibility in town while not working. Especially in the case of Moroccans the housing patterns are related to the economic dimension via their traditional origin in the sending country. As a whole the Moroccan community is since the last few years devised into two main groups: the new urban educated and professional migrants and the old illiterate unskilled rural migrants. If the former have rapidly moved out from inner-town and they have rejoined their family members, the latter still maintain a migration project based on single parent male family followed by other male members from the extended family and a economic strategy focused upon street-vending, informal and unskilled low-income jobs that do not provide good chances for a improvement in their livelihood.

3. Ecuadorians in Genoa

Ecuadorian presence in Genoa should be accounted in a broader and more extensive perspective as in the last 10 years different immigration patterns from Latin American countries have appeared especially in Spain and Italy.

However, within this very specific panorama Ecuadorians are an exemplar case both as they represent the largest national immigrated community in Spain and one of the most relevant in Italy (approx. 61.953 at Dec. 2005) and because Ecuadorian emigration phenomenon itself provides a typological model for studying international migration processes. Due to a deep economic crisis as well as a cultural and political one during the mid 90s' large expatriation fluxes – nearly identifiable as an exodus in relation to certain regional areas- have appeared. These processes have caused both a modification in previous emigration model and strategies and have also affected seriously Ecuadorian society's socio-cultural consistency: in the last decade in fact nearly 1/3 of the whole active population (approx 12 millions) have left the country (Acosta, 2004).

As it concerns Italian case three are the main metropolitan areas in which Ecuadorian presence is more relevant: they are namely Rome, Milan and Genoa². Since 1999 Ecuadorians have become the largest national immigrant group in Genoa overcoming Moroccans and Albanians.

² 2. according to ISTAT Ecuadorian presence in major urban areas was distributed as follow:

If in the early times this migration process was essentially a feminine one in which women represented the gateway and the precursor of the chain migration flows, in a relatively short time (approx 4-5-years) patterns have shifted to more complex models articulated around nuclear and extended familiar connections. At the present stage not only women migrate alone but very rapidly and even simultaneously all family members move out all together toward European destinations where other fellow family members have arranged working and housing opportunities for new incomers.

Reunion procedures are now, more than ever, based on “de jure” rather than on a “de facto” principle and young family members join their parents abroad as soon as the latter realise their migration project is not temporary anymore but is shifted toward a more based and stable settling in receiving contexts. As a consequence and especially in Genoa’s area migration typology is now more entailed around a familiar one. In the same way it happened in Spain (see i.e. Pujadas y Massal 2002) the tendency to recompose families abroad is a typical phenomena occurring to Ecuadorians migrants worldwide. Nonetheless in Genoa, these phenomena slightly differs from other national migrant groups with a same female centred migration model. Philippinos and Dominicans- show figures where the trend is principally feminine without large family reunion processes. In these latter communities the arrival of family fellow members if often perceived and seen as an obstacle to the fulfilments of economic goal set within emigration decision and project.

Low-wage and unskilled jobs – especially house keeping, cleaning and elders’ care – are the major economic niches in Genoese labour market where Ecuadorians women fit themselves largely into. This is often in contrast with high levels of education/qualifications and professional experiences held in Ecuador and social mobility in receiving societies is very often a chimera for such immigrants. House-keeping and cleaning is an easily accessible labour niche where labour force is always requested but nonetheless it results to be the most difficult to escape from: this double tie generates a symbolic fracture between life and livelihood experienced in the home-country and abroad.

Locally attributed positive traits, availability to work hard and with low-salary payouts, linguistic religious and socio-cultural proximity with local context make these immigrants particularly welcome, unproblematic in terms of security, and highly required in the local labour market.

At the same time a culturalisation and ethnicisation process in Genoese society occurred transforming Ecuadorian immigrated women from marginalised and constrained labour workers in very restricted niches into highly vocational oriented workers.

Despite these processes have positively contributed to establish and strengthen Ecuadorian migration to Genoa in the early times, the same are now deforming and generating negative and paradoxical elements that put into danger current positive model of social inclusion. More risks are foreseen for the future if this trend will be not subverted.

It is a matter of fact that these elements affect decisively the subaltern integration model and the way it has generated a good balance in terms of socio-cultural and economic migrants/residents relationship. Particularly husbands’ and children’s arrival have briefly generated a perceived sense of fear and un-security among local residents: this happens both following an increasing and much more visible presence of male immigrants as well as a supposed perception by local employers who see family members’ presence as an increasing obstacle to the aforementioned Ecuadorian women well-known availability to work long, hard and for little money.

It therefore reproduced the classic –and often abused- image of immigrants as solely labour force and not human individuals with their own needs, ambitions, expectation and commitments to their family ties. Full time working condition is often incompatible with family and children presence

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- ▶ in Milano 22.079 (9.134 male and 12.945 female)
 - ▶ in Rome 6.103 (2.177 male and 3.926 female)
 - ▶ in Genoa (13.145 (5.055 male and 8.090 female).

demands and requirements: Ecuadorian women very often strive between the need to work and the social obligations to family caring and children education.

This process comes to evidence as soon as receiving societies face families as a whole seeking for a better life and livelihood in all its aspects. In this perspective familiar crisis among Ecuadorians are wrongly estimated as the result of internal cultural variables and migrants' conditions themselves but not in terms of difficult circumstances in which migrated families experience their life in local receiving context.

In the specific case of young Ecuadorian rejoined immigrants (Feixa 2005, Esparragoza 2003) we are facing individuals who often undergo a series of different distresses and psycho social problems due to circumstances connected to reunion processes. In many ways this is not a voluntary process, leaving home-country is often experienced as a trauma, a detachment from social ties and cultural habits in exchange for a insecure and uncertain new life in a society that often stigmatise diversity. In addition transition to adulthood plays an important role in exaggerating and highlighting reactions to such new conditions.

All these variable together tend to widen the gap between young migrants and their Italian local counterparts, forcing the formers to tight up within closed mono-ethnic groups rather than to integrate with locals in the public spheres. The same situation occurs in Spain (Alzamora, Carrasquilla Coral, et.al, 2003, Echeverri Buriticá, 2004, Pedone, 2004b) where socio-territorial forms of segregation affect young Latin American migrants in the way they manage their socio-educative spaces and leisure activities. The consequence is a process of a extreme social identity construction against the potential similarities and commonalities with local counterparts: now it does not matter if there are same existential condition linked to their teenager-hood condition but the goal is to stress ethnic and cultural differences to mark a kind of contrasting identity. These same symbolic markers on the contrary are very often underestimated and unrecognised while in home-counties. As Pedone (2004) notices the common experiential juvenile condition does not tie up but rather it is overwhelmed by other elements: particularly economic and class differences more than cultural ones provide background for a large incomprehension between local and immigrated teenagers. This phenomenon causes an impossibility to share and exchange positive experiences with the aim to overcome prejudices and social marginalisation. Accumulation of contextual and Ecuadorian young migrants' intimate conflict factors make, therefore, inclusion processes in receiving Genoese society a very complex, difficult and articulated issue. Personal and family precarious life conditions and livelihood, absence of concrete and real opportunities to access citizenship (i.e. at the come to an age young immigrants face the risk to remain undocumented), adult family members' poor and disadvantaged working conditions generate scarcely supportive familiar environment for young individuals who are experiencing a very difficult life stage both in terms of intimate conflict - caused by teenager-hood condition- as well as dramatically poor and unfavourable contextual opportunities for inclusion and integration made available in receiving local societies.

4. Moroccans in Genoa

Generally speaking, Moroccan migration in Europe and in Italy (Carchedi & Mottura, 1990; Kuider & Calzolari, 1994) follows four general patterns with different importance according to local context: regular immigration based on family reunions; seasonal migration of legal workers; migration subjected to irregular working conditions; and illegal immigration.

Genoa, due to its geographical position, is the gateway for Moroccan migration in Italy. Moroccan migrants, whether legal or illegal, largely reach Genoa as their first Italian destination after crossing Spain and France or the Mediterranean. Only a few of them decide to stop and settle as most decide to travel to other destinations all over the country. Even if the Moroccan presence in the area is quite old-dated (late '60s) the first consistent migration flows from Morocco to Genoa started, quite

recently, in the middle '80s and increased throughout the '90. Nowadays, according to the most recent statistical data available, Moroccan migration to Liguria and Genoa shows a consistent and stabilised trend (third immigrant national group by number in the metropolitan area). Moroccan population in the metropolitan area of Genoa is composed of 2986 registered legal residents (31st December 2005) plus an additional number of occasional residents³ and a percentage of illegal estimated a 20% out of the legal number⁴. The Moroccan ethnic group is therefore the third largest migrant community in Genoa, and more importantly, the first if only Arabic-Islamic countries are considered. The distribution of Moroccan population over the regional territory can be defined as diffused (Erminio, 2006). All provinces and urban-rural areas of the region are affected by incoming flows of Moroccan migrants. Among the most relevant foreign ethnic groups Moroccan is the sole to provide such a distribution model. The reason for this is due to the socio-cultural, historical and economic factors that have generated and sustained emigration from Morocco toward Italy. Generally speaking, Moroccan community in Liguria is not homogeneous by itself but provides different forms of diversity within its diversity according to two main traditional Moroccan patterns: the rural-urban origin and the traditional economic relevance (Alzetta, 2006). This difference in terms of heritage has largely affected the residential patterning at receiving level, producing not a single but multiple forms of space distribution, housing, working strategies and sibling.

The typical Moroccan migrant in Genoa is more likely male and relatively young in comparison to local population and other immigrated national groups. Generally Moroccan migrants in Genoa urban area reside alone or with a small number of family contacts. It often happens that individual male adults come abroad in the company of a young son or nephew -exclusively male- in order to maximise the advantages of the migration, especially in terms of economic income. At the same time, most of them are related to one another by an extensive network based on belonging to the same geographical and tribal area, and the obligations of chain migration processes. These are the elements that manage the effective shape and traits of the Moroccan community in town. According to the same logic, divisions reflect the transplantation of traditional norms and habits of relationship, and forms of conflict tend to be about control of niches in the informal economic system and the related labour market opportunities.

Moroccans in Genoa mostly come from "*the Tadla*"; a specific geographic area of Morocco delimited by the Provinces' triangle of Settat, Oued Zem and Khouribga. This is a typical rural region of central Morocco traditionally inhabited by Arab-speaking tribes. It is also one of the areas that is most affected by the crisis of the Moroccan economy and agricultural system. The level of education and attainment of competencies and technical skills of Moroccan migrants in Genoa reflects this. The group has very low scholastic qualifications in comparison with other ethnic migrant communities in Genoa and more especially with Moroccan groups in other Italian contexts. There is a correlation between this peculiar feature of the Moroccan population in Genoa and the economic constraints of the city. Only recently (last 10 years) a large number of Moroccan migrants have moved from urban areas of central Morocco toward Italy and Genoa. In opposition to the early immigrated groups this immigration provides a different migration strategy. Being largely relatively young, educated, skilled they tend to occupy different and more skill-requiring niches in the labour market (building sector, tourism, trading and self entrepreneurship), they are more likely to generate a better and stable livelihood and often they opt to re-join all their family members both male and family as soon as their migration project is stabilised.

³ The occasional residents refers to: people who legally live in Genoa but their registered place of abode is somewhere else, people who legally live and reside out from Genoa but for different reasons come temporarily in Genoa and those who legally enter in Italy through Genoa and stay in town for the time necessary to arrange their position and plan. Therefore the number of this figure may vary considerably according to many different factors. It is estimated anyway that the average number during the year does not exceed the 10% of whole population.

⁴ Value in line with the national figure.

Another important characteristic of Moroccan migration in Genoa is its -real or at least largely imagined- transitory nature. Genoa, being mainly a gateway and a poorly offering place for labour opportunities, causes Moroccan migrants herewith residing to be more exposed to internal and international movements. Often they decide to move somewhere else in search for a better job (mostly the urban educated and skilled ones) or in other cases (mostly the rural unskilled and illiterate ones) they decide to manage a kind of dynamic and transnational way of living based on a continuous seasonal movement between sending and receiving migration ends. In this respect and given all the aforementioned premises Moroccan migrants show generally an high level of mobility (in comparison to other national ethnic groups) between Italy and Morocco.

Moroccans in Genoa – who are largely rural - have the potential to move relatively freely from receiving to sending countries because they are largely involved in informal economies such as street vending, and temporary and short-term work in the black labour market where demand is discontinuous (Rayneri, 1996). While this highly insecure condition does not guarantee Moroccan migrants with an high income - potentially available in other Italian contexts- it offers, indeed, the opportunity to earn more money than they could ever have made in Morocco, and to travel home in accordance with the seasonality of labour opportunities. Frequent trips allow them also to keep up commitments related to religion and kinship obligations typical of rural-tribal Morocco.

Finally Moroccans, due to their livelihood, are likely to be very visible migrants in town⁵. This situation has always affected the perception of Moroccans by local communities. As an ethnic group Moroccans are highly stigmatised by a popular association with criminality and delinquency. This does not mean that there are no criminals among Moroccans who struggle to survive in Genoa but there is a mismatch between the real extent of criminality and what local people think and believe it to be. In this sense there is at work also a kind of internal confrontation between the two typology components of the community – viz. urban and rural- on the responsibility for a poor and pejorative socially constructed self-image in the resident Italian population.

A particular account should be paid in this perspective to young Moroccan migrants and their experiences in town. First of all stereotypical familiar structure in Genoa allows mainly young male immigrants to be over-represented: in fact especially in young population gender composition is primarily male. This can be explained both with a socio-cultural Moroccan variable in relation with a contextual livelihood organisation of large section of Moroccan population in Genoa (Alzetta, 2005): on the one hand to travel and to trade as a part of Moroccan traditional imagination is not accessible to women. In addition to this there is a large stereotypisation of gender role in traditional rural Moroccan society and women -especially if young- are considered to be particularly armless against western society and models cultural corruption. Often when families seek for a better livelihood opt to allow migration for adult males in conjunction with young male relatives. This strategy guarantees –at least apparently- an optimal solution both in terms of economic and cultural oriented perspectives. Of course this not the result in receiving contexts: large young male Moroccans immigrants suffer from a particularly dramatic identity process construction (Notarangelo, 2006) and often reject traditional hierarchical constraints set by their own adult family members to reach a self autonomy and a form of freedom their own Italian counterparts are normally offered. This process causes intergenerational conflicts that might end up with young male immigrants to return by parents decision back to original villages in Morocco or to leave the family and network to seek for a better own life: this implies – in absence of familiar support and with very poor skills, qualifications and competences- to foster the world of illegal activities such as smuggling and drug dealing.

⁵ In the last few years in Europe (Gerholm & Lithman, 1988; Shadid & Koningsveld 1991,1996) and more recently in Italy (Saint-Blancat, 1995, 1999) the academic debate has focused its attention on the implication for migrants of belonging to Islam. The religious domain and its effects play an important role in the way we perceive the presence of Muslim in our countries. Some authors stress that the historical memory about the Saracens Muslims and Turks plays an important role in the game (Allievi, 1995, 1996; Allievi & Dassetto 1993). More in general this is an important issue and I did not engage it as I have analysed extensively this topic in my MSc dissertation concerning the role and the presence of the Mosque in the Genoa old city centre.

This process recalls another important issue concerning a specific phenomenon appearing in Italy (and Genoa in particular) concerning not come to an age young immigrants travelling alone. The situation is quite complicated and it cannot be explained through simple and linear explanation but this phenomenon's trajectories can be mainly revealed via a circulation of young escaped from families and others that have managed to migrate alone with the hope to find their fortune in Europe. Generally most young Moroccan immigrants come over Europe and Italy following other family relatives but they do it voluntarily; this differs for example to the case of Ecuadorians. Secondly they are largely poorly literate and their school achievement in Italy is likewise under the average of Italians and other migrant students. They are likely to pursue –when it rarely happens- vocational and technical post-compulsory education. Despite this situation and especially in their adolescence they are exposed to exchanges with local teenagers and to influences of consumption and cultural model of local society.

All these elements provide a contextual characterisation of young immigrant Moroccan population that can be synthesised as follows:

- Nearly the whole teenager Moroccan population in Genoa is not pure second immigrant generation but has been born in sending country and has arrived in Italy during schooling age (generation 1,25 and 1,50 according to Rambaud scale proposed as reference for the Italian case)
- Due to aforementioned family structuring there is a lower growth – in comparison to other immigrant groups- of child immigrant population who has been born in receiving country (pure second generation)
- Very young Moroccan population is therefore composed by family reunion process from receiving countries
- Most of teenager immigrant Moroccan population is male and has and develop poor level of school attainment

Genoa and Second Generation Migrants.

Given the objectives of TRESEGY research project and a considerably rising population of young immigrants in the urban area of Genoa, it should be important to assess the process of stabilisation and appearance of second generation among the most relevant immigrated communities. First of all, as it arises from the general statistical overview of migrant population, the age average and the proportion of young population between 0 and 24 years old is sensibly high in compare to the local population in Genoa and more interestingly slightly higher in compare to national rates of immigrated population.

Secondly the age groups that are more numerically relevant are the one between 0-4 and 5-9 while the 10-14 and 15-19 are numerically relevant as well but with a lower growth rates. Going beyond numeric data, the general image of young local migrant population provides two main lines of evolution:

First, there is a rising phenomenon of very young immigrant population characterised by being mostly born in the receiving context from at least one immigrant parent (but the most large part from both non-Italian parents). At the same time there is also a minor numbers of very young immigrant children that come in Genoa to join their parents in an age between 1 and 9. This generation as a whole represents the typical expression of a pure second generation and provide with a stabilisation process of the most relevant immigrated communities as a general figure.

Secondly there is also a consistent migration flows from sending countries to Liguria consisting of young migrants in schooling age that join their parents in Genoa. Migrant teenagers are at the present stage represented by a large number of newly arrived in the age group between 10 and 15 while the older groups (from 15 onward) are much more represented by individuals that reside in the country from some years. This process is highly affected by Italian norms and regulations about

reunion procedure. Minors are eligible to be inscribed in their parents documents until the age of 18 but the procedure requires also that applications should be submitted only for individuals aged less than 17. This means that following current rules young individual aged over 16 cannot join easily their relatives in Italy under the family reunion regulation but they are accounted as single individual applying for a visa and permit on their own. Given the fact that Bossi-Fini law (2003) links together tightly work with permission to reside in Italy the effect is that teenagers over 16 are more disadvantaged in compare to younger ones. This process is generating, in many immigrant communities, a tendency to anticipate, where and when possible, the emigration of young relatives under the more easy accessible framework of family reunion.

However not all national migrant groups are characterised by the rise of young members nor all those who are, provide similar strategies and motivations due to the appearance of second generations. The main national groups in this respect are the Ecuadorian, Moroccan and Albanian. Especially the two formers provide quite a different patterning that would be helpful to reveal the local receiving contextual and sending traditional socio-cultural variables that affect appearance, distribution, organisation and managing of young second generation in Genoa. Pragmatically in order to widen as much as possible our research perspective both Ecuadorian and Moroccan groups will be approached and analysed at all levels of the research plan in Genoa.

As questioned in the previous national report (WP2) the central question to debate is how a second generation young migrant can be defined. Following the reading of available data about the local context, Genoa does not make an exception to this. The figures of young immigrated population are not homogeneous by age/gender composition, ethnic and national origin and spatial distribution. If for the latter, the pattern is strictly related to the adult population's strategies and activities, for the formers some additional research and defining problems arise.

As we promote a social actors' centred perspective reading of some social processes it is also important define the categories and the logic boundaries through which we aim to define and select a certain research sample for the research process. Genoa is on line with the national figure and despite some specific social processes (caused by the relevant Ecuadorian population with its peculiar migrant and livelihood strategies and the rising phenomenon of un-accompanied migrant minors among the Balkans and the North Africans) second generation definition and categorisation should bear on the more extensive meaning we have proposed as for the national context. Genoa has not matured yet a well established second generation population typical of old-dated immigration flows nonetheless there is a rising number of young children of migration who reside in the area.

SECOND PART – Interviews and analysis

1. Introduction

Young migrants' lives and experiences cannot be investigated unless a broader analysis on young and juvenile condition as a whole – both migrant and resident – is considered. Nonetheless even among migrant condition the connection between different generations should be explored.

The present section has the aim to focus upon young second generation immigrated teenagers in Genoa both in an intracultural and an intercultural oriented perspective. Given this, the present section will refer –following indications arisen in previous section - mainly on individuals whose age range is between approx. 14 to 23 years.

To reach this specific goal a series of interviews to key informants and witnesses have been carried out. Experts and representatives from institutions as well as relevant members from the immigrated communities have been targeted. Specifically – on one side - local politicians, social practitioners and experts working for the local and regional councils and education departments, social workers from non profit and charity organisations, volunteers from associations have been contacted and interviewed. On the other side we explored and discussed crucial problems concerning young second generation migrants with relevant figures coming from migrant communities.

Given this premise, we explored – carrying out interviews- the following main areas and topics:

- to outline the history and current policies turned to young population as a whole at local level
- to outline levels and degree of perception and construction – operated by public institutions and opinion- about young migrant presence in the local territory
- to reveal major social problems and relevant issues concerning young migrants' livelihood and experiencing their lives in Genoa.
- How different institutions in the public and private sectors operate in promoting and supporting juvenile generations both of immigration and resident origin
- To reveal potential specific needs, expectations and ambitions among immigrant groups in relation to emerging young immigrant presence
- Future scenarios and social perspectives rising from contextual transformation of local Genoese society and the emerging rising presence of a heterogeneous young population

Data collection and analysis have been always driven by an awareness concerning the crucial role that these elements might play in a responsive, balanced and equal social construction. Social cohesion in future perspective demands a double attitude at local level: on the one hand receiving society should be committed to promote this process. On the other hand immigrant groups should be prepared to negotiate their needs and expectations to better develop culturally and socially sensible collaboration and integration programs turned to young immigrant teens. In this context active participation –even shaped in a very creative way- by young social actors themselves might be of a great help to boost off a positive process.

2. Migration and juvenile policies at local level.

Current juridical and institutional framework in Genoa Town council - with reference to young generations policies- is quite fragmented and discontinuous. If young migrant origin are accounted the situation is even worst. The problem does not refer only to the policy level debate but also to

competences' distribution and policy planning responsibilities among different Council's departments along the last decade.

The following reconstruction is based mainly on the personal and subjective interviewed social actors' perceptions, individuals who have a relevant and privileged role in Genoese community indeed. On the contrary available data and document analysis has not been pointed as the main goal for this investigation. Of course a general account and a reconstruction operated by interviewees themselves served as a good reference but a deep document analysis would not have been really helpful due to the aforementioned Genoese specific discrepancies.

During interviews to local representatives from the resident side an attention to juvenile condition emerged as specific issue since from the '80s. This happened due to the initiative of a single local political representative in the Council and the goal was to deliver specific services and activities – such as i.e. Infogiovani- that has been already successfully adopted in other local Italian contexts. The actual realisation of this process took place only in the early '90s throughout the work of a specific Unit in the Town council devoted specifically to this aim.

Main activities that have been employed to promote and support the young population in the local area can be summarised as follow:

- An information service that would be able to deliver information about potential opportunities concerning education, vocational education, work, social and health issue, cultural and socialising activities, leisure, holidays and sport activities both in the public and private sectors.
- A creativity centre aimed to support and promote young artists' activities offering at different level spaces competences courses and resources
- Participation to a nationwide agreement among so called "Educative Towns" to reach a common high standard quality in social services for young generations and to promote their early and active participation to social and political life.
- Delivery of an integrated network of educative services between the national education department and the local council services for educational purposes. This action was taken following directions of 285/97 Turco law recalling for a support to social rights and equal opportunities for childhood and adolescence. The objective was to create and extend available spaces and social network that could function as supportive tools during any individual and collective crisis in a rapidly mutating society like this is. Finally it should also work as bridging and communicative dimension between adolescence, adulthood and open society in promoting a balanced psychological and social individual attitude among teens.

Unfortunately since from the mid '90s the responsibility for this actions in Genoa has been assigned to various different Department within the Council following different ruling political coalition. This fragmentation and the impossibility to establish a definite autonomous single unit has prevented to enforce properly this ambitious social programme. The result is therefore poor and qualitatively irrelevant at all level no matter whether we speak about local resident or immigrated teenagers.

This point is clearly made by E.C. who is currently working in the Department of social affairs that is responsible at the present stage for child juvenile and teenagers development and support programme within the local Council:

“ the sector of juvenile policies in town went often to a stop due to two main different orders of problem: one political and one is technical...first of all that should be commitment among politicians to deliver relevant policies and secondly there should be the will among the ruling local government to transform it into a proactive and concrete series of action and activities [...]

moreover this is an area where is very difficult to activate policies as it is often perceived that teenagers – often not come to an age- are difficult to be driven and constrained within a certain public oriented framework that would subside the parental and familiar role [...] another important element is the difference between what adults have in mind as positive activities turned to youths and the way the latter imagine and expect about this, cognitive maps and logic are very different indeed”

On the other hand the problem of a leading role and political figure in the public institutions during the last decade is considered one of the most relevant causes for failing about a consistent juvenile policy. This is particularly felt among social workers and practitioners in the public and private sectors a underlined by W.M. from ARCI – a socio-political nationwide organisation largely active in the sector of social and cultural activities- :

“I believe it is missing a driving role in the local government that would be able to decide program, coordinate and link altogether public and private intervention in the area of youth policies [...] especially the area of policies for childhood are in a very poor conditions while the others are only a little bit better [...] the point that this process of decision making should be at collective level and all departments in the council should work together to enforce and reinforce their intervention toward youth at social level”

Recently a specific responsibility about youth policy and social promotion has been created in the Council Department for Educative and Scholastic services; This unit’s commitment emerges after a 3 years period in which no Council office or unit has worked on this relevant social area. The gap left behind is huge and the unit – very small and poorly economically supported indeed- now struggles just to take juvenile social policy back on track.

The current orientation and perspective is to network and tie back together all public and private institutions that are committed to this common goal and aim. Second objective will be to coordinate all projects and programs together to evaluate and ameliorate already lacking available different services, activities and projects. It should be reminded that in the last few years the public administration has worked only indirectly by supporting, with little funding, projects run by external private and public organisations. L.T. from the Youth Policy Office in Genoa Council stresses

“we would like all relevant Council Department would contribute to support our effort as youth-ness problems and their social problems are crucial for the future of our society [...] our role should be only to coordinate all different efforts rather to enforce all interventions alone [...] we should also work as promoters and supporters for excellent projects ideated and proposed by all potential social actors available in our society that are very good and have clear ideas about the real situation in our neighbourhoods indeed”

The new recent deal aims to promote all activities at very narrowed down level recognising that youth policy in Genoa needs a very focused and district level approach. Any district in the area provides different needs and social circumstances that should be considered separately. This could be only done via a collaborative cooperation between central Council offices and decentralised district offices. Especially in the peripheries different situations demands very different interventions and social projects. Especially with reference to young immigrants this issue becomes more relevant than others. As we have presented before migrants’ spatial distribution and degree of integration in the local areas of Genoa varies dramatically and despite that we should recognise a common problematic ground when speaking about both resident and immigrant youths we should be aware of their different problematic patterning in the various local areas of Genoa.

Same L.T. from the Youth Policy Office in Genoa Council put this issue very clearly while stating that:

“ we should imagine Ecuadorian, Moroccan Senegalese teenagers as active participants in building first of all a good environment in their neighbourhood; they should be allowed to make it more reliable, live and appreciable and to contribute actively to this process with new ideas, projects and activities that should be supported [...] we believe this is the secret to promote social interventions in the local territories: we should work as promoters and supporters rather than decision makers and deliverers”

Another crucial tools in current definition of social youth policy with a special focus upon the immigrant ones is constituted by “City Social Plan” (CSP). It has the aim to deal at local level with all social and cultural problems. Within this a specific area, great relevance has been assigned to immigration related issues and a integrated commission has been established to work on this. CSP has been approved in July 2006 and it is the result of a political will to integrate individual and community needs and demands into a proactive social framework sensible to every single City environment and context. It aims to reinforce a notion of active citizenship enforced via all Genoese society sections active social and political participation to constructing a better place for living into. Decision making is perceived as a community process shared between social actors, public and private organisation and the Council itself. With specific reference to the problem of immigrant presence and their integration in the local society, main goal and objective of this initiative are:

- Develop strategies to contrast and prevent distress and social exclusion among all society sections
- To consider individual and families as passive object of any social intervention but active characters in promoting networked interventions
- To support family and group level forms of self management and organisation while performing public deemed functions and activities. This should be reach making available both material and non material resources to those who wish to promote any relevant positive initiative.
- To promote any activity that would aim to enlarge labour offer in the market and its accessibility to all society sections
- To work actively to overcome all real and concrete obstacles and barriers that would endanger social equality and equal opportunities for all members and without any distinction of local society
- To promote an overall social policy founded on respecting cultural and social diversities and fighting inequalities in this respect

The main CSP objective is therefore ***“to activate a federal supportive model that would be able to recognise social and cultural diversity of Genoese society (especially reinforcing traditional City’s social and humanitarian traits), all specificities of any single territorial system and all urban differences that form together the multiform Genoese urban tissue”***⁶

Within every aforementioned single objective particular attention has been given to immigration dimension. A specific commission is working on this and it cooperates actively with all other relevant working groups such as the one of housing, labour market social inclusion information and communication.

As it concerns immigration working group’s specific commitment, main areas covered are:

⁶ *Ibidem*

- Immigrants' juridical status and the opportunity to deliver voting rights in local elections in order to promote equal participation representation of every member of local society and immigrants in particular⁷;
- Transfert to local administration of permits and technical procedures concerning immigration in order to speed up legal migrants' integration processes.
- Communication and information network improvement
- Creation of a consultative unit composed by all migrant communities and association that would support Council in decision making process
- Cultural mediator professional improvement and enlargement in all different relevant sectors and areas of Genoese society (education schools family health justice and prison)⁸.

3. Key Informants Interviews' Analysis

While exploring local population experiences and expectation in metropolitan Genoa, first evidence concerns resident population high age average . First problem that rises in this framework is the intergenerational problems at communicative level and comprehension. Often older generations provide very different standpoints and ideas. Therefore it appears – more that the intercultural dimension- to be the most critical in Genovese society.

Services delivery and space organisation in public services reflect this situation and often youth is perceived as an underestimated problem in policy makers plans and initiatives. Teenagers problems are perceived as well a s too problematic and very difficult to be dealt and tackled properly without extensive material and non material resources. Emergence of young non native generations in local population puts the situation in a further problematic situation. Often the latter have very different way of managing and experience local living and livelihood in compare to their Italian counterparts and this exaggerates negative perception by local residing adult population.

“children are very kind, teenagers are getting often troublemakers, generally speaking teens are always problematic but in a city where population is very old this is even worst [...] what is told about foreigners? They just mess around! But teens have always mess around more than others and since many of them are now immigrant the problem is perceived as more extensive than it is in reality. A good idea would be to connect together old and new generations through exchange programmes and activities that might lead to a better reciprocal comprehension and their own needs, expectations and ambitions..” (S.M. – ARCI)

2south American in general have a socialising attitude that is not very similar to the one Italians do. This is even more true in Genoa where – generally speaking- all population is close reserved and imagines social life in a very restricted way of exploiting” (P.P – AGORA' Association)

First point is to link together youth and teenagers with the experiencing of space and local territories. Within this dimension it will be possible to establish as a consequence a better relational framework between local adult residents and all teens' groups and generations, no matter whether of local or immigrant origin.

⁷ Genoa's Council has already voted to allow voting rights for foreing residents in town even if in juridical terms this is considered a matter of national legislation.

⁸ See: www.pianoregolatoesociale.comune.genova.it – Social regulatory Plan – Objective Section 15 – Integration for Immigrant persons.

Such an awareness can be perceived in public and private institutions that actively work in the field, but still much has to be done in this direction. Pacific co-existence can be established only if the perceiving to a common ideal sense of community is set among young and adult generation in town since from the very minimal spatial unit, namely the neighbourhood.

“We always try to negotiate, to mediate socially between teenagers and local residing adult population; tensions are always very high and only after this, we try to build together some opportunities that would be responsive to their concrete and perceived needs [...] what is missing in reality is the sense of belonging to a shared community that was perceived as working some years ago and that now makes intergenerational distances more perceivable and stressful [...] where this sense does not exist anymore teenagers are viewed as meteors, as troublemakers”
(P.P.- AGORA' Association)

“ we should intervene at collaboration level, in co-participation in education, family support and leisure centres; this means also to educate adult parents and to support them in dealing and interacting with young generations. In many circumstances they feel or even worst they are not able to cope with their own young children” (G.B – Don Bosco educator)

Within this dimension a crucial role is played by family and its capacity to manage inter-generational coping and interacting. Specific problems emerge both in immigrant and local native families as well: for the former it is very often a matter of absence caused by hard work demands while for the latter it is often a question of symbolic power and a lack of accomplishment to their educative parental function .

In Italians it is not a question of parents' absence like in Latino Americans who very often have only a mother engaged all over the day in very low skilled and hard jobs [...] Italians have more problem of attitude, of psychological support and identity construction [...] here in example parents demand all responsibility to us as educators, while it is crucial for us to have their support and participation in our educative efforts” (G.B –Don Bosco educator)

At these conditions large young immigrant population inclusion in receiving societies becomes quite problematic and traumatic. Moreover local contextual variability are an added important variable to be accounted for. Finally both natives and immigrant origin teenagers experience all together same general relational and emotional distresses caused by common age experiencing.

In Diamond neighbourhood there are no many young immigrants and those who are visible are always perceived and seen in very pejorative terms [...] it is typical of this area while in the experiences I had before in other areas the situation is totally different. Here they all compete for a share of poorly available welfare support and this does not help” (P.P.- AGORA' Association)

I sincerely believe that young and adult immigrant needs are becoming more and more similar to the ones of their local native counterparts...one answer that I give whenever conflict arises is that common problems generate or better demand double question of support that the local system cannot afford to answer to. Competition for resources becomes a key element in the process. It should be accounted also that rights are not equal and they might make a difference... the clear example of this is the proposal for the new regional law about immigration. Right-wing parties have argued that the new law might advantage immigrants into getting access to public popular housing in comparison to natives and that housing is a problem for all population with no distinction about origin. This of course boosts off a sense of anger and revenge against persons who are not perceived as having the same right that locals to get these benefits. And moreover what about nurseries? It is often perceived that immigrants who apply for this service steal places to locals

but the problem is totally different: the matter is that there are no sufficient institutions for this service on the local Genoese territories...” (W.M. – ARCI)

Getting more in detail about teenagers specific needs, the situation that comes out from interviews points out very different perspectives and ideas that work complementarily together indeed. This topic is quite difficult to be explored and even teenagers themselves are not very clear about what they want or what they expect to have. However inadequate structural urban condition plays a role in determining an un-favourable situation for young generations at least. Sense of deprivation and frustration are the most common feelings that teenagers show off while dealing and acting with educators, mediators, teachers and all social practitioners.

“In reality they have large difficulties to express they needs and expectations in very concrete terms...” (P.P – AGORA’)

“the crucial issue is that point of reference are often missing, those references that might fulfil the lacks and empties since when you arrive in a very different place like Genoa is in comparison to mother country...in addition public institutions should be more organised and prepared to deal with diversity...here it is all a mess and it is difficult to target the right place to ask for a kind of specific support (P.L. – Latino American University Student Association)

“often it happens that projects and activities for children and teenagers are thought and planned as they are for adults, especially some children projects are focused on adults’ needs and not on original targeted appointee ... now it is time to think any action in children and teenagers terms otherwise it will be useless” (P.P – AGORA’ Association)

Another recurrent element in many interviews is the spatial dimension and the areas that Genoa makes available to teenagers for their socialising and leisure time. It come to evidence how Genoa lacks of proper socialising spaces for young and teen both native and immigrant generation where they might practice sports and gaming as well as other forms of unmanaged and creative practices. It is from this lack that some frictions arise between local natives and young immigrant origin teenagers in public areas such as playground and parks.

In South America there is plenty of space and nobody bother if a group meets and socialise in a certain place... here we are all packed and it is easy to get in contrast in the public spaces. We all live in huge houses that for us is quite unusual and somehow stressful as in South America most people live in a single house. Sharing common place and neighbouring flats might be a problem and cause conflicts with other peoples” (P.L. – Latino American University Student Association)

Needs among teenagers are- in my view- very simple: to have some nice place where to meet, where to do something that might even be self-managed and not institutionalised... a place we teens might express themselves and inter-relate between different origin groups Italian and non ...finally some place where they do not have to fear to disturb...” (S.M. – ARCI)

A place where they can play football freely is dream; they do not have a place to go indeed! They do not have the money to rent a football field to play their own matches as Italians often do. They just pop around all over the day waiting for a chance to do what they deserve as teenager to do. It is our own responsibility to manage the situation, to allow them a place o stay freely in order to avoid them to roam about here and there (G.B –Don Bosco educator)

What they really want is only to be awarded a concrete and symbolic space for their recognition, a place where they can experience their growing with all positive and negative implications... to have recognised place where they can freely produce and reproduce a juvenile culture. The problem is that Genoa is closed both at urban structural and cultural levels. Nowadays only place available are the ones like Fiumara, big shopping and recreation centres based on consumption models...” (W.M. – ARCI)

The main place of Latino American aggregation in the west bank is Fiumara shopping centre where all teenagers meet and spend the day. Consumption appears to be the referential behaviour while pure socialising aspects are under-expressed. Absence of places with identity and cultural historic connotation⁹ -that might help and support in transmitting and maintaining appropriate cultural values- boost off a process of cultural attachment to what M. Augè (1993) calls the “non lieu” a non place where anonymity and cultural meaningless provide a treatment, a kind of solution to cultural deprivation : “ *the non place makes free from their own cultural links who comes into ...it does not generate identity and significant communicative relations but only loneliness and ambiguity ... what does matter in a non place it is its attractive power that is contrary to the one that is generate by a significant territory*”¹⁰.

“Fiumara becomes a unique place to be recognised as the meeting and conflict point... and in a certain sense within that place their presence is perceived, seen and felt all over ...” (W.M. – ARCI)

However all teenagers admit that Fiumara is a sad and meaningless place to go .. but in the end all go there as there is no a better place to go. Going there means to join a common behaviour, something that you should do if you want to belong...and there is no provision for a cultural provision a meaningful and culturally appropriate attitudes” (S.M. – ARCI)

Our society demands teenager to be and act as consumers... this condition implies a discrimination process in terms of identity construction...especially in the way most teenagers look forward to appear like all other counterparts. This generates a poor sense of self esteem, a poor sense of individuality resulting from a positive critical attitude. This has a great deal in developing appropriate social, relational, affective and moral attitudes among teenagers..” (P.P – AGORA)

However it should be stressed that that this idea of non place should be also accounted in a positive way especially when teenager generation is involved. The question here is that if we impose a reading centred on a de-culturalised dimension of young experiencing the space we would similarly lose a potential specific dimension of space managing operated by young generations themselves. Often it means that same places can differ sensibly according to different key notion we want to employ. There might be the case of a symbolic construction process based on an idea of nomadic identity that would fit into different places at the same time¹¹. The answer to this is the attempt - promoted by local associations - to create concrete spaces and activities, in form of cultural laboratories- to support teenagers creativity and cultural reproduction. Good example of this are the rising social activities based on a free will access to resources linked to current most relevant performing practices such as *break dance, hip hop and skating*. These activities become relevant and significant in the way they allow teenagers to express themselves freely and to become active and positive social and cultural practices producers and consumers.

⁹ See. M. Augè, *Nonluoghi: per un'antropologia della surmodernità*, Eleuthera, Milano 1993.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 94,95,109.

¹¹ On this F. La Cecla stresses that a non place might be “ the gateway to recall the proper perception of space organisation. In a certain sense extreme negation of space meaning provides a possible positive framework for its reconstruction” (La Cecla, *Perdersi. L'uomo senza ambiente*, Laterza, Bari 2000, p. 146).

“In recent years we experienced a project with skaters – largely immigrant indeed- where there are no differences in terms of origin and social belonging. Only differences relate to the way anyone expresses his way of being a skater with no concerns if someone is Italian or Latino American. This is a good example how the world of this street organisation are Based on an inclusion rather than on a exclusion principle. Among skaters what it counts is your way to perform rather than where do you come from, who you are or what language you speak, in this sense “skater society” is absolutely integrated and equally accessible to anyone..” (P.P – AGORA)

Leisure time is often recognised where differences and exclusion processes emerge more frequently. This happens both at individual and collective level, it often takes the shape of an intercultural confrontation. Interviewees interpretation about this have two main directions: on the one hand natural dimension of these phenomena among youth is stressed and justified. It is often stated that emphasising too much these dimensions might result in exaggerating real contextual problem of natural cultural confrontation. The consequence would be a negative stigmatisation leading to serious consequences on identity formation process. On the other hand serious concerns emerge about the way institutions – in our society- deal un-properly rising cultural problems related to youth-ness. The freight is a rising conflictual dimension that would become unmanageable.

I believe that the most preoccupying element is the total un-clearness about what you want to claim for. When I was young I and my mates were very clear on what we wanted and what we could get while contesting. Now I see all these young teenagers without any clear objective basically as they are aware they cannot get nothing back. They feel absolutely un-listened and they act in the same way, in my view, it happened in French banlieu sometime ago: no contrastive positive attitudes but just anger and revenge against everything..” (S.M. – ARCI)

Standpoints an perspectives about young immigrant and local origin teenagers are quite different according to interviewees’ experiences and expertise. They offer very broad points’ of view that might represent great contribution to our investigation and excellent background material of reference. The most precious and interesting ones are briefly summarised hereafter.

“A boy and a girl who born here or at least arrives here very young, has a greater chance to integrate [...] for those who have arrived later when their enculturation process already occurred largely, it is much more difficult... they normally tend to isolate themselves since the early stage. They relate among themselves and avoid interaction with other local counterparts. At the same time especially Italians do not interact very often with them and if so they do it briefly” (M. – cultural mediator)

Now in my view it has become more accepted the multiple identity notion, this will allow to be individuals, students, Moroccans and Italians at the same time. Maybe you like eat pasta or cous cous but nor of these element is in contradiction with the others. In this sense it is possible to be important component of a system without dismissing every own single identity” (C.N. – CRAS)

Older teenagers (approx 17-18 years old) find more difficulties in aggregating with local Italians counterparts... they are older they have experience a longer life and a stronger distress about their displacement... younger ones and I mean the ones 14 years old or less are more un-experienced. This allows them to better deal one another and integrate visible differences such as the one between Italians and Latino Americans...” (G.B.- Don Bosco)

There are too many prejudices and sometimes they lead to a unfair relational framework from both sides... some of this reactions are very often socially and culturally driven by society and media as foreigners are very often described and presented in very bad and pejorative terms ...” (M. – cultural mediator)

Moreover within this age major socio-economic, juridical status related differences play an important role between immigrants and Italian origins teenagers. These variables affect decisively the level and degree of real and future availabilities and opportunities for this groups in open local society.

“...The difference from me is very simple a 18 years old Latino American girl very often works while an Italian is still at school or maybe at first university year.” (G.B.- Don Bosco)

We face great problems with documents: someone has a permit related to study and so he needs to work hard to avoid any risk; someone has a working permit and therefore he has to work and study at the same time. But at the end of the story you are always obliged, constrained within a certain condition (viz. work and or study) that might not give you time to realise your own aspirations and plans. I met many persons that would have work as teachers or social workers but they cannot do it on a voluntary and un-paid way. They work something out that in terms of money or they cannot afford to contribute to a better life for young immigrant generations. (P.P. – Latino American University Student Association)

Teenagers are all the same, they listen same music, they all meet together, they all play football...but it is clear that Moroccan ones have to rise some money as well and therefore they are more responsible in adult terms, they go home and they do not find everything set and they have to manage all out by themselves. They grow fasten and and since they are aged 10 or 11 years old they learn to behave like adults..” (G.M. – Olympic Maghreb)

I see there is a huge dispersion of energies and capacities ... especially for the foreign ones it is very difficult to focus and to succeed in a society so poor of opportunities like this is...” (M. – cultural mediator)

Education plays a crucial role in supporting an empowering action turned to integrate differences and diversities in any society. Statistical data provide figures of a continuous rising presence of foreign students in all levels and grades and demand for an education is perceived now as a crucial expectations among immigrant families. Current policies do not provide a good response to such needs and often immigrant origin students find serious difficulties to be integrated in scholastic structures and face different forms of marginalisation and discrimination.

Some have enrolled in University but they have withdraw due to difficulties into coping with class duties and commitments as well as for bureaucratic circumstances linked their immigrant status. In addition they have often to provide on their own livelihood and had work to subside their main basis needs with the consequence of missing class and tuition. (G.M. – Olympic Maghreb)

It is the law that establishes principles and constrain over our lives. If we study what is worth for if our titles are not recognised or at least not very useful to improve our living conditions? In example my sister has got her nautical licence in an Italian institution but it has been impossible for her – being a foreign born and no citizen- to obtain the Italian sailing certificate necessary to board on any ship to work. (M. – cultural mediator)

Finally it possible to stress some other important issues about national and Genovese school system. First of all figure about further education orientation among young immigrants provide an image that is only superficially equal and fair. In reality high rates of immigrants enrolment in technical and vocational schools cannot be justified only in socio-cultural terms. These data do not reflect the real needs in terms of perceptions and expectations among young immigrant students, but rather they are framed into an ambivalent position. On the one hand students themselves are not supported while choosing their options in terms of further education. On the other hand language and integration programmes in compulsory schooling are inadequate to develop linguistic competences among immigrant students that might be at the same level of natives ones. The result is a prevention to access to high qualifying institutions because perceived and described too difficult for poorly skilled students like migrants ones seem to be.

It seems that all migrant come over here to do voluntarily only low skilled and manual jobs. In reality this is not the case, school officers often see migrants' presence as an obstacle to proper schools' functioning. They often see immigrant students as bringing and handicap. This is bullshit because this works only if any student is left abandoned and not supported in the hard work to attain competences – whatever they are!" (M. – cultural mediator)

4. Young Ecuadorians and Moroccans in Genoa emerging from Key Informants' Interviews

Ecuadorians and Moroccans play an important role within Genoese local scenario and information presented are the result both of interview carried out for TRESEGY project and long lasting research activities done by Department's investigators.

Their presence affect decisively many Genoese society social and cultural domains creating as a consequence new problems, changes and following decisions.

First important point to clear concerns young Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrants' typology of migration. Ecuadorians second generation immigrants very often migrate in their adolescence and they do it without a will to do it. These circumstances add often much more tensions and distress in an age very critical by itself indeed. Detachment from their own sending county living, friends and large families' ties in conjunction with mutated conditions in their arrival country contextual cultural social and schooling conditions are important variable in emerging social problems at local and community level¹². As it concerns Moroccan the situation is quite different in relation to social circumstance for migration but with a similar result in terms of emerging social problematisation indeed. Basically Moroccan young second generation immigrants are :

"devised in two large macro sub-groups the ones arrived very young or maybe born here and the ones arrived in Italy while adolescent... this distinction provides the framework for very different social and cultural problems" (H.S. Islamic Centre)

According to this different order of social problem emerge an different analyses levels should be accounted.

In addition to this family structure and conditions change during migration and new process of conformation in Genoese context do not provide sufficient support to teens' critical life stages. Large family ties are now absent, Ecuadorian and Moroccan migrant family is centred on nuclear model with a single parental figure - mostly female for Ecuadorians and male for Moroccans.

¹² Second generation notion should be intended in a very extensive meaning with regards to Ecuadorians in Genoa. Migration processes are recent and they have largely produced a second generation emerging mainly in early childhood. For those who are teenagers it should be better to speak of intermediate generations in the way exposed by Rumbaut R. (1997).

Immigrant single parents are often too busy at work and to provide livelihood and income for the family. Intergenerational relations are put into danger following different historical and contextual conditions of families' migration. For Ecuadorians the major point is to reconstruct relations due to long lasting previous separations between parents and children and this should be done in very different contextual conditions.

Often the most recurrent situation in family reunion early stages is the one of un-confidentiality and both parents and children must adapt again to one another presence and to regenerate natural intimacy between same family members (Tognetti Bordogna M., 1999; Lagomarsino F., 2006). On the contrary the most important element in Moroccan intergenerational relations is the cultural factor in terms of shift between original traditional Moroccan Islamic culture and the one of receiving Italian society. The gap in cultural, value and social terms is quite sensible and this often generates frictions and conflicts between parents and children.

Between mothers and sons and daughters there is often no dialogue...many mothers keep on not recognising anymore their children, they have changed and there is no more the confidence was before. This happens much more in families where mothers have left Ecuador long time ago and children have grown up with negative perceptions and ideas about abandon and emptiness and children on the other hand arrive in anew place totally different from the one they where used before. In this circumstances school achievement and integration opportunities are often unchallenged"

(P.P, Agorà Association)

"During our Saturday eve meeting in the Islamic centre many parents asks for support in managing the risk of loosing their adolescent sons and daughters. They fear that the would loose their culture, heritage and tradition in exchange for hosting society values and consumption models. Often they blame teachers and social workers for being the cause of this but in reality the are often un-prepared and un- aware themselves about these risks and circumstances..."(H.S. Islamic Centre)

If for Ecuadorians experience of migration to Italy result to be somehow traumatic, for young Moroccans it might be therefore even worst. Cultural difference between Italian and Moroccan culture and tradition can be seen and it becomes visible especially when second generation appears. Often first generation adult migrants do not perceive their own condition as critical, they struggle for survive with the aim to make a decent livelihood. They often do not take into account properly their children problems in managing this difference.

This diversity is played in many different social and cultural domains. First of all there is the language. More than in other contexts Arabic is crucial in managing social and cultural relation construction among community members. Due to its social and religious functioning in Muslim society Arabic language is essential in maintaining not only a sense of heritage and rooted ness among young members of community but also it might support young Moroccans in finding a proper balancing between who they are and what they want to be.

"we hold language courses in our centre since 15 years... Through language young immigrants can learn about their parents' culture, tradition and religion. When we teach Arabic we do not only teach a language but also we teach about tradition religion, values principles about Islam. Even nowadays some parents bring their children to learn Arabic when they are 15 years old and over. It is too late, they come to us when they realise that they sons and daughters are going to get lost or are already irremediably lost..." (H.S. Islamic Centre)

As a consequence language and socio-cultural values are strictly linked together. By participating to social and cultural activities devoted to traditional education, young Moroccan immigrants can

achieve and better manage the sense of double-ness and shift between who they are and where they come from.

“children of migration are in many ways Italian, they behave like Italians and this is fairly correct and acceptable... However there are some dimension of their lives that should be accounted and considered seriously in a traditional perspective... I do not see ant contradiction if our children integrate in Italian society while maintaining some traditional crucial Islamic values in the personal and intimate sphere like affectivity and sexuality... it is not a matter of content but rather a question of modalities, I do not see any conflict between what we expect from our children in a traditional perspective and what they want to be in an integrating perspective” (H.S. Islamic Centre)

Moreover among Ecuadorians are quite common parents' new partnership emerging as a consequence of migration with the consequence or more troubled familiar relations. (cfr. Tognetti Bordogna M., 1996) New ties resetting difficulty is often sustained by material and contextual living conditions in receiving societies. Work commitment, poor salaries and livelihood conditions make intergenerational relations even more difficult and stressful. Paternal figure missing is also an added negative circumstance and in all these teenagers often feel being abandoned and left on their own. The result is that only support available is the one of their peers.

“There is a sense of anger among young immigrants and Ecuadorians are the most exposed.. they have only one mum who play the mother and father role altogether...and in the end she always work all over the day and even on weekends”
(G. B. – Don Bosco Education Institute)

“Who comes to Genoa often arrives when is 3 or 4 years old and meet a single parent who has often resembled with a new partner. They feel left and unwilling, and they are expected to take a course and then to move to live on their own as soon they become adult.”
(P. – Latino American University Student Association)

With reference to Moroccans, family structure and composition differs according to local origin in sending countries. In fact families whose origin are urban and mainly higher educated, are often more prepared to tackle these issues seriously while the rural un-educated ones result to be more loosy and un-prepared to approach their children's problems properly . However it seems also that it would be not only a matter of education but also a matter of social responsibility and social control over teenagers in traditional cultural terms.

“ In rural areas social control over teenagers education is largely deemed to extended family and village community all together... when adolescents fails any adult village member is entitled to take action and inform parents about this. It is a collective responsibility. When they move to Genoa single parents –mainly males- find themselves without family and social network support in this process...” (H.S. Islamic Centre)

Familiar negative experiences often affect all other young teenagers social domains. The way Young Ecuadorians interrelate one another and the way they aggregate is a response to this situation. Aggregation represents the answer to familiar emotional and affective emptiness and the room to express they disagreement and reaction. To join a stable group that is formed and reinforced by common identity and national origin is the natural answer to this demands. As it concerns young Moroccans teenagers the situation is quite different. Given a intergenerational conflictual confrontation based on different consumption and socio-cultural values, young Moroccan teenagers tend to detach from their family ties and to relate to local cultural models and

groups. They often aggregate around local areas where they can exchange with locals. In some circumstances this process lead to escape also family living and to seek since from teenagerhood large individual and autonomous social space for their freedom. In some cases this implies to find also a personal way of livelihood that might support they consumptive needs and ambitions.

As soon they arrive they seek for they co-national counterparts, they cannot have they home back but at least they have somebody to speak and to relate to. However they feel a sense of detachment, a form of no belonging to the place they live now and this reinforce the demand for significant and strong friend relations.[...] this happens more decisively in Genoa..."

(P. – Latino American University Student Association)

Latino-Americans group among themselves, there are plenty of small groups formed out of institutional realms, and they behave like Italians do."

(G.B – Don Bosco Education Institute)

Attitudes are contradictory, Ecuadorians tend to stay together as they feel better and more comfortable among themselves, but on the contrary there is a will to have contacts with Italians to feel not excluded by majority. It is a typical teenagers' behaviour they want to be and being perceived as diverse, they claim for an autonomous identity but at the same time they do not want to be marginalized due to their pretended diversity.."

(S.M – ARCI)

These processes, due to their sudden emerging in the public sphere and opinion, have generated an increasing debate at public level and in the media. Often they have been described negatively by media and newspapers with the consequence of generating fear in resident community and constructing an ideal potential freight to common social security.

After a period in which media have deliberately risen and stressed the emergence of Latino-American gang freight, now these phenomena are unchallenged due to a social normalisation process promoted by local institutions and public bodies¹³. Looking at interviews and evaluating the pattern in media, it would seem acceptable that the problem has been resolved despite very poor commitment and effort put by Genoese society. This provides evidence that media construction of social phenomena has been a crucial element in constructing second generation Ecuadorian young immigrants as a danger for local Genovese society¹⁴.

For me the presence of problematic young immigrants is purely virtual especially with reference to Latino-Americans...I would call this the LATINO-AMERICAN mediatic invasion, it is just an invention." (W.M – ARCI)

"I.E. recurrent maps presented in newspapers were making reference on distribution and localisation of certain street gangs in Genoese neighbourhoods. In reality this is not what happens, if you ask commuters in the railway station about Latin teens' presence they would all mention it in negative terms, but I you ask them what in concrete terms affects their perception, they have no answers and ideas... they just follow public opinion and generalisations. This appears to be like a ghost that frightens who is susceptible to be frightens!"

(P.P – Agorà Association)

¹³ None interviewee has made any reference on this during our research despite the gang problem has arisen quite recently in public opinion.

¹⁴ This is not the place o argue in detail about latin gangs and the stigmatisation process that has put upon these forms of aggregation. For a detailed account on this refer to the following bibliographic indications: Queirolo Palmas L, Torre A.T. (a cura di) (2005); Queirolo Palmas L., Torre A.T. (2006); Queirolo Palmas L. (2006); Lagomarsino F., Queirolo Palmas L. (2007); Feixa C., Porzio L, Canelles N., Recio C. (2007).

We are facing now a crucial moment for these groups that are forced to hold and reproduce a logic schema over imposed by the dominant socio-cultural system. Young Latin-American teenagers aggregate and construct their social identity in a conflictual and contrastive terms to common stereotypisation, they behave as social actors who – quoting Queirolo Palmas & Torre A.T. (2005)- reinvent a transversal ethnic identity.

Our association has established right in the period when Latin-Americans teenagers were the most spotted and over-exposed immigrant groups in Genoa. Seeing this we have decided to group some University students from Latin-America to provide a different image of our community, to show that there are also good young immigrants who want to improve their life and who want to participate positively to receiving Genoese society”

(P. – Latino American University Student Association)

However one of the most recurrent issue about Ecuadorian young and adults’ attitude is the use of public spaces. Here the distance between local native residents and immigrant groups seems to be relevant: the formers consider public spaces as transiting areas while the latter tend to appropriate these spaces as significant and positive areas where to meet and socialise.

On the one hand this difference generates contrast and fear among local Italians while on the other hand it offers a great opportunity to emerge new form of encounter and socialisation if properly managed and supported.

South Americans use streets and squares as a place for aggregation and socialisation, something that we – as Italians- have lost since ages. This provides the explanation why Italians often show disappointment about the way immigrants use public spaces. For me it should be important to intervene at this level, to operate a mediation between locals and immigrants, to go out there and ask what disappoint and what can be done to manage this. I personally believe that a dialogic attitude would be of great help into mediating differences.

These large immigrant familiar groups that meet during weekends in public areas could be a great resource for our community, they are a good example of how Italians and especially teenager ones avoid any form of active socialisation in exchange for the lonely, virtual and impersonal relations based on internet, cellular phones and other electronic devices. It is only a matter of overcoming differences and to understand each other needs.

(P.P – Agorà Association)

With reference to Moroccans, situation is radically different even if not positive indeed. Media construction on Moroccans can be pointed into two main directions. On the one hand there is the question of some community members implication in criminal and illegal activities. Drug dealing and personal violence are the most common crimes committed by Moroccans in Genoa. On the other hand, Moroccans’ Islamic Muslim heritage is another important issue that emerges as a social problem both at receiving and immigrant community level. After 9/11th the situation is even worst and Genoese society:

“even if it is not racist itself, fears Muslims and Mosque presence in the urban area. Our major problem (the Islamic centre) is that as a religious aggregation we are now left abandon by local institutions and politicians. They fear that any commitment to our demands would be affected by the power and influence of common residents prejudices... in the past we have exchanged with local institution and we have received support such as awarding of public spaces for our most important

religious celebration like Eid'el Kbir and Eid'el Sgrir¹⁵ but now when we seek for support no-one replays and it becomes difficult to manage this situation especially when our community seek for reasonable support..." (H.S. Islamic Centre)

This situation lead i.e. to large young members detachment from their own heritage. Adults often face the challenge from their children in term of comparison and confrontation to local residing standards. In some cases participation to their social, religious and cultural heritage is often seen by teenagers as a waist of time and the expression of useless way of living.

"how we can explain to our young children -who live most of their daily life in local Italian contexts such as schools and public spaces- the importance of their religious heritage and the participation to religious practices and commitments if they see that the place for worshipping – what we call Mosque – is a garage? They often ask why Italians have beautiful churches and a lot of resources while they have such a places. How we can change their prejudices that praying in place like garages does not mean implicitly that Islam is not important?..." (H.S. Islamic Centre)

School and Education are therefore crucial in this process and they play a important role in young immigrant integration process. Ecuadorians' and Moroccans' problem is similar to the one previously exposed for all school immigrant population: the massive participation to vocational and technical studies; the institutional difficulty in evaluating curricula and sustaining difficulties; the impossibility for many recently immigrated teenagers to have equal opportunities and to access to all available instruments and tools for their formation and education. Finally another crucial point emerged from interviews makes clear that one of the most relevant challenge for Ecuadorian and Moroccan community in Genoa concerns illegal and clandestine condition of many young immigrants¹⁶.

"The ones of recent immigration are very often illegal... at a certain stage they should be allowed to emerge, we have to accept the idea they exist and that they deserve attention anyway."
(E.C – Town Council Office for Culture Promotion)

"The major problem is the illegal condition; I feel very shame as I often see teenagers who go to school or even work without any legal status... this is the great problem among Latin Americans, without documents they can go nowhere, they are stuck with no opportunities. This year a teen from my workgroup has come to an age and he has fall into illegality, another who is 14 years old told me that there was advantage into commit to study, it won't be useful a soon as you get adult you become illegal! For them there is no future no projects to much uncertainty ... "
(G. B. –Don Bosco Education Institute)

"...the problem with young come to an age is that without no economic guarantee from someone else they cannot get they study permit as foreign citizens. These seem to be very stupid and superficial problems but for them they are often unaffordable. Parents do not have the sufficient income to sustain their application, they fall illegal and in my opinion a normative turnover is necessary: something very strong to change this situation..."
(C.N. – CRAS)

¹⁵ Literally the great feast and the little feast respectively. The first occurs approx 64 days after Ramadan's month end while the latter occurs just at the end of Ramadan month. They are the most relevant and most celebrated moments in Islamic world.

¹⁶ In this perspective compulsory entry visa introduction in 2003 for Ecuadorians who want to come to Italy has played a a decisive factor in rising illegal condition among immigrants.

One of the most relevant variable in determining integration is the ability to welcome and receive migrants in a positive way, by activating proper channels and initiatives that would be able to promote social inclusion of immigrant population (cfr Portes A., Rumbaut R., 2001).

Belonging negation leads to prevent immigrant from emerging to an affirmative positive condition and situation; daily experiences of inequalities and social exclusion generate frustration and anger: these might lead to social problems and serious conflicts. Positive outcomes generated by a plural presence of different national origin social actors, cultures and vision in young resident population might lead to new forms of original identities and social coexistence that would mean a better opportunity of inclusion in Genoese society in a future perspective .

4. Appendix A – Interviewee’s list

1. **Luciano Turno:** Youth Politics and Activities Bureau – Social and Educative Affaire Department – Genoa’s City Council
2. **Claudia Nosenghi:** Director – Operative Unit for Immigrant Students in School System (CRAS)
3. **Egidio Camponizzi:** Cultural Affaires Department – Genoa’s City Council
4. **Walter Massa:** Genoa Province Coordinator for ARCI Association - Genova
5. **Silvia Melloni:** Responsible for youth and child problems at ARCI Association -Genova
6. **Paolo Putti:** Street social practitioner – Social Network Services AGORÀ
7. **Giuliano Bruzzo:** educator at Don Bosco Institute
8. **Giulia Mattei:** Responsible for Olympic Maghreb Centre (part of UISP – Popular Italian Sport Federation)
9. **Pablo:** University student and local referee for the University Student Latino-American Association
10. **Mohammed:** Cultural mediator and University student
11. **Hussein Salah:** Cultural mediator and Islamic Association and Genoa’s Mosque representative

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SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

ROME

WP 3- JUNE 2007

NATURE: REPORT
DISSEMINATION LEVEL: PUBLIC

AUTHORS:

Giulia Cortellesi
Grazia Naletto
(Ass. Lunaria)

SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]
[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]

Project Acronym: TRESEGY - **Contract n°:** 029105

Project Full Title: *“Toward a social construction of an European youth: the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers”*

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INTRODUCTION

The present work intends to provide demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political data and information about the city of Rome and the other areas that were selected for the research activities carried out within the Tresegy project.

The team decided to follow an analytical and interpretative approach of the local context as opposed to the merely descriptive analysis of the official data available. It attempted to do the best use of the information gathered during interviews with important people selected among institutional representatives, cultural mediators, school managers, school personnel, representatives of the local and foreign civil society.

The present work is divided into 4 different sections:

a brief introduction concerning the particular features of immigration in the Rome area;

the second section provides demographic data and information;

the third section provides data and information about the socio-economic context;

the fourth section provides information about the main guidelines of public policies concerning immigration, young people, the fight against discrimination and equal treatment.

Each section starts with the analysis of the Rome context. Then, it moves on to examining in greater detail the two areas chosen for the ethnographic research. The Esquilino neighbourhood located in the Sub-municipality 1 (Municipio I) area and the Pigneto-Tor Pignattara neighbourhood located in the Sub-municipality 6 area.

1. Rome: a city of transit and a city of settlement

Rome is a “Global City”, “the Capital of Immigration” and for a long time it has hosted the headquarters of national institutions involved in the draft of immigration policies; it also hosts the majority of the national and foreign diplomatic institutions and bodies. Rome provides excellent opportunities to observe and study the migration phenomenon in Italy, because it is one of the most important cities as far as foreign immigration is concerned and a crucial place of transit for those who are headed to other areas of the country.

Rome has been one of the most important destinations of immigrants in Italy: since the 1970’s, when the first migration flows began, the capital city has been one of the main destinations of foreign immigrants. Since then, there has been a constant growth in the number of immigrants although the nature of the phenomenon has changed throughout time in relation to the ethnicity and to the socio-economic factors involved in the integration process of immigrants.

The immigration trend in Rome was significantly affected by three elements:

- the essential role played by the capital city in the dynamics of the migratory flows towards Italy;
- the peculiarity of the economic and productive context in the city, characterised by the typical features of big metropolitan centres and other elements deriving from an economic and productive structure which is closer to the southern Italy model (with the service sector and the “informal economy” playing a vital role) as opposed to the northern Italy one;
- changes of migratory flows throughout time.

Migratory flows have considerably changed the social and economic structure of the city as well as some characteristics of the labour market, leading to interventions of urban redevelopment in certain neighbourhoods. However, immigration also worsened some “urgent problems” which have always affected the city:

- the structure of the labour market mainly based on the tertiary sector, characterised by illegal work and by new types of precarious and atypical work;
- the urban development which led to an increase of the distance between the city centre and the suburban areas (and between the suburban areas inside and outside the Grande Raccordo Anulare ring-road);
- the development of the real estate market that led to a dramatic increase of the prices of properties and rents, also due to the lack of public housing policies. This created a series of problems to a growing number of people who were looking for a house.

In comparison with other capital cities affected by international migratory flows, migration in Rome has so far created serious problems of urban segregation.

Foreign people have settled all over the metropolitan area, although it can be noted that there are some specific concentrations in certain suburban areas in the north-western and South-East parts of the city. The polycentric nature and great complexity of the migratory flows, the presence of many foreigners living in Rome for many different reasons and the peculiarities of the economic and productive structure of the city might explain, to a certain extent, the reason why they settled there.

From an administrative point of view, the area of the Municipality of Rome (Comune di Roma) is divided into 19 Sub-municipalities (Municipi¹). The Sub-municipalities, which include several neighbourhoods, constitute a form of administrative and functional decentralisation. They also carry out complementary and substitutive tasks to those of the Campidoglio (central municipal offices), regarding demographic services, local taxes, billposting and advertising, concession of public property, trade, craftsmanship and street markets, local police, cultural initiatives, tourism, sports

¹ Sub-municipalities are numbered from 1 to 20 but Sub-municipality 14 has recently become a Municipality on its own and it is no longer part of the Municipality of Rome

and leisure, educational activities, public works, traffic management and road signs, private construction, state property and national heritage, green areas.

1.1 Map of the 19 Sub-municipalities of Rome



Sub-municipality I

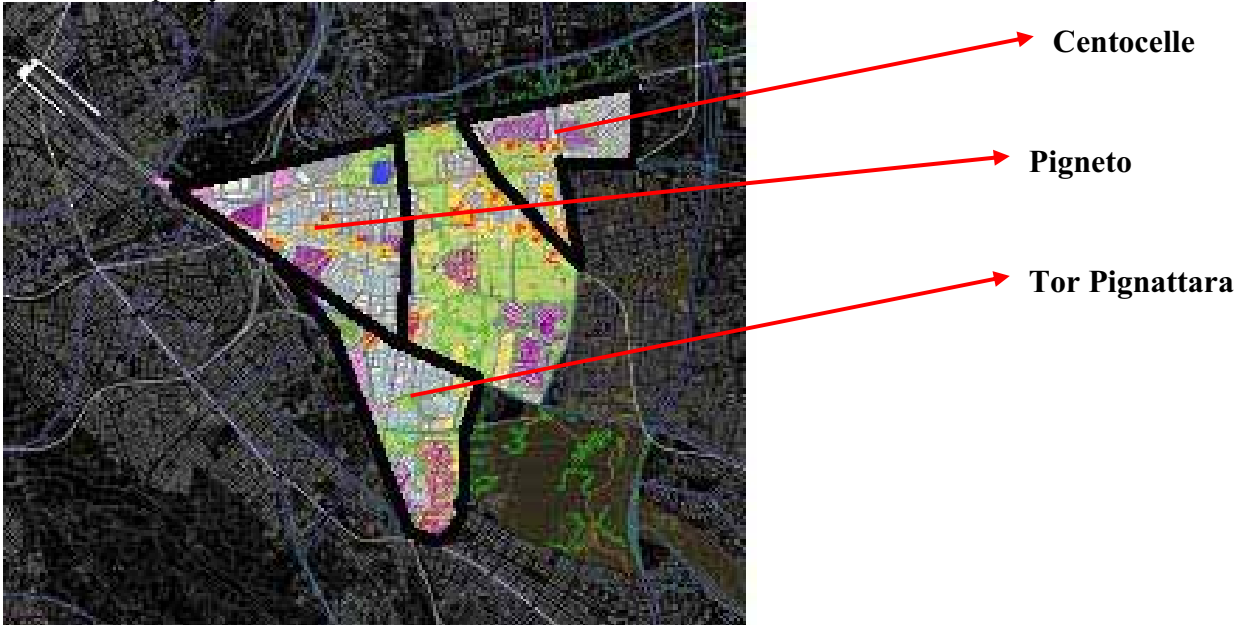


Rione Esquilino



The historic centre is located in the area of Sub-municipality I, which is divided into districts (Rioni): these are “sub-areas” that do not have a specific independent administration although they are considered as the historic hearts of the city of Rome. In the Sub-municipality I there is the highest number of foreigners who are resident in the city as well as the highest number of trade activities managed or owned by foreigners in Rome, concentrated in the Rione Esquilino district, an area very close to the Termini Station. Due to his history and location (far from the historic and tourist centre), this district shows a diversified social structure comparing to the other areas of this Sub-municipality.

Sub-municipality VI



On the South-eastern axis of the city, along Via Prenestina and Via Casilina, the inner suburbs of the city stretch from the Esquilino neighbourhood along the Sub-municipality VI area where the presence of foreigners has considerably grown in the last 5 years although it is relatively lower in comparison with Sub-municipality I. In particular, the Pigneto, Tor Pignattara e Centocelle neighbourhoods host a large community of foreign families.

In both areas (the central and semi-peripheral one) the settlement of the foreign communities constituted a challenge for schools, associations, public places, sports centres and local institutions, which had to come to terms with the "children of the immigration", leading to interesting local experimental policies.

The Esquilino, Pigneto, Tor Pignattara neighbourhoods were selected for our research within the TRESEGY project.

2 Demographic data

2.1 The presence of foreigners in Rome

According to the data provided by the Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome (Ufficio Statistico del Comune di Roma), the foreigners who live in Rome to December 31 2005 are 235,708 namely 8.4% of the total number of residents.

Table 1 Rome. Citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2005 according to their sex and citizenship

	M	F	M/F
Italian Citizens	1,336,452	1,480,841	2,817,293
Foreign Citizens	111,311	124,397	235,708
Percentage of the foreign population out of the total population	8.30%	8.40%	8.40%

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

Since 1997 to date the percentage of foreign residents out of the total number of the population has almost doubled passing from 4.8% to 8.4%.

Table 2 – Incidence of foreign population out of the total population residing in the different Sub-municipalities, 1997-2005 (%)

Sub-municipalities	Male and female								
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
I	13.6	14.4	15	16.2	17.2	17.9	18.6	20.4	21.5
II	7.6	8.2	8.4	9.1	9.6	9.9	10.6	11.4	11.7
III	6.4	6.6	6.6	7.3	7.5	7.9	8.2	8.4	8.8
IV	2.7	3	3.1	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.3	4.8	5.1
V	2.5	2.7	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.6	4	4.5	4.8
VI	5.4	5.7	5.9	6.6	7	7.4	8	8.9	9.4
VII	3.4	3.8	4.2	5	5.5	5.9	6.4	7.2	7.6
VIII	2.7	3	3.2	4	4.7	5.1	5.9	7.4	8
IX	3.9	4.3	4.5	5.1	5.5	5.7	6.1	6.7	7.1
X	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.8	4.1
XI	3.9	4.4	4.6	5.3	5.7	5.9	6.4	6.9	7.4
XII	3.1	3.3	3.4	3.8	4.2	4.3	4.7	5.3	5.7
XIII	4.2	4.5	4.5	5.1	5.3	5.4	6	6.7	6.9
XV	3.7	4.2	4.5	5.2	5.7	6	6.6	7.4	7.8
XVI	4.7	5.1	5.2	5.6	5.9	6.1	6.7	7.2	7.6
XVII	5.4	5.9	6.2	6.9	7.2	7.4	7.9	8.4	8.9
XVIII	6.4	6.8	7.1	7.8	8.3	8.6	9.2	9.8	10.4
XIX	4.2	4.6	4.8	5.3	5.6	5.9	6.3	7.3	7.8
XX	8.7	9.4	9.6	10.6	11.2	11.5	12.5	13.6	14.1
n.l. (*)	26	30	28.2	31.9	35.2	37	38.7	38.5	38.3
Rome	4.8	5.2	5.4	6	6.4	6.7	7.2	7.9	8.4

Source: Municipality of Rome, Mosaico Statistico (Statistic Mosaic) n.3/2006

As said before, the distribution of foreigners regards the whole area of the Municipality of Rome showing a common settlement pattern and an overall balance in the presence of male and female

immigrants. One of the peculiar aspects of the immigration phenomenon in Rome is that the first migratory flows were started by women, who came here at the end of the 1960's to work as domestic workers. The female presence has always been a constant element in the immigrant population in the city, being almost always higher in number than males. To December 31 2005, 52.7% of the foreigners residing in the Municipality of Rome were women whereas 47.2% were men.

Table 3 Citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2005 according to their sex and Sub-municipality

Sub-municipality	Total		
	M	F	MF
1	15,097	11,245	26,342
2	5,373	9,073	14,446
3	2,035	2,780	4,815
4	4,355	5,862	10,217
5	4,238	4,560	8,798
6	6,375	5,625	12,000
7	4,738	4,668	9,406
8	8,972	7,938	16,910
9	3,786	5,389	9,175
10	3,356	3,983	7,339
11	4,750	5,389	10,139
12	4,233	5,370	9,603
13	7,170	7,260	14,430
15	5,916	5,961	11,877
16	4,591	6,281	10,872
17	2,638	3,828	6,466
18	6,651	7,510	14,161
19	6,021	8,220	14,241
20	9,191	11,921	21,112
n,l	1,825	1,534	3,359
Total	111,311	124,397	235,708

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

Statistics about the presence of foreigners according to their country of origin are not available, thus making impossible to identify the settlement areas preferred by the different foreign communities; however, the data provided by the Statistics Office regarding the geographical areas of origin apparently do not show, unless in very few cases, significant differences in the distribution of population in the different Sub-municipalities (see Statistics annex).

2.1.2 The difference between data on foreign residents and data on residence permit holders

As already underlined in the final WP2 Italian report, data regarding new register entries do not reflect accurately the nature of foreign immigration in Italy for two reasons: first of all, many foreign people with a valid residence permit do not ask to be entered in the register; secondly, in Italy there is a significant number of foreigners who do not have a residence permit thus making an accurate evaluation impossible.

Hence, the data showed above describe the real situation of immigration in Rome only in a partial way; as a matter of fact, there is a significant difference between the data concerning residents and the data concerning residence permit holders. Data about the situation in the Municipality of Rome are not available. However, it is useful to note that according to an evaluation by Caritas in the "Statistical Report on Immigration 2006" ("Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2006"), residence

permit holders in the province of Rome are 365,274, namely 12% of all foreigners living in Italy². The division in geographical areas highlights a considerable presence of Europeans (17.4% from the EU, of which 7.7% from new member states and 35% from Eastern European countries) whereas the percentages of residents coming from Africa, Asia and America are 10.9%, 22.3% and 13.8% respectively.

Table 4 shows the data supplied by the research conducted by Caritas about the nationality of the residence permit holders.

Table 4 Province of Rome. Main countries of origin of residence permit holders to December 31 2005

Country of origin	Percentage of immigrants out of the total
Rumania	20.4
Philippines	8.9
Poland	6.9
Ukraine	4.5
Albania	3.6
Peru	3.6
Bangladesh	2.9
China	2.8
India	2.5
Egypt	2.4
Ecuador	2.1
Moldavia	2.0

Source: Caritas, Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2006

It is not possible to quantify the number of foreigners without a residence permit who live in the city; however, it might be useful to note that for the last amnesty, which took place in 2002, 106,000 applications were filed, leading to the issuing of 96,857 residence permits.

2.2 The areas selected for the research

The areas selected for the research are located in Sub-municipality I and VI. Table 5 and table 6 display the data regarding the distribution of foreign citizens residing in the two Sub-municipalities according to the geographical area of origin and to the age group. In particular, in table 6 it is possible to identify the age group (14-26 years) chosen for the execution of the on-field survey.

Table 5 Foreign citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2005 according to geographical area of origin Sub-municipality 1 and 6

Sub-municipality	Male and female										Total
	Africa	Central America	North America	South America	Asia	Europe E.U.	Other Europe	Oceania	Stateless people	Unclear	
1	4,353	440	1,325	2,189	8,856	5,890	2,840	120	17	312	26,342
6	2,328	149	61	1,035	5,460	935	1,967	14	4	47	12,000
Rome	36,179	4,026	5,567	25,157	69,450	40,230	52,430	600	85	1,984	235,708

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

² This figure considers more than 260,070 residence permits registered at the Ministry of the Interior, the residence permits that are currently in the process of being renewed and the evaluation of the minors that are registered within the residence permit of one of their parents until the age of 14.

Table 6 Rome. Foreign citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2006 according to their age group. Sub-municipalities 1 and 6

Sub-municipality	< 14 years			14-26 years			> 26 years			Total
	M	F	MF	M	F	MF	M	F	MF	
1	838	756	1,594	1,562	951	2,513	12,697	9,538	22,235	26,342
6	1,036	961	1,997	804	746	1,550	4,535	3,918	8,453	12,000
Rome	14,900	13,583	28,483	13,193	13,449	26,642	83,218	97,365	180,583	235,708

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

Data show a different distribution of foreigners in the two Sub-municipalities.

Sub-municipality I is the first area of settlement for foreign citizens in Rome accounting for 11.1% of the total number of foreign residents in the city; in Sub-municipality VI there is a foreign population which is less large, similarly to other Sub-municipalities.

The study of the origin of foreign citizens shows a different percentage of the continents of origin for the two Sub-municipalities. Sub-municipality I includes the whole area of the historic centre of Rome; it is characterised by higher rents and it is also an area for investment for many western foreigners. There is also a considerable number of people coming from other countries of the European Union and North America which account altogether for 27.3% of the foreign population in the Sub-municipality. Although data related to the different sub-areas are missing, the social and urban structure of Sub-municipality I leads to the conclusion that a large portion of the foreign population coming from non-EU countries is concentrated in the Esquilino district.

The analysis of the areas of origin of the foreign population in the Sub-municipality VI shows a very limited number of citizens coming from the European Union and North America which account only for 8% of foreign residents.

In both Sub-municipalities the main geographical area of origin is Asia: in the two Sub-municipalities there are 20.6% of the total Asian residents of Rome. Such concentration is mainly due to the considerable presence of Chinese groups which since the early 1990's have set up a large number of trade activities before expanding them, especially in the last five years, to the areas that neighbourhood Via Prenestina and Via Casilina.

In both Sub-municipalities the stabilization of the migration phenomenon is proven by the presence of minors: foreign people belonging to the 0-13 years age group account for 6% in Sub-municipality I and 16.6% in Sub-municipality VI. The two Sub-municipalities host 11.2% of foreign young people in the 14-26 years age group who reside in the city. This group represents an important indicator for the study of the processes of cultural and social inclusion of foreign young people.

2.2.1 Sub-municipality I

Sub-municipality I, which includes the Rione Esquilino district, shows the highest percentage of immigrants comparing to the total number of foreign residents of all the 20 Sub-municipalities of Rome. The percentage of immigrants out of the total in Sub-municipality I is 21.5% as opposed to an average of 8.4% for the whole Rome area.

Unlike the trends regarding the entire city, foreign residents in this Sub-municipality are characterised by a clear predominance of male immigrants (57.2%) as opposed to female immigrants (42.8). The male/female ratio shows the presence of 134 male individuals every 100 female individuals in the foreign population. As far as the different age groups are concerned, foreign residents of 29 years or less account for 22.4% of the total number of foreigners in the Sub-municipality whereas young people in the 14 -26 years age group are 2,513, accounting for 9.5%.

Table 6 Citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2005 according to their citizenship and age group

Sub-municipality 1				
Age group	Italians	Foreigners	% age groups out of the total number of foreigners	%of foreigners on the number of Italians
0-4	4,122	624	2.4%	15%
5-9	3,780	624	2.4%	14%
10-14	3,798	498	1.9%	13%
15-19	3,838	527	2.0%	13%
20-24	4,485	1,023	3.9%	22%
25-29	7,203	2,611	9.9%	36%
>29	95,232	20,435	77.6%	21%
Totale	122,458	26,342	100	36%

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

2.2.2 Sub-municipality VI

The Sub-municipality VI area is very well connected to the Rione Esquilino district, from which all public transportation leaves before going through Via Prenestina and Via Casilina, representing one of the main settlement and residence areas of immigrants in the city of Rome.

In Sub-municipality VI there are 12,000 foreigners, namely 9.4% of the foreign people residing in Rome. The main continent of origin is Asia, with 5,460 residents, namely 45.5% of all the foreigners living in the whole Sub-municipality. This is a very high percentage comparing to the city average (29.4%). The second largest community is the African one with 2,328 people, which account for 19.4%.

The distribution of residents according to their age group highlights a considerable percentage of people having an age of 14 years or less accounting for 16.6% (7.7% of the total in the city) whereas young people in the 14 -26 years age group are 1,550 accounting for 12.9 % of the total foreigners in the Sub-municipality.

Table 7 Citizens registered at the General Register Office to December 31 2005 according to their citizenship and age group

Sub-municipality 6				
Age Groups	Italians	Foreigners	% of age groups out of the total number of foreigners	% of foreigners out of the total number of Italians
0-4	4,826	886	7.4%	18%
5-9	4,936	687	5.7%	13%
10-14	4,957	527	4.4%	10%
15-19	5,018	469	3.9%	9%
20-24	5,687	568	4.7%	9%
25-29	7,364	1,255	10.5%	17%
>29	94,430	7,608	63.4%	8%
Total	127,218	12,000	100	9%

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

3 Socio-economic context

3.1 The urban development of Rome

The city of Rome has undergone a rapid urban development which started during the economic boom in the 1950's and 1960's. It expanded beyond the boundaries of its historic area with the creation of big suburban and working class neighbourhoods.

However, in Rome the theoretical and geographical distinction between the city centre and the suburbs has never been clear, apart from the first period of expansion of the city, when cabins and shelters along the external city walls were substituted by the first contemporary buildings. During the 1960's and 1970's there was the creation of the suburban area, portrayed in several movies by Pier Paolo Pasolini, which led to the progressive departure of the most indigent people from the city centre towards the suburban areas. Furthermore, the majority of internal immigrants, coming from the centre and South of Italy, settled in these areas causing the economic and social marginalisation of these groups in specific areas of the city.

During the last three decades the urban development of the city of Rome was so rapid that some neighbourhoods that were firstly considered part of the Rome countryside became semi-suburban or semi-central neighbourhoods. However, this was not accompanied by appropriate renovation and integration policies with the other urban areas.

We have decided to conduct our ethnographic research in an area of the city stretching from the city centre to the suburban areas passing through neighbourhoods that were considered suburban areas before becoming semi-central and renewed neighbourhoods, during the expansion of Rome.

As far as administration is concerned, such area is divided into two Sub-municipalities: Sub-municipality I and VI, stretching from the centre to the South East of the city.

In the Sub-municipality I, which includes the historic centre, there is the highest number of foreign residents out the total number of the population as well as the highest number of trade activities in Rome which are managed or owned by foreigners, concentrated in the Rione Esquilino district.

Sub-municipality VI borders with Sub-municipality I and is part of the semi-suburban and suburban areas of Rome. In this case, the percentage of foreign residents is halved, comparing to the case we have previously discussed; however, it is interesting to note that in this case people settled in these areas for residential purposes. In particular, within this Sub-municipality, three different sub-areas will be considered: Pigneto, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle.

3.1.1 Esquilino (Sub-municipality I)

The Esquilino district is part of the Sub-municipality I area which includes the entire Rome historic centre and the tourist and trade areas. It is therefore difficult to find data on economy, entrepreneurial activities, job market, housing, education policies etc. that refers exclusively to this district; it is equally difficult to disaggregate data about the whole Sub-municipality into specific data concerning this sub-area in order to gather relevant information.

However, it is possible to describe some visible and verifiable characteristics about the socio-economic situation in the Rione Esquilino district.

This neighbourhood was built in 1870, after the Savoy army took the city and Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, taking the place of Turin and Florence.

This Kingdom was ruled by the Piedmont leaders who had managed to obtain such powers from the administration of the Pontifical State before the conquest of Rome. Since the Piedmontese did not trust the previous Rome leaders who were at the Pope's service, they sent a high number of officials to Rome with the aim of building a united Italy.

The Esquilino area became the residential area for the Piedmont bourgeoisie: many remains of ancient Roman villas were razed and a new neighbourhood was built according to the typical Savoy style (from Turin).

During the Second World War, the Esquilino area was seriously damaged by American and German bombings, due to the proximity to the working class neighbourhood of San Lorenzo. It also suffered progressive depopulation while becoming the centre of the black market.

The Rione Esquilino district is adjacent to the area of the main railway station in Rome (Termini). After the Second World War, this area was characterised by the presence of Italian immigrants coming from the South of Italy and by cases of “social deviance” (prostitution, cigarettes and drugs smuggling) and urban degradation. A situation which was similar to other areas surrounding train stations in big Italian cities like Turin, Genoa and Naples.

The social and historical nature of the district as an exchange place and of local, national and international transit existing before the international migratory flows is the main cause of the development of trade activities and residential houses in this area. In the 1960’s, when the first migratory flows began in Rome, Esquilino was a urban area characterised by social marginalisation and urban degradation in which precarious, informal or illegal activities became common practice since the 1990’s.

Nowadays, the Rione Esquilino district is a reference point for many immigrants that reside and work in Rome, some of whom have set up their businesses in Piazza Vittorio and in the near proximity. However, the district is not a place populated only by people who live or work there. As a matter of fact, as it is very close to the Termini station, it is the arrival and departure point of many public transportation routes which go through the city reaching the areas where most of immigrants settled (Prenestina-Casilina). In this central area, there are often different institutional and non-institutional controversies concerning intercultural coexistence in schools, xenophobia, criminalization of foreigners, enhancement of the cultural background of immigrants and all the initiatives that are necessary to promote the peaceful coexistence of different cultural, social, economic and religious elements.

Since the year 2001, the Municipality is involved in a series of urban renewal interventions in the Rione Esquilino district, which is now mainly inhabited by Italian families belonging to the middle-upper class, by short-term and long term immigrants and by university students.

The renovation interventions, which had been expected by Italian citizens for a long time, were due to the new housing and trading purposes of the area, which was closely linked to the growth of the number of foreign people. Some members of the immigrants and anti-racism associations that were interviewed in the district within the Tresegy initiative framework, have highlighted the role played by the immigrants in this process. They maintain that foreigners living in the neighbourhood gave impetus to the economic recovery in the area and that they triggered an overall enhancement of the district by attracting a large number of citizens thanks to “ethnic” trade activities and to the district market, where it is possible to find agricultural products and all sorts of other products coming from all the world.

Italian residents, on the contrary, appear to oppose this point of view blaming foreign immigration for the degradation of the area and interpreting the interventions of the different institutions as a response to the “emergency” that surfaced in the last 10-15 years.

Since the 1990’s, when the migratory flows started to become more intense and the foreign presence was stabilized, the Esquilino district stopped being the main residential destination of foreign citizens who progressively started to settle in the surrounding areas.

These areas where the immigrants settled were easily connected to the Esquilino district that has always been a symbolic centre of immigration in Rome and the very heart of the immigrants' new

environment as well as a neighbouring area of the Termini Station and therefore an arrival and departure point in Rome.

3.1.2 Pigneto, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle (Sub-municipality VI)

In 1870, during the construction stage of the new Italian capital, all the workers involved, most of whom were peasants, built their cabins in the areas which neighboured the Esquilino district.

In the late post-war period, some of these cabins were substituted by illegal houses.

In the Sub-municipality VI there is also a sub-area called Pigneto: it is a typical working class neighbourhood that was created between the end of the 19th century and the first thirty years of the following century. It includes the triangular area having the old access point of Porta Maggiore as vertex; the sides were the initial parts of Via Prenestina and Via Casilina while the base was Via dell'Acqua Bulicante. It is a former working-class suburb that was created spontaneously thanks to people's savings and cooperative activities, without any urban plan implementation. It is a place "full of relations", which was also chosen as setting for some of the most important movies of the Neorealist movement.

The areas of Centocelle and Tor Pignattara were the result of lotting as envisaged in the last city-planning schemes: the construction of the first working class suburbs, which went on until the end of the 1980's, represented a cause of social marginalisation and deviance phenomena.

The Gordiani suburb was built between 1928 and 1930; other renovation interventions took place in the 1950's as well as the last Municipality, until the last renovation.

In this area many families coming from the centre and South of Italy have been living during the last century.

Unlike the Rione Esquilino district, although it was affected by a demographic growth, this Sub-municipality presents one of the most significant housing concentration of the entire city of Rome and it is mainly populated by people of low/middle socio-economic conditions.

The Sub-municipality VI, served by public transportation coming from Esquilino, has become in just a few years one of the areas that were most affected by the presence of foreign residents. They started enrolling their children at school and created a series of induced trade activities which responded to the primary needs of the residents of the community.

This area, which is now a semi-central area, is becoming a "multi-ethnic" Esquilino and it is portrayed by the media like a workshop for intercultural coexistence. Since the early 1990's, many associations, cooperatives, designers and artists focused on this area, giving impetus to a new virtuous process of "bottom-up" redevelopment of the local area leading to the resettlement of Italian citizens. In particular, the Pigneto area is becoming a trendy area.

The Municipality of Rome responded to this new impetus by pedestrianizing a portion of the Sub-municipality VI area (Pigneto) and by enhancing the creation of "social" trade activities: thus, in the last five years many fair trade shops were created as well as small book shops managed by small social cooperatives, many restaurants and food shops managed by Italians and foreigners, cultural associations promoting a series of activities in the area based on participation and meetings as well as small theatres.

During 2005, a new project was started in order to restore the Cinema Aquila, a big cinema which had been abandoned for several years. It was restored using public funds and it was then given to a network of associations which will manage the scheduling of the movies.

However, media have not only spoken in positive terms about the virtuous examples of coexistence; they also highlighted the so called "foreign invasion" (especially from Asia) in the streets peppered with small trade activities set up by foreigners. An example of these negative stereotypes is the nickname that some Italian residents gave to the Tor Pignattara neighbourhood, that is "Tor Bangla", because of the significant presence of people from Bangladesh.

In the last decades of the 20th century Rome underwent a huge urban development: since the city had to face considerable internal migration flows, the Municipality of Rome implemented urban plans to promote the creation of cheap housing solutions for the working class as it is possible to see at the city borders and in the area of the Sub-municipalities neighbouring Sub-municipality VI.

The South-East suburbs of Rome (Sub-municipalities VII e VIII) were affected by many construction projects in the residential working-class neighbourhoods funded by the State, which aimed at increasing the offer of properties to be assigned to socially and economically disadvantaged families. This led to several architectural “experiments” in the 1970’s, 1980’s and 1990’s which took inspiration from the residential complex “Unité d’Habitation” by French architect Le Corbusier; they were supposed to be cities within the cities, completely independent in services and accommodation facilities and well connected to the city centre.

Many indigent families from Rome and subsequently from foreign countries settled in these areas. In particular, in private residential areas the economic situation of residents is rather disadvantaged whereas in the public working-class areas there are people very close to the poverty line or even unemployed.

3.2 The Labour market in Rome

3.2.1 The labour market structure

Rome presents some specific features in its economic-productive structure which differentiates it from the North-Italian model (industry and a considerable number of small enterprises, large number of employed workers) and from the South-Italian one (importance of the agricultural sector, construction, limited development of the tertiary sector). Its role of capital city has fostered the development of the tertiary sector as opposed to the industrial sector, the concentration of employed work for the few public administration jobs available, the spreading of illegal work in the construction and service sectors and many other “informal” activities.

Table 1 – The employed according to their activity and sex Municipality of Rome, 2004 average

Economic activity	Male		Female		Total	
	v.a.	%	v.a.	%	v.a.	%
Agriculture	3,489	0.6	1,587	0.3	5,076	0.5
Industry	56,197	9.5	26,530	5.5	82,727	7.7
Construction	39,343	6.7	4,079	0.8	43,423	4
Trade	72,773	12.3	55,341	11.4	128,114	11.9
Services and other activities	419,020	70.9	396,317	81.9	815,337	75.9
Total	590,823	100	483,853	100	1,074,676	100

Source: The 2004 Statistics Yearbook of the Municipality of Rome

The data provided in the 2004 Statistics Yearbook of the Municipality of Rome show that 75.9% of the total number of employed people work in the tertiary sector, whereas only 11.4% of the total workers are employed in the trade sector. In the primary sector, which has never been very important for the city from a historic point of view, the number of male workers is much higher than the number of female workers whereas in the secondary and tertiary sectors the number of women is very close to the number of men. This depends on the different types of jobs available and on the characteristics of these jobs in the two sectors.

Table 2 – The employed according to their profession and sex Municipality of Rome, 2004 average

Profession	Male		Female		Total	
	v.a.	%	v.a.	%	v.a.	%
Executives and entrepreneurs	33,238	5.6	14,989	3.1	48,227	4.5
Other specialized jobs	104,906	17.8	95,224	19.7	200,130	18.6
Technical jobs	143,760	24.3	112,599	23.3	256,359	23.9
Employees	68,403	11.6	112,886	23.3	181,290	16.9
Skilled jobs in the service sectors	77,936	13.2	75,623	15.6	153,559	14.3
Specialised workmen, craftsmen and farmers	68,212	11.5	10,259	2.1	78,471	7.3
Semi-skilled workmen	36,384	6.2	2,978	0.6	39,362	3.7
Non-skilled workmen	43,340	7.3	58,632	12.1	101,972	9.5
Armed forces	14,644	2.5	662	0.1	15,305	1.4
Total	590,823	100	483,853	100	1,074,676	100

Source: The 2004 Statistics Yearbook of the Municipality of Rome

The most common types of professions in Rome are definitely linked to the role played by the city as centre of the national services and public administration. As a matter of fact, those who have a technical job, a skilled job in the service sectors and other office jobs account for 23.9%, 16.9% and 14.3% respectively of the total workers, with a considerable number of employed women (23.3% of the total number of employed women) as opposed to men (11.6% of the total number of employed men).

It is interesting to note that employed people with non skilled jobs, semi-skilled and skilled female workers and farmers account altogether for 20.5% of the total number of workers, thus confirming the tertiary-based structure of the labour market in Rome.

3.2.1 The role of foreign workers in the Rome labour market

The characteristics of the Rome labour market described above tend to confine immigrants to unskilled labour market sectors, characterised by a high rate of precarity, leaving few chances of professional emancipation and preventing them from doing a job that matches the professional skills and the abilities learned at school: domestic help and caretaking, employed work in the tourism and catering sector, and to a more limited extent, in the trade sector, cleaning services and self-employment such as street vendors and micro entrepreneurs are some of the sectors that foster work integration of the Rome immigrants.

Table 3 – The employed according to their activity and sex Municipality of Rome, 2005 average

Economic activity	Employed people	Employed Foreigners
Agriculture	0.4	0.4
Industry	7.4	4.7
Construction	5.0	9.1
Trade	11.7	9.6
Services and other activities	75.5	76.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: The Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome

The distribution of foreign workers in the different sectors follows trends which are similar to those regarding workers from Rome; there is a remarkable concentration in the service sector (76.2%) and a significant percentage in the construction sector (9.1) and trade (9.6).

However, an in-depth analysis of the service sector indicates that 52.4% of foreign workers in this sector carry out caretaking activities, especially for families, working as a domestic help or caregiver, whereas only 6.3% of local workers work in this sector.³

This overview of the labour market does not follow the national trends: in this case, almost 45.8% of foreigners, are employed in the service sector whereas people working in the agricultural, industrial and construction sector account for a higher percentage in comparison with Rome, attaining the following percentages: 4.2% in agriculture 22.3% in industry and 15.7% in construction. As a matter of fact, as opposed to data regarding the Rome situation, approximately 45% of foreign workers are deemed to be employed in the primary sector.

In Rome, the economic and working situation of foreign citizens underwent some changes throughout time: some market segments have had a prominent role since the very beginning (e.g. domestic help) while others have attracted immigrant workers only at a later stage (e.g. construction and services); the process which led to greater precarity in the labour market increased the number of illegal workers, especially in the housework sector where employed work was more widespread; at the same time, the process of disintegration of the social state system created new needs and therefore new job opportunities, often seized by foreign workers.

The first wave of immigrants in Rome, unlike what happened in other areas of the country, is essentially made up of women. For a long time housework has been the sector representing the best job opportunities for immigrant workers, especially female ones. Women from Cape Verde, Eritrea, Somalia and the Philippines, thanks to the mediation of catholic organizations operating in their countries of origin, were the first immigrants to come to Rome at the end of the 1960's. At that time, domestic helps were considered a luxury (hence, a status symbol) affordable only by well-off families: only "permanent" domestic helps that were available full time and willing to live with the family, were needed. Religious organizations provided the opportunity to these families to contact workers directly in their country of origin and to make them come to Italy with a job contract. The necessity to live with their employer excluded (o made it very difficult) the possibility for foreign workers to rejoin their family. During this first period only women and very few countries are involved in this immigration wave.

³ See Statistics Department of the Municipality of Rome, *Il lavoro degli stranieri a Roma*, 2006 (The foreigners' jobs in Rome)

From the 1980's immigration became more polycentric. This was the consequence of the fact that some European countries like France and Germany, more popular destinations for immigrants, decided to stop the immigration flows. Maghreb, Central-African and South-East Asian immigrants started arriving to Italy, often illegally, coming from other European countries.

Unlike the first immigration wave, such flows involved mainly male and Muslim immigrants that were employed in the catering sector or the work as street vendors of itinerant craftsmen. At the same time, the immigrants who had already found their feet in Rome (women from the Philippines and Cape Verde) triggered the process of stabilization of the migratory phenomenon: the first family reunifications took place causing the arrival of the first male domestic helps (especially Filipinos).

At the end of the 1980's the differentiation process of the migratory flows went into a further development stage as a consequence of the fall of the Berlin wall: the Polish immigration was the beginning of the eastern immigration wave that also involved Romanians, Ukrainians, Moldavians and Russians in the 1990's. In this stage, male immigrants generally got a job in the construction sector, street vendors, manual and unskilled jobs (e.g. filling station attendant, mechanics, welders). Women, on the contrary, kept working as domestic help or caregivers. Most of times they worked without a contract.

At the beginning of the 1990's, there was a consolidation of the Bengali and Pakistani immigration, with migrants working especially in the catering sector. In the same period, in the Esquilino area, the first trade activities were set up laying the foundations for the creation of the present commercial area. At the end of the decade, the growing number of asylum seekers coming from the Turkish and Iraqi Kurdistan and from the sub-Saharan Africa (Congo, Sudan, Angola etc) made the immigration situation in Rome even more complex. Nowadays, immigrants living in Rome come from more than 170 different countries around the world.

3.2.1.1 Domestic help, child and adult care jobs

Since the 1970s the typical image of a female immigrant in Rome – regardless of her country of origin– has always been that of a domestic worker.

Nonetheless, domestic help jobs have been changing dramatically over the years: 1) they have become relatively less important in the immigrants' labour market, 2) new communities of immigrants have entered the sector, changing the traditional set of nationalities employed in such jobs, 3) new tasks have been included in the job duties, because of an increase in the demand for care services, 4) more and more domestic workers decided not to reside in the employer's house and to work in different households being paid by the hour.

Since the middle 1980s women permanently living in Rome have been opting for a greater autonomy and for part-time daily service in various households. A survey showed that in those years there was a remarkable difference between housemaids from Cape Verde islands and those from Philippines: while Filipinas used to work as full time housemaids, with a high level of exploitation and very often with no contract, more than one third of the interviewees from Cape Verde regularly worked part time, with a deeper consciousness of their rights and for the most part with a regular contract. At the end of the 1980s both groups tended to work independently, yet with a worsening of contract conditions.⁴

During the 1990s the most relevant change happened in the diversification of foreign communities employed in this sector, with an increasingly important role of women from Eastern Europe. A great number of Rumanian, Polish, Moldavian and Ukrainian women worked as domestic help, baby-sitters and caregivers for elderly people, being facilitated by their medium/high education

⁴ See Casacchia O., Natale L., *Atteggiamenti ed opinioni dei datori di lavoro nel Lazio*, in Birindelli A. M. , *La presenza straniera in Italia, Il caso dell'area romana*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 1993.

level and their assent to a lack of regular contracts, as it is usual among representatives of new groups entering a labour market. In the 1990s the erosion of the welfare state and the increase in the employment rate of Italian women caused the emergence of new needs which were not the privilege of the Roman well-off any more: immigrant women were asked to substitute Italian women in housekeeping, as well as in child and adult care⁵. The scope of tasks in this sector has expanded widely and jobs are not characterized by employed work anymore: a dramatic increase in precarious work has boosted the number of immigrant women working without a regular contract. Figures related to the last amnesty for illegal aliens in 2002, a consequence of the coming into force of the Bossi-Fini Law, confirm that it is in the domestic help sector and in the home care one that immigrant women living in Rome have the most significant job opportunities. At the same time, those two sectors have become –contrarily to previous labour market situations– a wide channel of undeclared labour: 66.949 out of 107.476 amnesty applications were submitted to straighten out the position of home carers or of the so-called “caregivers” (Italian: “badanti”)

3.2.1.2 *Tourism, hotels and restaurants*

Since the beginning of migration flows to Italy, foreign workers have found job opportunities in hotels and restaurants in Rome. Rome is a capital city with important archaeological and artistic sites and is one of the most significant tourist destinations in Italy, therefore tourism is one of the most important economic activities of the city.

In 1990 a survey on 169 Roman restaurant owners revealed the prominent role played by foreign labour in restaurants, despite the low level of tasks and skills required. Furthermore, it appeared that specific communities, in particular the Egyptian one, had a sort of monopoly meeting the demand for restaurant jobs⁶.

During the 1990s this situation consolidated both on a quantitative and qualitative level: there was an increase in the demand met by foreign workers; new and more skilled tasks were requested; together with the predominant Egyptians, the strong presence of Moroccans and Tunisians, also workers from Bengal, Sri-Lanka and Rumania gained importance in the sector.

Hotels, restaurants and tourist resorts offer to immigrants a channel to enter the labour market (with low skilled jobs: kitchen porter, dishwasher, night porter) as well as a chance to emancipate from more uncertain jobs (street vendor).

Restaurants and hotels offer greater job opportunities, even though in recent years there has been an increase in the presence of immigrants from Northern Africa and Rumania, working as barmen or waiters. This is an important benchmark for immigrants in Italy, because in such jobs they work in direct contact with the public. It shows that employers are willing to make submerged workers emerge.

The jobs in which immigrants are employed are mostly humble jobs, but, once they get in the labour market, they have the possibility to change their condition and work on more skilled tasks: immigrants from Bengal and Egypt do nowadays skilled jobs such as pizza-cook, cook helper and cook.

The employment of foreign workers in this sector is favoured by the type of jobs offered, which require flexibility during the week (in restaurants) and over the year (in hotels). This situation has brought employers to option for non-permanent contracts: two-weeks or “weekend” contracts are applied especially in restaurants. Unfortunately, such types of contract are often used to cover undeclared work: the worker works regularly for a limited number of hours, in order not to have problems in case of tax officers controls, and then works “under the table” for the remaining time.

⁵ See E. De Filippo, *La componente femminile dell’immigrazione*, in E. Pugliese (a cura di), *Rapporto immigrazione*, Roma, Ediesse, 2000; Le Quyen Ngo Dinh (a cura di), Caritas diocesana di Roma, *L’immigrazione a Roma. L’esperienza della Caritas*, 2000. Estratto da *Migrazioni. Scenari per il XXI secolo*.

⁶ See A. M. Birindelli e altri op. cit. *Atteggiamenti ed opinioni dei datori di lavoro nel Lazio* di Oliviero Casacchia e Luisa Natale pag. 169-187

One of the most significant changes in recent years in the labour market has been the increasingly important role played by temporary employment agencies in placing foreign workers in this sector. Some of the biggest catering chains in Rome turn to such agencies to replace their employees when they are ill or on holiday, and agencies send immigrants for such temporary jobs. The most demanded job is that of the dishwasher, which is predominantly covered by immigrants from Albania, Rumania, Bengal and Sri-Lanka. Some hotel chains refer to temporary employment agencies to substitute their chambermaids: the nationalities involved are the same, but women are preferred. In such cases agencies are important to have regular contracts for jobs which are normally left undeclared. Employers have indeed to respect national labour contracts.

As far as hotels in Rome are concerned, there are two kinds of job opportunities. Small hotels near the Termini railway station and in the Esquilino area employ many immigrants as handy-men, porters and night porters. For the most part they have very low wages and no regular contract. Big hotels in other areas of the city have immigrants working as door-keepers and as chambermaids.

In this sector some workers have regular contracts, others have partly-regular contracts and others have no contract at all.

3.2.1.3 *Building sites*

The employment of immigrant workers in the building industry has dramatically increased in Rome, as in the whole Lazio region, during the 1990s. The lack of a proper structure for the labour market, the lack of controls inside and outside building sites, the frequent sub-contracts and the way workers are recruited⁷ have made the construction industry the labour sector with the highest levels of exploitation and the lowest number of regular contracts.

The building industry is for male immigrants in Rome what domestic help jobs are for female immigrants: it is the first opportunity to enter the labour market both for those who are not skilled and for those who are qualified but have no permit of stay. However, except from qualified Polish labourers, who are demanded for their skills and given a better pay, immigrants usually do the hardest jobs and are given the most dangerous tasks. Even when they have a regular contract, they are placed in the lowest pay levels⁸.

This sector has experienced some transformations as far as the immigrants' countries of origin are concerned: workers from Maghreb have been substituted by immigrants from Eastern Europe, and in particular from Poland, Rumania, Ukraine and Moldova.

3.2.1.4 *Self-employment and micro-businesses*

The economic and productive structure of Rome promotes the immigrants' integration into the labour market only in unstable and flexible jobs and involves unqualified workers. However, the "global" dimension of the city offers to foreign citizens new ways and alternatives to integrate in the economic fabric, both in the so-called "informal economy" and in proper business activity. Since the beginning of the 1990s, self-employment in the city, especially in the Esquilino area, has been developing from street vending activities to real businesses, thanks to the entrepreneurial spirit of Bengalese and Chinese immigrants. Immigrants sold every kind of goods in the streets, thanks to an organised network of supply and distribution, but they also opened more structured shops with the aim of meeting the needs of their community: supermarkets with food products from their country of origin, fabric shops, hair dressers, call centres, etc. Such shops become a point of reference for other informal activities: services connected to embassy procedures, passport

⁷ Immigrants are often recruited by so-called "corporals", who every morning go to small villages or suburbs to recruit workers and to take them to building sites or fields. For such service they demand a percentage of the already very low wage.

⁸ See E. Pugliese (a cura di), *Rapporto immigrazione, op. cit.; Fondazione Internazionale Lelio Basso, Il lavoro servile e le forme di sfruttamento para-schiavistico*, Commissione per l'integrazione, working paper n.19, Roma, 2001

procedures, bank services and in particular to send money to their country of origin, as well as to look for an accommodation.

Nowadays, immigrant self-employment is much more diversified and complex than in the past. First of all, the number of self-employed immigrants has increased all over the city. Secondly, more and more businesses owned by immigrants are not part of the so-called “ethnic business”, i.e. business activities aimed at fulfilling the needs of the community or offering products and/or services connected to their culture and country of origin. Recent figures on registered companies owned by people who were born abroad show that there has been an increase in the number of businesses and that together with a greater diversification of foreign firms, there has been an involvement in this sector of initially less active communities⁹.

In the around 7000 companies with a foreign owner, the most active communities are the Rumanian, Chinese, Moroccan and Egyptian ones. Regardless of their origin, the general growth trend can be seen as a way to integrate in the Roman labour market, to by-pass the low qualified jobs they are normally offered, even when they have a high level of education. Self-employment is seen as way to get to more a rewarding social and economic integration.¹⁰

Focus on urban areas:

Esquilino (Sub-municipality I)

Since the beginning of the 1990s, many retail spaces were left unoccupied, as a consequence of the increasing urban blight and the low security rates of the area, which was in some sectors home to many drug-addicts and vagrants.

The only economic activity which had been going on despite this situation, was the local market in Vittorio Emanuele II square, the barycentre of the Esquilino area. In the 1980s many market stalls began to be managed by the first immigrants from Africa and Asia.

Later on, with a growing foreign community, migrants rented the unoccupied retail spaces, which had been left vacant by Italians 30 years before. The first ones were Sub-Saharan Africans, opening wholesale stores and hair dresser shops, then came the Chinese, who began to sell clothes and food, and the Bengalese, who traded in costume jewellery and food.

Retailing activities seem to follow a spatial pattern according to the owners' country of origin: the most part of Bengalese shops are concentrated in a street near the local market; Chinese ones are located along the perimeter of Vittorio Emanuele II square and in the main and secondary streets originating from the same square. The few African shops are to be found in a secondary street, together with some Money Transfer shops owned by Rumanian immigrants.

Most shops are owned by Chinese immigrants: 400 are estimated to be theirs.

Such concentration is due to the strategic position in relation to the main railway station (Termini). This has favoured the creation of a sort of open-air “showroom” for Chinese trade in the heart of the city, which is the catchment area for traders of all Europe. This business “planning” by the Chinese community is also to be detected in their advertisements: Chinese retailers associations in Italy release every year a catalogue/telephone directory of all Chinese shops with pictures, only in Chinese, and with a map of the Esquilino area with the location of every Chinese shop, with a Chinese key.

In the last two years Chinese traders have started taking over many bars of the area.

⁹ Naletto G., Vitiello M., *Il lavoro immigrato a Roma: condizioni socio lavorative e politiche realizzabili dall'amministrazione comunale*, Rapporto di ricerca, IRPSS, Roma, 2003; A.A.V.V., *Gli immigrati nell'economia romana: lavoro, imprenditoria, risparmio, rimesse*, Caritas di Roma-CCIAA di Roma, Roma, 2003, pp. 255

¹⁰ Ambrosini M., *Immigrati e lavoro indipendente*, in Zincone, G. (a cura di), Commissione per le politiche di integrazione degli immigrati, *Secondo Rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia*, Il Mulino, 2001, Roma

Another significant employment sector for immigrants living in the Esquilino area is catering. Many restaurants are owned by foreign citizens, especially from Bengal, India, Pakistan and Egypt. Moreover, many immigrants are employed as waiters or cook helpers in Italian restaurants and pizzerias.

At present, more than 700 retail shops and restaurants are owned or managed by foreign citizens in the Esquilino area, which has now begun to improve its socio-economic status and its appearance.

Finally, immigrants in Esquilino work also as domestic help and carers, because of a high number of elderly people (over 64) with a high-medium income residing in the area, and as market stall holders, selling goods to tourists.

Pigneto, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle (Sub-municipality VI)

In this area, like in the above mentioned one, a high number of immigrants live and are self-employed, working especially in the retailing and catering sectors.

Since it is an area with a high immigration density, there has been a particular development of “ethnic businesses”, which meet the demand for food products and clothing from immigrants’ countries of origin (especially Asia).

Many migrants are employed in Italian restaurants, where they often work as cook helpers or dishwashers. In comparison to the Esquilino area, here there are less immigrants working in direct contact with the public in bars or restaurants, except from Rumanians and people from Northern Africa.

Many migrants –especially from Bengal– own or manage markets stalls. Moreover, in the Sub-municipality VI, according to the data of 2005 supplied by the Statistics Office of the Municipality of Rome, reside 1,967 non-EU citizens, a great part of which come from Rumania and Albania and are employed in the construction industry.

In the area of Pigneto, where the African community is particularly numerous, if compared to other areas in Rome, there are many ethnic African handicraft shops, as well as many market stall holders. As in the rest of the city, in this area many foreigners (especially women) work as domestic help or carer.

3.3. Housing

Following the approval of Law 431/98 on rent contracts, which established the dismissal of the “fair rent” system (*equo canone*)– according to which local authorities set limits for monthly rents of houses– the Italian rental market was liberalised. This deregulation caused a rapid increase in rents, as well as a higher number of undeclared rentals. In Rome this change was set in a context of inadequate public housing policies. For example, only a small part of the 11,000 flats administered by ATER¹¹ (Local Authority for Public Housing) had been assigned, although they had already been built and occupied in previous decades. In 2004 in Rome 32,224 applications for public housing had been submitted, but only 1.888 flats have actually been assigned since 2001.

This situation affects Italian as well as foreign citizens, imposing greater problems to the less well-off and to those with unstable jobs: students, migrants and families with low income.

As far as foreigners are concerned, as stated in the 2005 CENSIS report, “there is a trend to a *polarisation of housing conditions*: on the one hand, early immigrants who have decided to settle definitively in Italy and who improve their living conditions, on the other hand recent immigrants and poor people live in increasingly uncertainty and in poor conditions”¹².

¹¹ Azienda Territoriale Edilizia Residenziale Pubblica

¹² Censis, *Le politiche abitative per gli immigrati in Italia*, Novembre 2005. p. 10

In this report, there are no specific data on Rome, but some general trends can be outlined: most foreigners live in rented flats, often with no regular contract; many are hosted by friends or relatives, others sublet acquaintances' or fellow countrymen's flats, or live in the workplace. In recent years there has been a modest increase in the number of immigrants who bought houses thanks to the access to bank loans.

The issue of homeless people need to be considered separately. According to the figures given by the Department of Social Policies of the Municipality of Rome regarding the year 2002, 5,182 homeless got in contact with social services of the Municipality, 31.4% of which were aged between 30-45 and 22.5% between 45-65.

Table 4- Homeless users according to age. Municipality of Rome 2002

Age	Percentage
0-18	0.50%
18-30	5.40%
30-45	31.40%
45-65	22.50%
Oltre 65	5.90%
Missing	34.40%

Source: V Dipartimento Comune di Roma – Politiche Sociali

79.2% of users are male and 20.8% female. It is interesting to note that 64.9% of users who asked for help to the social services in 2002 were foreigners. There are many makeshift shelters (tents, carton boxes, etc.) along the Tevere river and under the city bridges, for which there is a submerged “rental” market.

Moreover, as reported in the “Statistic Mosaic”¹³ of the Municipality of Rome, in 2002 5,602 Rom people were living in Rome, for the most part in nomad camps and makeshift shelters, but also in flats.

¹³ Mosaico Statistico del Comune di Roma, a statistic report on the city drafted by the Municipality of Rome.

Table 5- Nomads in the different Sub-municipalities in 2002

Sub-municipalities	Number of nomad camps	Rom people
I	1	105
II	1	128
III	0	0
IV	0	0
V	4	643
VI	1	194
VII	5	855
VIII	2	972
IX	1	41
X	1	252
XI	2	658
XII	2	369
XIII	1	105
XV	2	702
XVI	0	0
XVII	1	94
XVIII	0	0
XIX	1	189
XX	1	294
Total	26	5,602

Source: Mosaico Statistico Comune di Roma, 2006

The area with the highest number of nomad camps is the Sub-municipality VII, with 5 camps and 855 Rom people living there. The Sub-municipality V has 4 camps and 643 people. Nevertheless, the number of camps does not reflect the real situation, since they have different sizes and accommodation capacities. The Sub-municipality XV, for instance, has only 2 nomad camps, but 702 Rom people live there.

Living conditions in nomad camps are often inadequate, when not critical: no electricity, water or gas, open sewage system, crumbling caravans with no minimum safety standards.

There is also a high number of minors in the Rom community in Rome, who, despite all schooling projects carried out by the Municipality and some associations, don't go to school and beg in the streets.

Focus on urban areas:

Esquilino (Sub-municipality I)

The Esquilino area, as figures on the presence of immigrants living in this zone show, has a high immigration density, but also a high number of Italians and university students who come from other Italian cities.

Here, like in the other analysed areas, there are problems of flats overcrowding, as a consequence of a speculation over rents and of the frequency of undeclared rentals. This problem is common to both Italian and foreign citizens, but since the latter live on a less stable condition, they are the most vulnerable, together with university students from other cities.

Many long-term immigrants managed to buy the flats they lived in and to have a decent standard of living. Unfortunately, newcomers and migrants without the permit to stay live in poverty, in unsafe environments, and are often exploited.

As a matter of fact, many have experienced home accidents or even died because of some breakdowns or of the decadence of buildings.

Despite the recent architectural renewal of the area, the interiors of the buildings were not restored or consolidated, nor were their electricity or heating systems repaired. This way of renewing buildings had already proved unsuccessful during the 1970s, when Italians started to move to other areas of the city because of bad living conditions.

Pigneto, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle (Sub-municipality VI)

The Pigneto area has been rapidly repopulating in the last five years, with Italian citizens, especially young people and artists, settling here to experience the dimension of spontaneous multicultural co-existence and to live the atmosphere of a “small village” within a big city.

This process has boosted the demand for quality housing and consequently the increase of prices. This has caused the progressive move of the weakest social categories– the earlier residents and immigrants. In this context of social fragmentation conflicts exacerbated.

Tor Pignattara and Centocelle, instead, were built at the beginning of the 20th century as a consequence of a parcelling-out of the area, had no real planning and were destined to the working class. They are two of the most densely populated areas of the city since the 1920s.

In all quarters of the Sub-municipality VI there are people living in poverty, lack of rights and safety, with overcrowded flats and speculations in the rental market, together with a high rate of sublet apartments.

These critical circumstances have brought about xenophobia: Italian residents complain about the presence of so many immigrants and report crimes and illegal situations affecting the sustainability of living there.

3.4 Young migrants at school

In 2005 foreigners residing in Rome and aged between 0 and 19 years were 17,914, i.e. about 14.4% of the total number of foreign citizens. However, they are under the national average number of young migrants (17%).

From 1998 to 2004 14,689 children were born in Rome from foreign parents. In 2004 2,622 babies had a foreign origin out of the total 24,115 births, representing the 10.9% of children born in the city. Babies with foreign origins born in 2004 had for 67.9% foreign parents, and for 24.7% a foreign mother and an Italian father, while 7.4% had a foreign father and an Italian mother.

Unfortunately, there are no primary sources updated figures on the presence of foreign minors in Roman schools.

Table 6- Foreign pupils in the different education levels by Sub-municipality. School year 2001/2002. Municipality of Rome

Sub-municipality	Kindergarten	Primary	Secondary (1st level) "Scuola media Inferiore" ¹⁴	Secondary (2nd level) "Scuola Media Superiore" ¹⁵	Total
I	0	290	109	278	677
VI	14	347	302	63	726
Total	239	1463	803	456	2988
Rome	547	4,442	2,543	1,646	9,178

Source: Ass. Politiche Educative e Scolastiche – Comune di Roma
Department for Education Policies- Municipality of Rome

According to figures by the Department for Education Policies of the Municipality of Rome in the school year 2001/2002, 9,178 out of 500,000 pupils across the different levels of education (aged 3-18) had a foreign origin and were enrolled in Roman schools. This corresponds to 9.2% of the total. Most pupils had African or Asian origins.

The number of foreign children and young people in Rome has been increasing in the last five years, thanks to an intensification of family reunions, to the steady stabilisation of migration flows in the area and to the improvement of socio-economic conditions of those immigrants who have been living here for some years.

Data to describe such processes in the city of Rome are supplied only by the MIUR- Italian Ministry for Education, in the form of figures about the whole province of Rome, including not only the urban area, but also the hinterland and rural areas¹⁶. It is therefore possible to take such data into consideration, as representative of a common trend, which is mostly affected by the urban area of Rome.

Table 7- Pupils with foreign (non-Italian) citizenship, school year 2005/2005. Province of Rome

Province	Pupils with foreign citizenship by continent of origin						total	of which females
	Europe		Africa	America	Asia	Oceania and stateless		
	EU	Non-EU						
Rome	3,017	16,766	3,081	5,205	5,136	153	33,358	15,959

Source: Miur 2006

In the Province of Rome during the school year 2005/2006 the total number of pupils attending Italian schools (from kindergarten to the Scuola Media Superiore) was 486,712, which corresponds to 68.7% of the total number of pupils in the Lazio Region. Out of the 565,390 pupils of Rome and its province, 33,358 have foreign origins (5.9%)¹⁷. In the schools of the Province of Rome there are

¹⁴ 3 years, age:11 to 13

¹⁵ High School, 5 years, age: 14 to 19. The first year has become compulsory from school year 1999/2000. In 2004 a bill was passed to reform the whole system and extend compulsory years until the end of the Scuola Media Superiore

¹⁶ Miur, *Alunni di cittadinanza non italiana. Scuole statali e non statali. Anno scolastico 2005-2006*, dicembre 2006

¹⁷ Ufficio Scolastico Regionale del Lazio, Regional School Office Lazio

170 different nationalities and the biggest community is the Rumanian one, with 31% of the total foreign students.

In the schools of the Municipality of Rome there are 164 different nationalities– as claimed during our interview by the Interculture Consultant of the Department for Education Policies of the Municipality of Rome– and the largest communities are the Rumanian, Filipino, Chinese, Moroccan and Bengalese ones.

As far as second generation immigrants are concerned, it is impossible to find official figures on their presence in schools, to carry out an analysis. This lack of data is due to the difficulty to define such category. From the interview with the Interculture Consultant emerges the idea that such definition needs to be liquid, open and always changing. *“To simplify, it is possible to say that members of second generation are those children who were born in Italy from at least a foreign parent and who came to Italy during their childhood with their parents or thanks to a family reunion process. The characteristic which is common to all the members of this category is that they are not conscious actors of the migration project, nor have they chosen to emigrate from their country of origin and to have Italian as first language”.*

The need for a self-representation as “second generation” does not seem to be very widespread in Italy and in Rome at the moment. This necessity begins to appear when children become teenagers, while it is absent during childhood, and therefore during school first grades.

Furthermore, conflicts between second generations and Italian students are not significant, although there are some alarming cases on the outer fringes of the city, where such problems are due more to a lack of social and economic resources than to the immigration issue.

In an interview carried out for Tresegy to a Chinese language mediator who works in the primary and secondary (Scuola Media Inferiore) schools in the Esquilino, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle areas¹⁸, she explained that in the schools where she works, foreign pupils are still perceived by teachers and principals as a problem for didactics and for pedagogical balance. This approach is due to the language difficulties of many foreign pupils, who came to Rome after having already started to go to school in their countries of origin. Very often they don't have the possibility to be involved in specific Italian language programmes because schools are not able to offer such courses as a consequence of a serious lack of public funds.

Another important issue for teachers is communication with the pupil's family: it is hard to find a way to understand each other when the pupil's parents do not speak Italian and bring up their children building on different education models.

Some examples of this encounter-clash were given during the interview with the Chinese language mediator: when two Chinese parents went to talk to their son's teacher and she told them that he was not good at school, they blamed the teacher and told her it was her failure to do her job. The interviewee claimed that this situation was due to a different concept of school: in China the whole school system is designed to substitute parental authority and to take care of every aspect of the child-raising; parents are not involved in the process and the main didactic tools at school are discipline and severity. Such approach tends to generate a “cultural conflict” with the “democratic” and “open” model of Italian schools, according to which parents and external contexts have to be involved. The submissive and passive attitude that Chinese children have in class is seen as a lack of attention and a symptom of difficulty to participate in the activities by Italian teachers, whereas it is the standard attitude for pupils in China.

This situation is probably worsened by the lack of training courses on interculture for teachers, who find it difficult to set the foreign students' behavioural, cognitive and relation models in the right context and to relate them to the reference education and family models. For the Italian school it is

¹⁸ Chinese language mediator for the NGO “Alisei” in Rome and Professor of Chinese Language and Culture at the Faculty for Eastern Studies of the University “La Sapienza” in Rome.

still hard to communicate with the outside world and to include foreign parents in the decision-making processes, as well as in the methodological and pedagogical choices.

The relations between Italian and foreign pupils in secondary schools are characterised by indifference: Italian students ignore their foreign contemporaries, with a consequent trend to separation by national groups— as a teacher of a technical school with high rates of immigrant students in the Prenestino-Casilino area claimed. The only point of reference for migrant youngsters is the group of contemporaries from their same country of origin, where they often experience bullying. Here interaction happens according to behavioural and cultural codes which are different from the Italian ones and which are therefore difficult to understand for others.

This is particularly to notice during the recess at school, when sometimes fights between “bands” erupt. Such fights often originate directly from the area in which these young people live.

In the last 4-5 years, there has been in Rome a remarkable concentration of foreign students in professional-technical high schools. The choice to enrol in such schools could have been influenced by teachers at the Scuola Media Inferiore during orientation programmes, in which also parents take part. Moreover, in the last 5 years there has been an increase in the number of foreign students per class: especially in the first years of high school in areas with high density of immigrants, there are 10-12 foreign students per class.

Despite all problems, negative perceptions and the lack of interaction, schools, together with Youth Aggregation Centres (established by law 285/98), still remain the only occasion for Italian and foreign young people to socialize and get in contact, because there are no universally recognised informal aggregation places.

As already stated in the report on the national dimension, the efforts to meet the new needs and to face the new challenges of a multicultural school are often left to the initiative of the individual. As a matter of fact, only some teachers and principals try to use the scarce funds allocated for school autonomy to carry out curricular and extracurricular projects.

From what emerged during the interviews, it seems that the education system has to deal with three priorities:

1. Creation of a multicultural school

Diverse needs (diet, religion) urge the development of occasions to recognise language, cultural and religious differences. Another imperative is to re-think the relation system within the school: foreign/Italian pupils, foreign/Italian parents, teachers/parents. At present, improvisation is the answer to such problems: the issue of interculture is considered merely as a subject to teach and not as a behavioural dimension on an everyday basis.

2. Training of teachers

Only few teachers know how to deal with plurality in class both on a relation and didactic level. Their training should focus on: a) interaction management; b) didactics management; c) learning strategies for immigrants and Italian as second language teaching

3. Success at school

The available data are not sufficient to detect a difference between long-term migrant students and newcomers. However, school abandonment and failure among foreign students seem to increase, especially during secondary school. One of the most difficult tasks is the integration of students coming when the school year has already begun. For such students there is a high risk of failure. Moreover, the fragmentation of support tools for teachers, the insufficient teaching of the Italian language to the newcomers, together with scarce funds and the risk of polarisation make the challenge hard to be risen up to.

The concentration of foreign pupils is not homogeneous in the Roman urban area, but it is directly proportional to the number of resident citizens in each Sub-municipality.

The Sub-municipalities I and IV, where immigrants are more numerous than in other areas, have a higher number of foreign minors enrolled in public schools. In these areas some schools have more foreign than Italian students, and had to face problems connected to classroom management, didactics, cultural and language mediation. Such questions were to be solved without specific national or local programmes by the Ministry of Education or the Education Department of the Municipality.

Focus on urban areas:

Esquilino (Sub-municipality I)

According to the most recent figures of the Municipality of Rome on immigrants at school, during the school year 2001/2002 677 foreign pupils went to school in the Sub-municipality I, with the following distribution: 290 went to primary school, 109 to Scuola Media Inferiore and 278 to Scuola Media Superiore. In the Esquilino area the schools with the highest percentages of foreign students are the primary school “Di Donato”, where migrants’ children are 70% of the school population, and which is the first and most important Intermundia Pole in Rome (see below). At the Scuola Media Inferiore “Manin” proportions are similar.

The Municipality of Rome carries out an interculture project called “Intermundia”, which builds on the cooperation between the Municipality and schools. The project aims at establishing 19 so-called “Poles” (one for each Sub-municipality), which “carry out specific and continuous initiatives of cultural education through projects and meetings. They shall involve other schools, but also adult citizens, associations, people working on migrations, human rights, solidarity”– as stated in the document “Initiatives for Multiculturalism and Intercultural Learning” by the Department for Education Policies of the Municipality of Rome. Such Poles should be a sort of “bridge” between school and the local area to promote socio-cultural integration, schools and education policies being the catalysts to such process.

As far as schools for adults are concerned, the Esquilino district has the biggest Community Centre (Centro Territoriale Permanente) in the Province of Rome: it is a place where young and adults, Italians and foreigners with permit of stay, can study to achieve the Scuola Media Inferiore licence and attend lessons, which take place in late afternoon. This centre receives many migrant newcomers, who can attend here Italian language courses, as well as culture, arts and foreign languages courses.

Pigneto, Tor Pignattara and Centocelle (Sub-municipality VI)

According to data on 2002, foreign minors in this area are 20,1% of the total population. Conversely to the Esquilino district, the Sub-municipality VI is not a central area, and is mainly a residential area for migrants. This is shown in the figures about foreign pupils in this Sub-municipality: in the school year 2001/2002 there were 726 foreigners: 14 in kindergarten, 347 in primary schools, 302 in Scuola Media Inferiore, 63 in Scuola Media Superiore. The comparison with the Sub-municipality I stresses a significant difference in the proportions of students in high school: in the Esquilino district the presence of immigrants is highly remarkable, whereas it is barely appreciable in the Sub-municipality VI.

Even without updated figures on students at high school, a marked increase in the number of enrolled foreign students can be expected. A teacher in a Technical School for Tourism reported in an interview for Tresegy that in the last 5-6 years foreign students have been coming to high school directly from their countries of origin. In the fore-going education levels much importance is given to the reception of newcomers. In high schools, instead, this dimension is totally ignored, because high school students are thought to have had an Italian schooling.

3.5 Foreign youth and access to sports

Since it was impossible to get to official data on foreign young people practising sports, we interviewed a representative of UISP (Unione Italiana Sport per Tutti) one of the most important Italian associations for the promotion of sports. UISP works nationally and internationally to fight discriminations and racism in sports and is a member of the FARE European network (Football Against Racism in Europe), which was established in 1999. The world of sports is not able to offer equal opportunities to foreign citizens, and in particular to second generation immigrants, as our interviewee claimed. For instance, rules for competitions set some limits to the number of foreigners allowed to participate. In particular, the soccer federation (FGCI), the ruling body of the most popular sport in Italy, has a rule which limits the presence of foreign players on the field to 3 unities. This rule applies to professional as well as amateur competitions. The consequence to this norm is that foreign players are strongly disadvantaged: teams participating in any FGCI championship– at interregional level, for instance– have to respect this limitation. This is particularly detrimental to second generation migrants, because the Italian Law privileges *ius sanguinis* (right of blood) over the *ius soli* (birthright citizenship): a young person who was born in Italy by foreign parents does not get an Italian citizenship, and for sports federation is a foreign player. He/she can practise, be a member of the federation, but is often compelled to sit on the bench. Of course, championships of other associations for the promotion of sports, which are not part of the FGCI, can decide not to respect such rule.

The national basket league has passed a rule to distinguish Italians who were born in Italy, those who were born abroad and foreigners, establishing quotas for the last two categories. This has been justified with the will to fight the trade in minors – which is bypassed by many big teams recruiting young people abroad and giving them a study visa to Italy– and with the necessity to preserve the “Italian” breeding ground.

Despite the barriers to participate, there many episodes of racism against foreign players have been reported. The supporters of the two big Roman football teams, Lazio and Roma, have shown on different occasions racist banners and have insulted black players with unacceptable slogans. In the 2005/2006 football season out of 78 episodes of racial discrimination, 9 involved Lazio supporters and 6 the Roma ones¹⁹. This phenomenon involves not only top teams, but also amateur ones.

If the world of sport finds it hard to re-define its rules, civil society and local authorities seem to better understand the crucial role of sport for the encounter of foreign and Italian young people. In the areas we have been analysing so far, there are many examples: in the Esquilino area in the building hosting the Intermundia Pole (together with the primary school “Manin” and the school “Di Donato”) the five-a-side and basketball fields have been recently renovated. Such places are open during the afternoon to young people living in the area: more than 300 youngsters come here to play basketball. The Intermundia Pole organises championships trying to prevent conflicts between teams with a high “national” connotation. In the summer of 2005 some Chinese and Filipino young people aged between 14 and 20 had some conflicts, so the Pole promotes the creation of cross-cultural football and basketball teams. Knowing how important sport is to the socialisation processes of young people, the Intermundia Pole, together with the Sub-municipality I, has installed a basketball hoop in the gardens of the Vittorio Emanuele II square, barycentre of the area and meeting point for many young foreigners who live here.

¹⁹ Associazione culturale Panafrica, Valei M. (a cura di), *Attacco antirazzista, Rapporto su razzismo e antirazzismo nel calcio*, 2006

4. Policies

4.1 The role of the Regions on immigration matters

In Italy, the Single Act 286/98, known also as Turco-Napolitano Law, establishes the competences of the local authorities in the field of immigration. In particular article 5 states:

«According to the funds available, regions, provinces, municipalities and other local authorities adopt all measures aimed at removing obstacles preventing the real acknowledgement of the rights and the interests, that the Italian State grants to foreign citizens, and in particular those concerning housing, language and social integration in compliance with the respect of fundamental rights of human beings»²⁰.

Most Regional Laws confer upon the Regions the task of fully developing measures of social integration for immigrants, in compliance with the general framework of policies on immigration stemming from national laws.

Regional laws on immigration feature a certain degree of homogeneity, which can be found in the fields of intervention, envisaged by the regional provisions in force, which include:

- right to health care and access to social welfare services
- professional training and qualification;
- school orientation and right to education;
- economic incentives for entrepreneurship;
- housing rights;
- initiatives to safeguard the culture of origin;
- information activities on the economic, political and administrative aspects of the region;
- support to associations of immigrants and for immigrants, with which agreements can be drawn up to implement most regional initiatives.

Almost all regions manage the organisation and the functioning of advisory collective bodies dealing with the problems of foreign workers.

Competence in immigration matters is conferred upon the Regional Department of Social Policy by the Region of Lazio, whose regional capital is Rome. In the Region the regional Law no. 17 of 1990, known as “Provisions in favour of non-EU immigrants” is still in force, even though two draft reforms have been submitted to the Regional Council and are going to be voted by the end of 2007.

4.2 The Province

Italian provinces do not have specific competences on immigration matters, but together with Regions and Municipalities, they take part in the planning and the implementation of measures concerning social services. Moreover the Province is responsible for education policies concerning secondary schools and professional training; therefore it has the opportunity of carrying out policies on the right to education, intercultural activities and initiatives aimed at spreading the culture of peace and anti-racism in the schools falling under its competence.

This happens in the Province of Rome as well, where each year, the fifth Department, known as “Services for the schools”, calls for a bid for non-profit associations to implement projects in secondary schools.

²⁰ Article 5 of the Single Act 286/98, Single Act of the provisions concerning immigration and the condition of foreign people. Official Journal no. 191 of 18 August 1998- Ordinary Supplement no. 139

4.3 The Municipality and the Departments responsible for immigration

The Municipality of Rome considers that immigration matters should be addressed jointly by all local administration bodies. Therefore it has deliberately chosen not to create a specific department and special policies for foreigners, which could stigmatise and isolate them. The Municipality policies aim at avoiding rifts between Italian and foreign people living in Rome and at spurring an intercultural model of social inclusion for immigrants based on contact.

In 2004 the Charter of the Municipality was amended, creating the office of the Additional town councillors, political representatives of foreign communities, elected by foreign people living in Rome and having a valid permit of stay according to the continent of origin. In the Town Council there are 4 additional town councillors, one for Africa, one for America, one for Asia-Oceania and one for Europe. One additional town councillor has to take part in each Town Council.

They have the role of expressing to the local institutions the requests of the foreign communities, of fostering initiatives to enhance the culture of origin and of spreading an anti-racist culture and the intercultural dialogue.

Yet, as the right to elect local representatives has not yet been granted to foreign people living in Italy, the role of these councillors is more symbolic than actually political and effective. They have advisory powers, can submit proposals to the Councils and express their opinion, but they can not vote on the decisions of the Town Council. Many immigrants refer to this system of representation as a system of “half democracy or maimed democracy”.

Office for the policies of multiethnicity

In 2001 the municipality of Rome decided to create an Office in charge of multiethnicity. The documents describing the new office state that its task consists of creating more communication and contacts between foreign and local people and among Italian citizens of different social, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. In particular the office has to detect, gather and coordinate signals, needs and requests of all citizens and of their representatives, it has to report them to the bodies of the local administration enabling the Departments to carry out the necessary policies thanks to a direct contact with the minorities involved.

Since the foundation of the Office for policies of multiethnicity, three Committees have been established:

- the town committee for the representation of foreign communities;
- the committee of religions;
- the committee for the freedom of thought and the secular nature of the institutions;

The main projects launched over the last years have focused on the enhancement of the foreign communities' identities, on a possible interreligious and intercultural dialogue, on the information about the right of citizenship and on the participation of immigrants in the political life of the town. With regard to second generations, the initiative enhancing the migrating literature has been particularly interesting. As already described in the national report on the Italian situation, the authors are usually young men and women of foreign origin, who were born or educated in Italy.

Department for social policies and health

The Department has the task of managing policies concerning elderly people, people with disabilities, minors, families, the promotion of health, immigration and voluntary work. As far as immigration is (directly or indirectly) concerned, the department is responsible for:

- the implementation of the National Plan for Asylum;
- the *Programma Integra*, an integration programme, and the *Centro Cittadino per le Migrazioni, l'Asilo e l'Integrazione Sociale*, the City Migration, Asylum and Social

- Integration Centre, which offers Italian language courses, social, legal and housing advice, professional training and access to the labour market;
- the town register for Family Carers;
- training courses for domestic personnel and personal care providers;
- the implementation, through the Project Roxanne, of article 18 of the Single Act 268/98 concerning projects aimed at ensuring the voluntary assisted return and the reintegration in the country of origin of the victims of the trafficking in human beings, especially women, who were victims of prostitution.
- the management of the Social Operation Room, a service guaranteeing rapid reaction in the case of social emergencies occurring in the area;
- welcoming projects for unaccompanied minors and educating projects for Roma minors;
- the implementation of Law 285/98 establishing Youth Centres, attended by many Italian and foreign minors.

Department for school and education policies

The Municipality manages directly 158 town crèches, 293 town kindergartens and 4 evening schools for adults. Moreover it provides services and support to the whole education system of the town with regard to the right to education in compulsory school age, which, as far as foreign minors in the schools are concerned, means promoting interventions for the integration of nomadic children and policies of intercultural education; providing subsidies for school spending to both Italian and foreign low-income families.

In particular, the year 2002 saw the setting up of the “Intervention guidelines for multiculturalism and intercultural education policies”, stating that the Department aims at fostering:

- the integration of immigrants as fundamental part of social cohesion and economic development;
- the interinstitutional cooperation to make up a system able to put in place training and socio-cultural paths taking into account the person as a whole and the complexity of the ongoing integration process;
- the support to education institutions as key enabler of intercultural attitudes and relations;
- offer of training and information opportunities for teachers to support them in their role as mediators between education system and local communities and to foster the teaching innovation.
- Italian language courses for foreign students and their parents.

Thanks to these Intervention Guidelines, the year 2002 saw the creation of the forum for Intermundia schools, which networks 340 schools of Rome and 4 Intermundia Poles (intercultural education centres) out of the 19 scheduled. Each year in May the Intermundia Festival, taking place in the garden of the central square of the Esquilino quarter, presents to citizens and school operators the activities carried out in the Poles and more in general the projects of intercultural education implemented by schools.

Moreover the Department has tested several teaching paths of curricular subjects, in the attempt of re-organizing teaching methods and choices taking into account the presence of foreign students in the classrooms. It has also spurred the presence of language mediators in the schools to support teachers, families and students.

Department for youth policies, relations with universities, and security

This Department has the task of spurring youth and social security policies.

Since 2006 the Chief of the Department has been Jean Leonard Touadi, a journalist of Congolese origin, who started to concentrate youth policies more on new challenges stemming from the co-existence of Italian and foreign young people in Rome. The Department is not willing to promote specific youth policies addressing only young people of foreign origin. Yet, even if their specific

nature is acknowledged, the objective is an offer of youth policies featured by the overall idea that young and second-generation immigrants are fully-fledged Roman young people, with the same characteristics, dreams, needs, rights and duties of their Italian peers. The objective of the Department is using interculturality as a resource to avoid the risk of self-isolation on ethnic basis, which can feature the processes of self-representation of young people of foreign origin and second-generation immigrants. Moreover the Department aims at enhancing the opportunities of dialogue and mutual enrichment.

The Department is willing to implement these intervention guidelines and to avoid that, in the most peripheral areas, which are mostly hit by social emergencies, the lack of prospects both for Italian and foreign young people gives rise to conflicts, difficult to solve, as occurred in France and in the United Kingdom. Therefore it deems necessary an integrated approach among different policies, such as social policy, policies enhancing territories and strengthening social bonds and policies promoting cultural activities in suburbs.

The Department intends to foster the enhancement of creative expressions (art, music, dance, etc.) stemming from the meeting of young people of different origin, who represent themselves through genres such as hip hop, break dance and graffiti. Indeed if these creative expressions are rightly communicated to the external world, they can play an important role in the re-qualification of territories and in the strengthening of social bonds, since they provide a new dynamism to spontaneous processes of social inclusion.

In this field, the main guidelines of the Department for youth policies aim at:

- creating areas for young people in town halls, able to meet their needs of social aggregation and to enhance their potential;
- implementing cultural activities rooting young people in the cultural fabric, the history and the values at the basis of the Roman and Italian societies, also enhancing the cultural dimension of their countries of origin and the particular nature of their role as bridges between different cultures, for these two aspects to be at disposal of other young people with the objective of achieving an education among peers;
- fostering the opportunities of social integration through education and professional training and pursuing new social policies easing the access to housing, labour market and the creation of a family.

In 2007 The Department took part in a project of the Ministry for Social Solidarity envisaging the implementation of activities designed for young people of second generation in the light of a programme involving both Italians and foreigners.

4.4 The role of the civil society

For first-generation immigrants the commitment and the participation in the social and political life of Italy meant above all drawing the attention of civil society and institutions on the need of less strict legal provisions on entrance and stay and more attention to the respect of social, civil and political rights of immigrants, whereas the situation is different for second generations.

Undoubtedly activities carried out directly by the first informal and self-managed groups of second-generation immigrants focus on citizenship rights in order to replace the *ius sanguinis* with the *ius soli*, which would allow all people born in Italy to be Italian citizens, thus enjoying all social, civil and political rights of the Italian citizens, regardless of the nationality of their parents.

In 2006 interesting and pressing discussions about citizenship occurring on online forums generated the first organized group willing to represent the second-generation immigrants in Italy.

The group “Rete G2” (Network G2) is made up of many young people, mainly living in Rome, Genoa, Naples, Bologna and Milan, who started to wonder about their identities “hanging in the balance” and to work collectively to communicate their social and cultural status to the external world. It was the first formal attempt of self-representation for second generations and it was able to

become an interlocutor for local and national institutions in the planning of new policies of social inclusion and of rights.

Another experience of self-representation has been carried out by AssoCina, an online forum, mainly made up of second-generation young people of Chinese origin. The group is particularly active in Milan, even though sometimes it has organised meetings in Rome as well.

Yet interviews carried out for Tresegy show that both self-organised networks are not really known among young people, who are not directly involved in the awareness-raising, research and discussion activities. Therefore the networks are not really representative or able to achieve a large participation in the civil society, both foreign and Italian. The main reasons are that these groups have been recently founded and that, at least so far, they have involved young people only, who were particularly educated or already active in anti-racist association.

As far as Italian associations and civil society are concerned, the recent years have seen an increasing attention attached to young immigrants and many projects have been launched to enhance social and cultural inclusion of second generations. These activities are mainly carried out at school, both at curricular and extracurricular level, since in Rome there is a shortcoming in spaces and occasions for spontaneous and non-institutional aggregation.

Moreover many Italian and Roman anti-racist associations support the information campaigns and the political actions launched by Rete G2 and work actively to put pressure on institutions for the restrictions envisaged in the national law on immigration (law 189/02 Bossi-Fini) and the citizenship right to be modified enabling people born and raised in Italy to enjoy the same rights and duties of other Italian citizens. In particular many efforts have been made to eliminate the provisions envisaged by the Single Act 189/02, according to which young people of foreign origin, even if they were born in Italy, have to be expelled from the country on reaching their eighteenth birthday, if they are not in condition of applying for a study or work permit of stay. This provision makes each future plan extremely precarious for young people of second generation, who are likely to be sent back to their country of origin after growing and building their cognitive universe in Italy.

4.5 Shortcoming in socializing spaces

In Rome the difficulties in finding spaces of formal and informal aggregation or in using the few spaces at disposal of foreign and Italian young people are the main problems on which privileged witnesses interviewed for Tresegy drew our attention. Indeed the availability of such spaces would play an important role in the processes of social inclusion for second generations and in starting spontaneous meetings, exchanges and “contaminations” between Italian and foreign young people.

Hence as far as “institutional” meeting and socializing spaces are concerned, school is the space par excellence. Yet since 1998, with the approval and the implementation of the Law 285/98, the municipality of Rome has created Aggregation Centres for Youth (CAG), which are not specifically designed for Italian or foreign users and have been mainly located in the suburbs of the city. They organize recreational and training activities for teenagers between 14 and 18 years of age. The CAG centres of areas characterised by a large presence of foreign people are featured by heterogeneous users with almost 50% of foreign teenagers. Indeed, many of the activities organised here use artistic expressions, which are deeply rooted in the international migration contexts and in the dynamics of construction of self-representation of young immigrants, as happens in the United States. Break dance, hip hop music and graffiti workshops attract Italian and foreign teenagers the most, since these genres provide the opportunity of expressing social and cultural conflicts and contradictions without reaching a real fracture.

In Rome informal socializing spaces are difficult to find or even missing. Yet two experiences of claim and peaceful conquest are worth being mentioned. They took place in 2006 in the 2 areas on which our analysis has focused.

In the Esquilino quarter, on Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, the only sport facility was the basket court in the yard of a primary school. Here each afternoon many children and young people, mainly of foreign origin, used to meet, generating tensions related to the use of the few baskets available. Given the shortcoming in facilities, local associations, representatives of the parents and town councillors required and obtained the installation of two baskets in the square garden, which can be used by everybody without time restrictions. Thus the situation of congestion in the school facilities has improved and Italian and foreign teenagers have obtained space just for them, that they do not have to share with school children and in which they spontaneously meet each afternoon to play their “multicultural” basketball matches.

In the garden of Villa De Santis, in the Town Hall VI of the quarter Centocelle, many young people of Asian origin (above all Bengalese) used to meet in the afternoon to play cricket. This spontaneous aggregation had given rise to the protests of the Italian people living in that area, who complained about the breach of the peace and of the garden integrity. Again through joint initiatives of associations, families and municipality, a restricted area of the garden has been reserved to cricket and has been especially equipped to avoid any damage.

It is interesting to note that currently sport is one of the main driving forces of spontaneous aggregation for young people of foreign origin and perhaps the only occasion of spontaneous meeting with their Italian peers. Institutions are starting to seize the importance of the role played by sports and are launching micro projects to create free play grounds preventing conflicts and enhancing aggregation.

5. Interviews

Jean Leonard Touadi, Chief of the department for youth policies, relations with universities and security of the municipality of Rome. jl.touadi@comune.roma.it

Paola Gabbrielli, Advisor on interculture for the Department of school and education policies of the municipality of Rome. paola.gabbrielli@comune.roma.it

Valentina Pedone, language mediator for Chinese at the NGO Alisei of Rome and teacher of Chinese language and culture at the University “La Sapienza” of Rome.
valentina.pedone@uniroma1.it

Francesca Valenza, Secretary of the Intermundia Pole I “Di Donato” and member of the Association “Parents of Di Donato ”. francesca.valenza@fastwebnet.it

Antonio Antolini, responsible for the Board of the young of the Social Mediation Project “Esquilino” of the municipality of Rome. toni.anto@yahoo.it

Sarah M. Fang, editor of the Chinese newspaper “Il Tempo Europa-Cina”.
europacina2004@yahoo.com.cn

Daniela Conti, Director of UISP (Italian Sport Union for Everybody), +39 06 40815681

Giulia De Martino, teacher of the High school for Tourism “Marco Polo” of Rome,
+39 3475247272

Gianluca Quadrana, President of the Commission for immigration and new rights of the municipality of Rome. gianluca.quadrana@comune.roma.it

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SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and transnational analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

LISBON

WP 3- JUNE 2007

**NATURE: REPORT
DISSEMINATION LEVEL: PUBLIC**

AUTHORS:

**Beatriz Padilla, Alejandra Ortiz & Vera Rodrigues
CIES-ISCTE**

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]
[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]**

Project Acronym: TRESEGY - Contract n°: 029105

Project Full Title: “*Toward a social construction of an European youth: the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers*”



Children of Immigrants – Vale da Amoreira
(picture supplied by Vale de Esperança Project)

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1. General Overview

Historically (as stated in WP2), Portugal was a country of emigration but this situation changed in the last few decades. In the 1960s, during the colonial war in Africa, the first contingent of migrants arrived, most of them came from Cape Verde. They were brought in to work, as Portuguese men were fighting the war. In the 1970s, with the Carnation Revolution in 1975 and the independence of the Portuguese African colonies, there was a great influx of people coming from there (this massive arrival of people is known as the returnees or *retornados*). However, at that time, most of the people who came were white Portuguese who, due to the war and political instability, could not stay in Africa.

With decolonization, and leaving aside the Portuguese “returnees”, the country experienced an influx of migrants mainly from Angola and Cape Verde. Most of the newcomers settled in Lisbon and its neighboring towns, and gave origin to today’s marginal and impoverished neighborhoods, with high concentration of immigrant and minority populations, mainly immigrants from the African Countries of Official Portuguese Language (PALOPs) and gypsies (national minority). Concentration is so intense, that some neighborhoods are known as Cape-verdean or Angolans or simply African neighborhoods.

In these neighborhoods, the organization/disorganization of the public space and the city planning (read lack of true urbanization infrastructure like streets, electricity, sewage) was not planned, and that lack of prevision can be felt today in many of the neighborhoods. Some of those neighborhoods were real shantytowns in the surrounding areas of Lisbon. However, with time, materials like zinc and wood were replaced by more solid material, but they would not certainly meet the standards of European housing. Today, some of the neighborhoods have been re-located, others are in the process of, yet others remain the same, with not urban infrastructure or access to basic services such as garbage collection and sewage, among others.

Poor urban infrastructure has had a negative impact on the way people live in those neighborhoods, with insufficient or deficient services: schools, health services, poor or expensive public transportation systems, poor sanitation conditions, which has reinforced the circle of exclusion, poverty and stigmatization.

Altogether, immigrants and their descents are vulnerable populations and their vulnerability is further increased as many migrants still find themselves in an irregular situation (even when some of them were born in Portugal or have been in the country for a long time). In comparative terms, African immigrants and their descents have had for a long time limited access to education and face more difficulties to access jobs.

According to the data available (mainly from the census) the only large enough ethnic groups that have more than one generation in Portugal are African from the former Portuguese colonies. For the recently arrived, Brazilians and non-EU Eastern Europeans, it was not possible to identify a second generation established in Portugal. In the case of Eastern Europeans, it was expected as they only started to arrive in the mid1990s, however for Brazilians, other facts may explain the situation. The first waves of Brazilians arrived in the 1980s, but as they were mainly from the middle classes, and did not show patterns of spatial concentration or exclusion, it was not possible to identify them and their children.

With this background information and taking in consideration the objectives of TRESEGY and its upcoming phases and working packages, we selected two areas of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area to carry out WP3 and the following ones. These two areas

are the following neighborhoods: 6 de Maio/Novas Fontainhas/Estrela de África in Amadora and Vale da Amoreira/Baixa da Banheira in Moita.

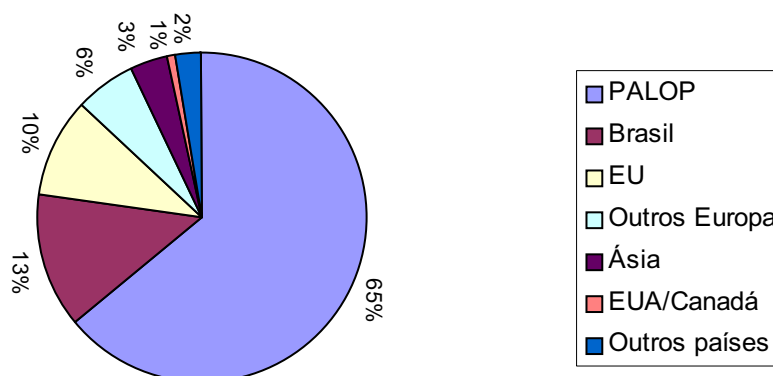
2. Characteristics of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA)

Portugal is a centralized country, and some people have claimed that suffers from Lisboncentrism, but in practical terms it also means that faces many challenges. The area concentrates all the central government activities (ministries, public administration, etc.) and a large portion of the economic and financial activities; however the economy of scale does not necessarily work for all. One consequence has been the increasing inequalities within the country. According to the regional plan of organization of the territory (PROT-AML), there are more than 800 000 people living in poor social and urban conditions in the LMA, putting in risk the socio territorial cohesion of the region while at the same time decreasing its international competition (CCR-LVT, 2002). Law 10/2003 states that the LMA includes 18 municipalities: Alcochete, Almada, Amadora, Barreiro, Cascais, Lisboa, Loures, Mafra, Moita, Montijo, Odivelas, Oeiras, Palmela, Sesimbra, Setúbal, Seixal, Sintra e Vila Franca de Xira. The LMA has a population of 2.661.850 (INE 2001).

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is the largest urban area in Portugal and is constituted by two different districts: Lisbon and Setúbal. It is in the LMA that the majority of the immigrant population concentrates. With the entrance of Portugal to the EU in 1986, the country became more attractive for immigrants, in some cases as country of destination and other cases as a transit country. Thus along the 1980s, it is possible to observe a permanent and continuous growth of the migrant population, mainly coming from the PALOPs. It was only later on, that fluxes started to diversify, also with a higher concentration in the Lisbon area, as many public works and construction took place in the LMA (Vasco da Gama bridge, Expo 1998, two stadiums for the Euro Championships, among others).

Data from the last two censuses indicate that migration has heavily increased. Comparing the data from the 1991 and 2001 Censuses, the number of immigrants in the (LMA) augmented 176%. The number of foreigners went from 45.608 to 125.927, representing a total increase of 1,8% to 4,7% of the total population in the whole area. In 2001, 55,5% of the migrant population in the country was living in the LMA.

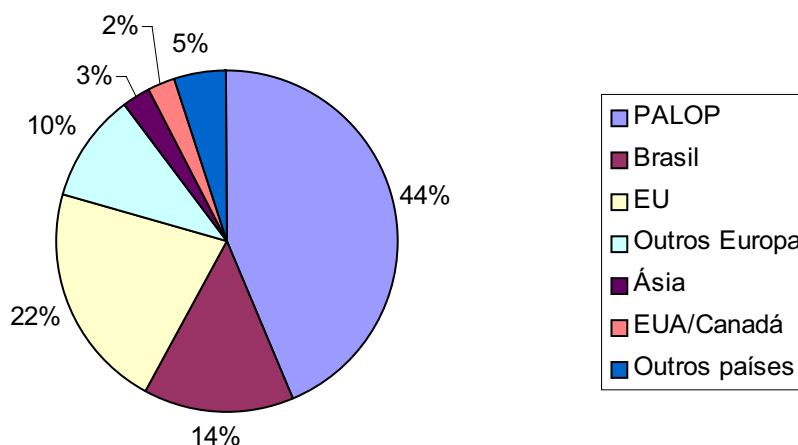
Figure 1. Foreign population living in the LMA by nationality, 2001



SOURCE: INE - Census 2001

According to the 2001 Census, immigrants coming from the PALOP altogether represent 65% of the total number foreigners living in the LMA. Brazilians represent 13% but they are the most numerous national group. Immigrants coming from non-EU Eastern European countries represent 6%. In comparative terms, citizens from the EU have decreased their relative importance when comparing the 1991 and 2001 data. When the statistics of the LMA is compared with the national data, it becomes obvious that immigrants from the PALOPS are more concentrated in this area, while their relative importance decreases if compare with the national data, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Foreign Population in Portugal by nationality, 2001



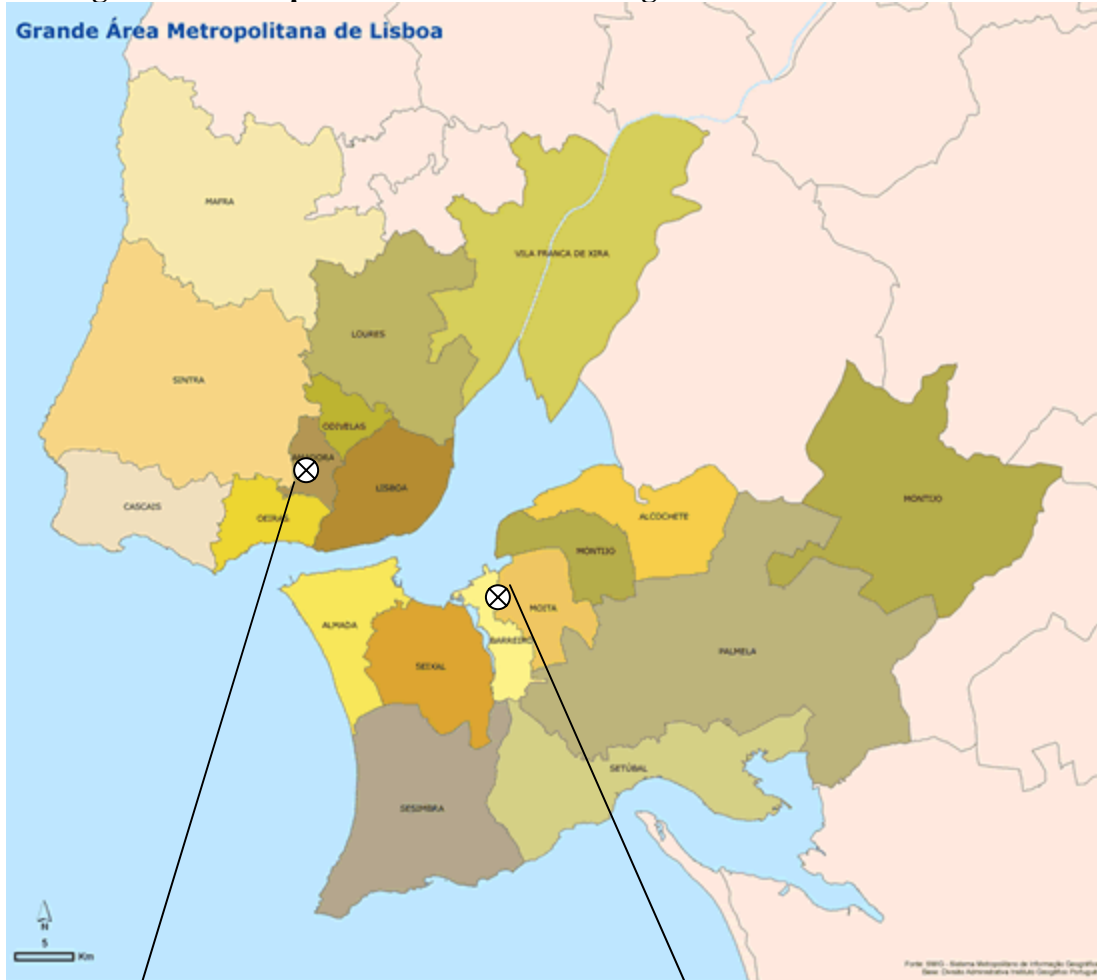
SOURCE: INE - Census 2001

3. Lisbon Metropolitan Area and the local contexts for TRESEGY

After looking and assessing the available statistics, interviewing experts and leaders from immigrant's associations and residents' organizations, we selected two locals for carrying out WP3 and TRESEGY: one located in the Municipality of Amadora and the other one in the Municipality of Moita, in the south margin of the Tagus river. Meetings and interviews with relevant social actors provided crucial information for the selection of the neighborhoods. In the first phases of the project, we were interested in identifying ethnic groups that had been less studied, however, lack of updated information and the fact that some groups do not show residential concentration, took us in another direction. In addition, it was not possible to identify a new generation or the children of immigrants for Brazilians and Eastern Europeans that met the age criteria.

In the Municipality of Amadora, we selected three neighbourhoods: 6 de Maio, Novas Fontainhas, Estrela de Africa and in the Municipality of Moita, we chose Vale da Amoreira (Baixa da Banheira). In the case of Amadora, this municipality hosted the first waves of immigrants from the PALOPs, mainly from Cape Verde, in the 1960s. The neighborhood is an old neighborhood with poor and limited infrastructure, where there is a lack of space (public and private). Nowadays, it continues to receive migrants who come mainly from Brazil, Ukraine and Romania, however, the majority of the population are from the PALOPs. In the case of Moita, the neighborhood is old, but since it is far away from Lisbon and housing was planned, even if degraded, it has some public amenities (sewage, garbage collection, etc.) and there is more space available.

Figure 3 - Metropolitan Lisbon Area – Neighborhood select for TRESEGY



Amadora – 6 de Maio/Nova Fontainha

Moita – Vale da Amoreira/Baixa da Banheira

4. Description of both local contexts: Amadora and Moita Municipalities

4.1. Municipality of Amadora

The Municipality of Amadora was created the 11 of September of 1979. Because of its central location, it is considered one of the most important circulation points for persons and goods in the LMA. Amadora is the smaller municipality of the Great Lisbon Area¹, but presents the highest population density (7393 hab/km²) of the country. The municipality is distributed in 11 communes or *Freguesias*: Alfragide, Brandoa, Buraca, Damaia, Falagueira, Mina, Reboleira, Venteira, Alfovelos, São Brás e Venda Nova.

During the construction of the national railway system, in the ended of the XIX century, Amadora was connected to downtown Lisbon, so people from different areas began to come into Amadora. By 1920, 67% of the population residing in Amadora were from other municipalities, situation that was rather uncommon at that time. The central

¹ The Great Lisbon area is composed by 8 communes: Lisboa, Amadora, Loures, Odivelas, Vila Franca de Xira, Oeiras, Sintra e Cascais.

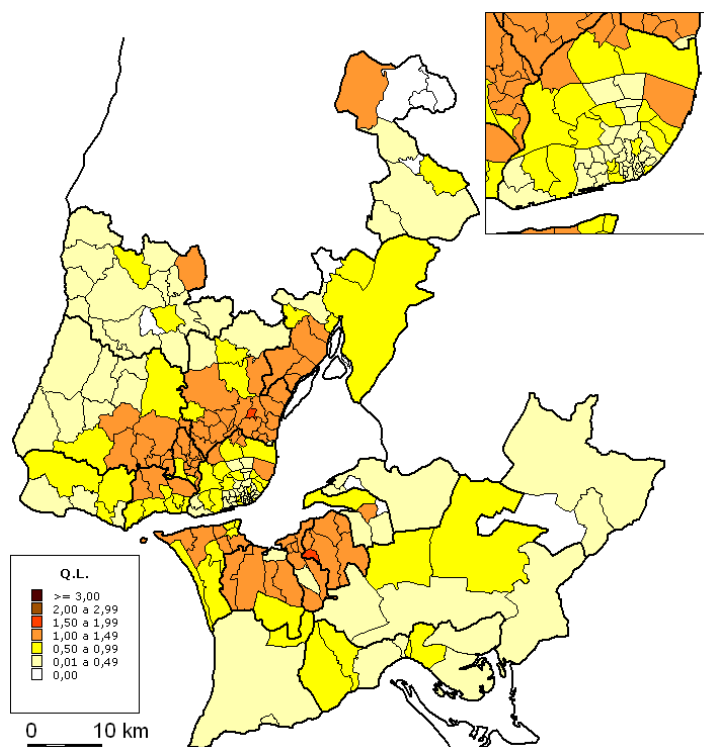
location of Amadora, turned this area into a region of high demand for people to live there while working downtown, as many were unable to afford the excessive price of housing in the city. Amadora continued growing and two phenomena contributed to this fast growing pace: the creation of the Venda Nova Industrial Area in the 1940s, and the demographic explosion of the 1950/60s. At that point, Amadora was a dormitory city. This situation that has changed and today Amadora enjoys independence from Lisbon in terms of jobs, cultural life, services and infrastructure.

In the mid-1970, Amadora suffered an important increase of the population, caused by the expansion of the capital city but also because of the arrival of people from abroad. The Municipality of Amadora, as mentioned, hosted many of those who came in the first wave of immigrants from Africa in the 1960s, and later, many of the returnees immigrants from the Portuguese ex-colonies in the 1970, thus it has more than 40 years of tradition of receiving immigrants. More recently and as migration flows have diversified, it has received immigrants from Brazil, Ukraine and Rumania, among others. Thus in the same territory, it is possible to find several generations of immigrants and their descents and also the newly arrived.

Amadora also has a large proportion of young people and a higher birth rate than the national average. Teen motherhood is a common phenomenon, as young and adolescent become mothers at an early age, having the first child when they are between the ages of 14 and 17, in many cases leading to single parenting. In sum, the Amadora municipality has the largest number of immigrants at the same time that has one of the “worse images”, that stigmatizes many that live in some of the neighborhoods. Bad images and stigmatization imposes have created many barriers, especially in the entrance to the labour market.

Because of its long tradition with migration and the daily experience with immigrants, Amadora has a program for the voluntary return to the country of origin. The local government realized that many immigrants wanted to return definitively to their countries of origin and thus, it signed an accord with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to create the technical, operational and financial conditions to enable voluntary return.

Figure 4 - Immigrants from the PALOPs in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 2001



According to the 2001 Census, Amadora presents the highest population density of the country, constituted by 175 872 inhabitants, who live in 80 581 households in an area of 24 km². With the first influx of immigration that arrived in Portugal and in the LMA, and due to the lack of available housing, people began the construction of the illegal *bairros*/neighborhoods in some of the communes, and with time, they consolidated. Government has not been able to respond to needs, and many of those *bairros* are real shantytowns in the heart of the European Union. Numbers are presented in the following table.

Table 1 - General characteristics of Amadora

	AMADORA		GRANDE LISBOA		PORTUGAL	
Area (Km ²)	23.8	0.03%	1381.5	1.6%	88944	100%
Population	175872	1.78%	1947261	19.7%	9869343	100%
Density (Hab./Km ²)	7393		1410		111	

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da População y Vivenda 2001

These illegal barrios are almost entirely composed by immigrants, most of them from the PALOPs, mainly from Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola. Gypsies, a national ethnic minority, also reside in some of those areas, but most of them have already been relocated to public/social housing. The majority of the houses where they lived are precarious and the lands where houses were built belongs to the military or to private

owners, in many cases the prices of land are very high as the area is in high demand for construction, so in most of the cases, residents will not have ever the opportunity to own the property. The houses that were built by the grandparents are now the homes of the sons, the grandchildren and some other family members. As there is lack of horizontal space, many houses have grown in high, as it is the only direction possible for expansion of the houses and of the neighborhood. This situation is especially true for the 6 de Maio neighborhood (selected for TRESEGY) and it is very dangerous, as the bases and structure of the house is not firm enough to carry the extra weight of the new floors.



6 de Maio neighborhood – typical housing and narrow streets

4.2. Population

According to 2001 Census, there are 175.872 inhabitants residing in the municipality of Amadora. Starting in 1940, and looking at the evolution of the population, it can be said that has been in the raise gradually until 1991. The highest increase was between the 1950 and 1970, with the creation of the Industrial Park of Venda Nova that represented an attraction factor for the influx of migration, both from national and non-national workers, especially from the former colonies (PALOP countries). Between the years 1995 and 2001, according to the Census 2001, the municipality of Amadora lost a 3.8% of the population, more than 28.000 inhabitants, most of them young people. Estimations indicated that Amadora was supposed to have reached 220.000 inhabitants by the year 2001, but it only reached 175.000.

Table 2 - Population movements and demographic growth in between censuses

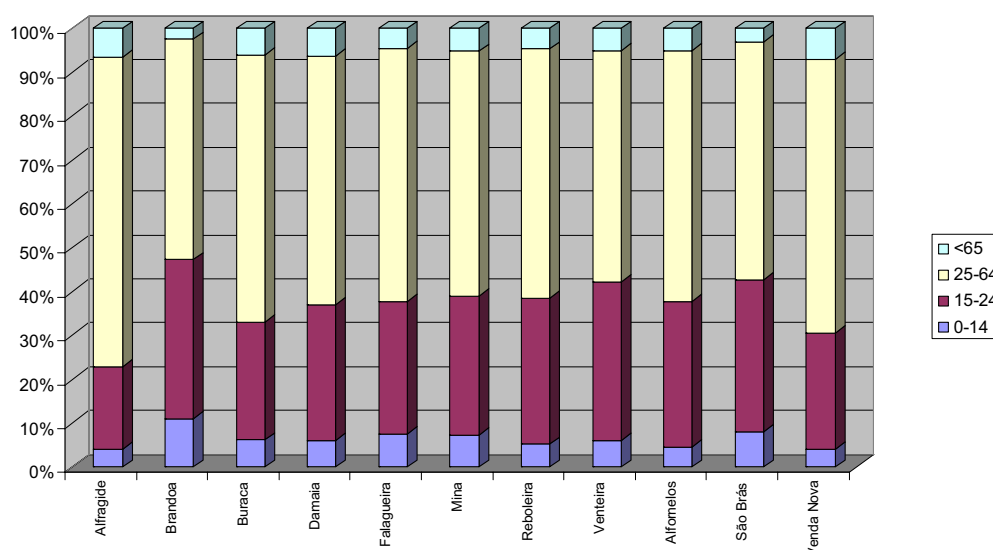
	AMADORA		GRANDE LISBOA		PORTUGAL CONTINENTAL	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Natalidade	12,5	11,7	11,1	11,9	11,6	11,4
Mortalidade	7,0	8,2	10,0	9,8	10,5	10,1
Nupcialidade	6,3	4,5	6,7	5,1	7,3	5,6
Crescimento Natural	8,1	4,4	2,6	1,5	3,4	0,9
Saldo Migratório	2,8	- 7,6	- 3,8	2,1	- 3,1	4,4

FONTE: I.N.E., Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação, 1981, 1991 e 2001.

The decrease of the population is associated to the return of internal migrants to their places of origin. With the aging of the population, those who had migrated to Amadora in the 1950s to work, mainly from the Beiras and Alentejo regions, went back to the villages after retirement where they kept a house. Another interesting phenomenon has to do with the price of housing and the space for new construction. In Amadora the price of housing is extremely high in comparison with other neighbouring municipalities, and there is not more space for construction, thus people have moved to other areas where housing is more affordable either to buy or to build. Many of those who have left Amadora are young people of African descent who have left the shantytowns and can choose from a broader variety of types and prices. In this sense, neighbouring communities have registered an important growth of population, mainly in Sintra, that has gained 130.000 people in the last 10 years. The distribution of the population by age within the Municipality of Amadora is uneven among its communes. The more aged freguesias are: Damaia, Falagueira, Mina, Reboleira and Venteira and the younger ones are: Alfragide, Buraca, Alforneiros, São Brás and Venda Nova (TRESEGY site).

The aging of the population, duo to the increase of life expectancy and the decrease in mortality rates, has become more a feminine phenomenon, as women represents the 58.9% of the population with more than 65 years of age. Men who are more numerous at early stages of life, with time and due to the many extra risks that they face, die sooner.

Figure 5 – Amadora’s population by age range and commune



SOURCE: INE - Census 2001

4.3. Foreign Population

Between 1980 and 2000 the number of foreign citizens increased four times in Portugal. According to the Census of 2001, there were 226.715 foreign citizens in the country and according to the SEF in the year 2003, the number of legally registered foreign citizens in Portugal was 434.548, that is 4% of the total population residing in Portugal. In the Municipality of Amadora the influx of immigration has contributed to the increased of the population, 12.511 foreign citizens live in Amadora, representing 7,1% of the total population.

Table 3 - Foreign Population in Amadora and Great Lisbon, 2001

	AMADORA	GREAT LISBON
Foreign Population	12511	97496
Percentage	7,1%	5,2%
Variation %	+133,6	+138,5

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da Población e Vivienda 2001

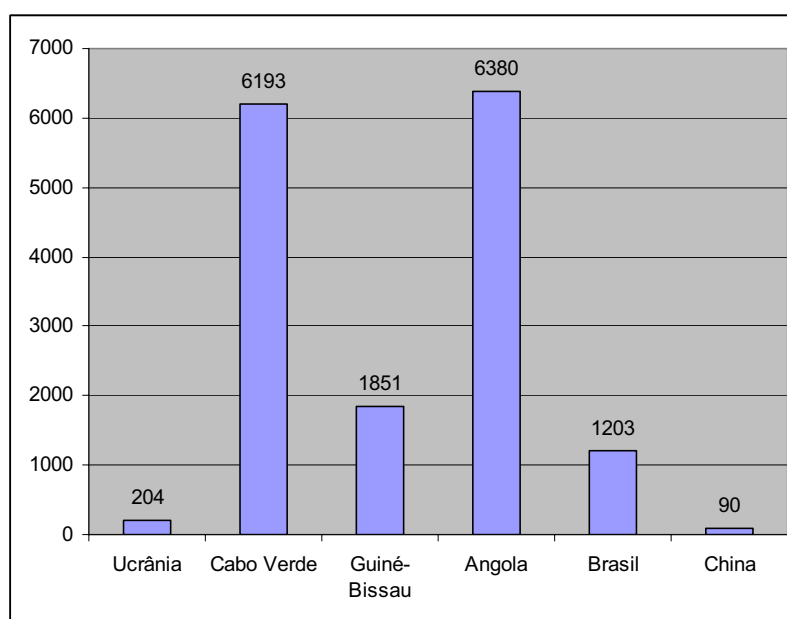
Out of the total immigrant population residing in the Municipality of Amadora, 82% are from the PALOP countries, then in second place are Brazilians with a 7, 5%, and in the third place are immigrants from Western Europe with 3, 3%. If looking at the immigrants coming from the PALOP countries, the most numerous are Cape Verdeans, and then Angolans and Guineans. Mozambicans and those from Santo Tome are less important in numbers.

Table 4 - Foreign population by nationality and communes in 2001

	Cabo Verde	Angola	Mozambique	Brazil
Alfragide	20	47	4	48
Brandoa	113	360	17	72
Buraca	1112	81	13	63
Damaia	539	172	19	81
Falagueira	219	110	16	50
Mina	796	287	32	92
Reboleira	294	326	17	152
Venteira	92	204	19	115
Alfornelos	840	295	28	71
São Brás	162	510	27	157
Venda Nova	984	91	11	32
Total Amadora	5171	2483	203	933

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da População e Vivenda 2001

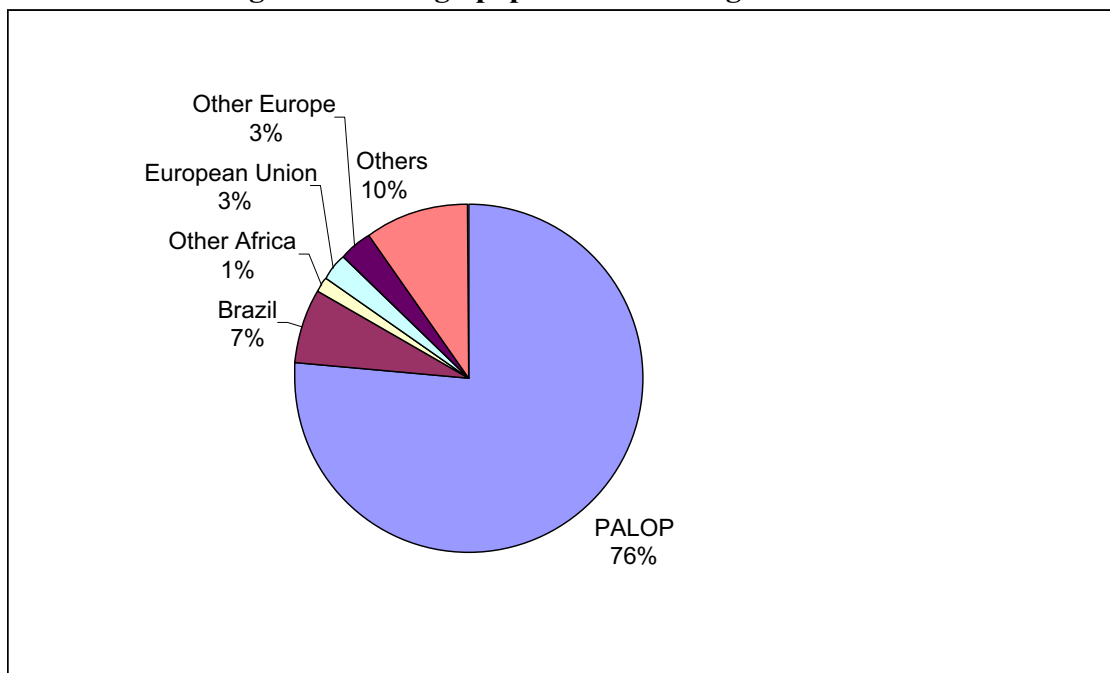
Figure 6 - Foreign population by country of birth in Amadora



SOURCE: INE - Census 2001

In terms of age, most of the foreign population residing in this Municipality is between 25 and 45 years of age, representing 46, 7% of the economic active immigrant population. The youth, or those under the age of 24, represents 31, 3% of the immigrant population, many of them are immigrants or descendants of the immigrants settled in the Municipality. The foreign population is evenly distributed in all the communes. In 1991, Venda Nova was the commune with the highest percentage of foreign population, with 25.6% of the foreign population and by 2001 Buraca gained that position, with a 14, 4% of foreign population.

Figure 7 - Foreign population residing in Amadora

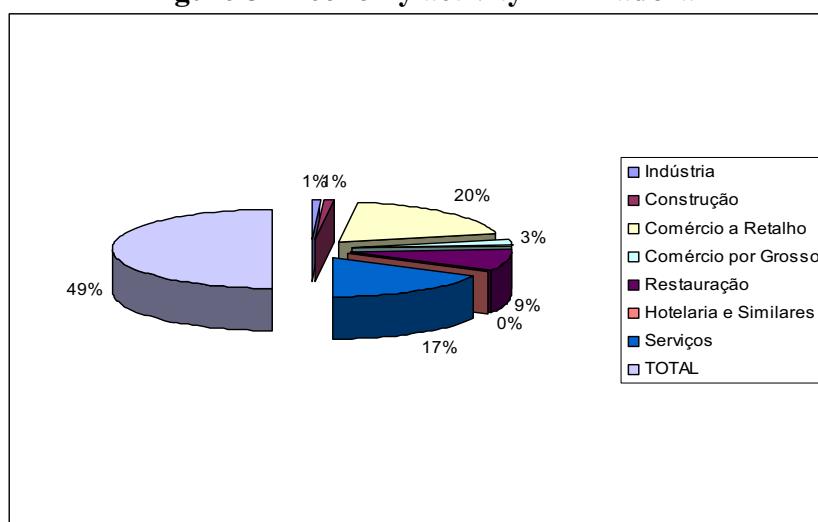


SOURCE: INE - Census 2001

4.4. Economic Activity

The principal economy activities of the Municipality of Amadora are industry, trade and construction. Within the Municipality there exists an industrial area, Alfragide, which in the last years has increased its economy activity, due to the installation of many businesses and trade firms.

Figure 8 - Economy activity in Amadora



SOURCE: Estructura Nacional del Municipio de Amadora, CMA, DAU-SIG, 2001

The rate of activity in the Municipality of Amadora is similar to the rest of the Great Lisbon area, but the unemployment rate is higher, reaching between 7 and 8% in 2001.

Table 5 - Rate of activity and unemployment

	Rate of activity		Rate of unemployment	
	1991	2001	1991	2001
Cascais	49.0	53.1	6.9	6.9
Lisboa	45.7	48.1	7.3	7.4
Loures	50.1	53.4	6.2	7.0
Mafra	42.8	51.3	4.6	4.5
Oeiras	49.6	53.8	6.9	7.1
Sintra	51.1	56.4	6.6	7.1
Vila Franca de Xira	48.9	54.4	8.9	6.7
Amadora	50.9	53.4	6.8	7.8
Odivelas	51.7	55.5	6.2	6.7

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da Población e Vivienda 2001

The distribution of people by economic activity is as follows: 56.8% of the population older than 15 works, 21.5% is retired, 15.6% lived supported by a family member and 5.7% lived of some type of benefit (unemployment, minimum guarantee salary, social benefit and others). In relation to the rate of activity by gender, the distribution is more or less similar to that in the rest of the country.

Table 6 – Economic Active Population, 2001

	AMADORA		GRANDE LISBOA		PORTUGAL	
Men	48652	51,8%	530968	51,9%	2617974	54,8%
Women	45347	48,2%	492621	48,1%	2160141	45,2%
Total	93999	100%	1023589	100%	4778115	100%
Rate of activity	-	53,4%	-	52,5%	-	48,4%

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da Población e Vivienda 2001

The immigrant communities present a higher rate economic activity, but their insertion in the labour market commonly happens in the informal sector so in general they do not have contracts, their salaries may vary reaching unpredictable quantities (usually low) and have no insurance and non contribution to social security.

4.5. Education

The educational level of the population of Amadora is in general low, with rates of illiteracy that reach 10%. Most of the population has basic education and people from the PALOPS have the lowest rates of attained education at any level. The main

problems identified are school drop out and failure, and about 21% of the young Africans leave school before the age of 15. Also, 46% of the youth of African descent leave the school before they reach the mandatory level of education, which in Portugal is the 9th grade. For all children, but especially from immigrants, school plays a central role in their social integration as a platform for acquiring competences and skills of social interaction with their communities. Education will influence not only accessing the labour market but also reaching better employment. However, in many neighbourhoods, school and education are issues for deep preoccupation. In the neighbourhood from the commune of Venda Nova, there is a very low rate of schooling, high rates of school desertion, which may reach values of 48% of illiteracy.

Table 7 - Population by level of schooling, 2001

	AMADORA		GRANDE LISBOA	
Basic Education 1er cycle	52849	28.6%	541711	26.6%
Basic Education 2º cycle	17036	9.2%	182508	8.9%
Basic Education 3º cycle	21238	11.5%	217045	10.6%
Secondary Education	38364	20.8%	410327	20.1%
High School Education	2152	1.2%	29117	1.4%
Superior/university Education	24339	13.2%	350338	17.2%
Without education	19895	10.8%	216215	10.6%
Illiterates	8663	4.7%	92612	4.5%

SOURCE: INE Recenseamento Geral da Población e Vivienda 2001

5. Characterization of the 6 de Maio, Estrela d’Africa and Fontainhas neighborhoods

The neighborhoods of 6 de Maio, Estrela d’Africa and Fontainhas are located in the Freguesia/commune of Venda Nova, this commune has a population of 11.334 inhabitants (Census, 2001) in an area of 1,26 Km2 and presents a density of 8.995 hab/km2.

Table 8 – Neighborhoods characteristics

	Residents*	Aggregates*	African Origin**	>24 years old**
Estrela d’Africa	968	308	66,8%	59,35%
Fontainhas	1157	353	82,1%	60,26%
6 de Maio	1179	369	89,3%	49,36%

*CMA, 1993

**CMA, 1991

The commune of Venda Nova share similar general characteristics that the rest of Amadora, and according to the information provided by the Municipality of Amadora, the commune of Venda Nova is one of the less favoured zone in relation to family

incomes, schooling, housing without electricity, water and sanitation. These neighborhoods are mainly constituted by African immigrants, especially from the PALOP's countries, most of them from Cape Verde and Angola. These neighborhoods had gained a negative image, which is another disadvantage that adds to the discrimination and ethnic segregation that they suffer from. In these neighborhoods, common problems range from high percentage of unemployment, low average income, precarious housing, limited access to services (education, etc.) and crime and drugs traffic. In our opinion, lack of space increases even more all other problems, especially for young people who have not place where to go or hang out in their free time.

Housing, even if all precarious, has evolved since the 1960s. In the beginning they were called "*bairros de lata*" or "tin neighborhoods" as the main construction material was zinc. As mentioned previously, they were built in 1960s and later with the arrival of the returnees after 1974 and in the early 1980s. Later, they transformed into *bairros de barracas* or shantytowns built with more permanent material (cement and bricks), in the same reduced space. These neighborhoods are literally in the doors of the capital city, and some of them only a street away from Lisbon city.

The real number of the "*barracas*" in these areas is not easy to estimate; there are many different definitions of these kinds of houses (*barracas*, precarious houses from wood and basic materials and other construction material). According to the Census 2001 there are less than 1500 *barracas* in the whole Municipality of Amadora, but the numbers that the Municipality refers to is quite different, as they talk about more than 3500² *barracas* in Amadora. According to this information, Amadora is the second Municipality of the region (after Lisbon) with more people living in these kind of housing. It is estimated than more than 3300 families are living in *barracas*. Although, in the recent years, and after the Census, some relocation programs had taken place and have probably reduce the number.

5.1. Population

The majority of the people living in these neighborhoods are from African, especially from the PALOP countries, with a high concentration of Cape Verdeans. Nationals or the Portuguese population residing in this area is very scarce, only a few people, represented by old couples who lived in there before the arrival of immigrants. All of them, national and non-nationals live in the same conditions, their incomes are very low and they have low level of education. Some young nationals also live there, but are rare cases of people who are drugs or alcohol addicts with no resources to go somewhere else. There are also other ethnic minorities like the Santomenses, but most of them are descendents of Cape Verdean immigrants, who went to San Tomé to work in the coffee fields and came back to Portugal with their families. Considering the ethnic minority distribution, Cape Verdeans are the majority follow by citizens from Guinea Bissau and then Angola. Thus, in neighborhoods there is a diversity of cultures, values and traditions that contribute to the identities that characterized the neighborhoods and the people that live there.

As the majority of the people are from Cape Verde, one main language spoken is the Creole because it is inside the neighborhood where socialization begins and where life takes place. Also, because houses are so small, when the weather allows, life takes place outside the house but inside the neighborhood. In the streets, women cook, children play, the old men smoke, the young women sale the fresh fish and vegetable and hang

² Data from Câmara Municipal de Amadora, August 2003, gathered by the Special Relocation Programme or Programa Especial de Realojamiento (PER)

out the clean clothes after washing. As old women take care of the children, men go to work outside, therefore, they do not make part of the community in the street nor are part of the daily landscape. Solidarity among residents is notorious, and it is better noticed when someone gets ill or when someone is born, they all help or celebrate together.

The families are large families, constituted by the parents, children, grandchildren, aunts, cousins, brothers, sisters, etc, thus the predominant concept is that of the extended family. Families have many children, usually 4 or 5 children per mother. In many cases, girls become mothers at an early age (13/14 years old) and many are single mothers who do not receive father's support.

5.2. Housing and services

The increase of shantytowns in Portugal is only understandably in the context of immigration. The access to housing for African immigrants was very difficult, many barriers stand in the middle, thus the only way to overcome the barriers was by illegal building. Today consequences is that many African immigrants and their descents live in the same and degraded areas, and need to stay in there due to the for family support. Another consequence is that because of ethnic spatial concentration communities building has been based on sameness of culture and roots. In the end, residents see themselves as a big family.

In these neighborhoods illegal housing reaches 87% of the total housing, characterized by poor conditions, precarious buildings, degraded streets and lack of basic infrastructure. As houses were built on demand by whoever needed a house, there was not planning. This can be felt today as streets are very narrow, without sunlight, without water. Walking in the streets may become a scared feeling as it is too dark and dirty. The bad conditions of the houses are visible, they do not have plumbing. In the beginning the houses were built of wood and cardboard material, and now they are made out of cement and bricks. They grew up according to the family needs. The average number of people living in one house is seven people, whether they are a family or not. In some extreme cases there are about 10 people living in a house, including an average of five children. Children spend a lot of time in the narrow street because they do not have enough space inside the houses. The streets are their homes, they play there and make friends. But this playing outside only takes place in the summer and spring time, as in the winter time, the situation is more complicated. Many youth also spend time in the street, in their case, as there is no room for them in the very narrow streets inside the neighborhood, they stay in the street that separates Lisbon from Amadora. There is a lack of public space available for them to stay and hang out.

In the neighborhoods, many cats and dogs can be found. Some young people, as many others, enjoy having pit bulls dogs and they used them in dogs fight. Some people like to breed pigeons, and there is one neighbor that has a breeding place in the roof of their house. It is possible to see the cages. Altogether, the limited space to be shared by people and animals do not provide a very safe place for living. In addition, there are many deficiencies in services, such as no street lighting, plumbing, garbage collection, no near by hospital or health centres, post office, recreational infrastructure, police station, among others. Due to the limited space and available area, the neighborhood has little commercial businesses, coffees, bars and grocery's shop. There is one coiffeur. As a continuing tradition from their countries of origin, street selling is found in the neighborhood, mainly done by women who sell fresh fish, vegetables and burned corn.

5.3. Health

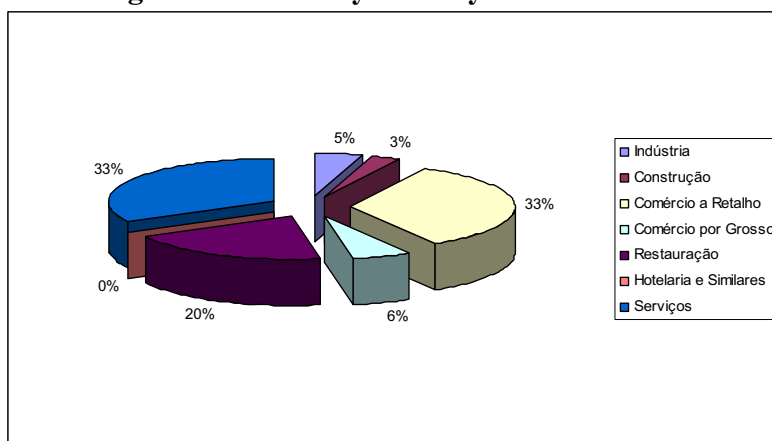
The bad conditions of living have led to the appearance of many diseases and health problems in this population. They have a high rate of AIDs caused principally by drugs problems. There are alcohol related addiction in young and old people, women and men equally. Drugs addition is more broadly propagated among the young population, both girls and boys. The population has a high prevalence of some diseases such as breathing disease, skin and bone problems. Also Tuberculosis and hepatitis are extended in the population. Mental health, neurological diseases and nutrition have also high rates of occurrence.

5.4. Economic activities

In the beginning, people who live in the neighborhood worked in the civil construction and in the industry sector. Today most of the industrial zone has been relocated or has closed down, so economic activities are more limited. The particular landscape in the surrounding area shows empty factories and large warehouses. Due to the proximity to the capital, there is a lot of street selling. The majority of the population holds regular low paying jobs, but also there is a portion of the population that lives from benefits. There is some drug trafficking in the neighborhood, especially carry out by the youth who do not see or find many alternative ways of living to reach their aspirations. Real job opportunities are very limited, and those available are low end paying jobs, with no social protection, so for the children of immigrants, those are not real opportunities. Many people, including the youth, lack the proper documents to legally work in the country, even if many were born in Portugal.

According to data provided by the municipality and the 6 de Maio community center, 50% of the population has a job, but in many cases they lack of a real contract. Most of the men worked primarily in the construction sector and most of the women worked as housekeeping, in coffees shop, bars and fish sale.

Figure 9 - Economy Activity in Venda Nova



5.5. Access to nationality

Most of the population of these neighborhoods are immigrants or if born in Portugal, have the parents' nationality. As girls becomes mothers at an early age, there is also a third generation of children. Anyhow, there are people of all generations that still are

irregular citizens due to different reasons: impossibility to get documents in the country of origin because of civil war, lack of work contracts, parents are also undocumented and thus children cannot have access to papers either, lack of financial resources to obtain proper papers, etc. In consequence, these legal problems make integration in the labour market, the school system and in the overall society much more difficult. It is the case where exclusion generates more exclusion and informality is the way to survive. Difficulties in having access to nationality foster the development of close groups. People, including young people do not have the possibility to develop relationships with the outside world. Thus there is limited room for people living in these areas to be included in the host society where they live. Youth construct their identity inside the neighborhoods and with little interaction, they do not have many skills or possibilities of developing outside ties as their socialization is very much reduced to the inside world. Unemployment, little schooling, precarious conditions of housing, lack of economic means, lack of support infrastructure (health, sanitation, recreation, etc), insecurity, violence, criminality and drugs do not facilitate the life of people in the neighborhood, and put them in a vulnerable situation.

5.6. Immigrants' associations and organizations in the neighbourhood

In these neighborhoods there are several immigrants associations that have projects separately or jointly. The most important are the following:

- Moinho da Juventude – Cova da Moura, communes of Damaia e Buraca;
- Unidos de Cabo Verde – created by Dr.^a Maria João, located in Fontainhas, commune of Venda Nova;
- Espaço Jovem – created by Alcides, located in Bairro Santa Filomena, commune of Mina;
- Amigos da Encosta Nascente – located in Bairro da Encosta Nascente, commune of Mina.

There are some schools in the area, where children and young people are supposed to attend:

- Escuela Azevedo Nunes (B+S) in Alto da Damaia;
- Escuela Damaia (B+S);
- Escuela Cardoso Lopes (B+S), in the commune of Mina, Bairro de Santa Filomena;
- Escuela Roque Ameiro (B+S), in the commune of Reboleira

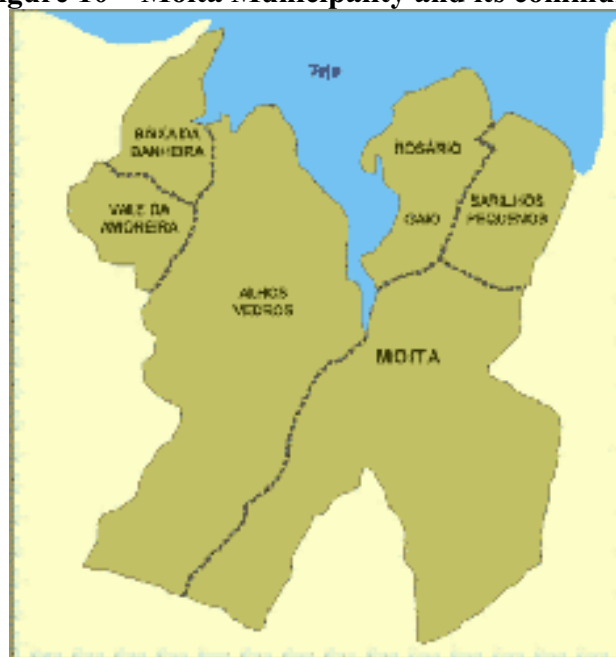
The community center of the 6 de Maio neighborhood organizes many activities and hosted several projects to support the community (child care center, CLAI, etc.).

6. Moita Municipality

6.1. Population

The Municipality of Moita is situated in the south margin of the Tagus river and its territorial area surpasses 55km². It has a population of 67.446 inhabitants who live distributed in six communes or freguesias: Alhos Vedros, Baixa da Banheira, Gaió-Rosário, Moita, Sarilhos Pequenos and Vale da Amoreira. According to the 2001 Census, four of these communes have more than 10.000 habitants (see the figure below). For example, Alhos Vedros has 12.614 people, Baixa da Banheira has 23.711, Gaió-Rosário has 987, Moita has 16.727, Sarilhos Pequenos has 1.049 and Vale da Amoreira has 12.358 inhabitants.

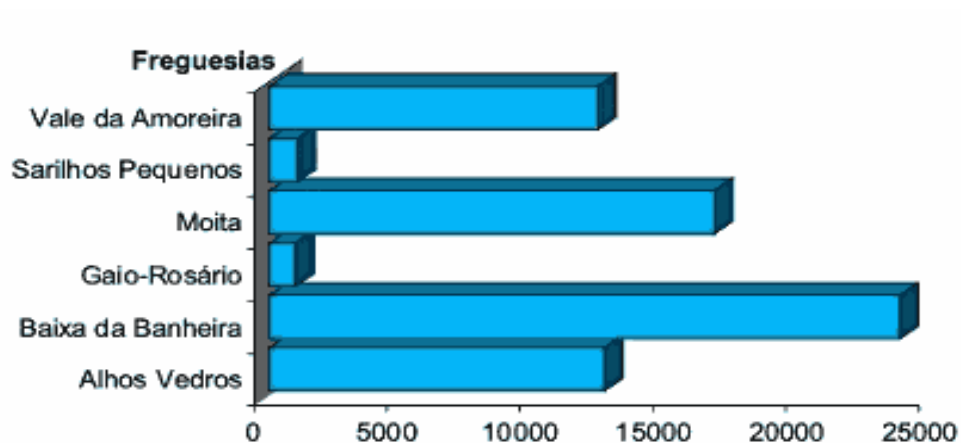
Figure 10 – Moita Municipality and its communes



SOURCE: site Moita Municipality

Along the years, the population of the Municipality of Moita has increased. The main cause of this increase has been the arrival of substantial flow of migrants. Many of those came from the former Portuguese colonies, and settled in the communes of Moita, Baixa da Banheira and Vale da Amoreira. The municipality has an area of 55,38 km², and a density of 1.218 hab/km². The following figures illustrate some features of the population.

Figure 11 – Population of Moita Municipality



SOURCE: site Moita Municipality

Figure 12 – Evolution of Population in Moita



SOURCE: site Moita Municipality

7. Characterization of the Vale da Amoreira neighborhood

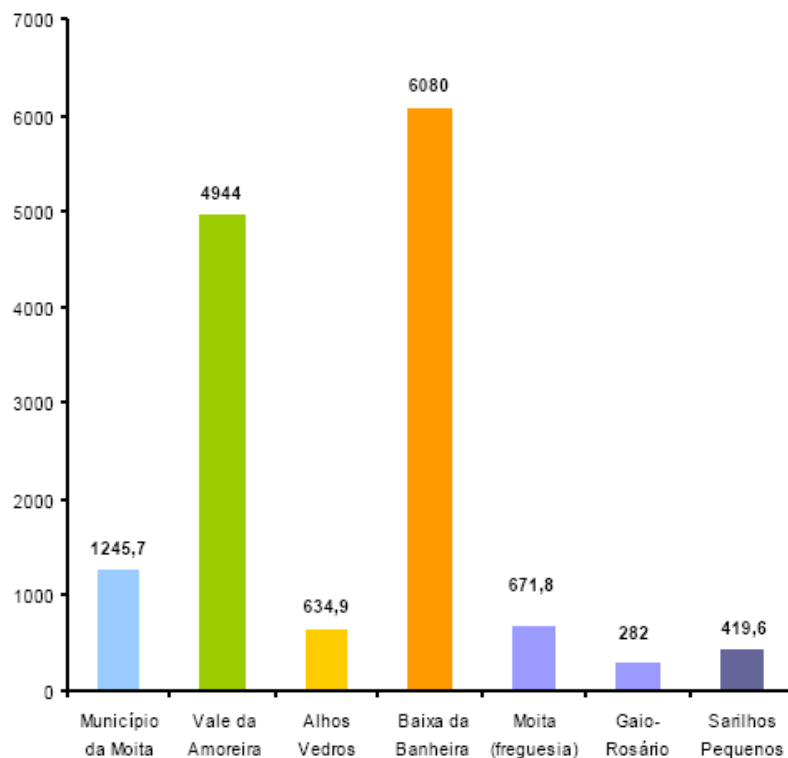
7.1. Population

The Vale da Amoreira commune belongs to the Moita Municipality which is part of the Lisbon Metropolitan area (LMA). The population of this commune is characterized by the diversity of ethnic origin, for example 45% of the population is of African descent, mainly from the PALOPs, and the rest are nationals who came from the interior in the rural-urban migratory waves, in the 1960s. Many also came with decolonization in the 1970s, thus are either returnees or citizens from the PALOPS who left their countries of origin due to the instability of that time. Some of them still have not had access to the Portuguese nationality.

Figure 13 – Localization of Vale da Amoreira Commune and neighbourhood



Figure 14 - Density of Population (Hab./ km2)

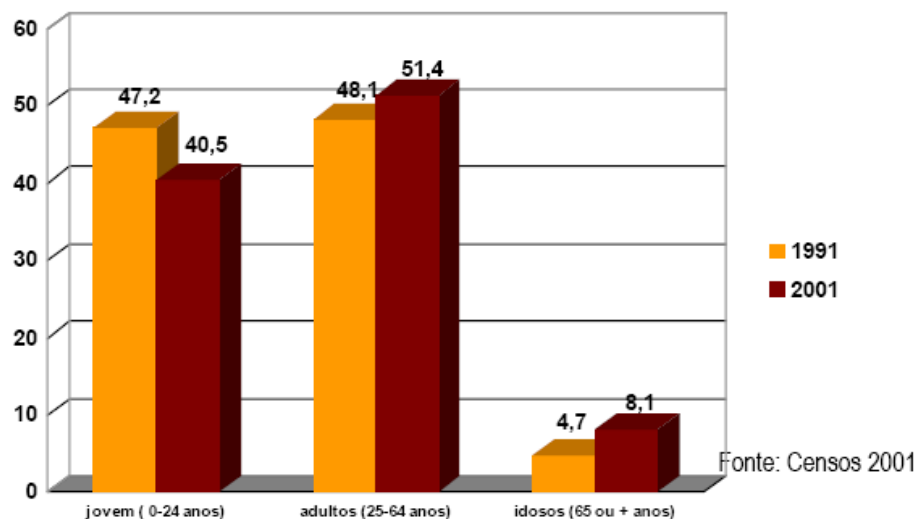


SOURCE: Anuario Estatístico Moita 2003 – INE 2001

Vale da Amoreira has about 2.5km² of area. The population density population is illustrated in above figure. Out of the total population, 36,4% of inhabitants are youth (less than 18 years). Even if fertility and mortality rates are similar to the LMA and the rest of the country, infant mortality rate is much higher than the the rest of the LMA. Due to the demographic explosion that took place during the last two decades, today about 40% of the inhabitants are 25 years or younger, however it is also possible to

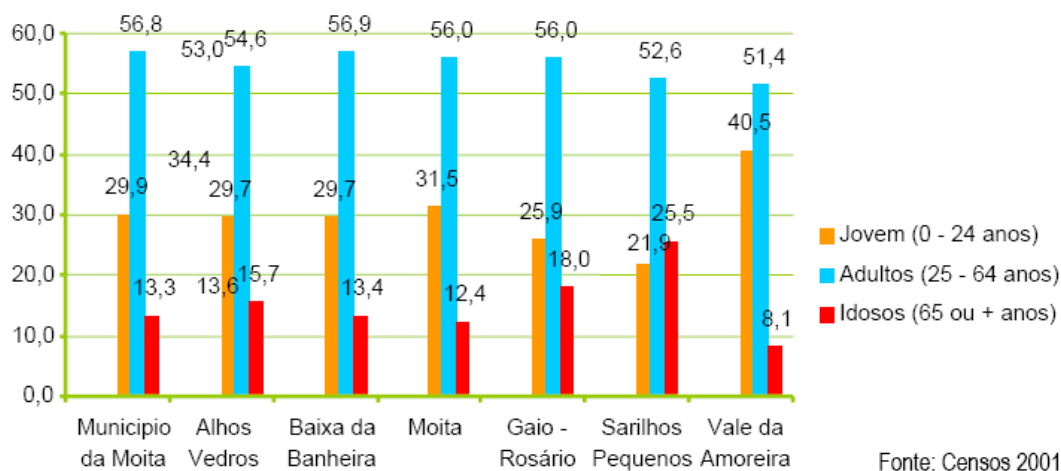
observe in the figure below that there has been a decrease of the young population between 1991 and 2001, and at the same time, an increase of the elderly population.

Figure 15 - Evolution of Vale da Amoreira population by age categories (%)



Even with the stagnation/decrease of the young population, Vale da Amoreira stills has a large concentration of youth, as it is possible to observe in the figure below.

Figure 17 – Population composition by age in the Moita Municipality



7.2. Housing

Even if Vale da Amoreira was a planned urban development, it is also the consequence of the process of suburbanization and the appearances of dormitory cities. Most of the urban growth of the 1970 and 1980s was unorganized, and Vale da Amoreira also fits that pattern. The commune is the result of housing concentration with poor functionality, non-integrated urban space which along the years has been subject to housing degradation. It has a deficient public transportation system that keeps people away from accessing jobs and more opportunities. There is a lack of green spaces and social equipments (although in comparison with 6 de Maio, it has more space available in the surrounding areas). In addition, poor urban levels are accompanied by poor social

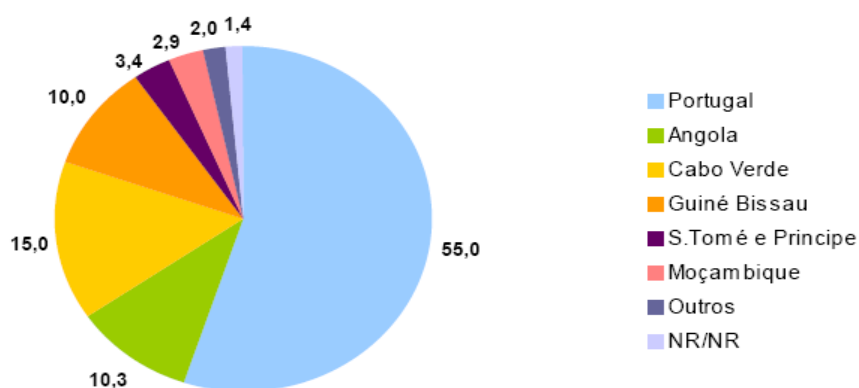
indicators: poor education, little training and employment that leads to social exclusion. There is also a feeling of insecurity.

The initial part of the neighbourhood was built in the 1960s, and it came to change the rural landscape. However, the neighbourhood grew at a faster pace during 1970-1990. Along the decades the houses have deteriorated and now have little housing quality. The neighbourhood faces problems due to a heterogeneous cultural diversity with little opportunities for work close by, and with many difficulties to get outside the area.

7.3. Nationality

The 2001 Census allows characterizing the population as very diversified. Even if the majority of the population is Portuguese, there are 8 ethnic groups or nationalities in the area, mainly from the PALOPs: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Santo Tome and Mozambique. Even if many residents have had access to the Portuguese nationality, there are many that have not been able to gain access to the nationality. Some local associations have estimated that about 5.000 are irregular residents.

Figure 18 - Nationalities of the Vale da Amoreira population (%)



Fonte: Diagnóstico da Junta de Freguesia do Vale da Amoreira

7.4. Education, employment and professional training

Vale da Amoreira presents similar lower values of economic activity (44%) and higher rates of unemployment (13.9) when compare with the rest of the LMA. The neighbourhood, as Amadora, has also an important informal labour market. One problem is education, as a considerable portion of the population does not finish school and there is a high level of population that never went to school.

Table 9 – Education attainment in Vale da Amoreira

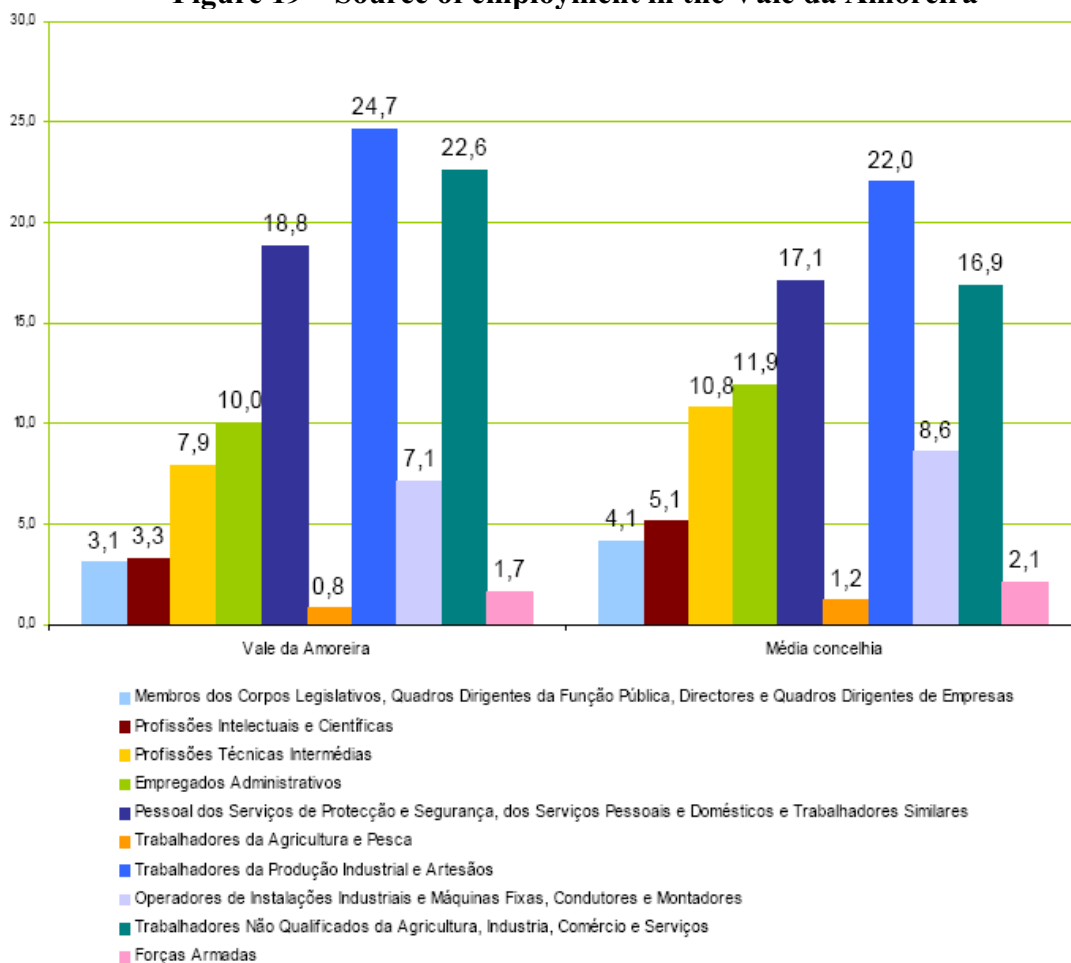
	Total	%
No education	1667	13,5
1 cycle	3476	28,1
2 cycle	1453	11,8
3 cycle	1840	14,9
Secondary	3159	25,6
University	763	6,2
	12358	100,0

SOURCE: INE, Census 2001

Vale da Amoreira has been identified as of the most problematic neighbourhood in the Moita municipality. There, 33% of those aged 19 years and 36% of the young adults between the age of 25 and 29 years, are still studying or have giving up school. This translated into fewer qualifications and less opportunities in the labour market. In many cases there are family related reasons for school drop outs of teenagers with unfinished mandatory education. For example, when parents work outside the neighbourhood the children spend many hours alone with no adult supervision or assistance. A community organizer said that in some occasions, some parents are not interested in the education of their children because of their own low education. Another issue that came across the same interview was that there is communication problem between teachers and students, as the formers do not have and/or are unprepared to work with diverse populations with a different cultural backgrounds.

In terms of economic activities, the following figure allows us to see the type of jobs of the residents of Vale de Amoreira, as we will see, the picture is not very promising. In fact, 22.6% work in non qualified jobs, 24.7% in the industrial sector and 18.8% in domestic or similar.

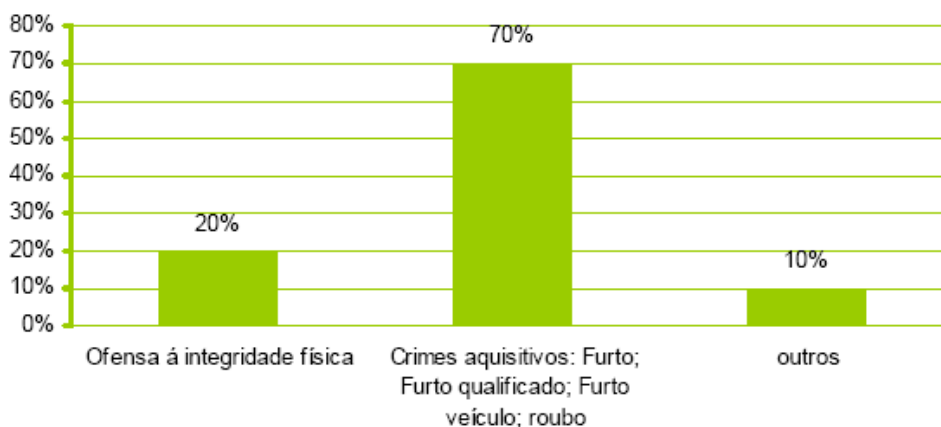
Figure 19 – Source of employment in the Vale da Amoreira



Source: INE 2001

A sad picture provided by the labour market and the poor education attainment in Vale da Amoreira, lead to a distressing reality for youth. Many youngsters end up engaging in crime related activities. The following figure illustrates that situation.

Figure 20 - Crimes committed by youth in Vale da Amoreira - 2005



Source: Instituto de Reinserção Social 2005

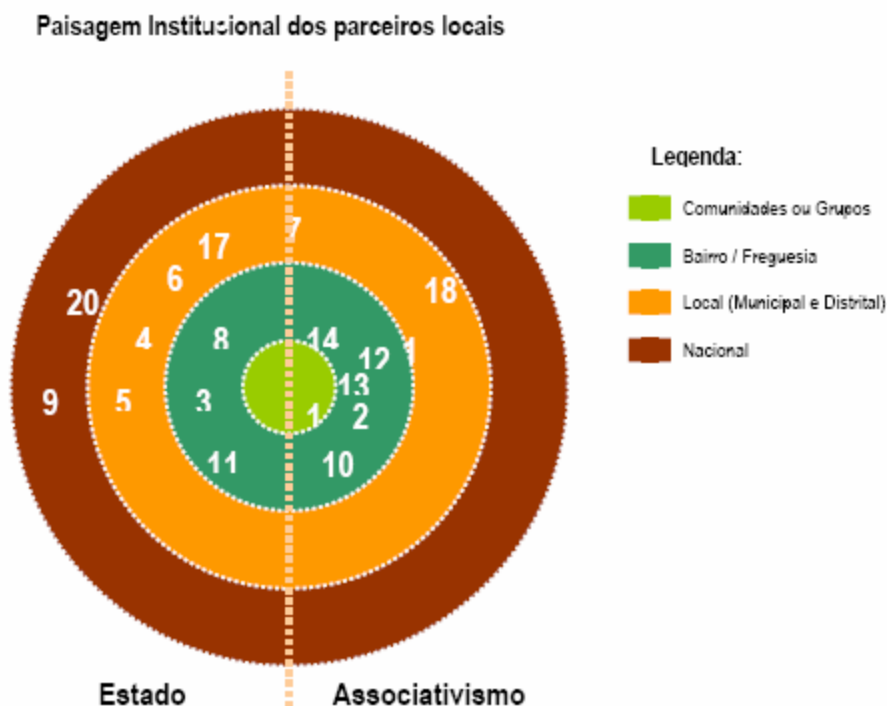
7.5. Health

The health care centre that is located inside the neighbourhood does not have the necessary equipments to provide good health to the patients. This reflects in the poor conditions and fragile health care system inside the neighbourhood. Furthermore, according to comments provided by local organizers, there has been an increase of infectious disease and the centre does not have the capacity to assist people.

7.6. Immigrants' associations and organizations in the neighbourhood

There are several associations and other local and national institutions that work jointly in some projects with the purpose of improving the life of people living in Vale da Amoreira. These associations and institutions are very important, and independently of their proximity with the community, they have been working together to solve some problems. In the last years, some have been focusing in developing capacity and empowerment. For example, the following figure illustrates the type of institutions and associations that are working to improve the neighbourhood.

Figure 21 – State and Non-governmental Organizations working in Vale da Amoreira



Source: Dianóstico Vale da Amoreira – Bairros Críticos 2006

Some of these associations working closely with the community are: RUMO (Cooperativa de Solidariedade Social), Junta de Freguesia do Vale da Amoreira), Associação de Condóminos e Moradores do Vale da Amoreira, Associação Cabo-Verdiana do Vale da Amoreira, Associação Moitense dos Amigos de Angola, Projecto Escolhas, among many others. The main difference that can be identified between the organizations is the way in which associations and the national institutions work with the community. For example, most of the members of the local associations (it was mentioned in the interviews) live inside the Vale da Amoreira neighbourhood and thus know what the difficulties are and what it means to be a minority outside the community. For that reason some associations believe that they are the ones that can understand and contribute better in solving the problems. In this sense, some associations try to figure out their specific problematic of the group/nationality independently of having or not economic/financial support.

Many of the organizations in Vale da Amoreira are linked specifically to one ethnic minority groups, so organizations may organize and develop the same or similar activities (leisure, educational, etc.) but with the aim of recruiting young people from one single community. This illustrates the diversity of the community inside, but also the disagreements or closeness of each groups, and how differences of ethnicity get perpetuated and replicated again with the youth. For instance, the Cape -Verdean Association aims at promoting the social inclusion of Cape-Verdeans in the community through socio and cultural activities, sports and education and the Angolan Association was created to support the Angolan community in terms of citizenship and legalization but also to promote leisure, cultural, sportive and educational activities. There are obvious overlapping, however ethnic differentiation seems to have ruled over others.

In the interviews, associative leaders showed special concerns with the youth. They are preoccupied because youngsters are the future of the neighbourhood and they need more education and motivation to fight for their rights, including not giving up their dreams.

In fact, some members of Angolan Association said directly that their main concern is to capture their interests and try to give them training/formation because the young groups are more exposed to bad influences. Moreover, some members working in projects inside the neighbourhood mentioned that sometimes it is not possible to do a proper work inside the community because there is not cohesion between the associations. This situation creates fragilities and instability inside the groups, increasing further their vulnerability and reinforcing ethnic differences between the different ethnic minorities.

8. Main Problems

Both neighbourhoods chosen as sites for TRESEGY are immersed in specific problems that bring more insecurity and rupture inside the communities and have led them to social exclusion and social and economic disinvestments. For that reason it is important to understand what factors determine that exclusion.

These factors are divided into five groups and reflect the most important issues that these communities face, with emphasis in the youth. However, it should be mentioned that many of the issues/problems are interlinked and interrelated (family, professional training, housing, public space, policies, health, security). Thus, matters such as the urban space, cohesion and social insertion, government, school and professional trajectories have been chosen; our intention is to understand their relevance in this specific context.

- i. Urban Space – the community is marked by the urban space (private and public) and in most of the cases, it does not allow for an integrated socialization outside the community. Moreover, in one case, space does not allow almost for a proper socialization, there is a confusion between the public and private space (as there is no space) and even if some times it allows for a family-like socialization, in most cases leads to crowding, poor hygiene and sanitary conditions, violence and irritability due to lack of space and privacy. For the youth it means that there is no room for a meeting place, for socializing with friends or for just hanging out. The precarious condition of the housing (either by degradation of the old construction or by the precarious constructed houses) are shocking and do not meet the minimum human standards, let alone European standards.
- ii. Cohesion and social insertion – it is not possible to develop social cohesion in the community when the neighbourhoods are excluded from mainstream society. Breaks, differences and ruptures are emphasised over commonalities inside the community, and may be more negative when it comes to building bridges with the society as a whole. Cultural diversity inside the community seems to act as a barrier and a divider, in the same way that acts in mainstream society, so communities do not gain from cultural diversity, there is no inter-cultural system in place. However, it is possible to observe the emergence of new urban cultures (peripheral urban cultures?) created by the youth groups. For example, the rap, graffitiists, hip-hop are frequently used in these neighbourhoods by the younger group as a way to express their feelings and as artistic expression, but on the other hand, those expressions seem to be the only possible for minority kids.

- iii. Government – (national, local, European) For organizations that work inside the neighbourhoods, it is not easy to maintain a continuous and planned work (projects) as they all depend on the external funding and resources that arrive to the community. This creates instability also around the associations, making them dependable on what is in fashion at the political level, without necessarily responding to their own needs. This also, in occasions, creates or reinforces frictions within the community as they all need to compete for the same resources. In the interviews with some community leaders, it was mentioned however, that the capacity building of the associations has been a positive aspect and effect in the last years, and even if organizations still need to compete for money to keep the projects working, at least in the last decade, they have seen the development of capacity in the organizations and a new dialogue among the associations inside and outside the community.
- iv. School and professional trajectories – One outstanding issue in both contexts (even at the national and overall LMA level) is the poor education system and its incapacity to respond to students' needs. School drop out, desertion, failure are common phenomena that influence and determine children life chances, thus immediate intervention is needed. The relationships with the youth's families are broken. And this leads to worse results. The school system (teachers) is not prepared to deal with complex realities, reinforcing worse results. If the school system keeps being unsuccessful, the future is at stake, as the youth will not be qualified to perform any jobs, and the expectations will not be met. Education, either through school or training is a missing component in these communities. Even if in many cases schools are close by, and even if students finish a certain level of education, in most of the cases there are no other options for training (job centres, technical schools, training centres, etc.).
- v. Family – Some of the issues that arise as problematic in the neighbourhoods is the family. These communities are composed of diverse ethnic and cultural groups who have also diverse types of family and family culture which do not necessarily fit the national model. So in addition to general issues such as gender relations, within the family (mother, father, and children's roles) there are other issues, mainly economic, that put the family at stake. There is a high percentage of unattended children and youth, as when parents work all day, they are unable to give them support (for school, after school, etc). And because there is not support for working families, parents cannot exert control over the children. In other cases, and when people do not have jobs, many men and women face addiction problems, as they are isolated in the community (that as mentioned, are not well connected with the city). In the case of the family, one issue influences another, reinforcing a circle of exclusion and marginalization.

All these problems/issues become internalised by the community. The rationalization and incorporation of those negative factors makes difficult for them to change their minds and do something to change the situation. Another problem in these communities, especially for the youth, is acculturation, as they are in between two worlds, so they find difficulties in building their identities. They are trapped in two worlds, one that is their parents', but not their own, and another that is their own but are

not accepted mainly because of the colour of their skin. For being Blacks, they are always seen as foreigners or immigrants in the country where they have been born.

8.1. Policies for the youth in Portugal and the LMA

Portugal, as a centralized country, and policies/programmes are very centralized as well. There is Secretariat of Youth and Sport that has the tutelage of the National Institute for the Youth, with several policies/programmes for young people. However, many of the programs are set and thought for those living in mainstream society (cities, urban settings, well-off), and less is done for those who live in “far to reach” neighbourhoods or who are marginalized. Thus the arm of state intervention does not necessarily reach the ones that need them. Most programs are designed for mainstream youth, and there is not enough outreach to give access to those who are not mainstream. Youth policies should be very broad and include different aspects of life that transcend events in the city and that include those that need intervention.

In the political realm, youth policies should set the scene for effective and concrete action and intervention. Youth policies are not a pacific filed, as it is not pacific what types of policies should be established and who is the target population. If the target population is not clearly defined, there is a risk that some groups or subgroup of youth are excluded, mainly those youth who are more vulnerable and minorities. According to the National Constitution (reviewed by Law 1/2004), in its article 70, the youth is subject to enjoy specific rights:

1. The youth has special protection to enable their economic, social and cultural rights, mainly in:

- a) Schooling, professional training and culture;
- b) Accessing the first job, in working and social security;
- c) Accessing housing;
- d) In physical education and sports;
- e) In enjoying their free time.

2. Youth policies should have as a main objective the development of youth’s personality, the creation of conditions for its effective integration to active life, the interest for free creativity and community service. For example, the Commission for Child Protection and Youth at Risk (CPCJ) is working actively in the two selected neighbourhoods with the aim of supporting the communities from inside to improve the youth integration in society. The CPCJ is an official entity with functional autonomy whose intervention is made through the local partnership and with other institutions such as the police, the Guarda Nacional Republicana (GNR) and members of the parents’ associations.

The purpose of all this transdisciplinary work is to promote human rights and give protection to the youths that need help. The contribution of the CPCJ depends on the problems of each community. So, in the case of the Vale de Amoreira neighbourhood the Commission identified problems related with bad nutrition and hygiene, violence against children/youth and school dropout. However, school abandonment is the main concern of the Commission and the other Associations because it affects a large portion of these youth.

Tacking into account the information given by the Commission, some of these problems appear to be the result of the lack of time that parents can dedicate to the children, which is also due to the hard jobs they hold that lead them to spend long hours outside the home. Also, other problems relate to drug addiction or poor education. For that reason the Commission has decided to provide some training/classes on parental

abilities with the objective of helping parents to understand their children, especially to change the behaviours within the families.

3. The state, in collaboration with the families, the schools, businesses, neighbourhood associations, youth organizations and cultural/recreational foundations, encourages and supports youth organizations to pursue their objectives and youth international exchange

Martins³ suggest that policies for the youth should at least consider the following:

a-) Integrate in general youth programmes, the issues/problems of the marginalized youth.

b-) Develop means for the education of the youth for peace, respect, tolerance, solidarity, participation, understanding and comprehension of diversity of peoples and culture.

c-) Support youth initiatives: informal, political, social, cultural and economic (entrepreneurship)

d-) Intensify and support mobility and European exchange programs

e-) Motivate youth utilization of the ICTs by providing training

f-) Promote youth participation in youth organizations in all aspect of life, mainly in issues of development and conservation of the cultural and artistic patrimony, environment protection, cultural and sportive exchange, and international solidarity events.

g-) Provide support for the development of several activities and projects of the youth by schools and local governments

h-) Bring youth policies closer to the social and economic complexity, providing global answers to the problems that the youth face, which required that policies are articulated to the state social and economic policies, in a decentralized way and increasing financial resources.

All these aspects identified by Martins are important because in most cases the local associations or organizations that work with the youth depend on other legal entities to receive financial support. In addition to general problems of funding dependency, there are other problems that arise between and among local organizations, mainly related to ethnic conflicts caused by differences of aims, strategies, interest and resource competition among the different local/ethnic organizations (Angolans vs Cape Verdeans, vs. Guinenses, etc.). In many cases consensus is not reached and a ruptures within the neighbourhood become apparent (note that this is the case for Vale da Amoreira and not for 6 de Maio).

In consequence this disarticulation of objectives does not allow for a positive identity building or construction within the neighbourhood. In this sense, organizations may show a close organizational culture that create barriers in the evolution of the neighbourhoods. On the other hand, this situation make more complicated for municipalities to find and foster a common development strategy or to try to identify similar interests around all associations. These views and misunderstanding were pointed out and evidenced in the interviews held with the Angolan and Cape Verdean Associations, stating that in some occasions it is difficult to work together. What became clear is that even if all groups are African, each group wants to be identified and recognized individually.

³ Martins, Ernesto "Jovem versus Juventude" no final do Milénio" <http://www.rvj.pt/ensino/home.html>

It would be important to assess whether cultural divergences could be solved to work together or whether those difference are not easy to overcome or there is not interest in doing so. Independently of the many issues/problems/realities that need to be tackled by the organization, programmes and policies for the youth, the local report identified some conclusions and recommendations. Many of those conclusions are related to developing activities that contribute to the revitalization of urban space, facilitating accessibility to available resources, opportunities (schools, training, jobs, etc.). Another aspect that policies for the youth should reinforce is the provision of equal opportunities, which at this point, these youngsters do not have.

9. Interviews

The team carried out several interviews with different purposes. While some were to find out more about the problematic around youth, others aimed at gathering information about different neighbourhoods and some specific ethnic groups. The information gathered through them, allowed us to make decisions about where to carry out TRESEGY. Moreover, interviews were very useful for gathering collaboration inside the neighbourhoods, which is fundamental for the upcoming phases of TRESEGY.

One of the interviews with the leader of the Ukrainian Saturday School, provided us with important information. We had to ruled out this ethnic groups, as their spatial distribution in the LMA and surrounding makes impossible to include their youth in the study. In general, most of the Ukrainian youth in Portugal are too young. In many cases, parents left adolescents at home (in the country of origin) because for many the migration trajectory will certainly take them back there, so they do not expect to stay in Portugal for too long. Another ethnic group that was ruled out as well, were Brazilians, also due to lack of spatial concentration. In their case, it is easy to find young immigrants with their own migration project. Those Brazilian immigrants who recently arrived in the late 1990s or later, have not necessarily brought their children with them. However, it should be possible to identify the children of the Brazilians who arrived earlier, in the 1980s and early 1990s, but we were not able to identify them. In general the two waves of Brazilians, the qualified and the less qualified, do not interact between them, they live in different places and have different consumption patterns. Those who came earlier, have “melted” with the Portuguese society. One possible explanation is that there were not racial/colour differences with the nationals and that they were not a vulnerable group in economic terms.

In the interviews carried out in the neighbourhoods, some leaders manifested their interest and are willing to collaborate with us. This is fundamental for the next phases, as it will enable us to have access to the youth that will be contacted and interviewed. It is our purpose to use local youth to carry out the survey. For that it would be necessary to provide some training to the youth in order to provide them the skills that with enable them to carry out the survey. We believe that this strategy is fundamental, as it could be a positive way to influence the youth and the community. With their own involvement and participation, there are some chances that the project TRESEGY has some direct positive impact in the community.

It follows a summary table with the interviews carried out, and a brief summary of the main interviews.

Table 10 - Interviews

Institutions	Nome	Project
Vale da Amoreira Delegation	Andreia Lourenço	CLAI (Centro Local de Apoio aos Imigrantes/ Local centre to help immigrants)
Escola Básica 2º e 3º ciclo (School)	Cristina Gonçalves	ESCOLHAS/EDUC@RTE
RUMO	Luísa Brito	Projecto Vale de Esperança
Associação Cabo-Verdiana de Solidariedade dos Amigos da Margem Sul do Tejo	Luísa Brito	Regaço
Associação Moitense dos Amigos de Angola	Laureano	Projecto Vale de Esperança
Escola Secundária	Analia	Coordenadora de escola
Centro Social Bairro 6 de Maio	Ariana Andrade	Responsable del área de animación cultural y recreativa del Centro
Escola Ucraniana Devosit	Oksana	Escola ucraniana dos sábados
ACIME	Vieigas Bernardo	Escolhas
Associação Brasileira de Portugal	Gilbra	Revista Brasil
Casa do Brasil	Heliana Vivas	Casa do Brasil/Presidenta
Centro Social Bairro 6 de Maio	Mafalda Moniz, Ariana Andrade, Isabel Cunha e Andreia Santos	Director and main collaborations of the Center
RUMO	Augusto César	Projecto Vale de Esperança Future collaboration
RUMO	Luísa Brito	Projecto Vale de Esperança Calendar of events w/youth

A-)

Name: Andreia Lourenço

Profession: Psychologist

Institution: Vale da Amoreira Delegation

Project: CLAI (Centro Local de Apoio aos Imigrantes/ Local centre to provide assistance to immigrants)

Objective: Legalize immigrants and help them with legal documentation and other issues

Results: This interview was important because the psychologist gave us some guidelines and names of the representatives for each association, schools, projects and other institutions that are working in that neighbourhood. She also provide us with some documentation that they had produced in 2004 to explain what are the mainly concern of this Delegation.

They expect to legalize a good part of the immigrants but they still recognize that is very difficult to reach the entire community because of the different types of irregularities and lack of documents that the people in the area face.

B)

Name: Cristina Gonçalves

Profession: Social worker

Institution: Escola Básica 2º e 3º ciclo (School)

Project: ESCOLHAS – EDUC@RTE

Objective: The aim of this project is to provide support to adolescents that have problems to adapt in classes or some behavioural problems.

Results: the aim of this project is to work directly with both the adolescents and the teachers that for any reason do not have the capacity to help them. Most the time professors are not prepare to work with those adolescents. On the other hand, adolescents are not motivated to learn, are older in comparison to the regular schools, have family problems and some of them face some legal problems (education is universal for everyone only up to the 4th grade, for the rest, students need to submit papers to prove their legal status).

The coordinator of this project has a small group of professionals to help adolescents. Currently they are working with twenty six adolescents, it has been really difficult to work with them because they have been educated in the street. Many of the causes of adolescents' problems come from their families. Mothers are expected to have an important role but as they work full time, they do not have time to give attention to the children.

This project incorporates several methodologies and strategies. For instance, they have a handicraft class to learn and then they sell the jewels and other accessories that they make. The project coordinator said that it is a good way to teach them something that can help them to make some money, instead of being involved in other activities, many times illegal, to make money. One aspect also mentioned by the coordinator is that most of the teachers are afraid of these adolescents and so, they do not try to make them stay in school. Other occasions what happens is that teacher are on leave permanently, so they do not have to deal with the students. As a way to motivate these adolescents, the project carries out many activities even in holiday as a way to keep them entertained and away from the streets.

C-)

Name: Luísa Brito

Profession: Psychologist

Institution: Projecto Vale de Esperança RUMO

Project: Projecto Vale de Esperança

Objective: To provide support to the families and children to improve their family lives and to help women in case of violence.

Results: This project has been prepared jointly with some associations, with the health care centre, with the Moita Municipality. This project only started eight months ago and until now they have got important results. They are working together with the families, providing some sessions/classes about how to manage the money, how to pay attention to their children and so on. They have also created a group of younger people to do activities as a way to give them more education and keep them occupied.

D-)

Name: Luísa Brito

Profession: Psychologist

Institution: Associação Cabo-Verdiana de Solidariedade dos Amigos da Margem Sul do Tejo

Project: Regaço

Objective: Help unemployed women who do not have occupation and keep them away from alcohol. This group is constituted by fifty women of different ages.

Results: This group started with six women and grew to fifty. They do manual works and also have sessions of reproductive health and other issues that they request. Discussions are important as for cultural reasons, they do not ask or discuss some matters openly.

E-)

Name: Laureano

Profession: Professor

Institution: Associação Moitense dos Amigos de Angola

Project: Projecto Vale de Esperança

Objective: Work with adolescents

Results: The main objective is to do activities (camping, science learning, different kind of sports, etc.) with the youth. This April 28th, the association will organize the first event (common to other ethnic groups) in the neighbourhood with the objective of discussing relevant issues for the youth. The coordinator believes that is important to speak about all the problems inside the community and also said that some time religion could be a mechanism to help the adolescents and to control them. The coordinator also said that the main concern is to give attention to the children when they are young, as later it becomes more difficult to change things.

F-)

Name: Ariana Andrade

Profession: Responsible for the cultural animation and recreation activities

Institution: Centro Social Bairro 6 de Maio

Project: Recreation / several projects

Objective: Work with adolescents at the Centre. They have two main programmes:

“Las Schakas”, (since 2003) is a groups of young girls that through dancing try to channeled their problems (school drop out, teenage motherhood, sexual responsibility, etc) and aiming at creating and promoting healthy behaviours: Girls are between 16 and 19 year-old, they live in the neighbourhood, and some of them are in school and others work.

“The Brothers” is a male group of youngsters who are looking for support in several issues such as marginality, family break downs, drug abuse, drug trafficking, legalization, access to nationality. Most of them live in the neighbourhood or in the surroundings, are between 18 and 30 year-old. Their objective is to attain social integration through participation in events, meetings, training, among other activities.

“Child-care centre”: the centre provides services to children of 0-5 years of age, serving about 300 children. Most of the children are of African origin (from PALOPs, mainly Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sant Tome, and Angola).

According to their own diagnosis, the worse problems are school drop out, unemployment, teen-parenting and drug trafficking.

G-)

Name: Mafalda Moniz

Profession: Educator

Institution: Centro Social 6 de Maio

Project: Centre (all projects)

This group interview was important as it enabled us to contact the director of the Centre. In addition to informing her and her collaborators about TRESEGY, we were able to get permission and her consent to carry out the new phases of the project, having the centre as a pivot organization. They have agreed to offer support, contacts and all elements that are required for carrying the survey and the ethnographic fieldwork.

H-)

Name: Luísa Brito

Profession: Psychologist

Institution: Projecto Vale de Esperança

Objective: The aim of this interview was to know more about the calendar proposal created by the Vale de Esperança Project in the present year 2007. We also spoke about the youth groups created inside and outside the ethnic associations. In fact, we were informed that the Vale de Esperança Project is helping a youth group to be constituted as an association which was called NEVA (New Era of Vale da Amoreira). This group appeared when the Vale de Esperança Project decided to call some youth to help in socio-cultural activities. This group is composed by Portuguese, Angolans, Cape Verdians which ages are between 14 and 23 years old and there intention is develop a new attitude inside the community and help the children to have other interests. Furthermore, because they are an heterogeneous group, the Portuguese is the language spoken and this could be a new strategy to the development of this community.

I-)

Name: Augusto César

Profession: Manager of the Vale de Esperança Project and is the Director of RUMO

Institution: Projecto Vale de Esperança

Objective: The aim of this interview was to present our Project to the manager and explain why we choose that community. After that he felt more comfortable to explain the intention of the Vale de Esperança Project and what they are expecting from us. He also explained similar projects that are working inside the community and the difficulties to work in parallel without forgotten the real objectives of the project and create a network between all institutions, associations and the Municipality of Moita.

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11. Pictures

Pictures from the 6 de Maio Neighbourhood



Typical streets are very narrow



As time pass by more floors are added to the initial houses



Walking inside the neighborhood

Pictures from the Vale da Amoreira Neighbourhood



View of the neighbourhood



Overview of the neighbourhood and its surroundings

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A Relationship between the national and the local level

1. The relationship between national and local integration bodies and policies

Portuguese political life has always been characterised by its centralist nature. Most of the areas of social and economic life are legislated at a central level to then be implemented at the local level. On November 1998 there was a referendum concerning the accepting of the creation of regional entities in which 48% of the voters participated. Of those casting a vote, 63% expressed their opinion as against such form of governance of the country (<http://www.regiao-sul.pt/regional/nacional.htm>). The present government is implementing changes at the state administration level that might produce the de-centralisation of public governance that did not go through in 98. But such change in Portuguese political life is still in the future. The present, (exception made for the Autonomous Regions of Madeira and Azores, that dispose of regional government and region-specific budget) is still one of centralised governance. Organs of more localised governance are the *Comissões de Coordenação Regional*/Commission of Regional Coordination (3: North, Centre and South), the *Governos Civis*/Civil Governments (representing Central Government in the District) (18), the *Comunidades Intermunicipais*/Intercouncil communities (2), *Comunidades Urbanas*/Urban Communities (8), the *Áreas Metropolitanas*/Metropolitan Areas (1), and the *Grandes Áreas Metropolitanas*/Greater Metropolitan Areas (7). The present government plans to extinguish *Governos Civis* and substitute them by 5 administrative regions. This is part of a wider plan of re-structuring of central administration presented in march 2006 (*Programa de Reestruturação da Administração Central do Estado -PRACE*/Program of Re-structuring of Central Government Administration http://www.portugal.gov.pt/NR/rdonlyres/0A6DEBBD-BE35-4C4C-91CA-27BCF76E142A/0/Modelo_PRACE.pdf). Part of PRACE is the de-centralisation of certain functions of central power by allocating them to local power, namely in the services areas such as health and education.

Concerning territory management (including here urban planning, policies and development programs), the setting is established by a 1998 national law (nº 48/98, 11th August). Territory planning and management aims are pursued through the

- improvement of the living and working conditions of the population while respecting cultural, environmental and landscape values
- equal distribution among the whole of the population of the functions of housing, work, culture and leisure
- creation of employment opportunities as way of rooting people, namely to less developed regions
- control of the urban densification so as to promote good levels of living and a balanced socio-economic organisation
- rationalising both building construction and infra-structures use so as to avoid unnecessary extensive urban perimeters and promoting the rational use of interstitial areas
 - promoting an housing policy adequate to the existing needs
 - rehabilitation and preservation of historic centres and of listed cultural heritage
 - rehabilitation and redevelopment of degraded and/or illegally-built urban areas

The implementation of these policies is based on a tripartite territory management system that works in a coordinated way:

national level: defines the strategic setting for national territory management establishing guiding lines for the regional and municipal level, supervising the compatibility between the different tools and sectorial policies

regional level: establishing the strategic setting within which regional space will be classified in an articulated manner with the national policies and defining the guiding lines for municipal territory management

municipal level: defining in articulation with regional and national directives and policies the strategic development options as well as land use typologies and respective calendar of implementation (Rebello & Malcata 2006:32-33).

Presently, the social and economic integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities is seen as a guiding line of urban and regional planning (Rebelo & Malcata 2006:52).

Rebelo & Malcata (2006: 53) presents three forms of articulation within an urban setting of communities with different cultures:

Segregation (the most radical form of which was the South African apartheid)

Assimilation (adopted by communities with a history of difficult social relations with people with different cultures; according to this approach, the immigrants should adopt all the cultural local culture-specific characteristics)

Multiculturalism (traditionally adopted by the USA, Brazil and Portugal, based on a strong tradition of living side by side with other people; this model believes that the fundamental rights are the same for everybody and sees diversity not as a threat but as a positive complementarity; thus the equality principle is established in the law: in these countries all people have the same rights, be it native or immigrants).¹ For a critical reading of this last statement, see the material produced on Portugal in the WP2.

On the 18th of December 2006 the *Plano para a Integração dos Imigrantes -PII*; (Program for the Integration of Immigrants) was presented for public appreciation. On the 8th of March 2007 the Plan was approved by the Government. The Plan encompasses 123 initiatives counting with the cooperation of thirteen Ministries. Main aims are the diminishing of descendent of immigrants' schooling unsuccess and drop out levels, the reinforcement of the professional qualification of immigrants, the reinforcement of programs for the teaching of Portuguese and for the awareness of immigrants social and individual rights concerning health, social security, housing and justice. Although the measures within PII are within the State intervention sphere, it is hoped that they should constitute an incentive to the civil society action within these areas, namely to the immigrants associations. It is hoped and expected that the immigrant associations should assume the role of partners in the designing, development and promotion of the immigration policies.

http://www.portugal.gov.pt/Portal/PT/Governos/Governos_Constitucionais/GC17/Conselho_de_Ministros/Comunicados_e_Conferencias_de_Imprensa/20070308.htm

The main drive is now for the creation of more than the 42 existing *Centros Locais de Apoio ao Imigrante - CLAIs* (Local Centres for the Support of Immigrants – LCSIs) that will complement with a proximity-policy by working with the local structures the two existing *Centros Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante- CNAIs* (National Centres for the Support of Immigrants – NCSI) in Lisbon and in Porto.

¹ For a critical reading of this last statement see material produced on Portugal within WP2.

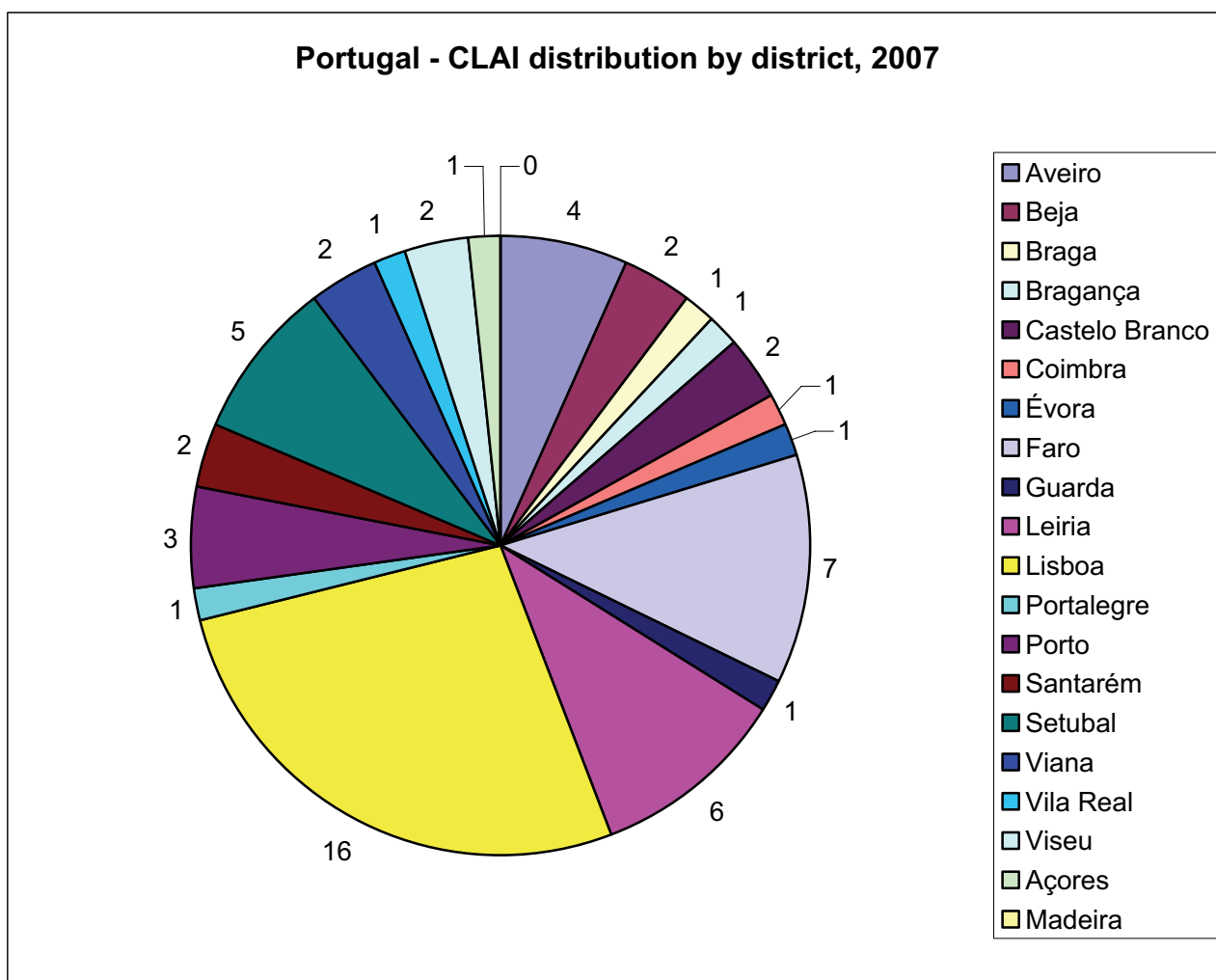


Chart 1 – Source ACIME 2007

1.1. Greater Metropolitan Areas

The Law No 10/2003 of 13th of May, legislated on:

- the conditions for the creation of GMAs
- the definition of the Greater Metropolitan Areas (GMAs) geographical features
- the definition of GMAs' functioning and competences

The Greater Metropolitan Areas were created in order to pursue the following public interest aims:

- a) the articulation of municipal investments of supra-municipality interest
- b) the coordination between municipalities and state level services in the following areas:
 - 1- infrastructures of basic sanitation and of public supply
 - 2- health
 - 3- education
 - 4- environment and natural resources
 - 5- security and civil protection
 - 6- accessibility and transportation
 - 7- public use infrastructures/facilities
 - 8- support to tourism and culture
 - 9- support to sporting activities, youth and leisure
- c) social and economic planning and strategies
- d) management of territory within the area of the municipalities part of the metropolitan unit

The GMAs are constituted by a metropolitan assembly (deliberative body), a metropolitan board (executive power) and a metropolitan council (advisory body). These bodies are not voted in by the citizens, being instead chosen among its peers by the publicly elected municipal deputies.

B- Specification of the local situation

2. The Porto Greater Metropolitan Area

- PGMA

Porto is located on the western Portuguese Atlantic coast, 300 km north of the Portuguese capital Lisbon and 120 km south of the Spanish (Galician) border. The city grew up on the north side of the Douro, a river that has its source in Spain and reaches the sea at Porto. The city is usually referred to as the capital of the (industrial) north.²

Porto Metropolitan Area was the second biggest Portuguese metropolitan area encompassing eight other cities making up *c.*1% (817km²) of the Portuguese territory. In the 1991 census it had a population of *c.*12% (1 196 850 inhabitants) of the Portuguese total and a density of nearly one half thousand (1 464.2) inhabitants per km².³

On July the 6th 2004, the Porto Metropolitan Area (PMA) municipalities (Espinho; Gondomar; Maia; Matosinhos; Porto; Póvoa de Varzim; Valongo; Vila do Conde; Vila Nova de Gaia), together with five more municipalities (Arouca; Santa Maria da Feira; Santo Tirso; S João da Madeira; Trofa), constituted the Porto Greater Metropolitan Área (PGMA) (**Fig 1**).

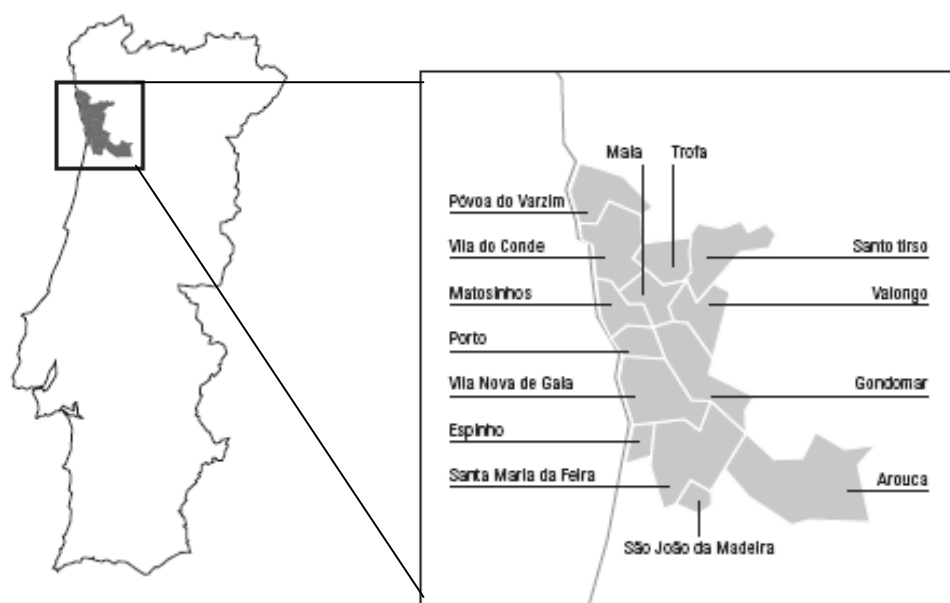


Fig.1 Porto Greater Metropolitan Area

There is so far no socio-demographic study on the Porto Greater Metropolitan Area (PGMA). The studies available are all still on the PMA (Porto Metropolitan Area) level. There is also some data available at the district level from both INE and SEF. Thus the portrayal of the area under study to be presented here cannot but be a collection of data that cannot always be fully compared against each other, but it is the portrayal possible to be produced.

2.1. The PGMA demographics: national and non-national individuals

² According to Porto's application for World Heritage status the so-called northern region has 3 million inhabitants, constituting one quarter of Portugal's area, enclosing one third of Portugal's population and almost half of its youth (0 to 15 years old) (CRUARB 1993:30).

³ Statistical data from 1998 supplied by the Porto Metropolitan web site: www.amp.pt/amp-em-numeros/1998 - consulted 06/2002.

According to the 2006 study carried out by the *Observatório da Imigração - OI* (Immigration Observatory, a research unit part of ACIME/High Commission for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities) on the 2001 national census data (Rebello & Malcata 2006)⁴, the distribution of immigrant population in the PMA does not mirror the national distribution. Thus, individuals from African countries with Portuguese as the official language represent only 45.3% of the total number of foreigners within PMA, while at national level their number is of 50,5% (at the Lisbon AM they are 64%).⁵ The data for 2005 (already with *autorizações de residência* and *autorizações de permanência* status)⁶ at the Lisbon and Porto district level shows a much stronger presence of African origin population in Lisbon (56% of the total) than in Porto (16% of the total). In the Porto district it is the Ukrainian (32%) and the Brazilian (32%) nationalities that have a stronger presence in the area. In Porto, the third highest ranking nationality is the Chinese (8%) (Chart 2 and Chart 3).

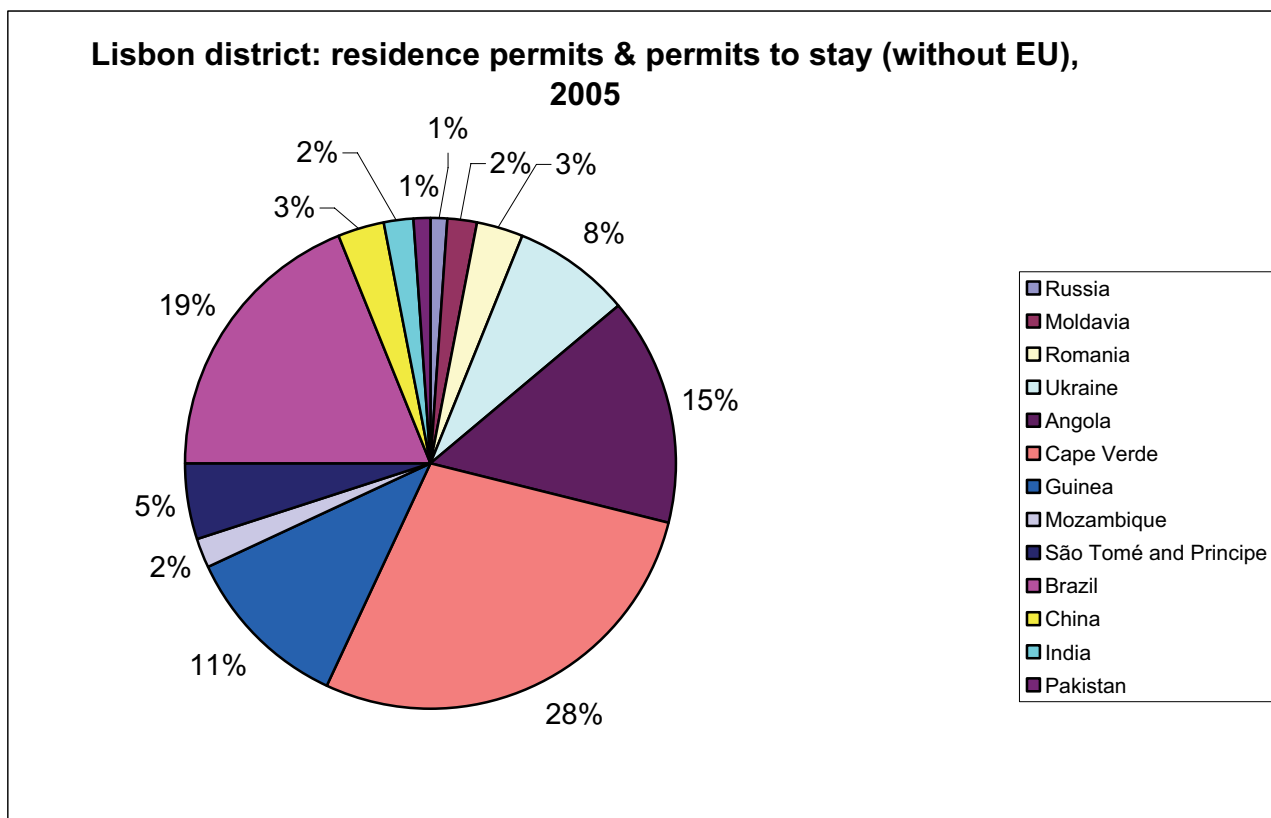


Chart 2 – Source ACIME 2005

⁴ The study classified as non-nationals all the citizens not born in Portugal, thus leaving out all the children of non-nationals that were born in Portugal, but might not have Portuguese nationality.

⁵ To note that the 2001 census data used in this 2006 study does not register the presence of the foreign citizens that the *Autorização de Permanência* created also in 2001 allowed to emerge into the official numbers of a high number of illegal immigrants, namely Ukrainians who thus became at the time the biggest, and then (after the changes the Lula agreement brought to Brazilian nationals status in Portugal) the second biggest immigrant community in Portuguese national space (see WP2).

⁶ See WP2 Portugal national report for the identification of these two status

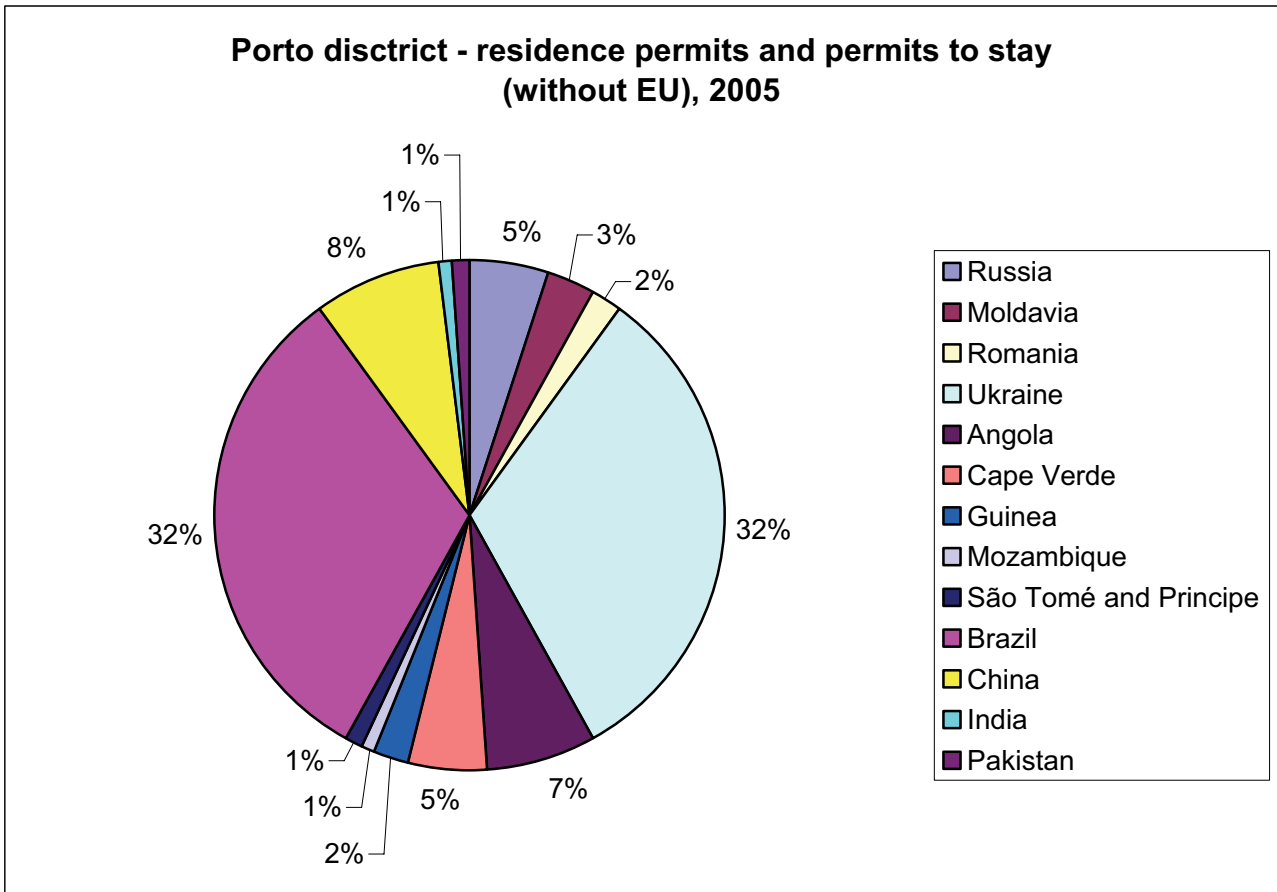


Chart 3 – Source ACIME 2005

Within the Greater Porto Metropolitan Area (Fig 1), and according to the 2001 census, 2% of its population is made of non-nationals (1,8% if we remove the EU nationals of the number of non-nationals) (Chart 4).⁷

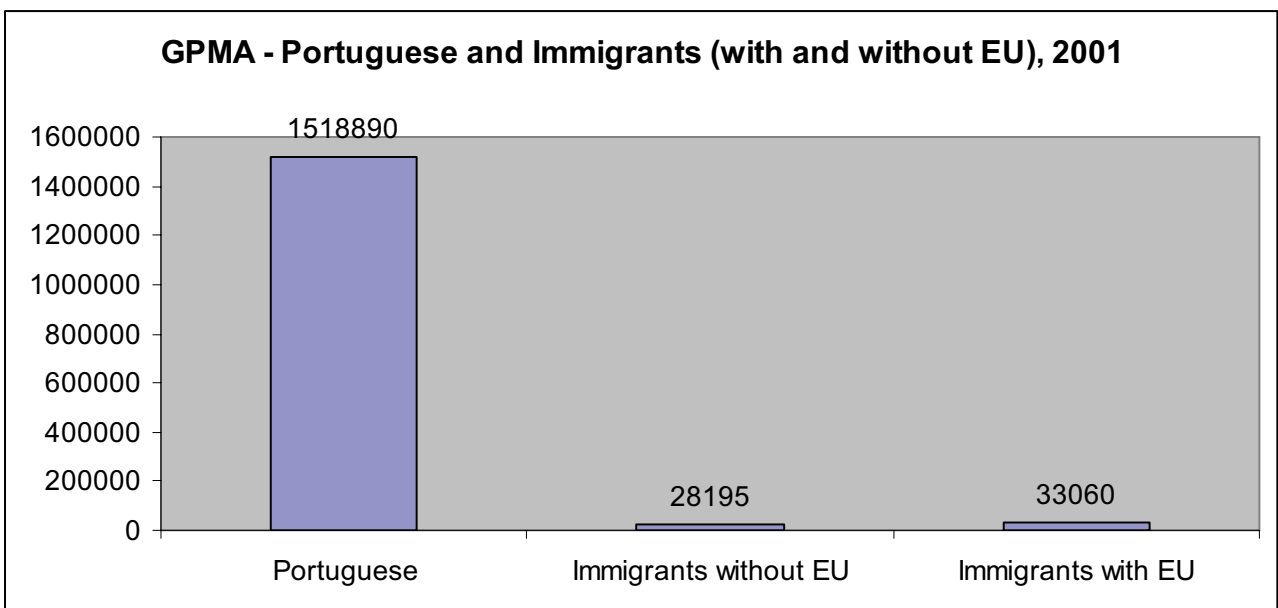


Chart 4 – Source INE 2001

⁷Again, the 2001 census date is very limited since it does not include the non-nationals that the *Autorização de Permanência* will that very same year allow to emerge into the official immigration numbers.

In the PGMA as a whole, there is a slightly higher percentage of females than of males (Chart 5).

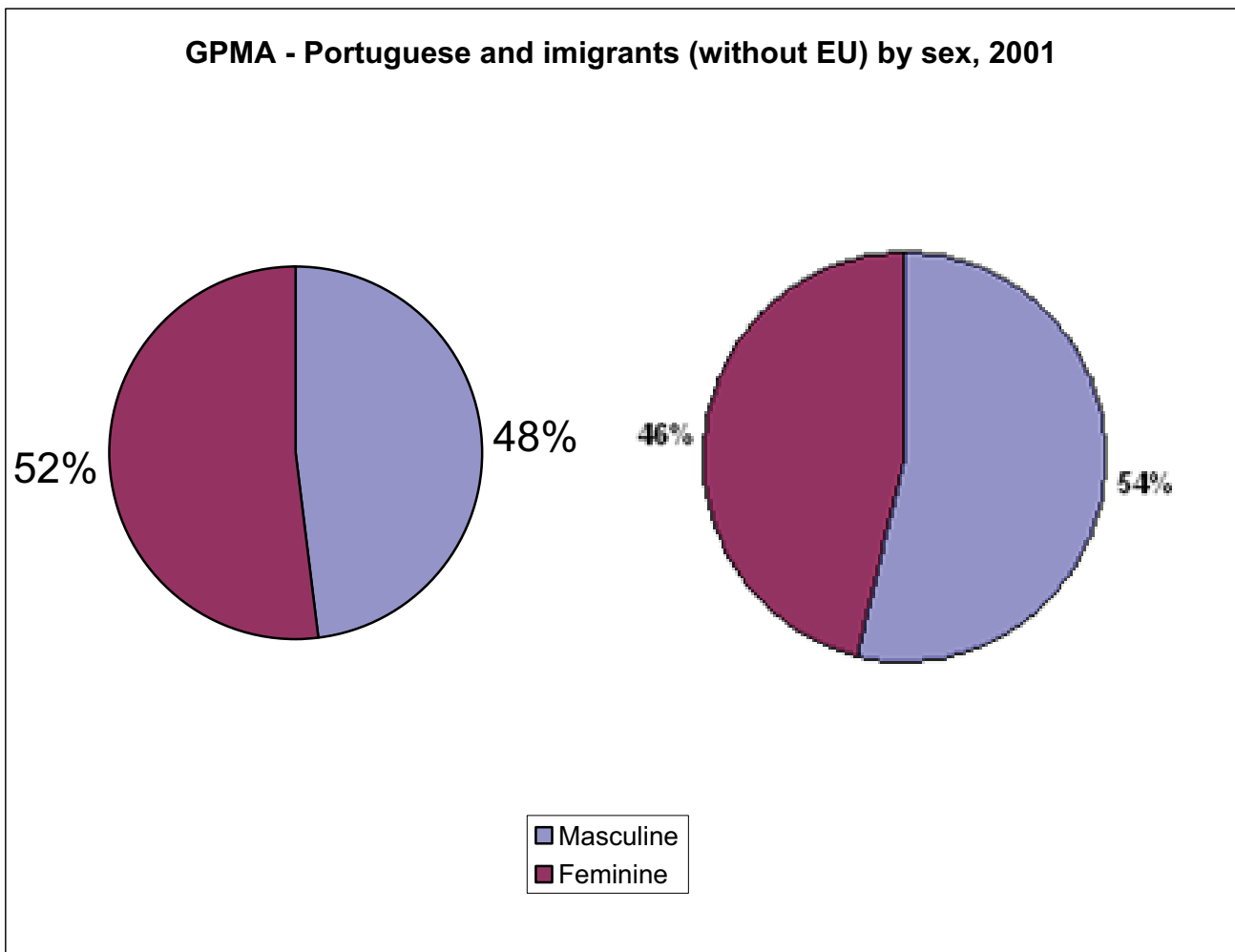


Chart 5 – Source INE 2001

However, if we look only at the non-nationals data, we find the opposite: the female population represents only 46,3% while the male population represents 53,7%. (Table 1).

	Masculine	Feminine
Portuguese	729860	789030
Immigrants (without EU)	6271	5407

Table 1 – PGMA - Portuguese and immigrants (without EU) by sex - Source INE 2001

Although Portugal participates of the European trend of an ageing population, the demographics of PGMA show us an young population, mirroring the fact that the northern region of Portugal holds most of the country's youth⁸ (Chart 6). However, Chart 7 shows us that the non-national population when compared to the national population displays a profile with a stronger presence of young adults (20-40 years old); to note in the non-national age sets distribution is the presence of also young

⁸According to Porto's application for World Heritage status the so-called northern region has 3 million inhabitants, constituting one quarter of Portugal's area, enclosing one third of Portugal's population and almost half of its youth (0 to 15 years old) (CRUARB 1993:30).

infants and young children (0-10) either reflecting family re-grouping and/or stability of life in the host country with children already being born in Portugal; to note is also the residual presence of mature and elderly adults (50- 85+) in the non-national population.

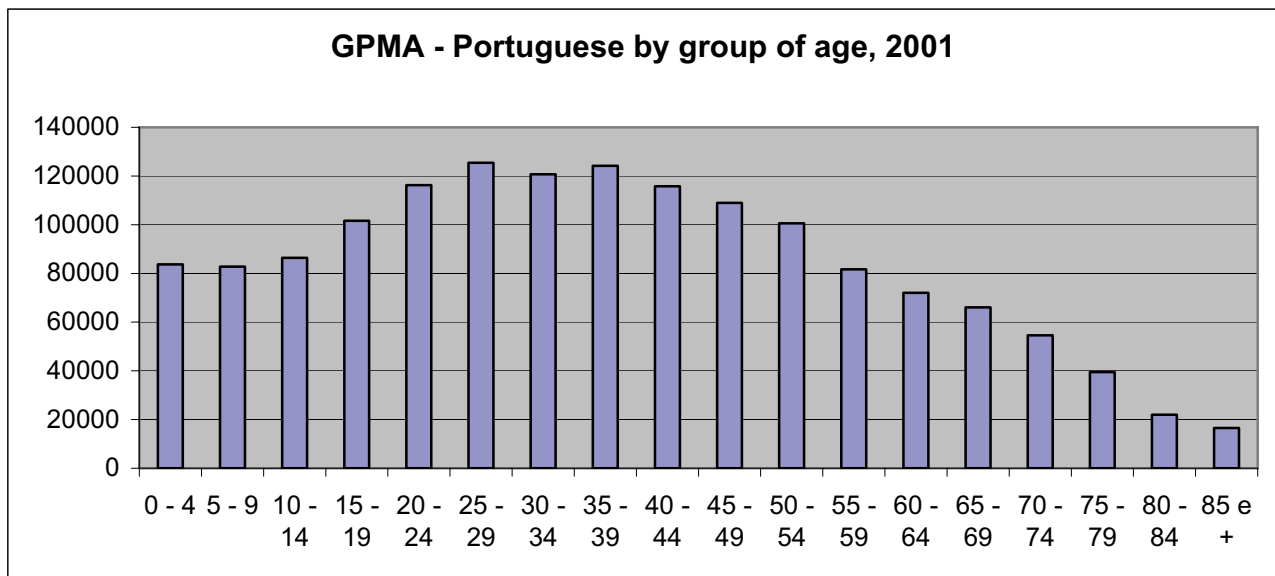


Chart 6 – Source INE 2001

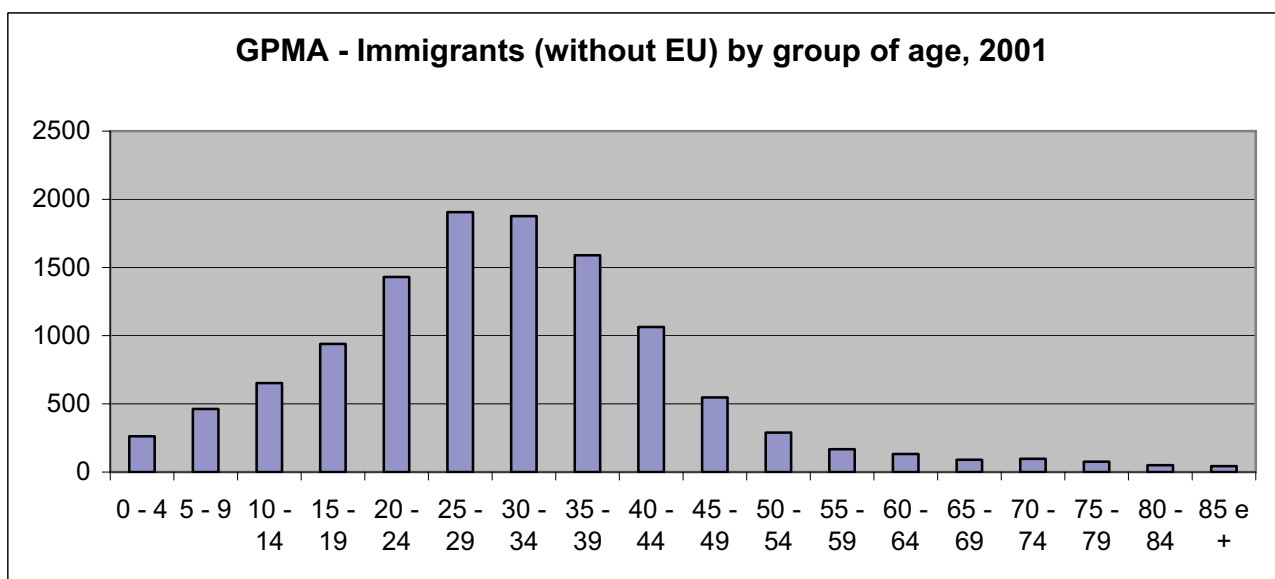


Chart 7 – Source INE 2001

For this Work Package we have constructed a portrait of the PGMA (the area to be worked on and that only came into existence in 2004) based on the 2001 census data. This was the only way to achieve the necessary description.

Charts 8 and 9 display the distribution of the population (national and non-national) *per* each of the *municípios* that constitute the PGMA. What can be seen is that in both populations we are dealing with four *municípios* with a higher number of population are the same and in geographical continuity (see fig 1), but there is variation in its ranking from one set to the other. Thus, within the national population the VN Gaia ranks the highest. VNGaia has always developed as a dormitory city to Porto, and nowadays, both Gaia (south of Porto), Matosinhos (north of Porto) and Gondomar (east of Porto) are gaining in population at the time that Porto is loosing population (note again, the charts data is of 2001 and the referred to trend has been in the increase up to the present). It is thus interesting to see not how Porto ranks the highest within the presence of the non-national population, but also the emergence of Stª Mª da Feira in third place. This municipality is one with a stronger

presence of the second sector whose jobs have been being filled in by immigrants

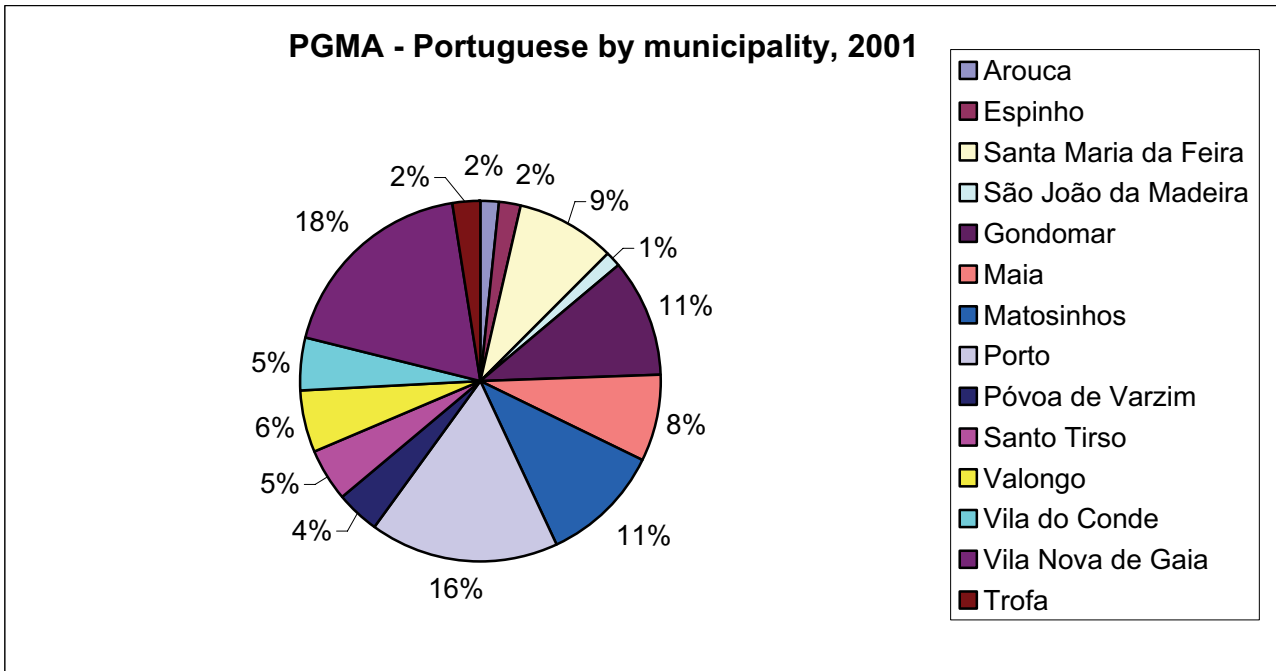


Chart 8 – Source INE 2001

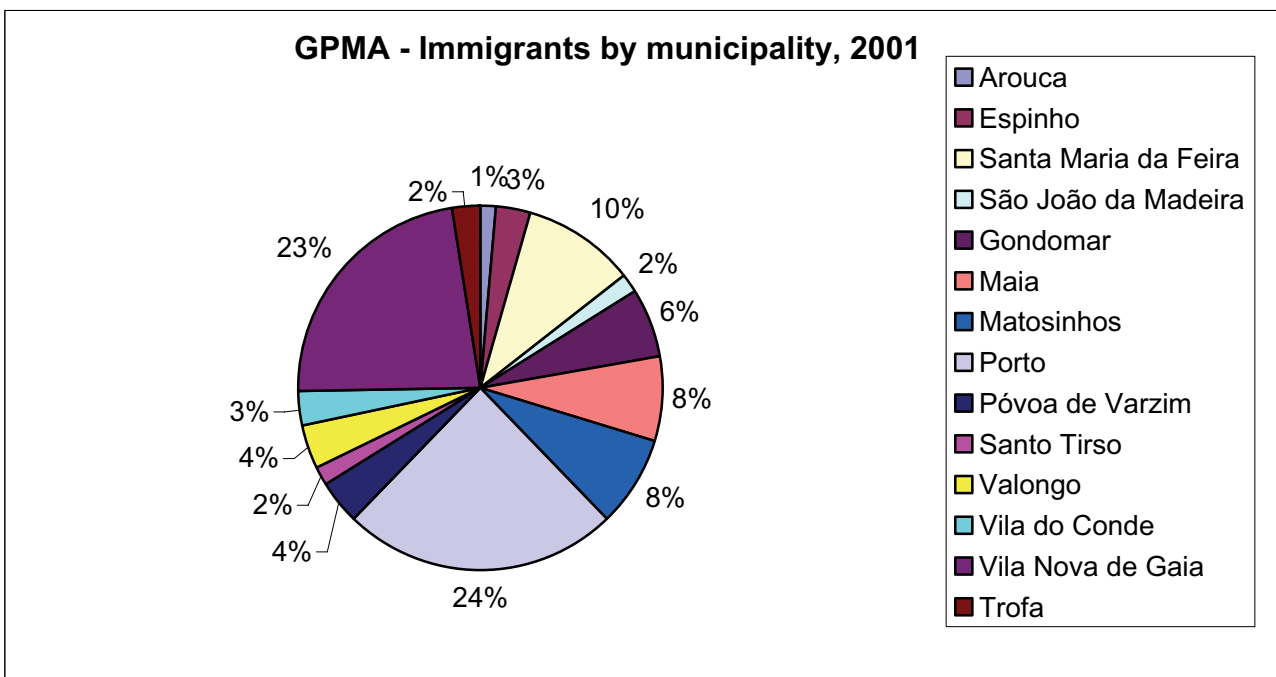


Chart 9 – Source INE 2001

Charts 10 and 11 show us the distribution by sex within bot groups and per municipality. It is again quite visible here the strongest presence of non-nationals with the Porto, Gaia and Feira municipalities. If the national population displays a slight higher presence of female individuals, that ratio varies within the non-national population not being possible to find there the systematic gender proportion we can see in the national population, the latter situation perhaps a result of growth rates related to (nationals) and not-related to (non-nationals) to natural growth.

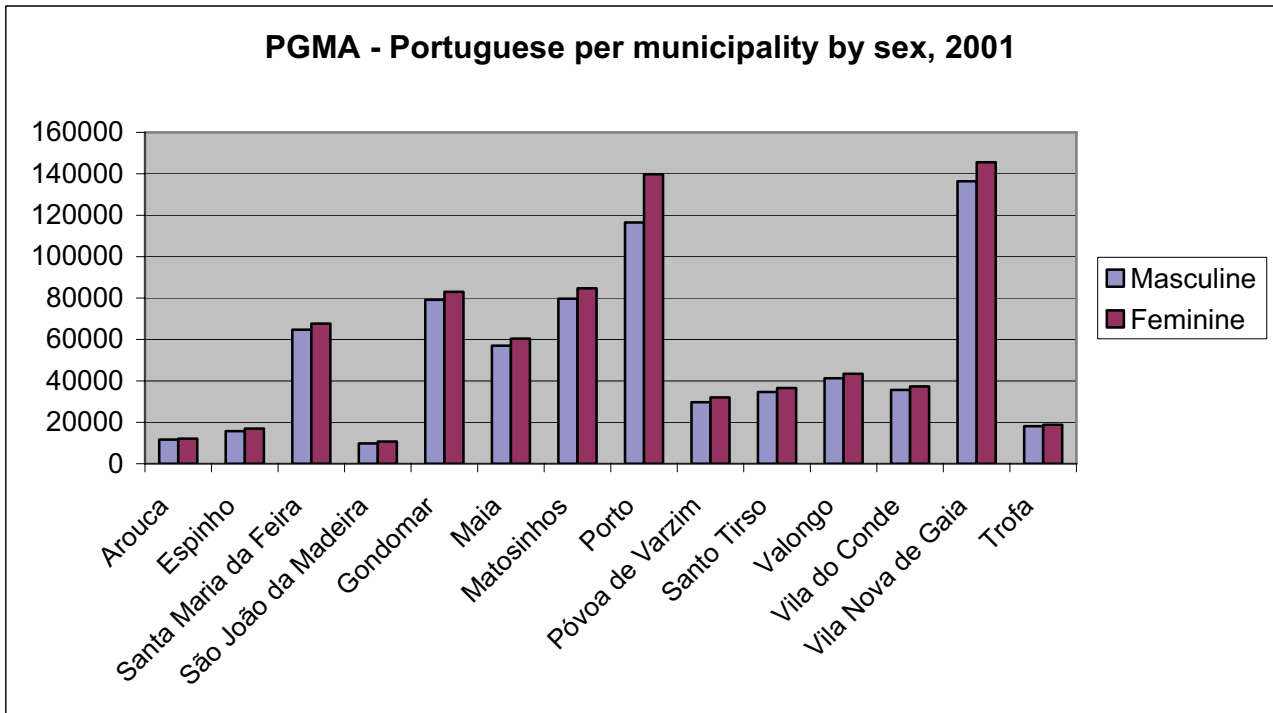


Chart 10 – Source INE 2001

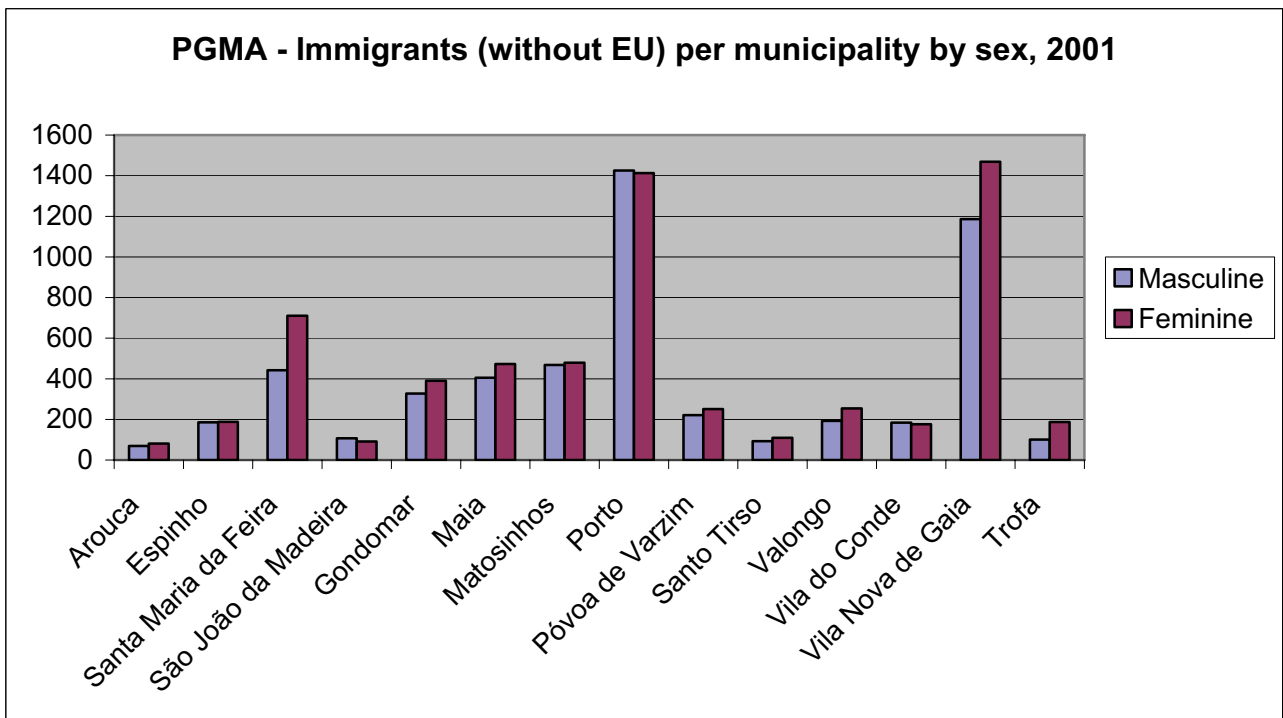


Chart 11 – Source INE 2001

The following three charts (charts 12, 13 and 14) precise the same information but in relation to the three highest ranking *municípios* within the PGMA: Porto, VN Gaia and St^a M^a da Feira. In all of them we find mirrored the national picture of a stronger presence of young adults.

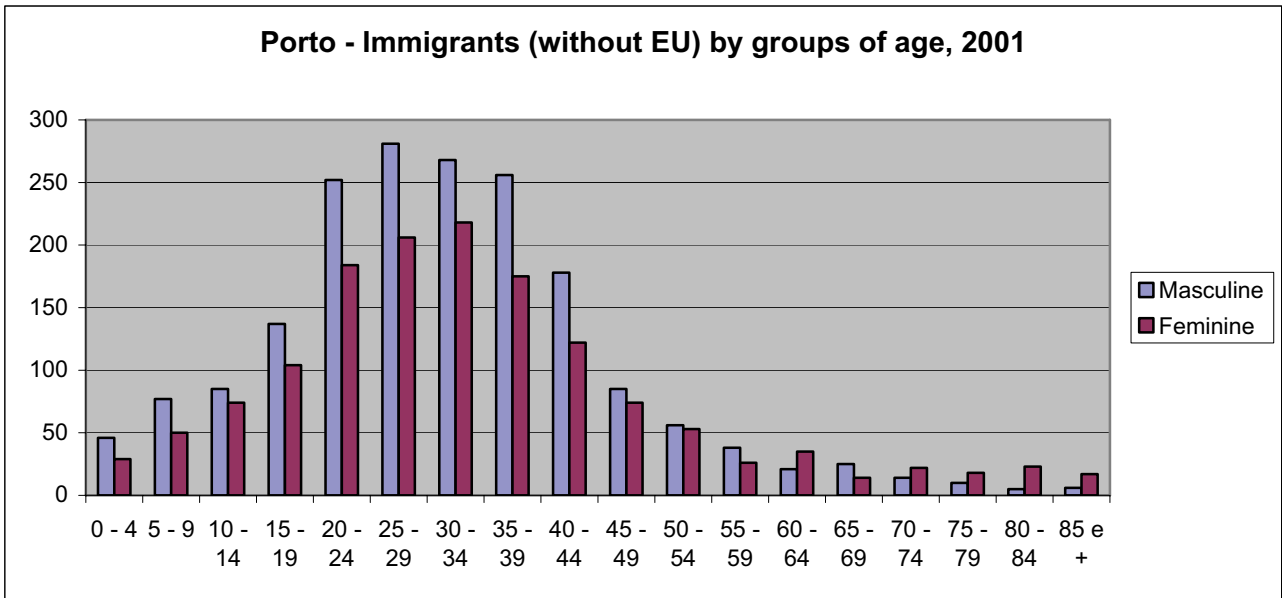


Chart 12 – Source INE 2001

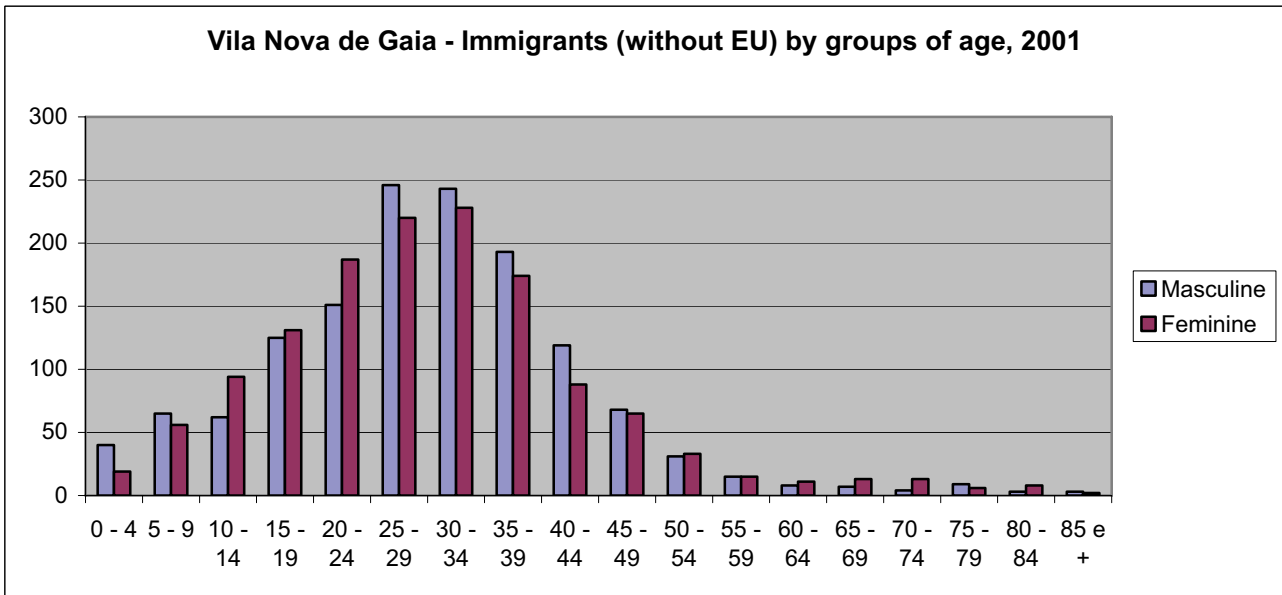


Chart 13 – Source INE 2001

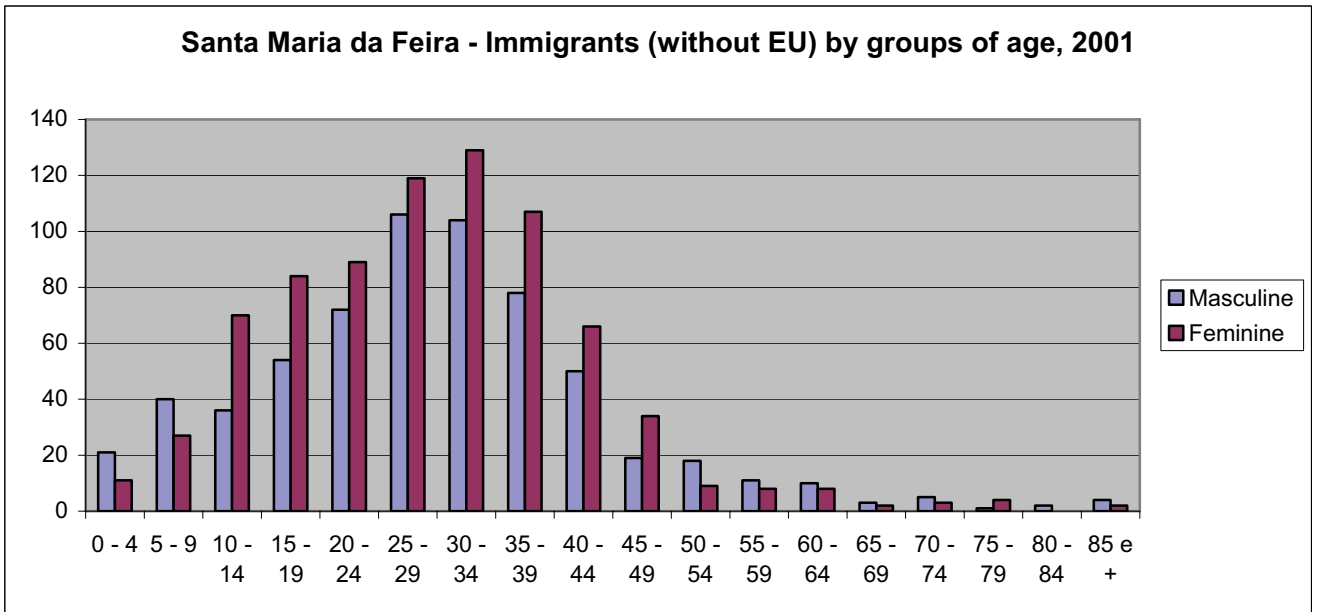


Chart 14 - Source INE 2001

2.1. 1. PGMA's main immigrant communities

According to the 2001 census the five nationalities most present within PGMA, excluding EU-nationals, are the Angolan, Brazilian, Venezuelan, Ukrainian and Cape Verdean. The following five charts display these communities demographics and gender distribution (Charts 15 to 19). In general, the age sets with more individuals are, again, of the young adults (20-35 or 20-40). The most atypical of the five charts is the one representing the Ukrainian community (Chart 17), since we find an over presence of male individuals (in the other communities the male individuals predominate only slightly over the female individuals) and an absence of infants, young children and older individuals. Again, and although this demographic structure is most certainly a reflection of the recentness of this specific immigration into Portugal, it is necessary to stress that this 2001 national census data is very limited in its representation of the Ukrainian reality, something made even more clear by looking at the data in Section 3.

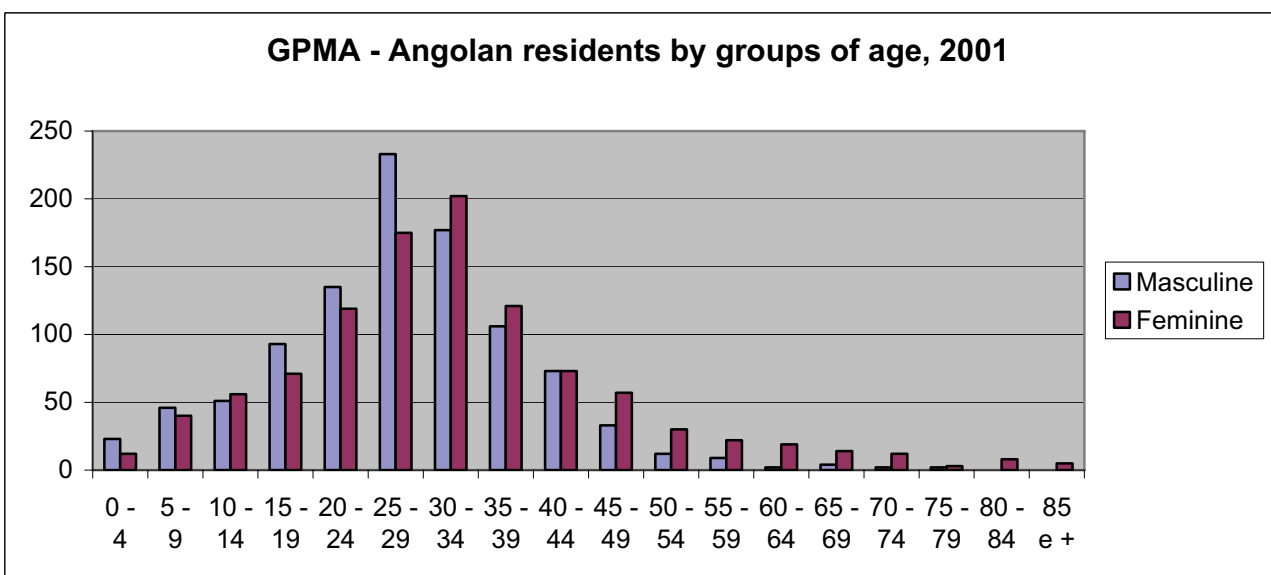


Chart 15 – Source INE 2001

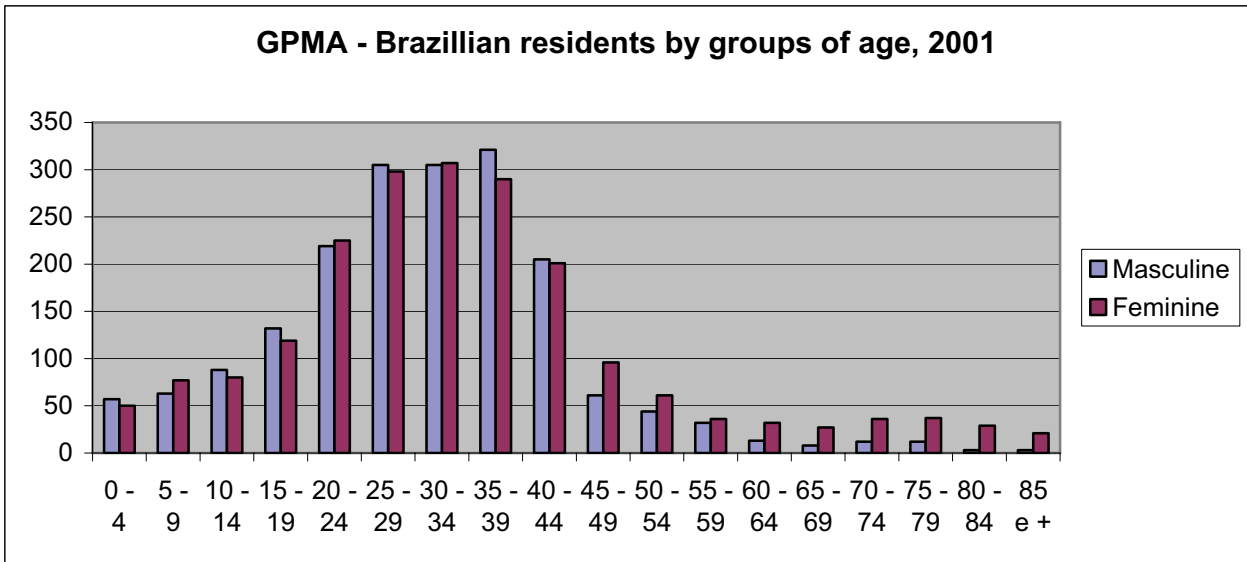


Chart 16 – Source INE 2001

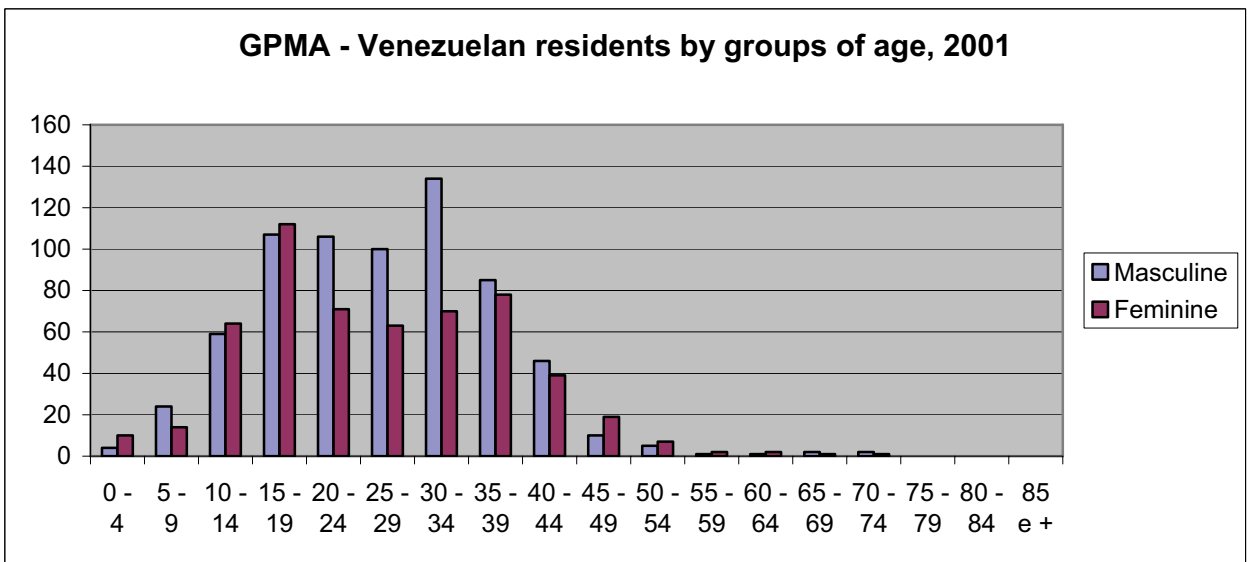


Chart 17 – Source INE 2001

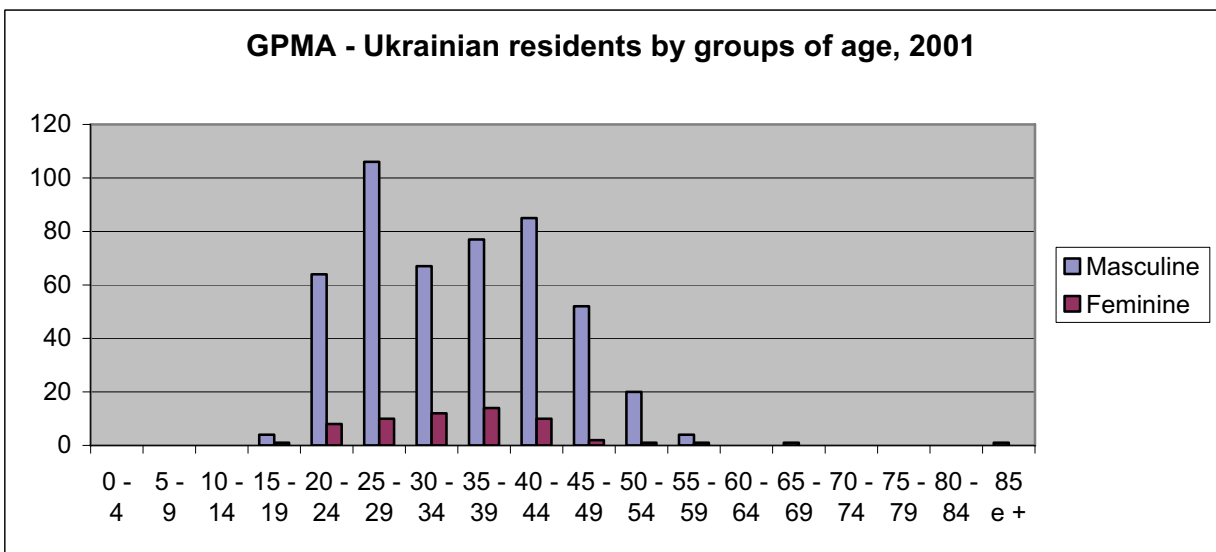


Chart 18 – Source INE 2001

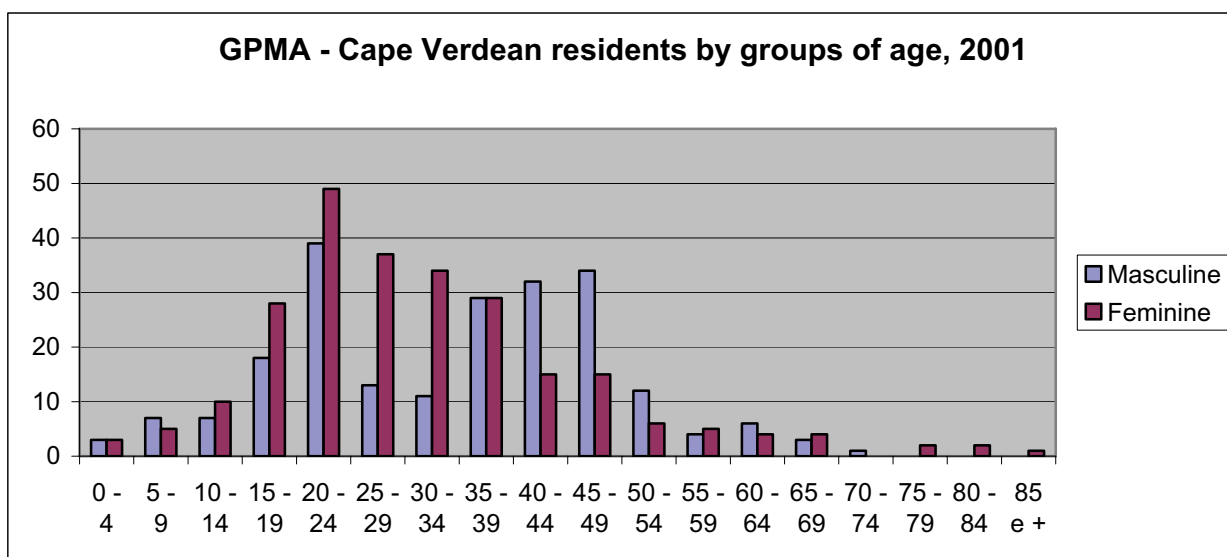
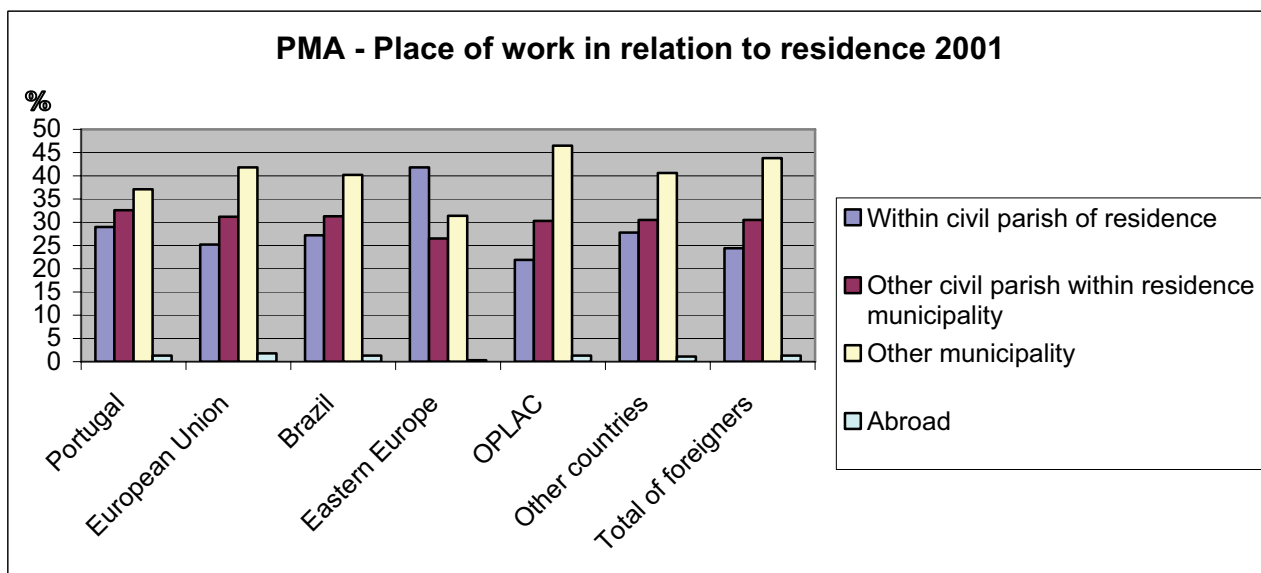


Chart 19 – Source INE 2001

2.2. Porto Metropolitan Area national and non-national citizens: a socio-demographic study

This section offers a more detailed picture of the PMA. It refers to data from a study carried out in 2006 by OI, part of ACIME. However, the data it uses is from the 2001 census and the notion of non-national is taken not from the nationality the individual at the present holds, but from his/her place of birth – which a different principle from the SEF data and some ACIME data already here presented.

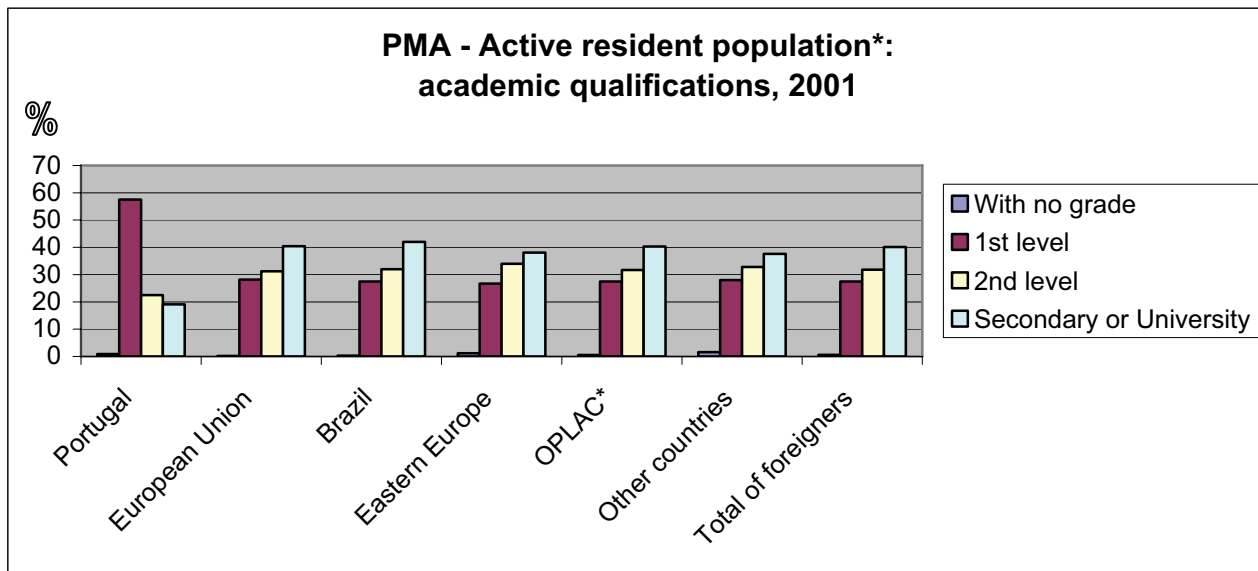


non-nationals according to place of birth.

Chart 20 - Source OI 2006

The relationship between place of residence and of work is the same for all of the groups under consideration, but one: the Eastern Europe group. For all the groups analysed, the place of residence and the place of work are located in two different municipalities. This reflects probably the increasing suburbanization of the Porto surrounding *municípios* (for instance: VN Gaia, Gondomar and Matosinhos) and the loss of inhabitants in Porto. Anyone wanting to find decent housing at a

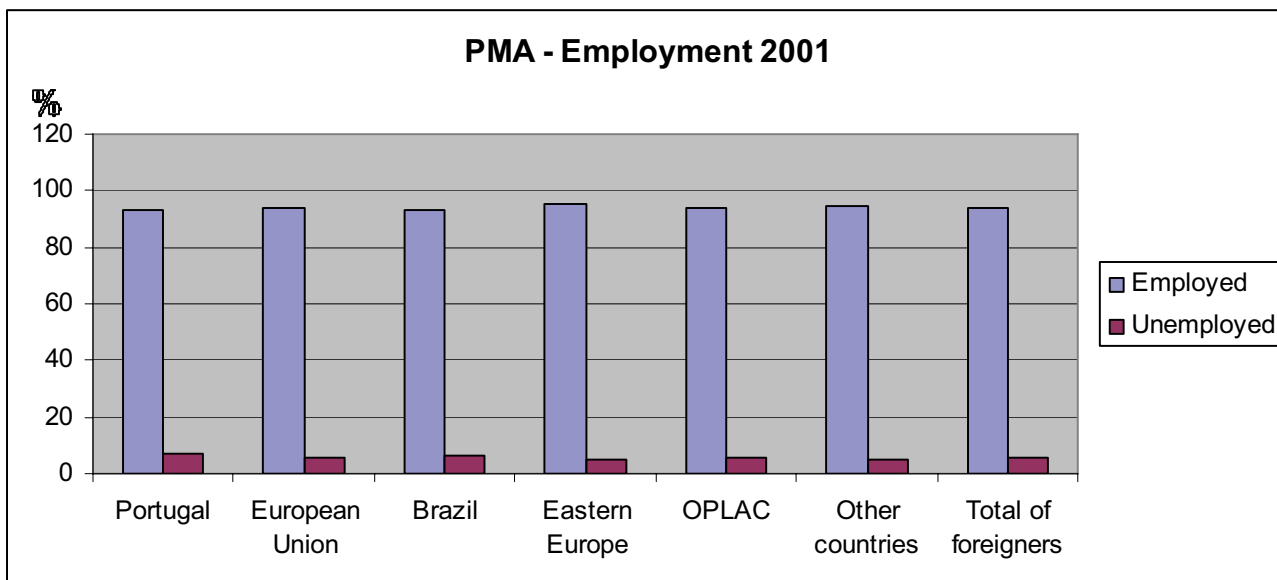
better price will do so in the surrounding *municípios* and not in Porto itself. The Eastern European citizens are the only ones who are living within the same *município* where they are working. Considering that this is a 2001 data-based study, this might result from the fact that by then a lot of these immigrants were working in construction or industrial units in which the work agreement included the supply of accommodation, often in shared lodgings and close to the work place.



non-nationals according to place of birth.

Chart 21 - Source OI 2006

From Chart 21 it is possible to see that in comparison with the national population, the non-nationals present in the AMP have higher academic qualifications. For instance, concerning the Brazilian contingent, the first wave of incomers (late 80s early 90s) was of highly skilled professionals; in relation to the Eastern European citizens, the investment in education in former USSR countries was quite high and the majority of these citizens are overqualified (higher education) for the jobs they are taking because there is great difficulty in having their academic and or professional qualifications recognised in Portugal; concerning the citizens from PALOPs, according to the interview with Porto's CNAI Coordinator, most of these citizens came to the Porto Metropolitan Area some decades ago, soon after the independence in 1975. We are here perhaps facing a different reality from the one possible to find in Lisbon, in which most of the PALOP citizens came to work in non-qualified jobs throughout several waves of immigration.



* non-nationals according to place of birth.

Chart 22 - Source OI 2006

The situation concerning employment has changed immensely since 2001. Unemployment has grown all over Portuguese society. In the first three months of 2004 it reached 9.4%. In that year, and in relation to 2003, the long term unemployment (over an year unemployed) had grown 39.1% and the very long term unemployment (over 25 months) had grown 67.3%. Of those unemployed, 74% had only the first level (Primary school) (<http://www.apagina.pt/arquivo/Artigo.asp?ID=3494>).⁹ Data from the *Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional - IEFP* (Institute of Employment and Professional Qualification) referred for the month of January of 2004 a total of 18735 unemployed immigrants (more 2% than the number registered in the previous month). The majority of these unemployed immigrants were located in the Lisbon area and in the Northern region. For this same year, the nationalities with a higher number of citizens registered for unemployment benefit were: Cape Verdean, Brazilian, Angolan and Ukrainian. (http://pt.altermedia.info/sociedade/aumentadesemprego-entre-imigrantes_255.html).¹⁰

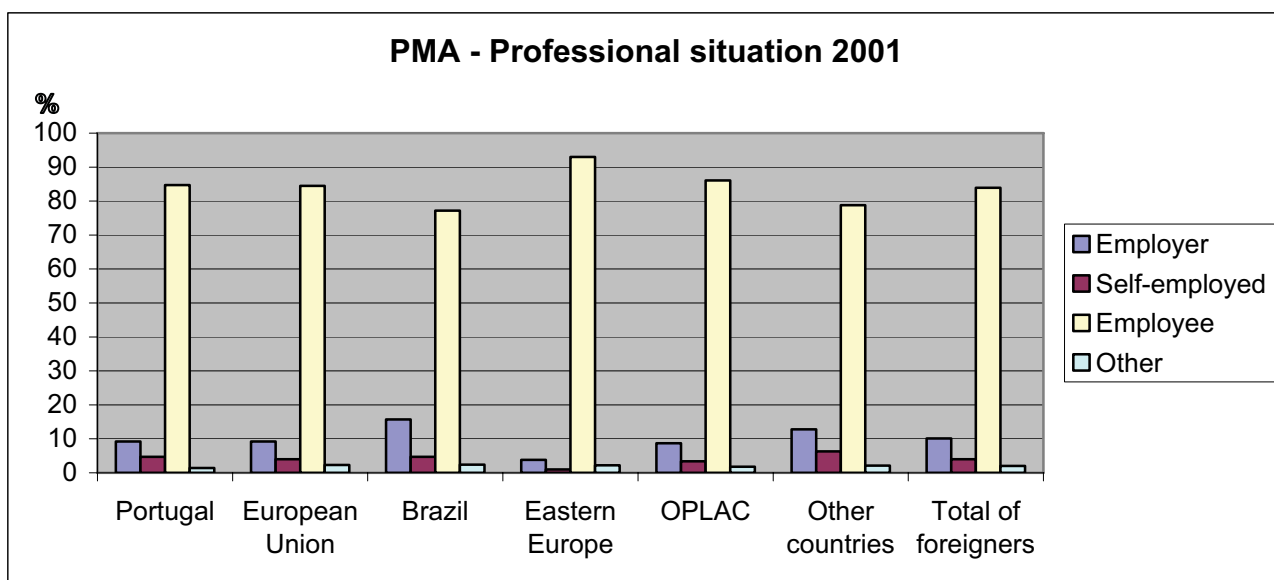
In 2006 the unemployment rate was of 7.7%. The 2007 OCDE report refers Portugal has having a high employment rate of its immigrant population: over 70%. The employment rate of male national individuals was of 74.2%, while for the male non-nationals was of 77.1%. Concerning unemployment in 2004 the rate of male nationals unemployed in Portugal was of 5.7% while the male non-nationals registered a rate of 9.8%, almost the double of the national citizens. (<http://www.acime.gov.pt/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1801>).¹¹

However, unemployment is referred by the President of an Ukrainian association in PGMA as the main problem within the Ukrainian community, something that did not happen a couple of years ago. The Porto CNAI coordinator also referred that in the North region of Portugal there starts to be registered an exit of Eastern European citizens towards Spain (which in fact is a trend also registered with Portuguese citizens, namely young adult males who go to Spain for seasonal non-skilled labour).

⁹Consultation made on April 2007

¹⁰Consultation made on April 2007

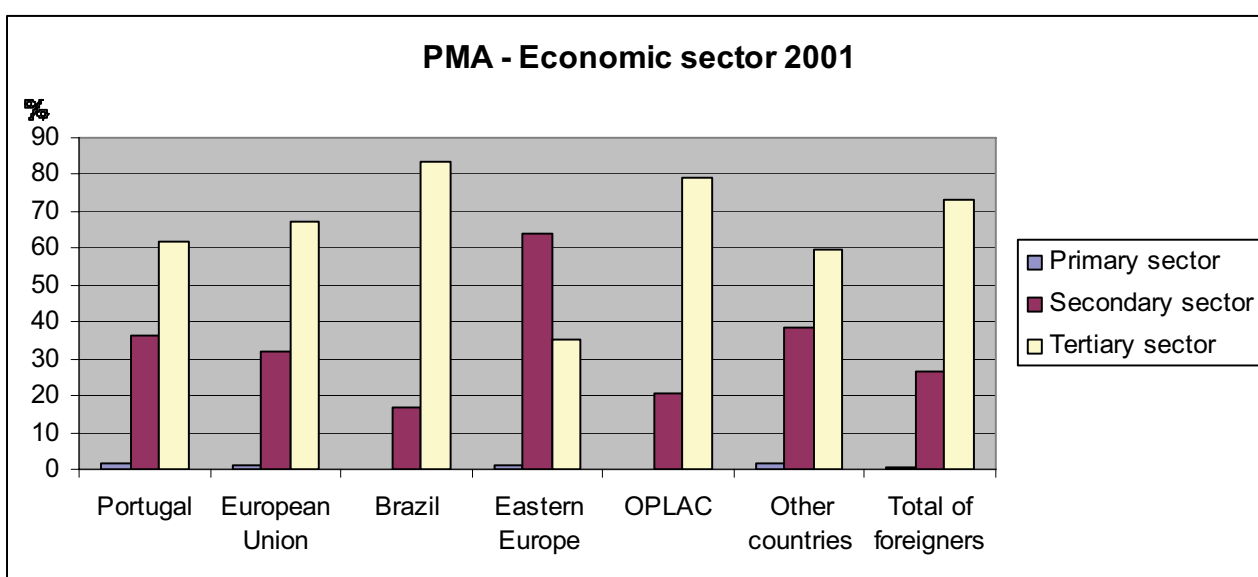
¹¹Consultation made on April 2007



* non-nationals according to place of birth

Chart 23 - Source OI 2006

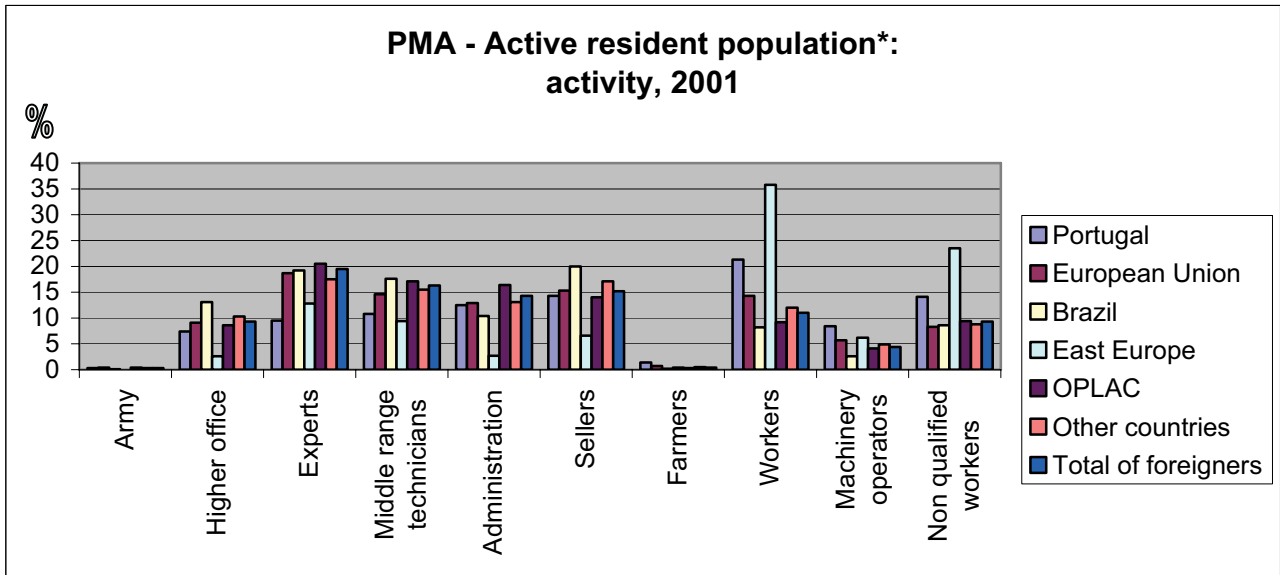
The majority of the active population holds a job offered by a third party. Very few are self employed or employ others. Only Brazil and Other Countries (in which China is included) display a higher percentage of employers within the community. Both in the Brazilian and Chinese community we may indeed find situations in which the newcomers create jobs by starting their own business. Not to forget that the first wave of Brazilian incomers was of highly specialised individuals, namely doctors/dentists and marketing/advertising professionals; within the Chinese community it is a well known fact that Chinese immigrants either settle in a country with a business of their own, or tend to work as employees within their own community with the aim of soon after setting up their own business. Although the data part of the chart does not include the citizens with *Autorização de Permanência* (created that year of 2001) it should be noted that this particular status limits the individuals who hold it to subordinate work situations, not allowing them to start their own business (Oliveira 2004). Also the impossibility of having their professional and academic qualifications recognised by Portuguese authorities and institutions limits the individuals to jobs below their abilities.



* non-nationals according to place of birth

Chart 24 - Source OI, 2006

The service industry is the one that occupies most of the active population, both national and non-national citizens. The Brazilian, however, are the nationality that displays a higher percentage of individuals working within the services industry. The Eastern European citizens feature quite strongly within the Secondary Sector, with this economic sector being the one that holds the highest number of individuals within this group of nationalities (which would match with the high presence of individuals within Stª Mª da Feira *município*). Chart 25 provides a more detailed picture of the work insertion of the communities under analysis.



* non-nationals according to place of birth

Chart 25 - Source INE 2001

Chart 26 shows us that the most prevalent situation for all groups is of individual contract without fixed term of ending.

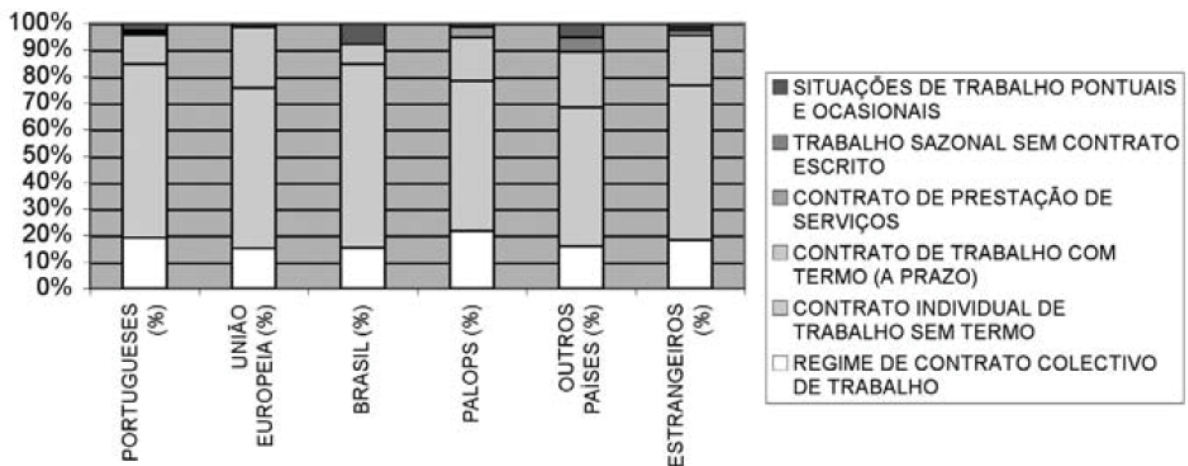


Figura 33. Composição percentual do tipo de contrato de trabalho de portugueses e estrangeiros (por nacionalidade) residentes na Região Norte (Fonte: Instituto Nacional de Estatística)

Chart 26 Percentage of individuals per contractual work situation- Source OI 2006

Caption translation:

Nationalities (X axis) (from left to right): Portuguese, European Union, Brazil, PALOPS, Other Countries, Foreigners. Colour-code (from darker to lighter): Occasional work, Seasonal work with no written contract; Supply of services contract, Contract with fixed term of ending, Individual contract without fixed term of ending, Collective contract.

According to a study carried out in 2006 by an economist from ISEG (Higher Education Institute in Lisbon) and divulged in the press (*Diário Económico* 2007-04-05), the non-nationals working in Portugal produce per year the same amount of wealth that the Portuguese TELECOM does: 11 000 millions of Euros. In 2005 the non-nationals working in Portugal contributed with 5 to 6% of the GNP, and this is without the possibility of accounting for the contribution of those working but who do not have a legal status within the country (http://diarioeconomico.sapo.pt/edicion/diarioeconomico/edicion_impresa/economia/pt/desarrollo/921046.html).¹²

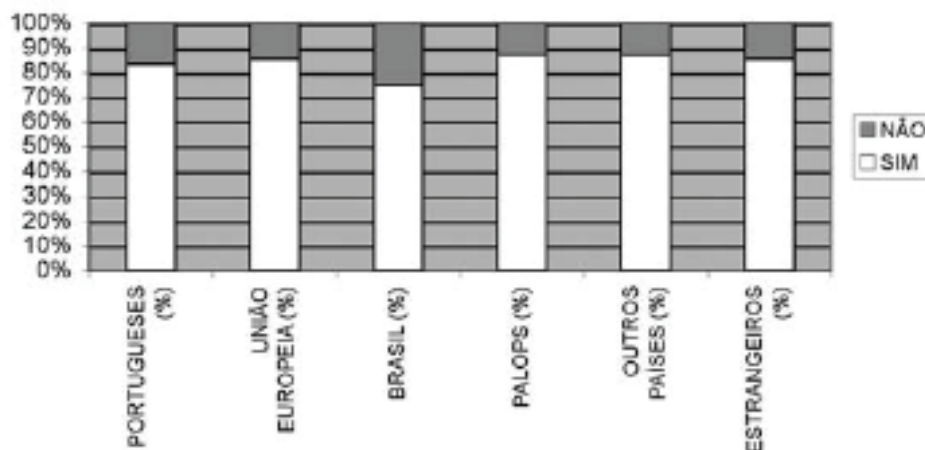


Figura 37. Composição percentual da inscrição na segurança social de portugueses e estrangeiros (por nacionalidade) residentes na Região Norte (Fonte: Instituto Nacional de Estatística)

Chart 27 Percentage of individuals enrolled in Social Security- Source OI 2006

Caption translation:

Nationalities (X axis) (from left to right): Portuguese, European Union, Brazil, PALOPS, Other Countries, Foreigners. Colour-code (from darker to lighter): No; Yes

The above referred study also says that the reason why the majority of immigrants comes to Portugal is economic (to find a job). Thus, according to this study, the great majority, even if not completely legalised, does pay their social security dues and the taxes (these payments are central to access other social resources and benefits, such as for instance, credit with banks and State health care; the access to schooling and health care of the children under 18 is not linked to the legal status of the parents). The data for 2004 show non-nationals as representing 6.7% of the contributors and their payments represent 3% of the total. More, if we look at pensioners, non-nationals although contributing to the State pension fund, represent only 2.5% of pensioners, and within this number are mostly European citizens and not Eastern Europeans, or PALOPs or Brazilians, that are in fact the majority of foreign workers in Portugal.

Still within the economic situation of non-nationals we return to issues of housing. The following table (Table 2) lists national citizens and groups of non-nationals according to the type of housing

Type of housing	Portuguese (%)	European Union (%)	Brazil (%)	Eastern Europe (%)	PALOPS (%)	Other Foreign Countries (%)	Total of Foreigners (%)
Classical	99.5	99.8	100	97.6	99.7	99.8	99.7
Other	0.4	0.2	0.0	2.4	0.3	0.2	0.3

Table 2 Percentage of individuals per type of housing -Source OI 2006

The majority of the individuals (both nationals and non-nationals) lives in buildings that were built

¹²Consultation made on April 2007

to be residential, exception made to the Eastern European citizens who are listed as living in another type of building. This could be a reflection of the situation of workers in factories that could be lodged in warehouses or even of Roms who tend to set camp in which ever place they move into to. Table 3 specifies in more detail the type of lodging occupied *per* national group.

Type of lodging	Portuguese (%)	European Union (%)	Brazil (%)	Eastern Europe (%)	PALOPS (%)	Other Foreign Countries(%)	Total of Foreigners (%)
Classical	99.2	99.7	99.8	95.2	99.5	99.5	99.5
Shack	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.1
Rudimentary	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Portable	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Improvised	0.4	0.1	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
Other	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

Table 3 Percentage of individuals *per* type of lodging - Source OI 2006

Most of the groups own the lodging they are inhabiting, but for Eastern European citizens. This might be due to this group's more recent presence in Portugal and the more precarious nature of their legal status. Thus, a shorter time of presence in Portugal might not yet have allow them to progress into the buying of their lodging and the more precarious nature of their legal status might impeach them from accessing the need credit in order to move in to the house market. To be noted is that the market for rented accommodation is very week in Portugal, with the majority of people opting to buy their own home through long term credit.

Legal status inhabitant/ property	Portuguese (%)	European Union (%)	Brazil (%)	Eastern Europe (%)	PALOPS (%)	Other Foreign Countries(%)	Total of Foreigners (%)
Proprietor	65.7	63.5	60.1	28.5	71.8	71.0	68.0
Tenant	30.3	27.5	34.7	59.6	24.1	22.3	26.4
Sub-tenant	0.7	0.9	0.7	2.5	0.6	0.7	0.7
Others	3.3	8.1	4.5	9.4	3.5	6.0	4.9

Table 4 – Percentage of individuals according to legal form of obtaining lodging- Source OI 2006.

Interesting to note is the situation concerning the costs involved in either buying or renting the accommodation for both nationals and non-nationals (Charts 28 and 29).

Concerning the house buying market the national citizens are clearly in a better position than any other group. They are the group with a highest percentage of 'no costs' involved in owning their own house. Not only do the other groups have a lower percentage of 'no costs' involved in owning their own place, as the higher scales of the costs involved are bigger in the non-national groups than in the Portuguese group.

The rental market displays also a more favourable position for the Portuguese citizens. It is absolutely striking the difference not only in relation to the percentage of the lower echelon, but mostly of the percentage of the echelons that imply higher costs in renting a home. Apart from any possible discrimination that this difference might be translating, it should be referred that the house rental market in Portugal is week because the law makes it difficult for landlords to increase the values of the rents; thus we can find rents that have not been changed for decades (although a new law has been recently been published that will probably change this situation, in 2001 such was not yet the case).

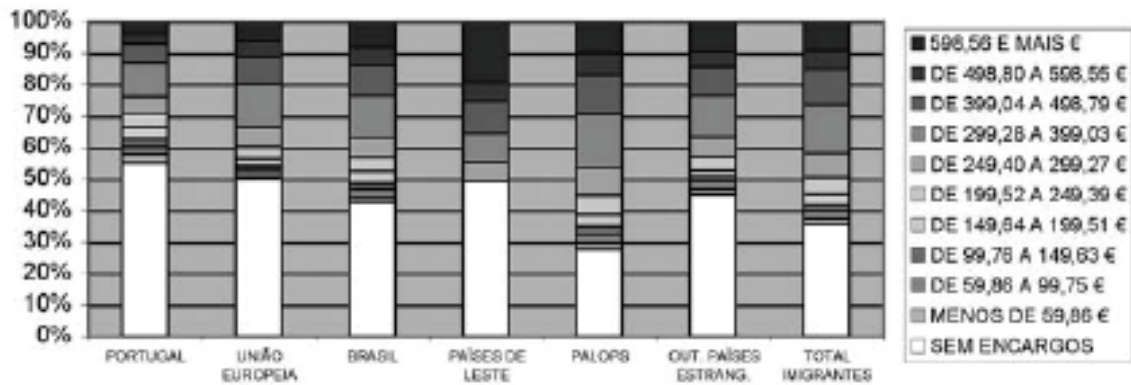


Figura 62. Repartição percentual dos alojamentos dos grupos populacionais na Área Metropolitana do Porto, de acordo com a existência e escalões de encargos com a aquisição (Fonte: Instituto Nacional de Estatística)

Chart 28 – Percentage of costs related to house acquisition - Source OI 2006

Caption translation:

Nationalities (X axis) (from left to right): Portuguese, European Union, Brazil, Eastern Countries, PALOPS, Other Countries, Foreigners.

Colour-code (from darker to lighter): 598,56 Euros and more; from 498,80 to 598,55; 399,04 to 498,79; 299,28 to 399,03; 249,40 to 299,27; 199,52 to 249,39; 149,64 to 199,51; 99,76 to 149,63; 59,86 to 99,75; less than 59,86; no costs.

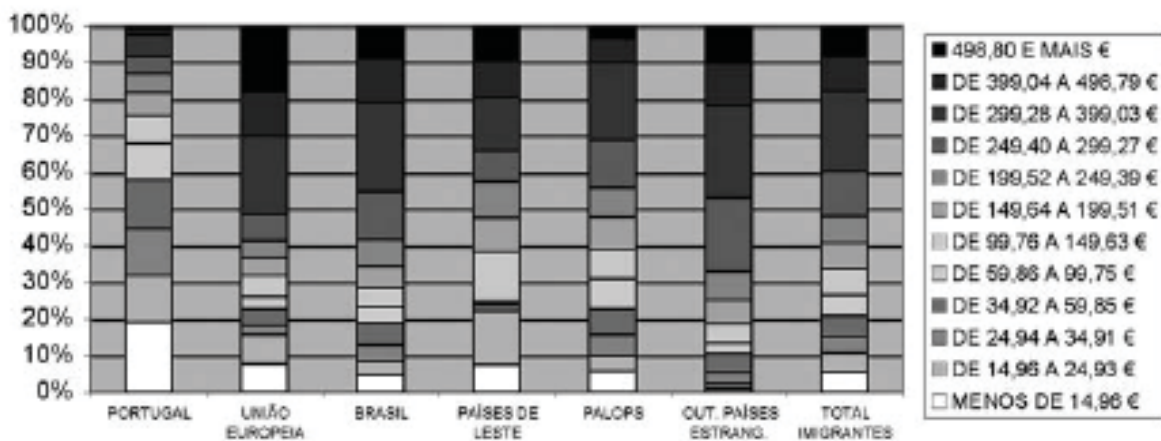


Figura 65. Repartição percentual dos alojamentos dos grupos populacionais na Área Metropolitana do Porto, de acordo com os escalões de arrendamento (Fonte: Instituto Nacional de Estatística)

Chart 29 - Percentage of costs related to house rental - Source OI 2006

Caption translation:

Nationalities (X axis) (from left to right): Portuguese, European Union, Brazil, Eastern Countries, PALOPS, Other Countries, Foreigners.

Colour-code (from darker to lighter): 498,80 Euros and more; 399,04 to 498,79; 299,28 to 399,03; 249,40 to 299,27; 199,52 to 249,39; 149,64 to 199,51; 99,76 to 149,63; 59,86 to 99,75; 34,92 to 59,86; 24,94 to 34,91; 14,96 to 24,93; less than 14,96.

2.3. Local Immigrant Associations

Name	Recognized by ACIME
Conselho das Comunidades (Communities' Council - Porto City Council)	x
PALOPs	
Associação Luso-Africana dos Metodistas no Porto	Yes
Associação Juvenil Luso Africana 'Ponto nos Is'	Yes
Associação Portugal-Moçambique	Yes
Associação Cabo-Verdiana no Norte de Portugal	Yes
ÍNDICO - Associação Cívica Moçambicana	Yes
Associação de Apoio Social a Imigração para as Comunidades Sul Americanas e Africanas	Yes
Associação Africana de Solidariedade Social – TABANCA	No
Associação dos estudantes Cabo-Verdianos no Porto	No
AACILUS- Associação de Imigração em Portugal. Imigrantes do Brasil e de países africanos de língua oficial portuguesa	No
China	
Liga dos Chineses em Portugal	Yes
Associação Industrial e Comercial dos Chineses (Vila do Conde) em Portugal	No
Eastern Europe	
DRUJBA/AMIZADE - Associação de Emigrantes de Gondomar	Yes
Associação Vitae (Romana)	No
Magreb	
Associação Essalam dos Imigrantes Magrebinos; Associação de Amizade Luso-Arabe	No
Brazil	
Associação Mais Brasil	Yes
Brasup - Estudantes brasileiros na Universidade do Porto	No

Table 5. Immigrant organisations in PGMA. Source ACIME and fieldwork.

In Porto's Greater Metropolitan Area there are 17 immigrant associations.

According to the latest list published by ACIME (the institution responsible for the legalisation of the immigrant associations) there are in Portugal 96 immigrant associations recognised by this public institution, 7 of which in Porto's area. This means less than 10%.

The great majority of the associations are of immigrants from Portuguese former-colonies from Africa: 9 out of a total of 17; Brazil associations follow up with 4, being one of it together with

African immigrants; We have then two Eastern European associations, two Chinese and one from Magreb.

There should be pointed out that 1 of the 17 associations (Methodist church association) is organised around both a religious identity and national identity (Luso-African).

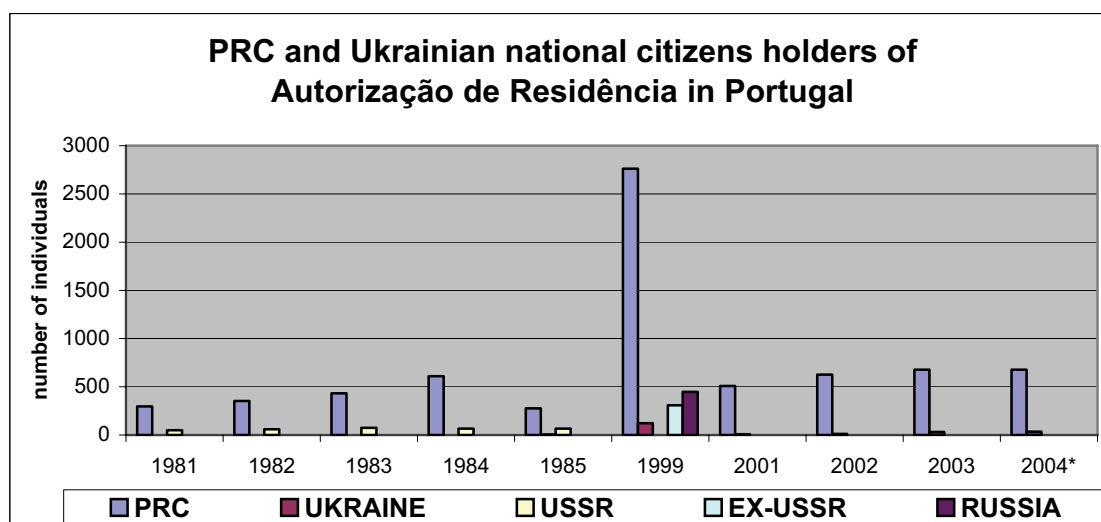
There are two associations connected with students (from Brazil and Cape Verde) and only one especially concerned with young people – the Portuguese-African Youth Association “Pontos nos Is”.

All the associations but one (Drujba/Amizade) are located in Porto, with the rest of the 12 municipalities presenting no associations. This location of the associations does not mirror the distribution of immigrants around the PGMA. This may be due to the institutional centrality of the city.

3. The Ukrainian and Chinese communities in Portugal and in the Porto district¹³

3.1. Residency Permit holders

Chart 30 displays the situation of PRC and Ukrainian citizens in Portugal. The data concerning USSR and former USSR citizens was also included because at the time it might include Ukrainian citizens.



* provisional data

Chart 30 – Source: SEF 2004

The reality concerning the holders of *Autorização de Residência* is not very different in proportional terms when considering the Porto District alone. What can be noted is a steady increase in the flow of PRC nationals into the Porto District, while the national level figures display a peak in 1999 followed by a steady flow with levels much lower to those of 1999 (**Table 5** and **Chart 31**).

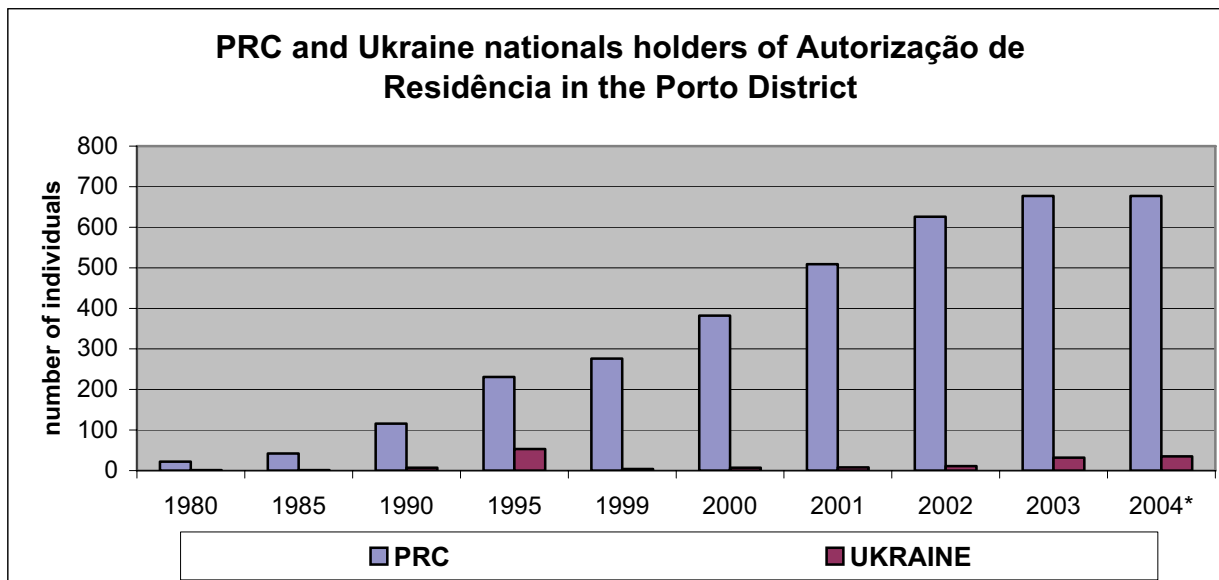
	1980	1985	1990	1995	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004*
PRC	22	42	116	231	276	382	509	626	677	677
UKRAINE				1	4	7	8	11	32	35
USSR	1	1	7							
EX-USSR				38						

¹³From Santos and Sousa (2006)

RUSSIA				14						
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* provisional data

Table 6 – PRC, Ukrainian, USSR, ex-USSR and Russian national citizens holders of *Autorização de Residência* in the Porto district - Source SEF 2004.



* provisional data

Chart 31 – Source SEF 2004

NOTE: the number of individuals listed on Table 5 under USSR, EX-USSR and Russia were added to the Ukrainian category for the sake of simplifying the chart.

3.2 Permit to stay holders

At the level of the Portuguese national space we find that the Ukrainian nationals who have legalised their presence in Portugal through the Permit to Stay (*Autorização de Permanência*) is much higher than the one for Chinese citizens (**Chart 32**).

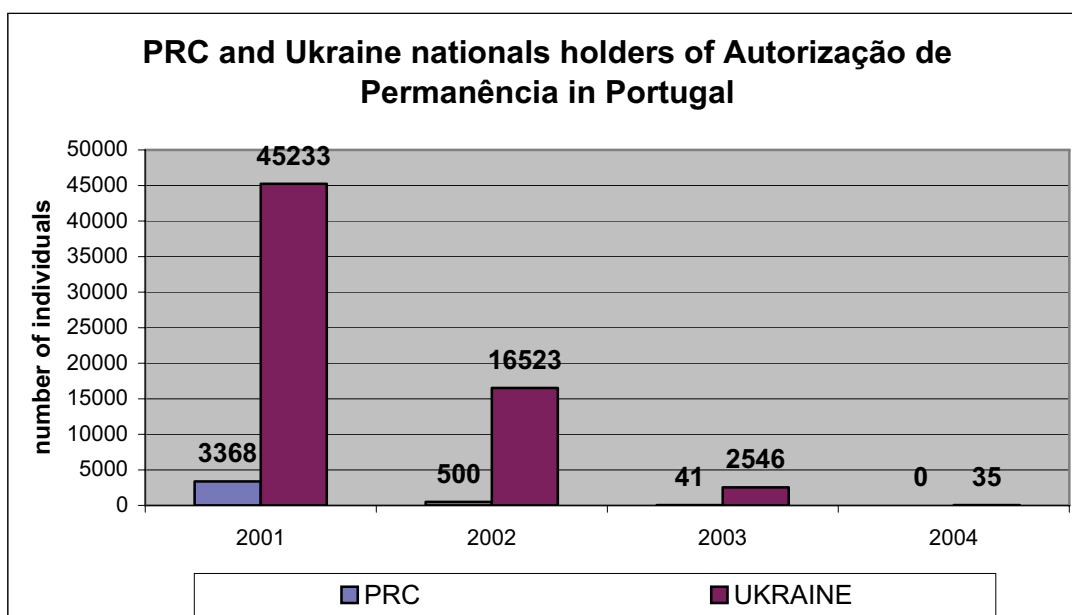


Chart 32 – Source SEF 2004

The situation concerning the Porto district mirrors the one at national level, with a much higher number of Ukrainian nationals legalising their presence within Portugal through the Permit to Stay (*Autorização de Permanência*) (**Chart 33**).

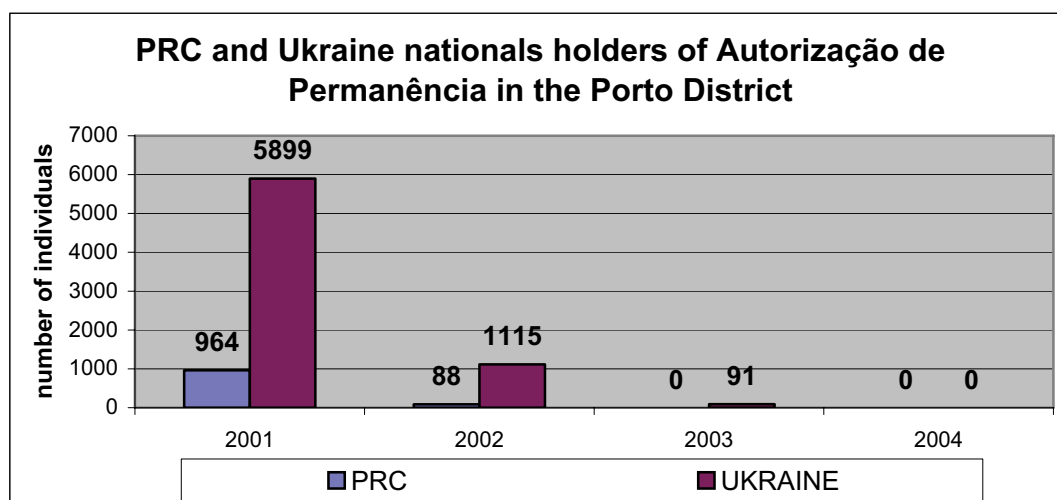


Chart 33 – Source SEF 2004

If we add up the number of both *Autorização de Permanência* and of *Autorização de Residência* bestowed to PRC and Ukrainian nationals, we get a clearer picture of their presence in Portugal (**Table 7**)

	PRC	PRC		Ukraine	Ukraine	
	<i>Aut/Perm</i>	<i>Aut/Res</i>	TOTAL	<i>Aut/Perm</i>	<i>Aut/Res</i>	TOTAL
2001	3 368	3 831	7 199	45 233	201	45 434
2002	500	4 529	5 029	16 523	299	16 822
2003	41	4 816	4 857	2 546	527	3 073
2004	0	5 197	5107	35	1 353	1 388

Table 7- Number of PRC and Ukrainian nationals in Portugal who obtained either a Permit to Stay or of Residency (2001/2004)

(Note: out of this picture are those citizens who have not entered the legal system).

What can be seen from this data is that both communities present their higher number of citizens entering the legal system in 2001, year in which the Portuguese government created the *Autorização de Permanência* as a middle status, one that while allowing foreign citizens to legalize their presence, would not accord them a long term permit to live in Portugal.

From the data can also be inferred:

- the presence in Portugal of a high number of Ukrainian citizens immediately prior to 2001
- the great disparity between the proportion of citizens that within each nationality applies for one permit or the other, with the Chinese community being able to fulfil the more demanding conditions (namely the one of holding a job) of the bestowal of an *Autorização de Residência*
- the rapid decrease in numbers of the Ukrainian nationals applying for a legal status of immigrant *per year*, while the numbers of Chinese nationals seem to maintain a fairly steady incoming flow

The situation concerning the Porto District is the following (**Table 8**):

	PRC	PRC		Ukraine	Ukraine	
	<i>Aut/Perm</i>	<i>Aut/Res</i>	TOTAL	<i>Aut/Perm</i>	<i>Aut/Res</i>	TOTAL
2001	964	509	1 473	5 899	8	5 907
2002	88	626	714	1 115	11	1 126
2003	0	691	691	91	36	127

2004	0	714	714	0	52	52
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Table 8 - Number of PRC and Ukrainian nationals in the Porto district who obtained either a Permit to Stay or of Residency (2001/2004)

Charts 34 and **35** allow for the comparison between the national and the Porto District level. It is possible to see how the Porto district reality mirrors the national level reality.

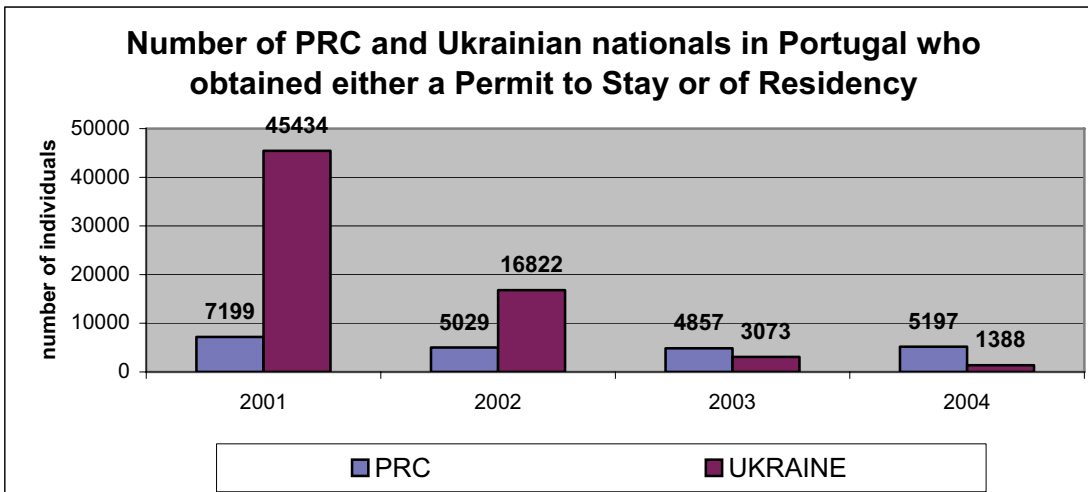


Chart 34 - Source SEF 2004

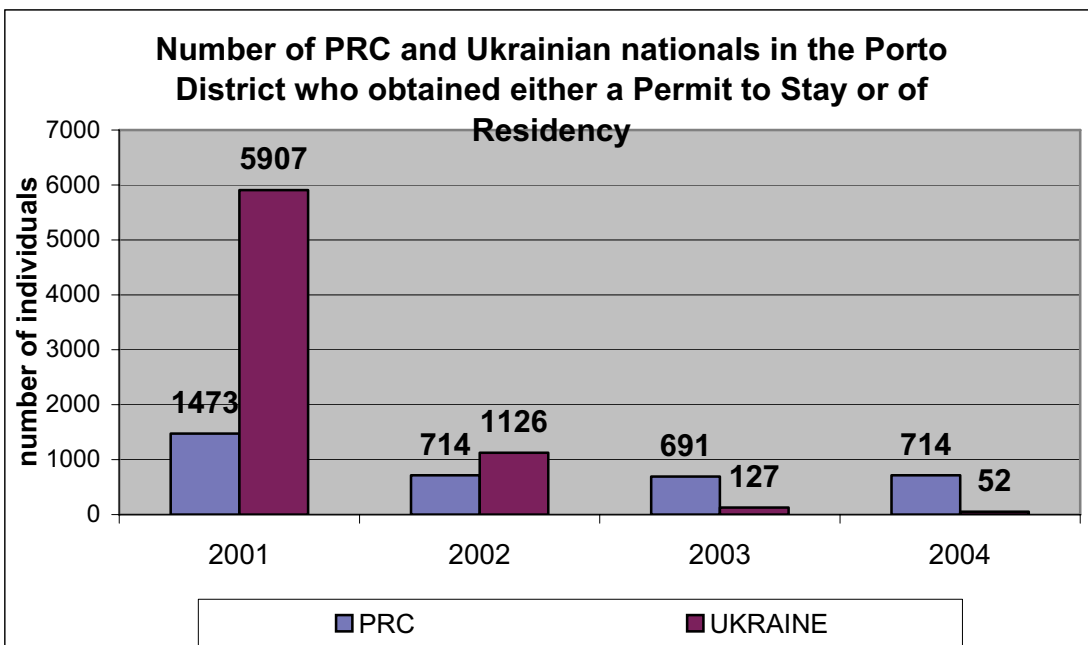


Chart 35 - Source SEF 2004

Charts 36 and **37** show the distribution per gender and respective evolution of both immigrant communities in Portugal.

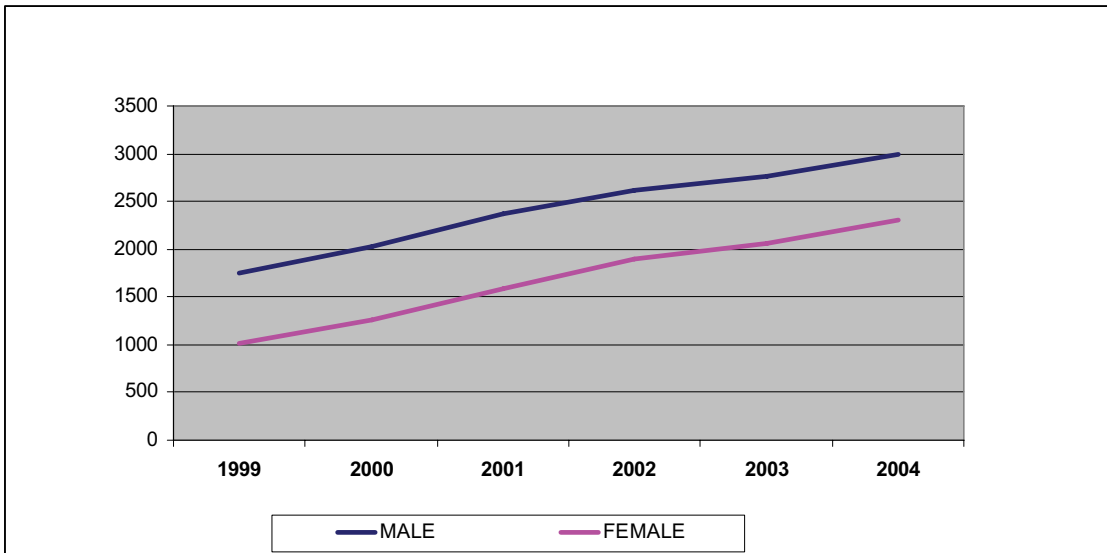


Chart 36 - PRChina immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per gender and respective evolution - Source SEF 2004

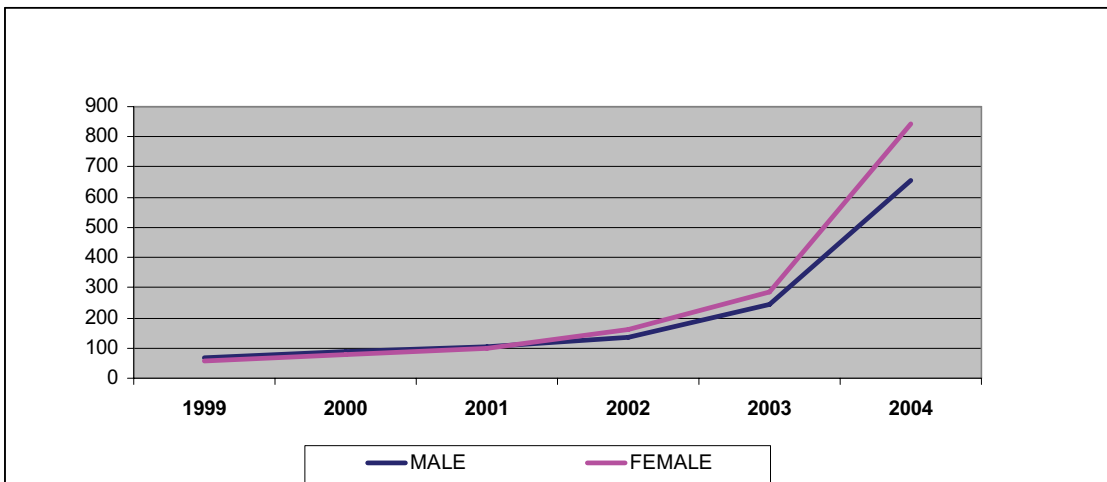


Chart 37 Ukrainian immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per gender and respective evolution- Source SEF 2004

What can be perceived is that in the case of the Chinese community the ratio among male and female individuals is rather constant through out the five years on display, although the female contingent has been gaining a stronger presence. This community displays a higher degree of *masculinization* of its immigrant community while the Ukrainian immigrant community, although it started with a fairly even presence of male and female individuals, has been displaying a slight *feminization* of its contingent in Portuguese national space.

Charts 38 and 39 show the percentage of male and female individuals in both communities, both in 1999 and in 2004.

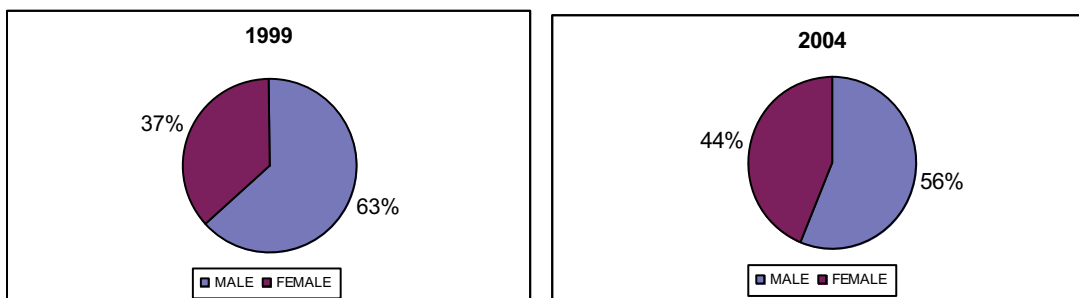


Chart 38 - PRChina immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per gender - Source SEF 2004

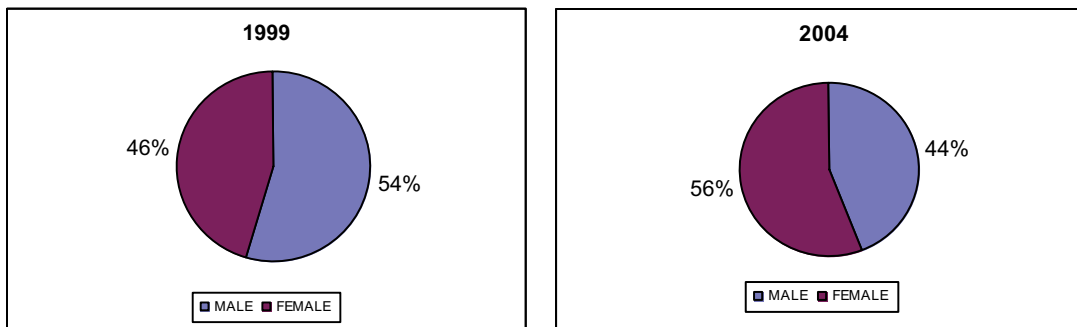


Chart 39 - Ukrainian immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per gender - Source SEF 2004

The pie charts for the years 1999 and 2004 show in a very clear manner the increased weight of the female contingent in the Chinese community and what is practically an inversion of the proportion between male and female contingent in the Ukrainian community.

The two communities are also different concerning the age sets registered within each community (**Charts 40** and **41**). Although both communities display the higher number of individuals within the young adults sets (mid twenties to thirties), the Chinese community registers a much higher presence of infants and teenagers than the Ukrainian community does. This results from the particular way Chinese immigration takes place, one where the family is seen as a seminal resource and capital within the setting up of a economically successful life in foreign countries. The importance of the family within the Chinese model of immigration (one that stems from the importance of the family unit within Chinese society) can also be seen through the presence of elderly individuals, a reality totally absent from the Ukrainian community. It must be added that the Chinese presence in Portugal is older than the Ukrainian: in Porto there are three families whose forebears initiated their presence in the late 1920s, going already in their fifth generation.

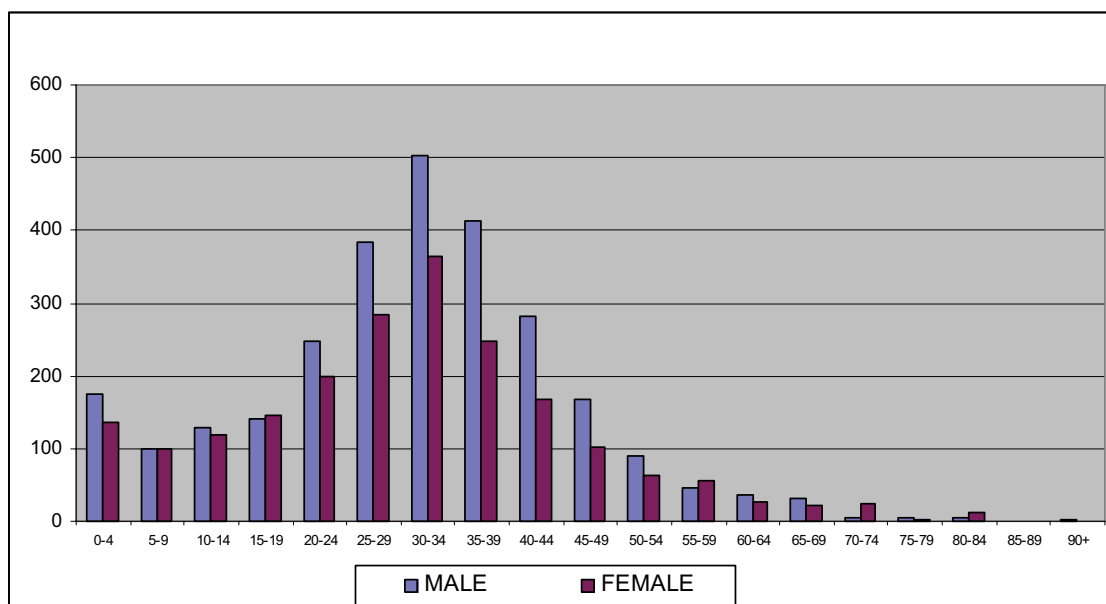


Chart 40 PRChina immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per age sets – year 2003- Source SEF 2004

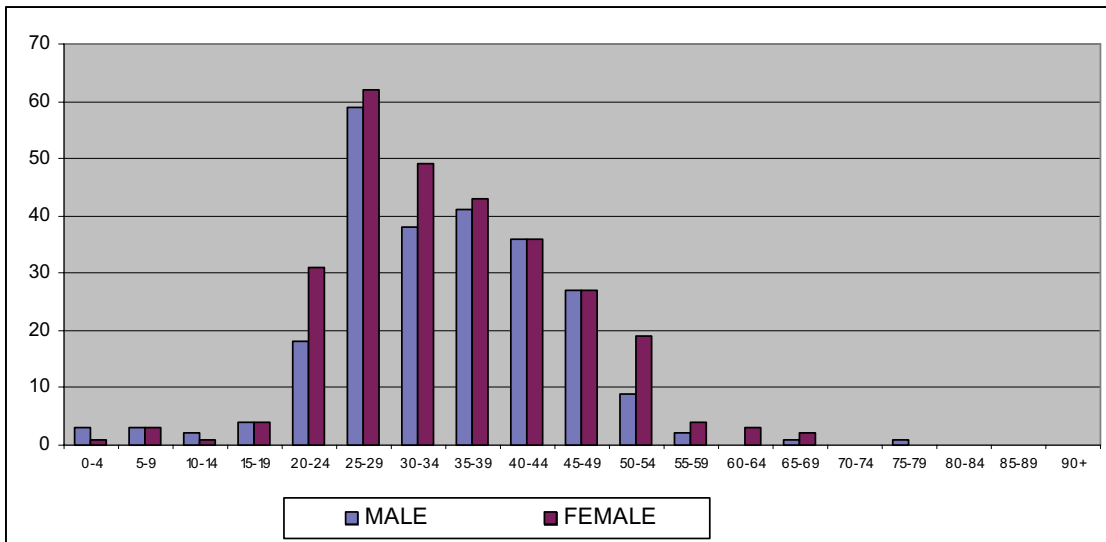


Chart 41 Ukrainian immigrant population in Portugal – distribution per age sets - year 2003- Source SEF 2004

3.3. Porto Greater Metropolitan Area - foreign students enrolled within the state school system

The data to be presented here does not include the students within the Secondary level of schooling (the one just before University entrance). This is a direct consequence of the data collected by the Ministry of Education which as left out that level of schooling. However, the contact with the North Region delegation of the Ministry of Education (DREN) has allowed us to be informed that such collection of data for the present year is going to take place, and it should be ready buy the 20th of April 2007. If this will be so, we hope to be able to complete this section with that schooling level, which is a fundamental level for the TRESEGY's aims.

The Institute of Social and Economic Studies of the Ministry of Education released in December 2005, a national study concerning 1150 public schools, focusing on the students that don't have Portuguese as their mother tongue – from now designated by PNMT – Portuguese not as their Mother Tongue.

Of these students, 79,1% weren't born in Portugal and more than 30% arrived between 2002 and 2004; 52,4% of the students interviewed arrived between 2000 and 2004, showing the recentness of the phenomenon of immigration in Portugal. From 2001 to 2004 the number of Brazilians in public schools tripled and the Ukrainians grew fivefold.

Maybe due to this recent scholar phenomenon in the school year 2004-05, 85% of the schools didn't had multicultural projects although 68,2% of them have support activities to this particular students – with language support classes, cultural mediators or tutoring.

DREN – the institution responsible for the coordination of the public education in the north of Portugal (including all Porto Greater Metropolitan Area) only gathers 3,7% of the PNMT students that are born in Portugal and 15,1% of the ones that were born abroad. This is an extremely small percentage if compared to Lisbon; the number is even smaller than the ones for the Algarve area.

Nationally, the number of PNMT students by school is usually very low - from 1 to 10 (in DREN it's 77,4%), but the second place in this rank is for - from 51 to 100 - at schools with a strong presence of

African ex-colonies in the Lisbon area.

The national study identified 80 languages spoken within the family/house/domestic sphere, being Portuguese (68,7%) the most used followed by Creole (17,5%) and Ukrainian (6,4%). Portuguese is also the most spoken language among students/colleagues with 97,78%.

For the PNMT students that are born in Portugal the language qualifications increase with the progression in the school years, while the ones that weren't born here, had better qualifications in the transition years.

Of the PNMT students, 70% had a positive evaluation of Portuguese language skills and it is notorious the relation between Portuguese language skills and school grades. 60% had a satisfactory evaluation, while the other 40% were equally spread between good and bad results; in general girls have slightly better grades. According to nationalities the best students are the ones coming from Moldavia, Switzerland, Germany, Romania and Ukraine.

The PGMA reality concerning students whose Mother tongue is not Portuguese is shown in Chart 42.

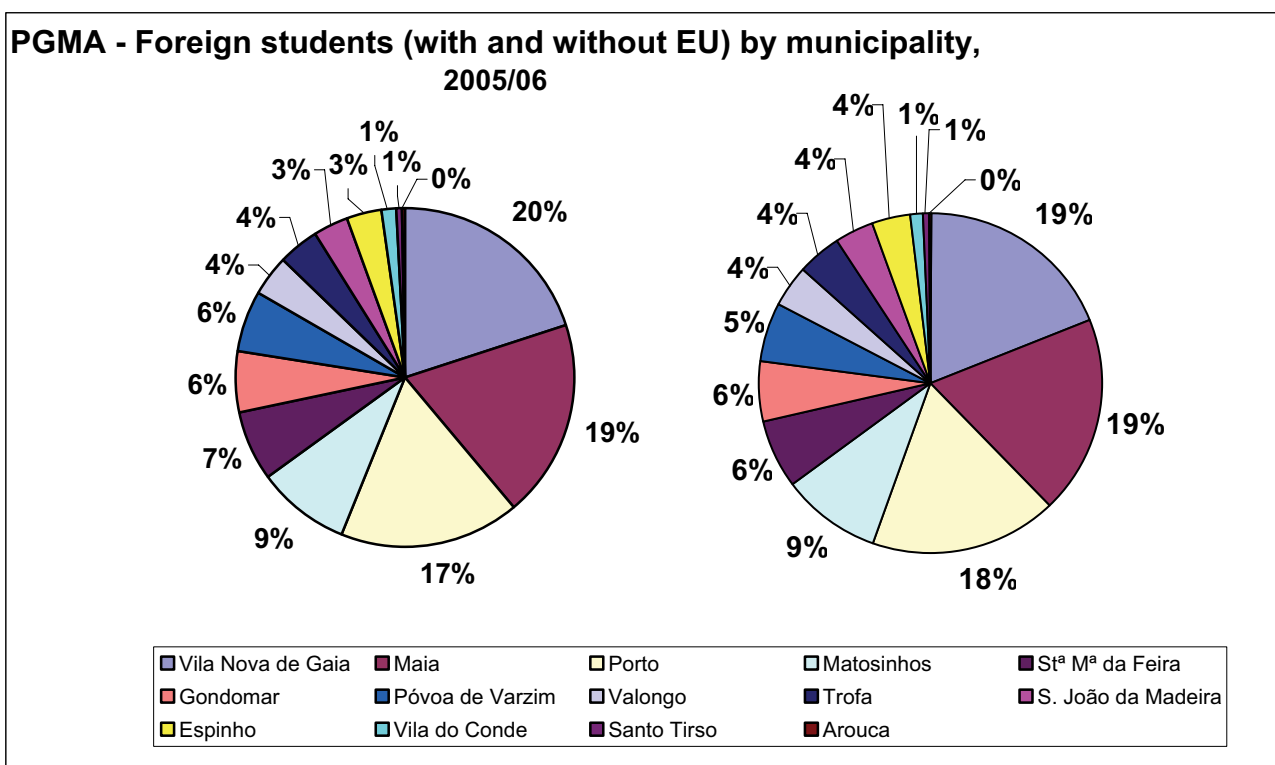


Chart 42 - Source DREN, 2006.

The data shows that the municipalities with a higher presence of foreign students (both with EU and without) are V N Gaia, Maia, Porto and Stª Mª da Feira (Chart 42). The gender distribution is very balanced (Chart 43).

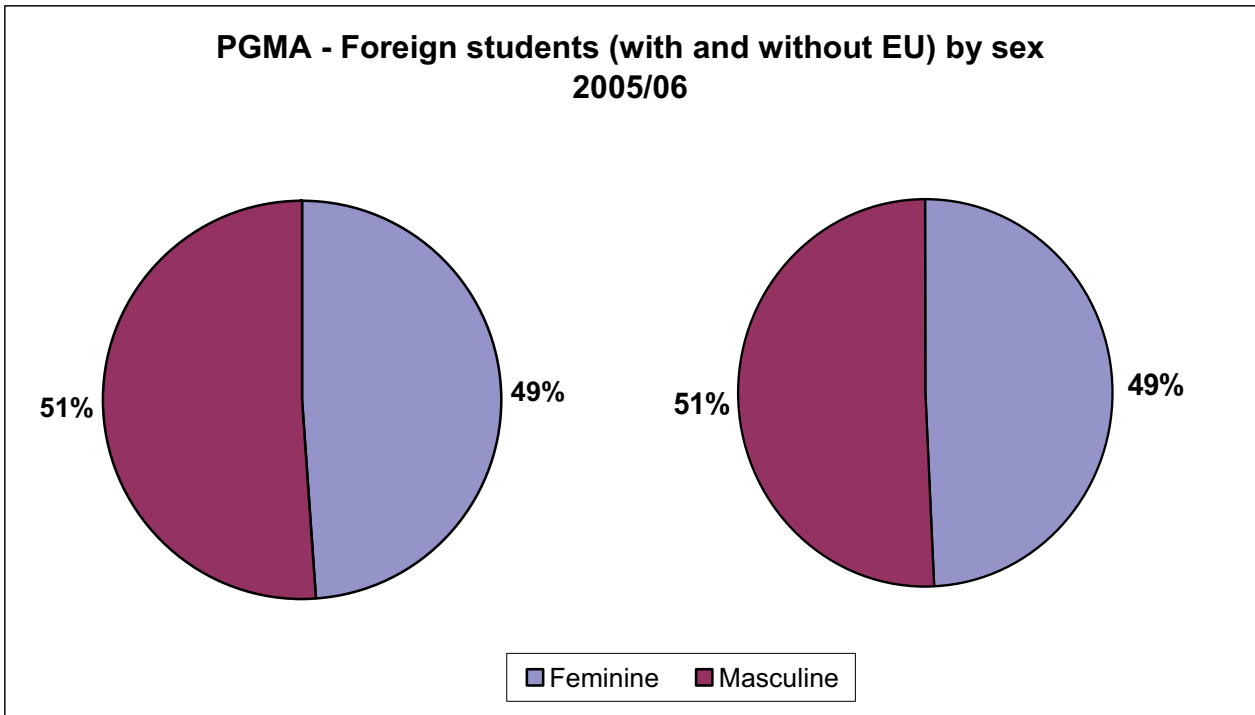


Chart 43 - Source DREN, 2006

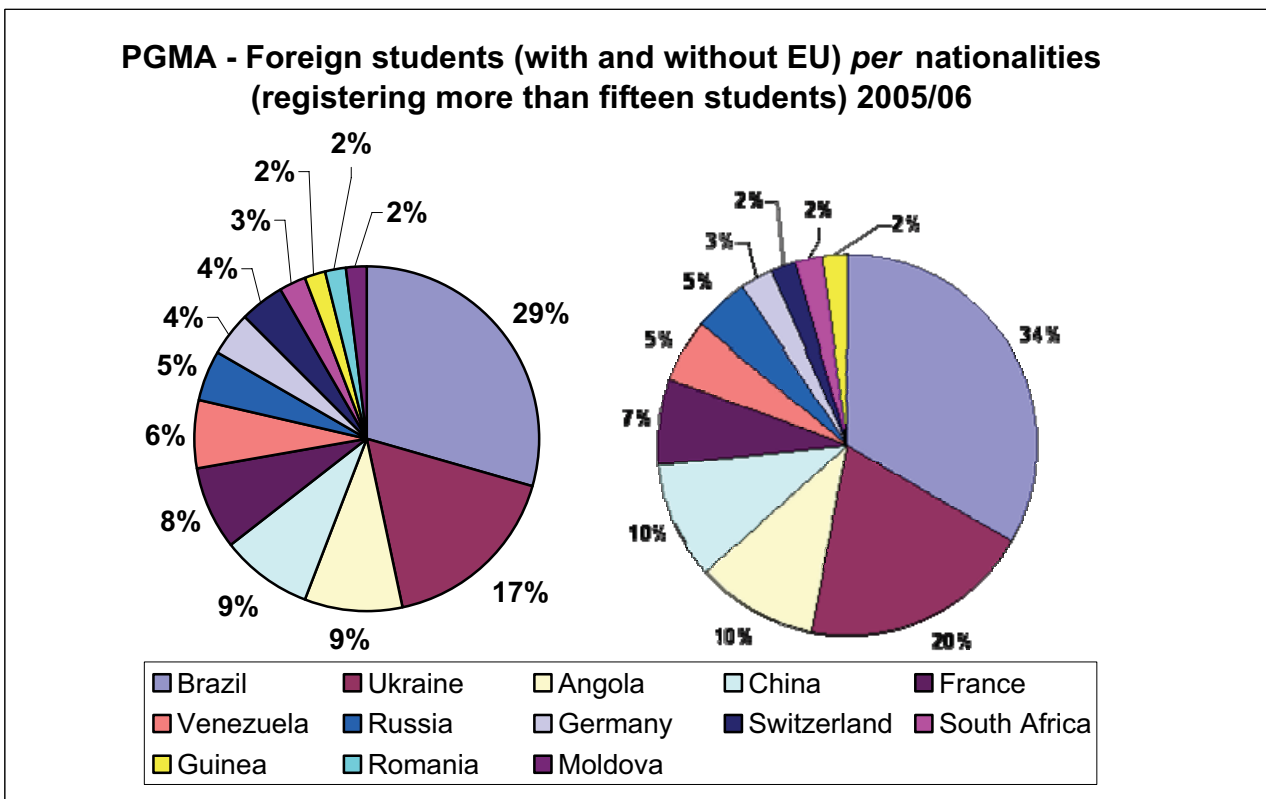


Chart 44 – Source DREN 2006

The above chart (Chart 44) shows us the Brazilian and the Ukrainian as the two nationalities with a higher number of youngsters in school. This in a way mirrors the distribution of nationalities within PMA (see Chart 3), but it should be noted that the proportion between the two referred nationalities is now no longer even: there is a stronger presence of Brazilian students than that of Ukrainian, reflecting perhaps a different social setting concerning family re-grouping within the two nationalities. To be noted as well is that Angolan nationality shows up here at the same level as does the Chinese nationality, thus bridging the 1% gap that the nationalities distribution within the two displayed in the 2005 district level distribution (Chart 3)

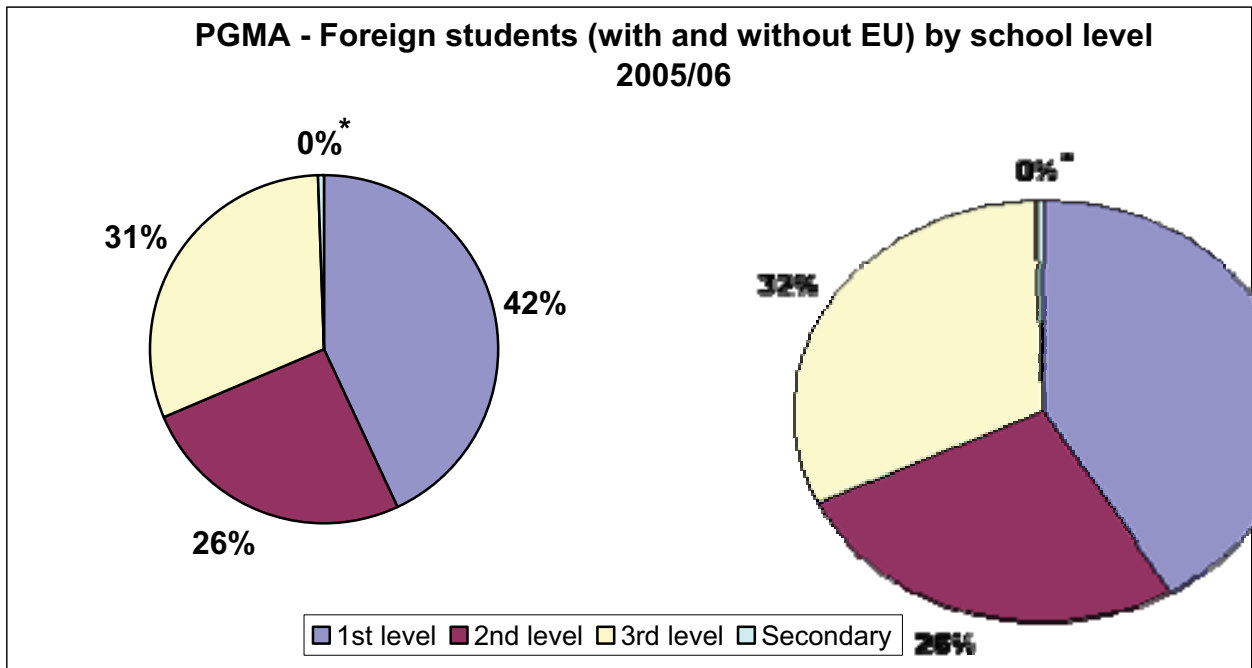


Chart 45 – Source DREN, 2006.

NOTE: The absence of students within the secondary level is a result of the non-collection by the Min of Education of that data

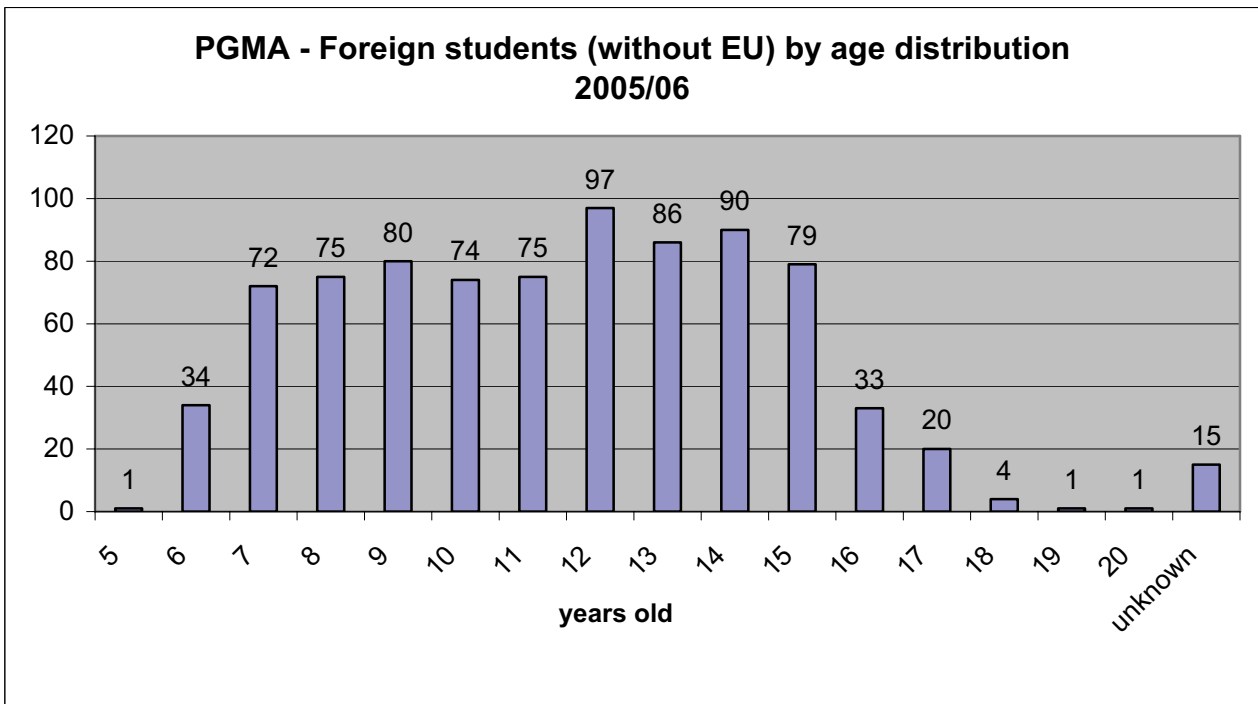
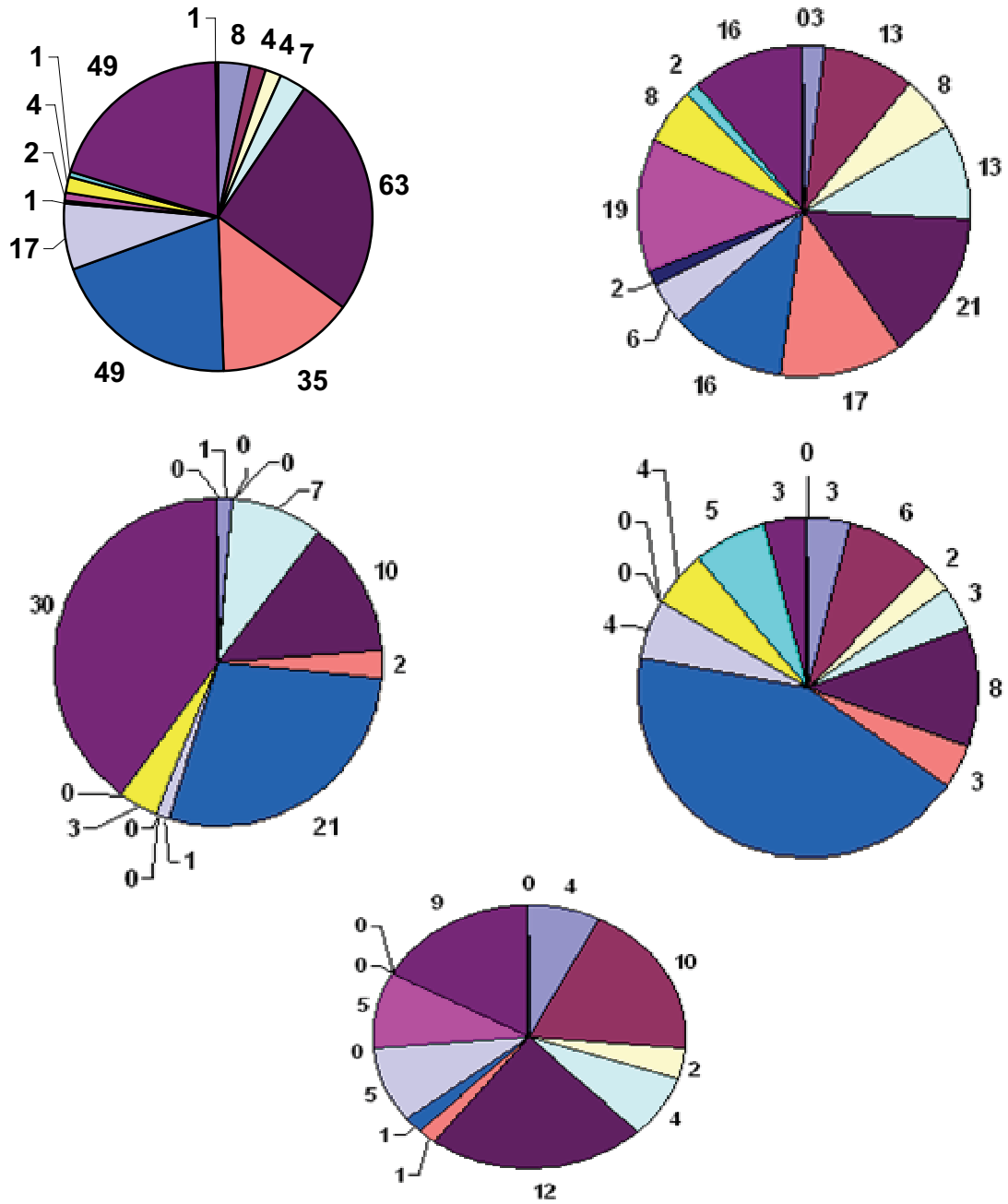


Chart 46 – Source DREN, 2006

PGMA - Top 5 nationalities by municipality, 2005/06
Brazil, Ukraine,
Angola, China,
Venezuela



- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| ■ Espinho | ■ Stª Mª da Feira | ■ S. João da Madeira | ■ Gondomar |
| ■ Maia | ■ Matosinhos | ■ Porto | ■ Póvoa de Varzim |
| ■ Santo Tirso | ■ Trofa | ■ Valongo | ■ Vila do Conde |
| ■ Vila Nova de Gaia | ■ Arouca | | |

Chart 47 – Source DREN 2006

PGMA - Ukrainian and Chinese students, 2005/06

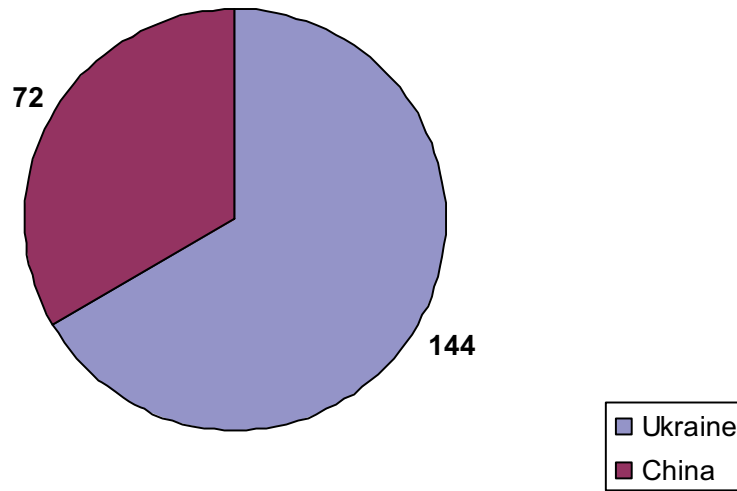


Chart 48 – Source DREN, 2006.

PGMA - Chinese and Ukrainian students by age, 2005/06

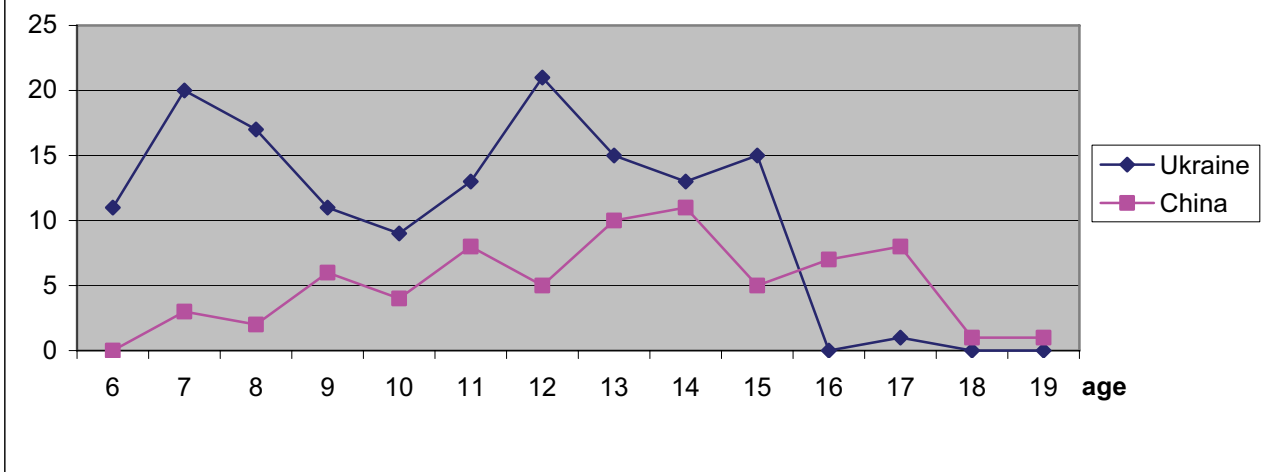


Chart 49 – Source DREN, 2006.

4. The City Of Porto

Porto has fifteen *freguesias* (civil parishes); the old part consists of four: Vitória, Sé, S. Nicolau and Miragaia.¹⁴ Throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the city expanded its territory slowly incorporating additional *freguesias*, the last of which were incorporated in the city in 1895. Throughout most of the city's life the preferred residential areas were those that faced the river, which today are part of the historic centre. This urban place is a dense space: overpopulated until recently,¹⁵ its urban grid retains some of the medieval layout on which eighteenth and nineteenth century interventions left strong marks. This area of Porto was the very heart of the city's economic and social life throughout most of the city's history. Here all the vessels docked in order to load and unload all kinds of merchandise and people; here the wealthy (mainly bourgeois) families had their impressive town houses and, the two main driving powers of the city's life and history - the Catholic church and the city council - were also based. However, the beginnings of the nineteenth century witnessed a series of events that slowly eroded the importance and attractiveness of this riverside area. Although the river started to lose its harbour function in the last quarter of the 1800s (Serén and Pereira 2000:387), it was in the first half of the nineteenth century that cholera, bubonic plague and other diseases rampaged through this part of town: the narrow streets and their poor sanitary conditions together with the high population density of the area (a result of Porto's industrial 'revolution')¹⁶ made it easy for diseases to spread leading to a high death toll. Those who could - the wealthy - escaped the diseases and the contagious living conditions of the riverside area, and went to live in the upper parts of Porto. Those who couldn't - the poor - stayed.

Ever since then the old part of Porto has functioned as one of the entrances into the city, a place where those arriving in the city in search of a better life could easily find, if not a house, at least a room or a bed to rent. Throughout the 1800s and 1900s the old part was the area of the city that has the highest level of population density.

[To this fact one has to] 'add both the derelict state of the houses with their extremely bad living conditions and the oppression forced by the subletting of the lived-in spaces. The social fabric itself favours this latter phenomena: old people, weekly contracted workers, unqualified workmen and individuals living from precarious expediencies, are all a significant part of those in search of accommodation in the rooms of the historic centre's old buildings.' (Rodrigues 1999:17).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the population of old Porto still faced conditions such as those at No 62, Fonte Taurina Street: a four storey house that was home to thirty-six families, totalling 150 people (Meireles, Rocha, Teixeira, Sousa, 1983). Immediately after the democratic revolution of 1974 the local inhabitants of old Porto took part in a grass-roots movement that aimed to bring about changes in their living conditions.¹⁷ This, a movement supported by the creation in the same year of

¹⁴ The *freguesia* (civil parish) is the smallest division in the Portuguese administrative hierarchical system. Several *freguesias* constitute a *município*; the latter constitute a *concelho*, which is part of a *distrito*; the several *distritos* constitute the state. The *freguesia* is the closest administrative body to its inhabitants both due to its small, local spatial expression and to the areas of the inhabitants' lives that fall under its jurisdiction: matters related to housing, health care, licences/permits for several economic activities, etc. The *freguesia* is also the administrative division to which all your voting rights are ascribed. The people running a *freguesia* - the *junta* - are elected by and are themselves its inhabitants. Because this administrative unit is the visible face of the political system, although candidates run on a political party list, people frequently vote for a party that it is not the one of their liking. Rather, they vote for candidates who are known in the community as responsible and 'good' for the *freguesia* who understand inhabitants' problems and are able to manoeuvre between the inhabitants themselves and the *município* (city council), creating the possibilities for the construction of the community's desirable future. It should be noted that the Portuguese electoral system is one of Proportional Representation, making it only possible to find a close relationship between the cast vote and the actual people being elected for a specific post at the *freguesia* level.

¹⁵ In the 1960s the Ribeira/Barredo area had a population density of 81 213 inhabitants per square kilometre; the 1963 survey revealed that 51% of families lived in a single division or room (Meireles, Rocha, Teixeira, Sousa, 1983).

¹⁶ Between 1843 and 1864 Porto registered a 46% increase in population. The flow of rural migrants grew exponentially in the following decades. In just 36 years (1864 -1900) Porto duplicated its population from 86,761 inhabitants to 167,955 (Teixeira, c1996:19).

¹⁷ According to Rodrigues the Porto grass-roots movement that demanded decent housing for the city's working class

SAAL (Local Support Mobile Service ¹⁸) - a program that headed by several Porto-based architects that working in close association with local inhabitants promoted the creation of better housing conditions through practical intervention - came to an end in 1976. In September 1974 CRUARB (Commissariat for the Urban Renovation of the Ribeira/Barredo Area ¹⁹) was created, starting its activity in January 1975. Responding directly to central government, this organisation was put responsible for the rehabilitation of old Porto. In 1990 the Foundation for the Development of the of the Historic Zone of Porto -FDZHP²⁰ was created. Interventions in old Porto have since then been roughly divided between CRUARB - architectural and urban restoration - and FDZHP - social development programs. The city council is a major player in both institutions (Santos 2004).

4.1. Chinese and Ukrainian communities

It should be perhaps to be expected that, due to its described role as an entrance way into it, the Old Centre of Porto might be one of the places where immigrant communities might have gone to live. However that it is not so. In fact, one of the most striking features of Porto as a multicultural city is that it has not developed ethnic neighbourhoods. There is an area in the city and close to the old part that the media had started to call Porto's Chinatown. However, it comprises basically three streets that lead to a small square. It was an area already known for its low-prices electronic goods Portuguese-owned shops. Nowadays most of those commercial spaces are now occupied no longer by Chinese alone, but mostly by Pakistani and Indian shopkeepers who sale a variety of goods. Most of the Chinese shopkeepers have moved to the Varziela area.

And if there are night entertainment places that tend to be favoured by individuals of Brazilian or African descent, and if we can already find small grocers shops that cater for an ethnic cuisine, in order to find what can be an ethnic neighbourhood in the form of an embryonic Chinatown one has to go north of Porto to Varziela in Vila do Conde's industrial estate where several warehouses hold wholesale Chinese business. In it we can also find a Chinese restaurant that caters for the community (the food is not in any way like the one on offer in Chinese restaurants that cater for non-Chinese), and some of the Chinese employed in those warehouses/shops live in those warehouses. The Póvoa gambling Casino further north is a well known preferred place for male Chinese sociabilities. It is also with the Casino that the community has developed other ties, namely for the celebration of important dates in the Chinese calendar, such as the Chinese New Year: every year the two Chinese associations invite their Portuguese friends and associates to celebrate the New Year by offering them a dinner and a show.

Apart from the first settlers (6 man) that arrived in the mid/late 1920s, there was another second influx in the mid 70s. According to Góis, Marques and Oliveira (2005) these were individuals who arrived as an effect of the dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire in 1975. They were Chinese from Guandong province who inhabited East Timor, Angola and Mozambique.²¹ The late 1980s and

inhabitants living in social housing estates, 'ilhas' (back to back houses) and in the over populated derelict houses of the old part, had seven phases: 1 – from the 25th of April 1974 up to July of the same year, marked by popular uprisings led by the social housing estates' inhabitants; 2 – From August to November 1974, marked by the launching of the SAAL program (see main text) and by the beginning of the contestation by the inhabitants of the over populated subtitled houses; 3 – From December 1974 up to March 1975, marked by an increased articulation and cooperation among the several Neighbours' Committees (*Comissões de Moradores*); 4 – From Spring/Summer of 75 up to November, marked by the organization of enormous street demonstrations and the articulation of several organisms within the spirit of the Revolution's political project; 5 – From the 25th of November 1975 up to February 1976, marked by the uncertainties brought by the re-adjustment of the military/political establishment and the ambiguities of the housing policies; 6 – From February to October 1976, marked by the increased de-mobilization of the inhabitants away from the grass-root movement; 7 – From November 1976, marked by the withering of the Neighbours' movement within a general picture of hostility to the popular conquests by the political forces in power with an effective shift towards a liberalization of the housing market. (Rodrigues 1999:139/40)

¹⁸ *Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local*

¹⁹ *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área Ribeira/Barredo*

²⁰ *Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Zona Histórica do Porto.*

²¹ At the time of the Indonesian occupation of east Timor there were 10 000 Chinese immigrants, of which 2 000 moved to mainland Portugal. Of these, only a few tens actually stayed on in Portugal with most returning to Australia.

specially the 90s are the time when there is another noticeable influx of Chinese individuals into mainland Portugal, something related to the opening started to be felt in China concerning allowing its citizens to travel abroad. The devolution of Macau to PRChina (1999) also helped in some degree in obtaining the Portuguese nationality papers that would facilitate the entry into Portugal. A recent study on Chinese entrepreneurs (Oliveira 2003) reveals that the majority of the Chinese in Portugal (44,2%) arrived in the 90s and directly from China (59,6%).²² The Chinese community is fairly distributed throughout the country, although there are noticeable concentrations within the Metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. Most of the Chinese in Portugal and in Porto are from the province of Zhejiang province (north of Fujian province) (Santos and Sousa 2006), but there are also individuals from Guandong, Guizhou and Heilongjiang (Góis, Marques and Oliveira 2005). However there are two different worlds within the community: a core of 'traditional' families (four generations) and an increased number of transnational Chinese (responsible for the increase seen in the statistics) fitting more within what has been called Chinese Diaspora and also analysed by the work of Ong & Nonini (1997) and Ong (1999).

The community explores a specific niche within Portuguese economy: the traditional 'Chinese restaurants' (the first Chinese restaurant in Porto was opened in 1960), the small corner-shops selling all kinds of goods at an extremely good value price ('loja dos chineses') and outlets in the outskirts of greater Porto (Varziela, Vila do Conde) from where most small shop owners (both Chinese and non Chinese) buy their goods from.

The recent preoccupations by western producers (both USA and European) with Chinese produced goods (namely textiles) has placed an undesired spotlight on this community. This year, in March there was an inspection of the sanitary conditions of specifically Chinese restaurants. This was codename *Operação Oriente* and it involved over 130 restaurants. The fact that there was such an operation directed only at Chinese restaurants (and actually leaving out other Far Eastern restaurants, such as the Japanese) was in itself problematic from an ethnic relations point of view, but even more extraordinary was the degree of exposure in the media that the operation had: the organism in charge of the inspection had informed one of the major TV networks that such an operation was going to take place, and had agreed to take reporters with them through out the operation. That day the late morning news started to broadcast images of the inspection raids, and continued to do so through out the other day's news broadcasts. As consequence of this news coverage there was a drop in the number of costumers in Chinese restaurants throughout the country. In some cases the drop of 50%. Two months later the consequences were still felt in such a way that, in June, the Chinese Ambassador in Lisbon and the Head of the Chinese Entrepreneurs Association invited the Mayor of Lisbon to a dinner in a Chinese restaurant in an public attempt to minimise the effects of the widely-publicised inspection. However, many did not survive the drop in costumers and many had to close their doors. The degree of rumours on this matter that pervaded through Portuguese people's daily conversations was extraordinary: from having the cooked rice to be served on heaps on the floor to remains of dead dogs whose meat was supposedly being served to oblivious costumers, the imagination ran wild fuelled by the TV coverage and centuries of the orientalist ('à la Said') conceptualisation of the 'yellow peril'.²³ There were also rumour being spread on the trafic of organs that this community would carry out by abducting and killing costumers that went to their shops. This rumour had a noticeable effect in the chinese-shops business.

The Chinese community is most frequently represented by the *Liga dos Chinese em Portugal*. Created in 1997 its direction is a male domain. The place within the hierarchy is directly related to the amount of money you are able to contribute to the *Liga* finances. The *Liga* official address is of an office of one its more senior members. However, most of the *Liga* business is conducted through meetings in one of the communities' restaurant, in a private space away from the Portuguese

²² 34,9% had immigration routes that encompassed other European countries, mainly Spain (Góis, Marques and Oliveira 2005).

²³ To be noted that Nonini and Ong relates such discourses around racist tropes of threat and disorder to episodic economic and political crisis of modern capitalism and nationalisms (Nonini and Ong 1997:19).

costumers' glance and where according to the *Liga*'s members, 'proper' Chinese food is served. The *Liga* deals with all the immigration paperwork for the community's members. It has recently (November 06) created a Chinese school (a third attempt to establish one; all the others finished due to lack of financing). This school caters only for 7 students and thus it represents an elevated cost for the *Liga* finances. When asked why did not the *Liga* placed the school in the Varziela vicinities (and thus would certainly guarantee a higher number of childer attending the Chinese classes), a senior member of the *Liga* explained that to do so would be to place the school as a regional school. It had to have its headquarters in Porto. Since 1999 that it is published in Lisbon a Chinese language weekley paper (3 000 copies per week). One of the radio stations from Póvoa council broadcasts since 2006 a one hour bilingual (Portuguese and Mandarin) program where mostly Chinese community issues are addressed.

The Ukrainian community presence is much more recent in Portugal and in the GPMA. The influx started in the late 90s and only now (2007) is it showing signs of slowing down. Its presence was made noticeable after 2001, but most of the Ukrainian citizens were in Portugal since a couple of years before that. Between 2000 and 2003 c 120 thousand Eastern European citizens arrived in Portugal. The country was with an intensive program of public works (motorways, bridges, football stadiums -see WP2) and most of these citizens found jobs in construction (males), services (restaurants - males and females; cleaning – females) and agriculture (males and females). Apart from agriculture and restaurants, the Ukrainian within the PGMA fall within the remant professions. Most of these ctizens came directly from Ukraine to Portugal. According to the President of the Ukrainian association, this happened because the word went round that Portugal was an easy place to get legal status and also that there were jobs available. Most of these citizens are married, both male and female. Most of them (63,5% of an inquest carried out in 2004) live in the município they arrived to. However, it is also possible to see that higher degree of mobility are registered with those who have been in the country for longer. Over 75% of those part of the 2002 inquest have not yet returned home to visit.

The Ukrainian community in PGMA is also represented by an association named *Drujba* (Friendship) in whose vicinity live 15 Ukraininan families. *Drujba* was formally founded in 2004 with the help of a local Portuguese NGO. It aggritates mostly Ukrainian and Moldovian immigrants, but it has several other nationalities among its members. Its President is Natalíya Vaskovska (a former biology teacher). The field work carried out reveal it to be mostly a female run domain where men usually help out (they have recently re-painted the rooms used by *Drujba*). The association occupies a space supplied by the local *Junta de Freguesia* (Rio Tinto's civil parish). Like the Chinese *Liga*, that has a legal counselor and representation (a Portuguese lawyer), *Drujba* can deal with the immigration paper work for its members and help out concerning labour law and situations. It also provides a space for sociabilities (Ukrainian festivities), organizing for the children whose parents might be interested in them attending, classes of Ukrainian history, geography and language/literature. It also promotes excursions to places of interest within Portugal. This year it has started to distribute food to its associates (food received through a Portuguese NGO). This latter fact has attracted a high number of new associates: if in 2005 it had c 300 associates, in 2007 already has 1000 associates. It has recently (2006) started an Ukrainian folklore group and a group of amateurs dramatics.

5. Interviews

#	name	context
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#	<i>name</i>	<i>context</i>
1	Y Ping Chow	Member of Liga dos Chineses em Portugal-immigrant association
2	N Zhu	Chinese youth (male)
3	T Zhu	Chinese youth (female)
4	Natalíya Vaskovska	President of Drujba – immigrant association
5	Margerita X	Ukrainian Youth (female)
6	Díiana Y	Ukrainian Youth (female)
7	Yuliana Z	Ukrainian Youth (female)
8	Neila Karimo	CNAI - Porto coordinator
9	M ^a José Lino	CNAI- Porto member in charge of Associations
10	Lurdes Quadrado	DREN- Ministry of Education

5.1. Interview 1

Y Ping Chow,

male, 51 years old

businessman

period of residency in Portugal: 42 years

4th generation Portuguese of a family the is already in the 5th generation

Member of A Liga dos Chineses em Portugal

Member of the Zhenjiang Provincial council Immigrant delegation

Member of the Comissão para a Igualdade e contra Discriminação Racial

Member of Porto's City Council *Conselho das Comunidades*

Considers that what makes the being in Portugal more difficult is the issue of language, but he makes two distinctions: for the new immigrants it is the difficulty of knowing Portuguese; for the descendents of immigrants the Portuguese it is not a problem (it might still be for their parents); they were born here so Portuguese is not a problem; the problem is the learning of Chinese (mandarin); and often the Chinese they know is not very good, they are not very proficient: they were born here and I the summer holidays they might go to China and have 2 months of contact and interaction with colleagues (the Chinese government promotes the learning of Chinese to the descendents born in the diaspora; organizes summer courses of 2 or 3 months; the information on these courses is supplied via Embassy or Chinese immigrant associations; in the year 2006 it supplied the course for 5 000 youngsters (under 18 years old) at a reduced rate; there are also those who go to China for a year to learn Chinese before finishing the university degree or before getting into university, but always before getting a job, before starting their work life, because after that starts there will be no time to have that year off.

The children who come with the parents (or were later brought by the parents), up to 14 15, 16 years old, the parents give them the opportunity to keep on studying, although that will be very difficult for them. Some, if they are good in their studies might go to university; the others will study for 3 or 4 years and then will start working with their parents. There is here the influence of the parents' way of life (in business and not 'holding jobs') as a model to follow; and also there the situations in which the parents are already with an established business, but still have difficulties with the Portuguese language, and once the children, who did the schooling already in Portugal, speak fluent Portuguese, the parents will pull the children to go and work with them because the children's knowledge of the Portuguese is a very helpful thing for the business and bureaucracy interactions.

Integration is not very complicated; if one has the language, then one integrates automatically, because Portuguese people are not snobs or racists. Those who were born here and did their schooling here they are more Portuguese than Chinese; their mentality is Portuguese; they have more difficulty in being with the Chinese who arrived recently than with Portuguese;

Residential concentration

Porto does not have a 'Chinatown' and even the number of restaurants and shops has diminished recently because Porto is losing inhabitants, thus Chinese people go and set their business somewhere else (like Varziela). The Loureiro street (in Porto's old part and that had a concentration of Chinese business) has been almost emptied of Chinese traders because Varziela works better for business. There is some concentration also in R das Flores (old part of the city). In the 1930s 40s there were 6 families near Actor Dias sq (old part of Porto), and considering the time it was and the few number of Chinese that existed then, it was quite a residential concentration.

The Chinese school

Second attempt to have one.

The main objective is to teach Chinese to the children of Chinese descent. However, due to the costs in hiring a teacher and renting the space, they have only one class and in that class they have children and teenagers with different levels of proficiency in the language (from not knowing anything to already knowing a bit) – this makes it very difficult to get all the students' interest in the classes. Also they have students joining the class at several times along the academic year. At the moment they have only 7 Chinese descent students.

Classes run twice a week, but a lot of the students miss classes; Chinese government only helps supporting such schools if they have a minimum of 50 students.

There is the idea of creating a 'mobile school' that would have its headquarters in Porto but would go to where there are communities with children (like Varziela).

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

People are always surprised to come across a Chinese face that speaks perfect Portuguese; Chow says that in these cases he replies that he has been living in Portugal for more than 40 years (and that in his case he should then be able to speak even better Portuguese than he actually does). His children with communication by phone people on the other end of the phone will never guess they are Chinese, because their Portuguese has no accent whatsoever. Do not consider that children go through discrimination in school, specially if they speak Portuguese as native speakers.

Recent media coverage of Chinese community and the frequent reference to its negative effect on Portuguese textile industry and small-shops business is considered as a result of envy of Chinese people's fast economic success. The highly publicised *Operação Oriente* to Chinese restaurants, the rumours concerning the trafficking of body parts they had serious consequences in Chinese business: a lot had to close. Concerning the organs trafficking, the community did not much attention first thinking that it would go away; but as costumers started to not going to the shops, the community took action (talking to the papers and to anti-discrimination state institutions, such as ACIME).

Considers that the Chinese children did not feel this discrimination because they are not the ones who worry and deal with money and business issues. Having stressed to him that it was probable that these issues would be commented at home, and that the children (teenagers) would come across all of that through talk with other school children, through watching tv, etc Chow said that concerning his children, they might feel bad about it, but it does not bear much in their life. Now children who already help out in their parents' business (15, 16 years old and older), some who were born in China and still remember China, they might feel it more directly.

People do feel discriminated against because of just being Chinese; there are often letters in the Chinese newspaper that talk about that. But people do not present a complaint to the Portuguese institutions. It will not solve anything. But we can bother those people who discriminate; for instance,

we have been taking cases to court, and if it is proved that there was discrimination the people who do it can be fined to up 3x the national minimum wage.

In terms of Chinese culture what is organised the most are gatherings like Chinese New Year. The divulging of the true Chinese culture is something that it is made more by the European Chinese Associations. Culture only has value for those who have more money and have more time for it. Nowadays the Chinese in Portugal are more focused in economic issues. And the associations that organize such things, the people who attend those actions are more Portuguese. The *Liga* has no capacity in terms of money or people to develop culture in Portugal.

Access to education

Does not consider that there are problems or complicated procedure concerning paperwork, bureaucracies. Says that the recognition of the Chinese system school qualifications and its equivalence to Portuguese ones (when considering enrolling children at school) is almost automatic. Chinese embassy is usually the place where the translation of the Chinese school paperwork into Portuguese is done.

Access to health

Usually the children who come are with the parents and if the parents have social security coverage (including the access to National Health Service) the children will also have it through them. If the parents do not have that coverage...but the children come because the parents already have a legal status; otherwise they would not bring the children.

Access to work

Usually work within the community; so usually not difficult.

Access to Justice

Nothing much has ever happened that would require it. The only thing was at the end of last year a number of robberies of hold-ups. But the Chinese were also involved and have some blame in it as well.

But Chinese usually do not go to the authorities when there is a problem because they avoid the hassle. Portuguese people can go and complain to Consumers association if they feel they were wrong done by the people to whom they bought something; Chinese people don't do that, also because of the problem of the language; they just say 'it is no worth it; never mind'.

Access to accommodation

Sometimes the rental of a place would not come through because the people wanting to rent it were Chinese. But as member of the Commission for equal rights and against Discrimination, he has seen several complaints by African origin people and Brazilian. Chinese do not show up, and do not do it because of the difficulty with the language. And then they say 'why am I going to complain to this against discrimination commission? It will result in nothing'.

Buying property, not a problem. You have the money, Portuguese will accept it.

Leasings is more complicated. But Chinese tend to buy what they need.

Access to banking & credit

It is complicated because the bank works more with the real, the objective numbers and not with real life. There is more to business than the money coming in our out of an account. If the business is bad, there is no money to deposit; it is good,...there are also those that afraid of inspections do not deposit all of it. Chinese people do not go a lot to banks to lend a lot of money from them. Chinese people lend and borrow money more within the community.

Access to nationality

His children have all Portuguese nationality. With the previous law a child of foreign parents who had been born in Portugal could only become Portuguese when he/she turned 18, and they would

have to request to become Portuguese citizens.

It is not possible to have dual citizenship Portuguese and Chinese. If you become Portuguese you lose the Chinese nationality.

5.2. Interview 2

N Zhu

male, 23 years old,

born in Portugal; goes frequently to China

textile import business entrepreneur

Identity and Identification

when asked how does he define himself (as Portuguese, as Chinese, as Portuguese, etc, etc), he declares the question complex. Born in Lisbon, lived most of his life in Porto but now, due to his professional life, he travels a lot throughout Europe and China. Ends up by saying that he considers himself of Chinese origin since his physical features do not deny that; but he also considers himself culturally Portuguese (he knows better the history of Portugal and the Portuguese costumes than the Chinese). If the question refers to his personality than it becomes even more complex. The Chinese influence was very strong in his education, but the lived life was mostly with Portuguese and the schooling was in Portuguese schools. It is difficult for him to say that he is either Chinese or Portuguese. It will vary with context and interaction. If the question had been asked 5 years ago he would have said straight away that he was Portuguese. But today that does not happen. Not just through the changes in his professional life, but also because he identifies less with Portuguese cultural characteristics (but actually he thinks that that non-identification is typical of the Portuguese). He feels himself as European and not as Asian.

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

The inevitability of the visibility of the phenotypic difference brought specific situations, namely during schooling as early as Primary school (being called *chinoca* = USA 'chink'. With time he learned not to feel bothered by it. He was practically the only Chinese child in the classes we went to.

Never felt any discrimination by teachers or parents of his school friends (although he never spent much time in friend's' homes as a teenager)

Even today, people's first reaction in Portugal is to address him in English and if they do it in Portuguese, they do it in a slow manner to make sure that he understands the language. It is always a surprise that he should speak Portuguese and should do it well. Frequently if the communication is by phone, later when he meets the person face to face, they get very surprised to realise him as ethnically Chinese. However, he feels completely integrated within Portuguese society.

The attribution of the quality of Portuguese by them to him will depend on the group of people. For some it is enough that he was born in Portugal and that he spoke Portuguese to consider him Portuguese; for others no. His classmates consider him Portuguese and even think it is strange when he speaks Chinese over the phone. The Portuguese business contacts see him as Portuguese/Chinese, but the French or Italian business contacts already see him only as Chinese.

Access to work

Being Chinese can be an added value in certain areas (trading) and a disadvantage in other (namely where there is contact with the customer- issue of the language proficiency – refers the fact that there are no Chinese people working as waiters in cafes).

But most of the Chinese work within the community itself, so discrimination is not felt.

Access to nationality

He has Chinese nationality; however he grew up having Portuguese nationality. He had a Portuguese

citizen ID. When he turned 18 he was told that it had been a mistake and he was not Portuguese, but Chinese. Thus he never had experience of bureaucratic procedures for non-national youth as he was growing up (for professional reasons). Once he was told that the Portuguese citizen ID had been a mistake he initiated the naturalisation process, but he gave up.

At present, there are advantages and disadvantages to have Chinese nationality. Advantages: mostly professionally; there is great advantage to being considered Chinese.

Disadvantages: greater difficulty in the relation to the banking system (at least initially)
in travelling to some countries (outside Schengen space)
Nothing more.

Associations

In terms of youth specific, there are non in Portugal; there are however certain forms of gathering specific to Chinese youth, namely in the web (hi5 – a group called *Chineses em Portugal*).

The grouping (you cannot call it associativism) of Chinese youths is not known by the older members of the community

Finds a certain difficulty in integrating with the newly arrived Chinese (his mandarin is limited); the newly arrived have a way of living different from his; he is able to integrate better with Portuguese youths; refers that he actually has very few friends that are Chinese; in China he has no friends of his age group; most of his Chinese friends are European Chinese, were born or were raised in Europe; some are in Lisbon, some are in other countries what makes it geographically difficult to be with them. With this group of friends, some years ago, they tried to organise a get together dinner; but very few participated in the dinner.

The need to organise in a formal manner around issues that might be felt to be specific to Chinese ascendancy youth in Portugal is not felt by the youths in this community.

5.3. Interview 3

T Zhu

female, 21 years old

born in Portugal; never been to China

Undergraduate student (Electronic/computer Engineering)

Identity and Identification

when asked how does he define himself (as Portuguese, as Chinese, as Portoan, etc, etc), she says she is Portuguese and Chinese. The feeling of being European or Asian varies according to the context. She identifies herself with European values for some things (liberal values as far as women roles; refers how as she was growing up she envied her friends' (girls) because their mothers were not only much more present (her own mother was working most of the time) as they could speak of issues that she could not with her Mother (here she refers not only cultural difference, but also the issue of the language. She could speak Portuguese much better than she could speak Chinese/Zhenjiang's dialect) and with Chinese values for others (centrality of the family; strength of the marriage bonds; here she refers the easiness with which people marry and divorce);

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

She never felt any discrimination through out her schooling.

Even today at University, teachers (when faced with the phenotypic difference) would take care in knowing if she could speak Portuguese.

Never felt discrimination from people who are close to her; even when going out and meeting up with friends of her Portuguese non-Chinese friends she notices how they are careful in not using expressions or terms that they would normally do (ex: the Portuguese idiomatic expression when one is not understanding a thing of what is being said “that to me is Chinese” would be avoided).

She notices a reaction from people on the street or in public spaces such as cafes, mostly after the mediatic coverage of the Chinese business and exports affects on Portuguese business and industry.

She has had to face some derogative comments by people on the street, but it is also from certain type of thugs. If in a group of friends and in that group there is a coloured person (eg, black person) the verbal discrimination will be to that individual and not to her. Blacks are always discriminated more and first than Chinese.

People who have not met her before, once they do, are always surprised that she can speak Portuguese and to do it so well as she does.

She dated Portuguese boys and her parents have already lost the idea of her getting a Chinese husband; Her sister dated a Chinese ascendancy boy for a long time, but now has a non-Chinese ascendancy boyfriend

Access to work

Being Chinese can be an advantage; she herself is now learning mandarin, a skill that she hopes will complement her Computer Science degree will give her access to a good job in a international company.

However, she knows of Portuguese/Chinese, young people like her, that when trying to get part-time jobs (eg, MacDonal'd's) would not be accepted; The way she sees it, if the job implies contact with the costumers/public, then the likelihood is that the Chinese phenotype candidate will not be given the place; however, if the par-time imply working away from the public eye/contact- like in the kitchens – than he/she can be accepted.

Access to nationality

She has Chinese nationality, but she is applying for Portuguese nationality; the recent changes in the Law make it more easy to access Portuguese citizenship and she feels that having it will make searching for a job easier or with more probability of success. She always had a more complicated life in bureaucratic terms that her non-Chinese ascendancy Portuguese friends. Even the paperwork for the entrance to the university was much more complicated for her than for her friends.

She regrets having to loose her Chinese citizenship when acquiring her Portuguese nationality. She has never been to China, but she is curious about the place and would like to go at some point.

Once she gets her Portuguese citizenship she has no real plan in terms of participating politically in the life of the country: she has no attraction for the political realm (something common to her age set within Portuguese society as a whole); she doesn't think she will be voting in elections.

Associativism

Chinese ascendancy youths do not feel the need to formally constitute an association that would promote their interests.

5.4. Interview 4

Natalíya Vaskovska

female, 38 years old,

Biology teacher in the Ukraine; works as a cleaner (presently unemployed)

President of Drujba – immigrant association

period of residency in Portugal: 6 years;

Why Portugal?

Because it was an EU country that at the time (2001) was doing a process of legalising immigrants. It was not because it was seen as a better country than the others, but because it was legalising immigrants

Husband arrived in February 2000 and she in April; they have some family also immigrated in Portugal

Main difficulties faced by the Ukrainian community

Access to work

At the present the biggest problem is lack of employment, very different from 5 or 6 years ago. Then everybody had jobs. Today there is a least one person per family out of a job.

Most of the Ukrainian citizens work for the minimum wage; this is a situation created by the fact that the Ukrainian qualifications are not recognised (automatically) by the European Union; people with higher education are working in cleaning and construction.

Considers that the level of work is now worse because they now have what was missing at the beginning, the language and the knowledge of Portuguese people's ways, but are not able to move on to better jobs.

(my note: unemployment has risen all over Portuguese society)

Portuguese people do not want to work for minimum wage, they do not do the work Ukrainians do for that amount of money – that is why some Portuguese are unemployed and on Social Benefit.

Language

Can be a very big barrier. We had not the knowledge of the language and communicated through gestures; and the Portuguese were very helpful. Important were the places where Portuguese language was taught to immigrants. One such place was organised by AMI (medical NGO) since July 2001 and AFAGOS (local NGO).

When first arrived, people had no knowledge of the language so they accepted any work. At the present, since they already have that language they would like to be able to work more in accordance to their qualifications- but that is not possible due to lack of equivalence/recognition of qualifications;

With absence of language less scrupulous Portuguese employers were able to deceive ukrainina workers from their rights (eg: extra hours were not paid at a higher rate)

Bureaucracies & legal issues

AMI taught Portuguese language and costumes, ways of behaving. It was very important for us those classes. It also explained to the immigrants issues related to law (labour, housing etc).

AMI explained to them issues related to work contracts, tax revenue, etc

The first time they received a letter concerning the payment of IRS they took it to the teachers, they were explaining the issues for 2 hours, but the words were all new and it was impossible to understand.

In 2001 the Autorização de Permanência was very quick and easy to obtain; you only need to have a work contract; and because the fine for employers having illegal workers was very high, all the employers gave the Ukrainian workers the contracts and they were able to get the AP in one day; later it took longer to get it, but not complicated..

Access to housing

Also difficult to start with.

They lived in areas where poor Portuguese also lived: old derelict houses.

The husband when arrived went to live to a one bedroom flat where 16 other people were also living in; they had no beds and slept on the floor. Her husband got sick; his boss helped him out and found him proper housing. An old lady living in the same building helped out the husband with furniture, food, etc. It was a big help. They now own their own house.

After 2003, people started to be able to get better housing because they had the language, knew the ways of the country. People started to realise that what made more sense was not to save money to send to the Ukraine or to make a better living in the Ukraine, but to actually stay in Portugal (until they made the decision of staying in Portugal, she and her husband lived of 25 euros per week; the rest was saved)

Access to information on social benefits or support

This type of information was given by AMI teachers.

Those who were attending the classes also received food that was distributed by AMI.

Nowadays the facilitating of information by Portuguese institutions is less than in 2001.

There should be special course for immigrants informing them of these issues; as it is casuistic: someone happens to find somebody that explains what supports they can get from the State.

Access to schooling

Not a problem. Her child was enrolled in the school and they never asked for any kind of paper, any documentation not even from his school in the Ukraine.

Access to health

Not a problem also. No one ever asked for a piece of paper in the State Health Centre for doctor appointments, only the passport; always paid the same amount that Portuguese people pay.

Access to professional training

No one ever mentioned that. And since their qualifications do not have recognition, they are hired as workers without formal schooling. The only people whose situation has improved is the doctors. Gulbenkian program for the recognition of doctor's and nurses qualifications – see WP2) but even here in the beginning the papers asked were not a lot, so the process was not very complicated; however with other set of doctors and nurses the number of paperwork to be requested started to become much more and making it more difficult, sometimes even impossible, for people to be able to take part in the program.

Access to credit

Very complicated.

Banks advertise special lines of credit for immigrants, but you get there they ask for

Autorização de Residência (and the immigrant might not have AR, only AP), without it, no credit;

work contract (long term)

4 guarantor (Portuguese)

money in the account

High IRS, etc

The same happens with poor Portuguese and banks.

To buy a house from a real estate company: through bank loan fine; if by yourself: no longer easy to buy it.

The Association cannot get a loan; it has no assets.

Leisure

man gather for football and volleyball matches; they usually play other teams from other immigrant

communities; have no contact with all. Portuguese teams; her husband was a professional volleyball player (3 times champion for the Russian team) and joined a Portuguese volleyball team in Rio Tinto, but the practice started at 9pm every day, and he only finished work at 8pm; e gave up because he was too tired at the end of the work day to go and still train.

Folklore group

Amateur dramatics that was performed in several places for Portuguese audiences.

Youth

Normally go out and do things with Portuguese youths; they speak Portuguese perfectly with no accent, (unlike the adults), so people do not realise that they are non-Portuguese.

Normally only c 10 youngsters show up in the Association.

The school was difficult for them to start with because of the language; but after having got the language, they became part of the best students.

There is no discrimination against immigrant youths. There a lot of help from AMI and ACIME with special teachers and specific material.

5.5. Interview 5

Margerita X,

female, 18 years old,

Fashion Design undergraduate student

period of residency in Portugal: 5 years;

has not yet been back to the Ukraine (but she plans to go back)

Identity and Identification

Classifies herself as Ukrainian.

Also European (“Ukraine is part of Europe”); but it is not a very present identification.

“Europe is very diverse; Ukrainians are different from Portuguese. Portugal, Spain and Italy are sort of similar, they are close together; Ukraine is different, very different...it is a complicated question...

My parents told me to come and I came; I was not really understanding things. The first months here were very difficult; I felt very bad; I missed Ukraine and my friends and family a lot.” Still misses her friends and family; writes a lot; if she had internet access she would communicate via the web with them.

Language acquisition

Started by reading books and translating; then people also helped: colleagues at school, teachers, mostly friends (girls)

She started Portuguese school in a class with younger students than her (difference of 2 years); that was also strange to her.

“I was shy, I did not speak the language, I felt ashamed; even today I feel ashamed to speak because I know I do not speak really well”

(my note: her Portuguese is extremely fluent and only with a very slight accent)

Languages at home

Speaks Russian (and some Ukrainian) with her Mother, but also Portuguese; Russian with some friends Ukrainian with others; She thinks she uses Ukrainian the most.

School

There those who helped and those who did not; “because I was different: fair headed, blues eyes, very shy; some girls (from other class that not her own) were really mean to me.”

“once I got the language things became much more easy; having the language makes all the difference.”

never felt discrimination from parents of friends or of boyfriends.

Different ways of being

Feels that they had more freedom back in the Ukraine; at the age of 13 she could go out to the street; and in Portugal girls with 16 or 18 stay at home most of the time; there was more freedom there and more confidence in others. In Portugal there is less places where to go; in the Ukraine there were parcs, mountains...in Portugal no.

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

Some Portuguese say she looks Ukrainian, others don't;

Some people always notice: “I'm different from people here: clear skin, fair hair...people here have darker skin...I look different”

She most frequently comes across discrimination not directly to her but in conversations overheard in the street.

“We are different, and we came here, and no one invited us; we needed to come; and some people don't like that”

Returning home

She no longer knows if going back is to visit or to stay; she is studying here now, and she has to finish it here now; then she will see.

Non-national

Has no experience of having more complicated bureaucratic process than Portuguese students

In order to get her passport, she has had to collect a lot of paper work from school etc

In the bank she thinks the process was the same – but it was her Mother who did it, she is not sure of any difference

“complicated is when people are not legal; if you are legal everything is the same as with Portuguese.”

Access to jobs

Makes no difference being a non-national, anybody who wants to get a job, will get one; it makes no difference if you are a foreigner.

In 2006 she and a friend worked in a shopping-mall doing marketing of a product to passer-by/shoppers

Has no knowledge of job discrimination in relation to youngsters

Participation in public life

She was class representative in 2006

Does not pay attention to Portuguese papers or tv (watches Ukrainian and Russian channels through satellite tv); has no interest in politics. Does not know much of it. Distrust politicians.

Youngsters do not show up much in the association (Drujba) because it is opened mostly on Saturdays mornings (one of the few times they are free from classes)

They participate in the folklore group and in the amateur dramatics; there was a strong tradition of that in the Ukraine, even from schooldays. These activities help people being together and not feeling so away from home; we do things like it was at home.

Young people feel no need to formally organise in associations; they just hang out together, go out at night together.

(Note: goes out at night to the places where young people in Porto go to: clubs in warehouses in the former industrial area)

5.6. Interview 6

Diana Y.

female, 16 years old,

second level student

period of residency in Portugal: 2 years; (parents: 6 years)

Identity and Identification

She feels Ukrainian.

Language acquisition

When she arrived, it was very difficult; she wanted to go back to Ukraine. When she arrived it was summer, so her Mother found her a Portuguese language teacher to give her the basics before the beginning of classes in September.

For a year she learned the language, she had friends who helped her. Now she prefers it here.

School

She was incorporated in a year below her level from Ukraine. The age of her colleagues was close to her age. "The school is very good" and everybody was always very nice and helped her a lot.

At the beginning because she did not understand the language, she thought that sometimes people, the other children were talking bad things about her; but then that disappeared. It is no longer like that; she understands more and speaks better.

People have always been very helpful, in supermarket, shops, etc.

She keeps in touch with grandparents, cousins, etc back in the Ukraine.

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

some people notice the difference, but not all, and not a lot; this because she is not very fair headed, she is darker than other Ukrainians, so people actually tend to think she is Portuguese.

Different ways of being

Growing up in Portugal is making her different from what she would be if she had stayed and grown up in the Ukraine. "If I had stayed in the Ukraine I would be more like them (friends and family who are there); But here I'm another; I am like the Portuguese."

"Here people study more; the school has computers and in the Ukraine no. Here people smoke in school in the Ukraine no; students speak in rude manners to the teachers or Parents and in the Ukraine no."

Here things are more complicated for me than they were back there.

Family life she finds it pretty similar.

Non-national

Paperwork for school she thinks is the same required to Portuguese students.

The only thing that was more complicated was the equivalence of her studies back in the Ukraine (namely the equivalence of the type of grades).

Access to jobs

The reason why her parents brought the children is for them to study in Portugal and from Portugal they can then apply for jobs anywhere (within EU space); and that is one of the main reasons why they are here: to not be limited to be able to work (legally) only in the Ukraine, but in Europe, and thus have a better life.

She wants to do university here (Medicine or Civil Engineering depending on the grades).

Participation in Public Life

Listens more Ukrainian music than Portuguese music

Used to watch Ukrainian TV, but now watches Portuguese TV because the satellite dish needs to be fixed.

5.7. Interview 7

Yulliana Z.

female, 19 years old,

secondary school student (preparing for University (medicine) entry)

period of residency in Portugal: 2 years; (parents: 6 years)

She likes Portugal a lot, but she also misses the Ukraine a lot. The decision to come was her parents'.

Portugal is a country very different from the Ukraine, and she misses her friends and grandparents a lot. She gets in touch weekly via the phone and internet.

She has friends who are migrated in other European countries – she visited in the summer the friends who are in Italy; she prefers Portugal

She does not yet have a lot of friends in Portugal.

Identity and Identification

She feels Ukrainian. And she will always keep that nationality.

Language acquisition

She was in Portugal for only 3 months before going to school. It was difficult for her, but also for her colleagues, because she did not speak the language well.

When she arrived she did a summer course of Portuguese as foreign language in the faculty of letters of Porto University. She is now in her second year and thus in the advanced level.

Language at home

Moldavian

School

Although she has equivalence for her Ukrainian studies, she is doing the year before university in order to complete 2 subjects required to the university entry examination.

Phenotypic difference and potential discrimination

She has no experience of discrimination. People are all very nice.

But the fact that she is fair headed and has blue eyes makes people look and say “she is not one of us”. But not in a negative way “people actually say that they would like to have hair like mine, eyes like mine”

Different ways of being

people are very nice; studies are more demanding; teachers are more demanding.

Non-national

It is not complicated; just difficulty to explain why she does not have a ID card. “everybody says: you must have one.” “They ask for the ID card, and I give them the passport and they say: it is not this; it is something else”

Access to jobs

The decision to have her come to Portugal was good, because with a Portuguese diploma she will be able to apply for jobs anywhere (within EU space);

Participation in Public Life

Does not go out much because she has not lot of friends, either Portuguese or Ukrainians.

Watches Ukrainian TV and some Portuguese soap operas.

She would like to have the right to vote; she lives in Portugal and likes to know what is happening in the country where she lives.

Participates in the Drujba folklore group. And also likes the fact that there is the Ukrainian school in Drujba; sees it as important that Ukrainian can have a place to meet.

5.8. Interview 8

Neila Karimo

coordinator of CNAI Porto since September 2006;
worked previously in CNAI Lisbon

Communities that use CNAI

The immigration reality is very different from what the official numbers show.

There is a diminution of numbers of entry into Portugal. Immigration flows are slowing down. The number of renewals of *Autorização de Permanências* has diminished. CNAI/SEF in Porto are only doing 20 to 30 renewals of *AP* per week, which is very little when compared to previous years. The slowing down of the influxes is related not to the fact that special legalising actions (eg: *AP* in 2001 and 2002 and *Visto artgº71* in 2004) are no longer running, but with the situation of the economy.

In 2007 Porto and VNGaia are still the *municípios* with more immigrant population

The Ukrainian community is experiencing a new reality in the Northern area: there is a massive exit of this community from the Northern region; they are all (a lot) now working in Spain. In the last 18 months there are less and less Ukrainians, and in general less and less Eastern Europe citizens in the Northern region. This is a feedback from the immigrants that use CNAI, and in CNAI unit of support for searching for jobs (UNIVA) there are fewer Eastern European citizens requiring that support. This decrease of presence does not happen in Lisbon.

The nationalities that use the most the CNAI services are Brazil, Russia, Ukraine and Angola. It is not possible however to indicate some services as the ones most used by the non-nationals that come to CNAI. She finds, however, a difference in relation to what was her experience in Lisbon: the frequent coming of Portuguese citizens who inquire about ways and procedures for a non-national (a friend of the Portuguese going to CNAI) to become legalised or for that friend to have his/her family reunited with him/her in Portugal.

The PALOPs citizens almost do not use CNAI services – a stark contrast to what was the experience in Lisbon. This is due to the fact that those who are in the Northern region are already integrated in the local context; they have the *Autorização de Residência* – and not just *Autorização de Permanência* -, they have been in the Northern region for much longer than the population that uses CNAI services in Lisbon and thus have a more stable situation legal terms.

The Brazilian community according to the numbers available to CNAI, is the only community who keeps on growing. Thus there is a lot of Brazilian citizens in irregular situation and they often use CNAI services in order to seek way of legalising their presence.

CNAI Porto does not have an Education Section (closed two years ago) – most issues (such as the registry of minor – document need to access education and health - ,equivalencies, registration, vacancies in schools, etc) were referred to Lisbon, so the section was closed. All education related

issues are referred to the Education Office in Lisbon (the process of registration of the minor and information of school and health authorities of the existence of the minor is described as fast: one day).

Non-national adults in irregular situation or who do not pay Social Security have access to the State health care system but have to pay for it as a private (and thus more expensive) service. As a consequence these adults have less access to health care. The State sometimes accepts the contributions of those who, although illegal, are working and decide to pay social security and tax revenue (which the law says they could not do since they are working illegally). One thing is the law, other the day to day practice of it.

Main difficulties encountered by non-nationals

The first and main difficulty that some may face is the language. Without the language they cannot know what are their rights, what are their duties, how do institutions function, how they can have access to a series of resources. Language is fundamental.

Then it will be the legal or non-legal status. If they are illegal than the number of difficulties is immense. They can be exploited in all possible ways. They will not complain about exploitation because they will fear to be expelled from the country. Working without contract, working and the employer not paying social security (and thus being left unprotected in case of losing the job) are the dangers that they face.

The quotas for immigration established by the government (an that allow legal status) were not all taken because people were not informed. Also, this new system implies the visa request to be made in the country of origin, and most of the illegal that seek legalisation through such status could not afford to go back to the home country (expenses and time away from job involved; Brazil could take up to 6 months; Eastern European countries would take even longer). CNAIs have been divulging this quotas and work visas possibilities to be required at the home country, and the number of citizens legalized through such path has increased immensely.

Recognition of academic qualifications from any country, namely the Higher Education qualifications is another difficulty. It is a difficult process to have the qualifications recognised and it is also a very expensive process. Because once the non-national citizen has a legal status, then the issue becomes the qualifications; the non-recognition of qualifications implies that a lot of them are working below their qualifications. It is one of the big difficulties that non-national might face. But it depends on the communities, for instance the first wave of Brazilians was of highly qualified people; the present wave is no longer so.

More than the phenotypic differences, what makes the difference in terms of discrimination is the qualifications, because these are the ones that will enable the insertion of the individual in different locations within the host society. The phenotypic differences are there and do have some consequence, but the qualifications are what makes the most difference in the insertion. The Ukrainian community, language and the non-recognition of academic qualifications is what breeds more inequality. But their attitude is "I came here to work"; and initially most of them had a short or definite time duration for its stay in Portugal; "so even if I work under my qualifications, the main thing is to have the income"; but this attitude is a cultural thing, an attitude that is result of a specific mentality. If in the beginning the idea of most of the Eastern European immigrants was to make money to then go back home, now they are planning to stay and bring their children to Portugal. They are buying their own home.

There is stark difference between the immigration contexts of Porto and Lisbon, and apart from differences in the immigration fluxes, there is probably a difference in terms of the local population that might explain this different reality between the two cities.

5.9. Interview 9

Maria José Lino
CNAI Porto
member in charge of Immigrant Associations

There is no residential concentration of immigrants in the PGMA (apart from the Varziela Chinese community). The Brazilian community lives mostly in Matosinhos and Gaia; Of African descent immigrants, those who were in PGMA the longest were the Cape Verdean and they were in the social housing estates that are being demolished at the present: where there were Gypsies, there were also Cape Verdean. The re-housing of these social housing estates is being done in a spatially dispersed manner.

There is an embryonic concentration of Ukrainian citizens in Rio Tinto – they even have an association (Drujba) - ; Could not really tell much more in relation to residential reality of Eastern European Citizens; in Aveiro there is a reasonable community; unknowledgeable concerning the possible existence of such community in St^a M^a da Feira and Maia *municípios* as indicated by the schools register (see statistics on schools in this WP); underlined that the school register might be not completely reliable concerning mirroring residential location: people can have their children in the schools that serve their residential area (following the national law) or might find a way of registering the children in the schools closer to their work place).

Has not much knowledge of other associations beyond those listed and recognised by ACIME, apart from student associations. Concerning the Chinese community there are some associations but they relate to commercial or industrial interests, thus are not within CNAI's sphere of action.

There are people who show up wanting to start an association; but there are difficulties that create limitations. To start with the legal constitution of an association costs money, and this might result in the non following through of the process.

However the recognition by ACIME gives the associations right to financial support, that in turn give some thrust to the activities and might also create some local recognition/status.

In the northern region there is BRASUP made of Brazilian students; it is well structured and it has facilities that were supplied by Porto University. The work in the welcoming of new students arriving. This association does not include in its membership Brazilians who arrived through the general contingent; only those who came to agreements between Portuguese and Brazilian universities to attend higher education degrees (BA, MA, PhD). A Brazilian who came to Portugal because the family came here to live and then through natural schooling trajectory gets into university, will not be accounted within this association.

Associations related to youths there is the Porto branch of the national association of Mozambican students (AEMOP); there are also of Cape Verde (Associação de estudantes cabo verdeanos do Porto – AECVP) and Guiné; these students associations get a lot of support from the *Pastoral Universitária* (Catholic church organism);

Any other type of youth association is not known by CNAI.

Youths, there are more of African descent, the Ukrainians who brought their families have younger children; concerning Brazilians, there are a lot of single people (young adults who immigrated) and thus there are very few children/youths in the Brazilian community.

Immigrant descent youth issues are very visible in Lisbon (media coverage, see WP2); why is it that

it is not visible in the Porto Greater Metropolitan Area? Are they not existing ? Or is it a question of scale (higher number of non-nationals/immigrants and of immigrant descent youths)?

There was never a strong influx of African descent immigration into Porto or the Northern region at the time it happened en masse in Lisbon (after 1975); those who came were African of second or third generation and who returned to their parents or grandparents village/city, mostly in the inner Northeast Portugal.

Porto never had a residential concentration of any community, even in smaller scale than in Lisbon.

15 years ago, it was very rare to see a tourist in (downtown) Porto, and immigrants none what so ever. To see a coloured person was truly rare. You even noticed it when it happened.

Immigrant descent youth associativism is non-existing
(my note: there is one Luso-African association listed in this WP work that has 'Youth' in its denomination).

Reference to shops (grocer's, hairdresser's etc) that cater for ethnic costumers (few, but starting to exist Porto)

Not knowlegeable concerning PGMA schools that might have a higher number of students of immigrant descent.

NGOs in the PGMA are very few: *AMI* and *Médicos do Mundo* (both medical-based organisations); *SOS- Racismo* has some activity; *Conselho das Comunidades* (City Council), but the latter are not very active.

5.10. Interview 10

M^a Lurdes Quadrado
Ministério da Educação/Direcção Regional do Norte

Has no knowledge of schools in GMPA that might be more ethnically diverse because there is no sistematic data collected on that issue.

In Norther region and in the PGMA, Programa Escolhas (see WP2) when geared towards a specific ethnic group it is mostly for Gypsies;

The greater drop out and academic failure percentages are for African descent groups. Eastern European groups are usually groups that invest a lot in education. The difference is cultural, but also social: the african descent groups have a series of social problems that produce the drop-out numbers.

Referred that by the 20th of April 07 there must be new data available, and one that should also include secondary school level (at the present, the data collected leaves out the last 3 years of schooling)

NOTE: if in fact made available such data we will try to work it and added to this WP report.

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SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

***UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA
GEOSOC - DEPARTAMENT DE GEOGRAFIA I SOCIOLOGIA***

WP 3- JUNE 2007

**NATURE: REPORT
DISSEMINATION LEVEL: PUBLIC**

AUTHORS:

**PROF. FIDEL MOLINA (RESEARCH DIRECTOR)
LUCA GILIBERTI (REPORT COORDINATOR)
IVAN MAMBRILLAS
NOEMÍ CANELLES
DIEGO TERUEL**

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]**

[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]

Project Acronym: TRESEGY - Contract n°: 029105

Project Full Title: *“Toward a social construction of an European youth: the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers”*

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1. PRESENTATION

This report, related to TRESEGY'S Workpackage 3, provides a general approach to the local context and the presence of migrant youth in this context.

Our local context is Catalonia, an autonomous region inside the Spanish State that, as we will see, is a context claiming autonomy from the state, and which is defined as “a nation without a state” by different social and political agents.

The main unit of analysis in our work are the young Latin-American immigrants in Catalonia, particularly in the Greater Barcelona area. However, and in order to compare, we have considered youth presence as a whole, including both migrant and autochthonous youth.

By “youth” we mean individuals between 16 and 24 years old, as established by the coordinators at this stage of work, in order to be able to compare the discourses about young migrants in different European contexts¹.

There are some interesting reasons for us to choose the group formed by Latin-American youth, considering their surprisingly massive (and unexpected) arrival during the last years, and the social construction of an often negative and stigmatized imaginary, linked to their presence.

The methodology used has been both quantitative and qualitative, depending on the dimensions to be analyzed: socio-demographic, socio-economic, and political (diversity management) and the context of youth associations. Each of them, in this order, constitutes a chapter in this report.

We have performed some in-depth interviews, which have been transcribed and quoted in the text; the aim is letting social actors speak directly about issues they helped us considering.

INTERVIEWS:

1. **CARLOS PIEGARI**, Coordinator of Communication at FEDELATINA (Federación de Entidades Latinoamericanas de Cataluña);
2. **SERGI TABARNET**, Director of the Program SAEJ (Servicio de Acogida Especializado en Jóvenes) at the Fundació Mercé Fontanilles (program funded by the Generalitat de Catalunya);
3. **PABLO GÓMEZ**, outreach educator at the neighbourhood “La Románica”, Ayuntamiento de Barberá del Vallès;
4. **SOCO MBUY**, President of the youth Association “Joves i estudiants de Guinea Equatorial”;
5. **ELISENDA POLINYA** and **MAWA N'DIAYE**, Coordinators of the “Equip d'interculturalitat” at the *Secretaria General de Joventut de la Generalitat de Catalunya*;

¹ The concept of “youth” is not “biological” or “defined by nature”, but culturally constructed. Being young means different things in each context and relates to different age segments. The parameter “age 16” as starting point for youth is useful in Catalonia, because it is the age dividing school and work, obligatory schooling and work possibilities. About the other limit, age 24, the election is arguable. In Catalonia, in fact, people use to be considered young even when they are older, and depending on cases and contexts, “youth” can be attributed to people up to 35. Housing policies and work policies for youth, for instance, are planed for people up to 35 years old. Elisenda Polinya, Coordinator of the Interculturality Team of the Youth Secretary states that “in some contexts, at age 12, an Algerian boy can be considered as an adult... and conversely here there are young adults aged 35 who are still adolescents... because they are not independent... they have no job, I don't know what...” (Interview to Elisenda Polinya and Mawa N'diaye, 26/03/2007: 16)

6. **JAVIER BONOMI**, President of FEDELATINA (Federación de Entidades Latinoamericanas de Cataluña);
7. **RIGOBERTO ACOSTA**, Secretary of the “Asociación de Dominicanos de Cataluña”;
8. **JUST PÉREZ**, social educator of the Centre de Serveis Socials del Gòtic de Barcelona;
9. **ROSER NIN**, youth agent at the Consejo Comarcal del Penedès;
10. **CESAR ANDRADE (KING MANABA), ERIKA JARAMILLO (QUEEN MELODY), KING LITTLE, KING PELAO JOHN, KING BLACK**, members of the Organización cultural de los Reyes y Reinas latinos de Cataluña;
11. **JUDITH MUÑOZ**, PHD student at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, member of the group “Hijas de la tierra”.

Before starting reading the report, some clarifications: we have decided to use, as far as possible, the word “immigration” as a social phenomenon, and the word “migrant” referred to individuals that perform migrations, more and more fluid, transnational and nomadic, in the global context. In this sense, for instance, we talk about “immigration” in Catalonia as a structural phenomenon, and then we consider the massive arrival of “migrants” during the last years².

2. LOCAL CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we present the general issues and discourses describing the local context we will analyze.

In the second section we present Catalonia as an autonomous region inside the Spanish state. Before describing Catalonia as immigration context, we think it is necessary to consider this autonomous region from a historic and socio-political perspective, in order to show some important features of the local context receiving the social actors on which we focus. We think we need to put this territory into a historical context, and to understand certain local demands (linguistic, political and cultural) which are important in Catalonia. After the general discourses about the autonomous region, we will present two different contexts, Barcelona and Lleida, which we will use as examples of the heterogeneous Catalan situation.

In the third section we offer the latest general discourses about migration issues in Spain and in Catalonia. We will present the basic trends in the arrival and presence of immigrants and we will outline the special features of immigration in Catalonia. In fact, during the last century and a half this region has witnessed a constant presence of immigrants in its territory, in contrast to the whole Spanish state. The massive arrival of migrants during the last years, then, cannot be considered as

² Before finishing this presentation, we want to remark that the authors of this report don't represent the total members of our research group. Nadia Hakim participated making the transcriptions of the interviews. The Research Directors who don't appear in the authors of this report are Prof. Carles Feixa, Prof. Jordi Garreta, Montse Guerrero. They have participated in coordination and they'll participate in following reports.

something new in Catalonia, and as we will see, some authors define migration in this context as a “structural phenomenon”.

In the fourth section we will introduce the massive increase of immigrants during the last years, among them a high percentage of Latin-American youth. We will try to offer some information for the analysis of this issue, often treated as a social problem.

In the last section we will present discourses about the general features of the Latin-American immigrations to Catalonia. We will try to outline some trends of this kind of immigration and the heterogeneity of the Latin immigrants, and we will focus on youth in particular.

2.2 CATALONIA: AN AUTONOMOUS REGION IN THE SPANISH STATE

Catalonia is a country of the Mediterranean Europe placed on the northeast of the Iberia Peninsula and constituted as one of the seventeen autonomous regions of the Spanish state. It is spread over an area of 32.000 km² and has a bit more than 7.000.000 inhabitants in 946 municipalities, 59 of which have more than 20.000 inhabitants (and concentrate the 70% of the population). Two third parts of Catalan people live in the Greater Barcelona Area, and 1.605.602 are citizens of Barcelona, the capital city. The official languages are Catalan – which is the own language of the autonomous region -, the Occitan – language of the Catalan county of Vall d’Aran – and Castilian – common language of the Spanish state³.

Since Catalonia was constituted as a sovereign entity in the 19th century until now, the history of this country has to be understood – not only, but to a large extent – in terms of its political relationship with Spain – that is, with Castilia, the Hispanic Monarchy, the Spanish State, etc. This relationship, depending on historic periods, has been objectified in more or less equalitarian cooperation terms, movements limiting Catalan sovereignty, or clear Spanish annexation trends. However, the kind of relationship between them refers to a centuries-old conflict between the will of the people to preserve their self-government institutions, their cultural and linguistic specificity, and a state’s project to constitute a political, cultural and linguistic unit with legitimacy in all its territory. In order to do so, during the last years and after the failure of regimes contrary to internal plurality, the Spanish State has tried to adapt the diversity within its territory through political autonomy and through the institutionalization of territorial languages. So, after Franco’s dictatorship, the transition to democracy brought a parliamentary monarchy that guaranteed autonomy for the regions, and an official character for their languages. Catalonia regained its historic self-government institution, the Generalitat, whose competences were defined by the *Estatut d’autonomia* in 1979, as established by the Spanish Constitution approved one year before. The Estatut approved in 2006, which defines Catalonia as a nation in its preamble⁴, is a sign of the will of the Catalan society to have a legal framework guaranteeing its differentiated existence within the Spanish State, in political, cultural and linguistic terms.

2.2.1 THE CITY OF BARCELONA

³ The official character of the three languages is a legal recent fact, consequence of what the Estatut of autonomy, approved in 2006, establishes. In the previous Estatut of 1979 the official languages were Catalan and Castilian. According also to the new Estatut, all Catalan citizens must know Catalan and Castilian languages, while in the previous text only knowing the second one was compulsory.

⁴ Defining Catalonia as a nation, since it occurs in the preamble, has a strictly declarative character, without legal implications. The Parliament of Catalonia widely approved a Estatut including that definition inside the articles (and thus, with legal value), but the Spanish State excluded this part from the text considering the Constitution only recognizes the “Spanish nation”.

The municipality of Barcelona, with 1.605.602 inhabitants spread over 101 km², plays an important role as the capital city of the Great Barcelona Area, the whole Catalonia as well as the Mediterranean – Pyrenees Euro-region (this is, the autonomous regions of Catalonia, Aragon and Balearic Islands, and the French regions of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées). The *real* city, thus, goes beyond its administrative boundaries to create a multi-polar space of cities whose socioeconomic dynamics explains the precocious development of the Catalan economy compared to the Spanish one during the first industrial revolution. This development is possible thanks to the almost uninterrupted flux of immigration from the rest of the state, whose integration has been a key factor for the survival of the national identity and the Catalan language.

Barcelona is a touristic site, mainly after the successful image campaign launched for the Olympic Games in 1992, which allowed going from the 1,5 annual millions of tourists to the 4,5 millions in 2004. At present Barcelona is an important travel destination for young people; it is presented as a cosmopolitan and active city, in which youth's presence and vitality are extremely important. Besides tourism, the service sector has experienced an important growth in number of employees, superior to the average in Catalonia, which has allowed the maintenance of the economical growth of the city despite the reduction of the industrial sector.

2.2.2 THE CITY OF LLEIDA

Lleida, capital city of the homonymous province, with 124.709 inhabitants and some other 176.000 in the Great Lleida Area, is located in the inland part of the country, on a large topographical depression. The city of Lleida has suffered an enormous transformation in urbanism and infrastructures which, with the high speed train (AVE), will improve the city's access from the peninsular northeast and from the great international transportation venues.

At the same time, the city has consolidated its agrifood industry and auxiliary industries around it. The services sector is clearly expanding, although the strength of some sub-sectors, such as services to companies and similar, are far from having the strength those have in Barcelona and its area. Nevertheless, the high speed train has generated expectations of economic growth, and it has affected the construction sector, which has increased its activity and attracted investments. The economic growth of the city cannot be understood without the arrival of immigrants, which has been constant since 1980 and has been intensified during the last five years.

2.3 IMMIGRATION IN CATALONIA: A “STRUCTURAL PHENOMENON”

During many centuries and until 1975, Spain has been a country mainly of emigrants, so understanding migratory phenomenon in the whole state, up to that date, means analyzing internal mobility and emigration towards other countries. Since such an important date, and due to different political and social reasons (international recession, end of Franco's regime, important and general processes of social change, etc.), internal migrations decreased, and immigration started to grow, slowly but continuously. During the last decade, since 1996 on, many foreign people arrived to the country, and the migratory phenomenon in Spain started to be implicitly linked to immigration from the so-called second and third world countries. Until 1975, “migration” basically meant “emigration”, and the discourse changes only in the last decade (Colectivo IOÉ, 2006; Domingo, A.; Bayona, J.; Brancós, I., 2002).

In that sense, the case of Catalonia is peculiar; for the last one and a half centuries, this autonomous region has massively received immigrated population, mostly from the inland part of the country (Andalucía, Extremadura, etc.). Catalonia itself, unlike Spain as a whole, can be considered a context that has received immigrations in the last century. It can be interesting pointing out that, according to demographist Anna Cabré's data, 60'3% of the demographic growth in Catalonia can be explained

by immigration. 3,6 millions of inhabitants of its 6 millions⁵, can be considered as a direct or indirect result of the immigration during the XX century. Cabré designates this “social fact” as “Catalan modern reproduction system” (Cabré, A., 1999). Thus, “in Catalonia, immigration not only doesn’t constitute a new phenomenon, but is itself the phenomenon explaining Catalan identity and has become structural (...)”⁶; in fact, according to demographers Domingo, Bayona and Brancós, immigration in Catalonia must be considered as a “structural phenomenon” (Domingo, A.; Bayona, J.; Brancós, I., 2002).

In order to talk about Catalonia, we must necessarily consider the historic weight of immigrants in the autonomous region. Considering the social alarm that the arrival of migrants has created during the last years, it is necessary to outline that this phenomenon is not new, but a part of the historic and social development of the region. In the *Pla Interdepartamental d’immigració 2001-2004* there is mention of the “integrating tradition in Catalonia” and also a discourse in which migrations have a positive image: “Catalonia results from a permanent process of integration of people coming from other places. Our country has always welcomed different people; we have a long integration tradition. This is an open country where everyone finds his place”⁷.

Despite until 1988 a 50% of the fluxes were coming from developed countries and 50% from developing countries, since that moment the growth has been due to the arrival of migrants coming from underdeveloped countries (Domingo, A.; Bayona, J.; Brancós, I., 2002). According to Colectivo IOÉ, since the mid 60s the number of residents from the Third World constantly increased, so in 1990 Catalonia had the 24% of citizens that come from those countries in the whole Spanish State. During the last decades migrants coming from the First World chose less and less Catalonia as a place to live, unlike citizens from the so-called Second and Third World (Colectivo IOÉ, 1992; Domingo, A.; Bayona, J.; Brancós, I., 2002).

2.4 THE MASSIVE ARRIVAL OF MIGRANTS DURING THE LAST YEARS

Considering the last 50 years, the presence of foreigners in Catalonia has been significantly increased between 1960 and 1977. Between 1977 and 1982 there was a slight decrease, and in 1982 a new period of growth started, lasting until 1990. Since 1991 figures grew spectacularly (Colectivo IOÉ, 1992), partly due to the influence of the regularization that caused the clandestine presence to emerge. In fact, the presence of foreign people in Catalonia generally continued to grow during the 90s, and since 2000 it has reached an unusual intensity, in a definitive “transborder extension of the Catalan reproduction system”⁸.

In this first quantitative approach, it is important to notice that only since 1996 on, with the law “Ley de bases de régimen local”, any person living in a municipality could be registered, regardless of nationality and legal status. With the immigration law 4/2000, registering in a municipality gives the right to health and access to local social services without having a residence permit. Besides, registration can be considered as a proof of resident status, and this is needed for future regularization.

We have to stress that only since 1996 on, migrants without residence permit started to be reflected, and only since 2000 on they had access to basic services; these data are relevant to understand the migrant presence in the last years.

⁵ This figures refer to the end of the 90s, when Anna Cabré’s work was published; at present the residents in Catalonia are 7.151.851.

⁶ Domingo, A.; Bayona, J.; Brancós, I., 2002: 10

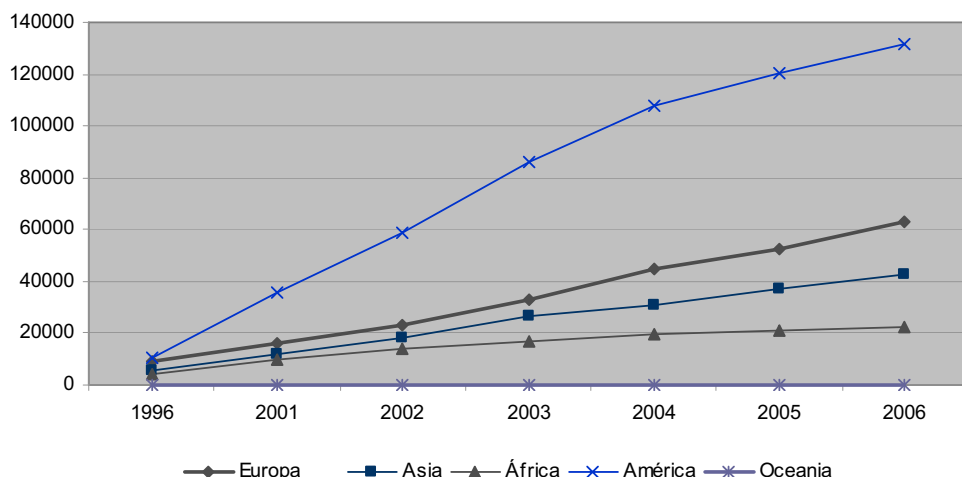
⁷ Pla Interdepartamental d’immigració 2001-2004, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2002:11

⁸ Larios, M.J.; Nadal, M., 2006: 185

As we said before, at the end of the 21st century foreign population registered in Catalonia has been surprisingly increased. January 1, 2000, registered foreign people were 181.590, and in 6 years this number is five times higher, reaching the 939.321 registered foreign people the 1st of January 2006, which constitutes 13,13% of the total registered population (7.151.851 inhabitants). In six years, thus, foreign population has been increased five times, growing 417%.

With respect to Barcelona, in March 1996 there were 29.354 people with foreign nationality, and this number has reached the 260.058 people in 2006, which represents 15,9% of the total population⁹. This is 785% higher than in March 1996, when they were only 1,9%. Most foreigners have been in the city between 1 and 5 years, and the average age is quite young: for all origins, the average ages are between 30 and 34 years old, in the middle of productive and reproductive years. Migrant people coming from America are the most increased group. Not only compared with other origins, but also considering its own evolution; this is the most increased group during the last nine years. Considering people coming from Central and South America, the results are the same: in March 1996 there were 9.389 people coming from those areas, and in January 2006, 127.498 people.

EVOLUTION OF FOREIGN PEOPLE. BARCELONA, 1996-2006



SOURCE: Own elaboration on figures of *Ajuntament de Barcelona*

Besides the massive arrival of migrants and the following general transformations in the social context, we have to consider the diversification of origins and the transformations in the age and sex structures (Domingo, A.; Gil, F., “L’evolució recent de la població estrangera a Catalunya” en Larios M.J.; Nadal, M., 2006). The causes linked to those dynamics are manifold and they have mutual influences, as Domingo and Gil state:

"Those changes have been determined by demands of our labour market (Domingo i Houle, 2004; Gil i Domingo, 2006), by socio-demographic transformations in the country – which has received the impact of migrations (Reques i De Cos, 2004; Solé *et al.*, 2000) – and by changes in the legal framework (Massó Garrote, 2003), facts that explain the recent evolution of migration fluxes better than exogenous factors that would foster emigration from third countries (Domingo, in press). This late year 2005, for instance, the process of normalization of foreign workers, which has been assessed

⁹ According to the *Informe sobre la població estrangera a Barcelona* done by the Departament d’Estadística de l’Ajuntament in 2006.

(Observatorio de las Migraciones y la Convivencia Intercultural de la Ciudad de Madrid, 2005), as well as laws related to renewal of registrations of non UE foreigners with temporary permits – since December 2005 they must renew their registration every two years-, have been two legal changes conditioning the annual evolution of figures related to immigrants gathered by different sources”¹⁰.

We will analyze the massive arrival of migrants during the last years in the next chapter, specifically focused on socio-demographic dimensions. By now, we end this section wondering if foreign immigration can affect the continuity of the structure of demographic dynamics in Catalonia, as a mere substitution of the origin of migrant workers (from the south of Spain to the different southern areas of the world), and with a substitution of the sons and daughters’ nationality (from Spanish to many nationalities). Without a doubt, international immigration brings a new phenomenon around young people with non-Spanish nationality in Catalonia, in many cases being illegal (for example, many unaccompanied minors from Morocco), or without work permit (for example, many Latin-American young adults coming through family reunification): those phenomena affect young adults with no legal status.

2.5 FIRST APPROACH TO LATIN-AMERICAN IMMIGRATION IN CATALONIA

Migratory process for Latin-Americans towards Spain starts during the mid 80s, but it is especially important in the late 90s and the beginning of the new century. The causes for this process are manifold; the main reason to start this process is the search for jobs and the will to create a life project able to improve the previous socio-economic family status. However, at a macro-social and symbolic level, it is important to recall colonial and historic links between Spain and Latin-America, and to remember Portes and Bôrôcz’s theories: “although apparently migration comes from some economic *rational* decisions taken by individuals to escape from their immediate situation, actually its fundamental origin has to do with the previous history of political and economic contacts and with the power asymmetries between sending and receiving countries”¹¹. Without reaching the implicit and deep meanings of this sentence, here we just stress that after the latest economic crisis in many Latin-American countries (and the following exodus)¹² Spain became a privileged reception context. Colonial links still remain, considering Spanish language spoken in both places, which prevents many preliminary problems of the migratory experience. In fact, Catalonia’s case is particular because of the presence and claim of Catalan as *lingua franca* and the unexpected difficulties this means for Latin-American migrant people, who thought they knew the language of their receiving country.

Generally, social class differences and social class structure are very polarized in Latin-American countries, which mean big poverty pockets along with reduced but very rich groups. Besides, we have to consider those are countries with weak democratic systems and very dependent on the so-called First World countries. On the other hand, Latin-American societies have been a perfect target for privatizing and liberalizing measures. Governments (under US and other worldwide economic organizations’ advisement, such as the IMF) have chosen more market freedom, endowing multinational companies with more power. We must not forget Latin-America is an important market for Spanish companies, such as BBVA, CIRSA (slot machines), catering and hotel management companies such as Meliá, Telefonica, etc. The consequences of those companies’

¹⁰ Domingo, A.; Gil, F., “L’evolució recent de la població estrangera a Catalunya” en Larios, M. J.; Nadal, M., 2006: 186

¹¹ Portes, A.; Bôrôcz, J., 1992: 22

¹² It is important to consider that the effects derived from negative economic conjunctures in Latin-America are clearly experienced in the receiving context – growth of Ecuador, Colombia and Peru – and it can also be seen in the case of Argentina, that seems to be losing weight, but the number of residents in the city had been multiplied by five during the last four years.

presence can be unfortunate for Latin-American societies, in ecological, political, and social terms, and of course for labour. Thus, political measures tending to privatization and liberalization have brought worse labour conditions and a poor development of social services for the wealth of society as a whole.

The impact in labour market has been very hard; we have to consider that wage labour is the main source of subsistence and social rights. A shortage of decent work seems to be taking place. This means there are problems with workers' rights, labour, social protection and social dialogue. As a result of both the creation of more and more precarious jobs and the growth of informal economy (in which labour relationships are even more precarious), there are more people with no social protection, a factor closely linked to poverty. Those countries have also a limited ability to create new jobs, and the possibilities for finding a job are very limited, unlike the receiving countries. They foresee societies with welcoming labour markets: the jobs that native people refuse are waiting for them. In the case of Latin America, approximately 50% of immigrants are women, since they know it is easy to find a job in domestic services and care services, jobs traditionally reserved for women.

The heterogeneity of migratory fluxes from Latin America, in a first stage, was due to families coming from cities and middle socio-economic sectors in their origin, and in a second stage, due to the arrival of families from middle – low socioeconomic sectors, even from rural areas. The group formed by Latin-American migrants in Catalonia, then, is far away from being homogenous, including women, men, young adult with individual projects, husbands, children and teenagers reunited by their families. Also Latin-American youth shows a high heterogeneity derived from the diversity of personal and family projects and from different housing, labour and legal conditions.

In Catalonia there is mainly male's migration, except for those migrants coming from America. The structure of the Spanish labour market work has appeal for American women, especially for Latin-American women. That structure allows them a fast job placement, both in formal and informal economy, and under usually terrible labour conditions. Women know they will be able to work in domestic service and care, since those tasks are refused by women in Catalan families, and they are externalized.

Latin-American teenagers come to Catalonia through complex processes of family reunification; sometimes they come facing strong contradictions when they meet a family barely known for them, because they haven't seen each other for a long time, and they have been primarily socialized "there" without their parents. Once they are here, it is also difficult to see parents who work long hours. Besides, the legal status of many "reunited" kids means they are "legal" but without a work permit. They face "a triple crisis: the one typical in the adolescence, the one of a transcontinental family and the void of emigration"¹³. Without feeling linked to something, many Latin-American young adults have to feel the difficulties of integration in the receiving society, and the frustration of accepting a migration that they haven't chosen. Those young adults are often invisible inside the family's migratory project, a fact that makes it difficult approaching to the ways they construct their multiple identities in an international migration context, where their social and economic integration seems difficult.

The non – voluntary character of most Latin-American youth's migrations is clear in our field work, especially when talking about newly-arrived low class groups. This non – voluntary character is a basic element to contextualize the Latin-American youth's presence in Catalonia; the context was not ready to receive those youngsters that, at the same time, were not ready to be there. Carlos

¹³ Feixa, C. (Dir.); Porzio L., Recio, C. (Coords.), 2006: 39

Piegari, responsible of the Communication Department of FEDELATINA (Federation for Latin-American organizations in Catalonia), stated in a recent interview: “Latin-American young immigrants’ phenomenon in Catalonia is something new that took authorities by surprise. Catalonia had a project in which it wasn’t foreseen that since 2000 there would be so many Latin-Americans around... this wasn’t foreseen”¹⁴.

Thus, many “Latino” youngsters feel displaced, like outsiders, facing many difficulties to find a job (when they have no permit) and trying to make their life meaningful, to be part of a discourse, to share everyday problems. The street becomes the most important space for those youngsters, and who are far from any educative or social policy.

The easiest thing for them to do is meet their peers, young and Latin-American, because they share a marginal condition, values, cultural elements and similar problems in a similar space. It is necessary to meet their peers to understand each other and to establish solidarity and mutual help links. Under this perspective, some of them, a minority, become members of street organizations (Latin King, Ñetas): this membership allows them to build a “family” otherwise impossible.

As we have seen, “Latin-American youth” in Barcelona is heterogeneous and includes young adults that have willingly come to study at the University, or to look for a job, and also reunited minors, boys and girls, secondary school students or trainees, legal, illegal or unemployed workers, from different national origins (Ecuadorians, Colombians, Dominicans, Peruvians...), different regions (*serranos* from the mountains or *costeños* from the coasts), and different cultures and looks (*cumbiacheros*, hip hoppers, etc). Despite those socio-economic, life’s and socio-spatial differences, those groups share the condition of being migrant youth, a condition that has become stigmatized in the receiving countries.

A last thought to finish this approach to the local context: since the immigration we are talking about is recent and has been surprisingly increased during the last years, most of Latin-American youngsters have not been born here. The most common situation is that of kids left behind by their parents during their childhood / adolescence when migrating to Catalonia to improve their living conditions. Their idea was finding a job, housing, acceptable conditions, and then bringing the kids to Catalonia. The concept of “second generation” barely applies to those situations, since those youngsters have experienced migration and personal displacement. Then we will speak of *migrant young adults*, because we think it better applies to the situation we try to approach.

3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF CATALONIA

3.1 IMMIGRATION CONTEXT

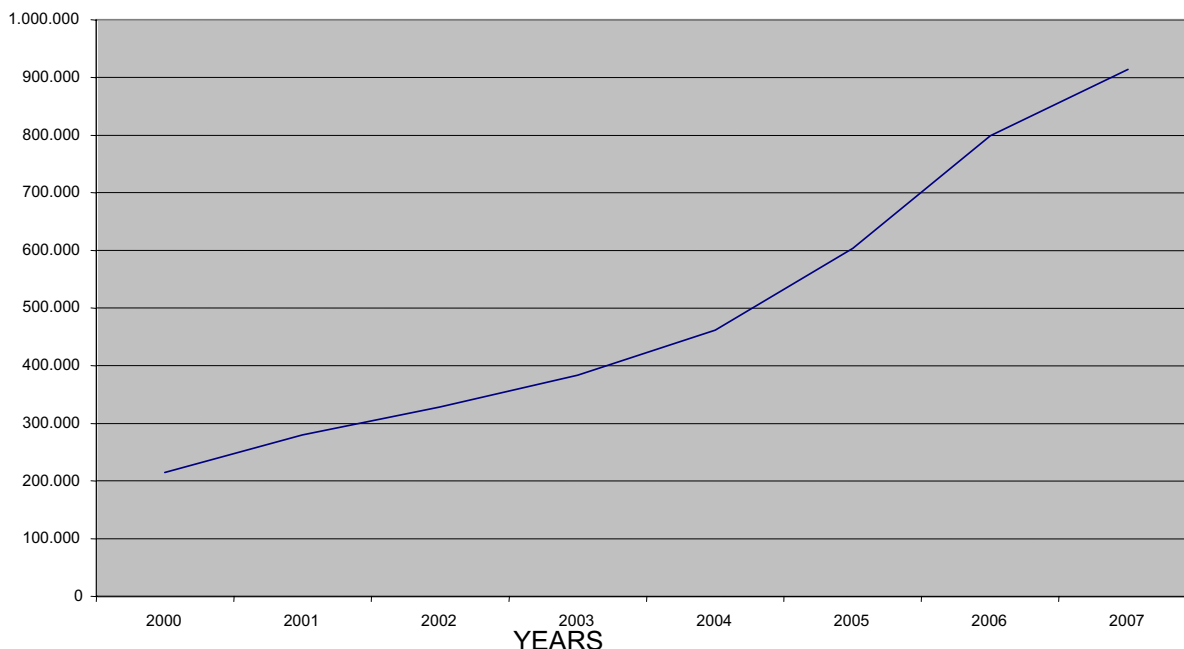
Spain went from being a sending country to a receiving one due to the important socio-economic changes occurred during the last decades. Thus, in December 31, 2005, Spain had 3.730.610 foreign people¹⁵. By continents, Europe is the most important origin (36,25%), followed by South America (34,92%), but if we consider nationality, the most important groups in Spain are Moroccans, Ecuadorians, and Romanians. Madrid and Catalonia are the autonomous regions receiving more foreign people (42,34% of them in both regions).

¹⁴ Interview to Carlos Piegari, 16/02/2007: 1

¹⁵ National Statistics Institute.

In absolute terms, Catalonia is the autonomous region hosting more registered immigrants, 913.757 in March 1, 2007 (Idescat), when in 2000 there were 214.996 immigrants: in only 7 years the number has almost been multiplied by five.

EVOLUTION OF THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS IN CATALONIA



Source: Own elaboration on figures of Idescat (Statistical Institute of Catalonia). Data from 2007, march 1.

If we look at the areas sending more immigrants to Catalonia, we can see that Africa is the continent with a bigger presence, with 209.049 people, followed by America with 200.752 people, Europe with 127.191 and Asia with 66.190 people. By countries, Moroccans are the most numerous group with 165.589 people, followed by Ecuadorians, with 61.814 immigrants and Colombians, with 30.593 people. Europeans from countries as Romania, Lithuania and Bulgaria are also numerous, and they are considered in the European group, regardless if they belong or not to the EU¹⁶.

The growth of foreign residents in Catalonia is due to different factors, both legal and socio-economic. In 2000 the Organic Law 8/2000 reforming the previous Organic Law 4/2000 about rights and liberties for immigrants in Spain was approved. This law coming into force caused many immigrants to be statistically reflected; those people were already living in the country but, due to fear of being deported, they hadn't been registered (despite a previous Law from 1996 allowed them registering regardless of their legal status).

Another important moment was the extraordinary regularization process in July 2005, when 575.000 foreign people in the whole State, 200.000 in Catalonia, got residence and work permits. But only people who had registered before August 2004 could benefit from this regularization process.

¹⁶ We have considered data from 2005, december 31; Romania and Bulgary's incorporation to the EU occurred later, and thus those countries are listed as non community countries.

To understand the growth of foreign residents, we must also consider article 11 of the Foreign Law, about family reunification. This article says that foreign citizens with residence and work permit can bring from their countries their relatives of first degree of consanguinity, which are parents and children. This has caused family reunifications, especially for young members, affecting those immigrants who came at the end of the 90s and the beginning of 2000.

3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT POPULATION

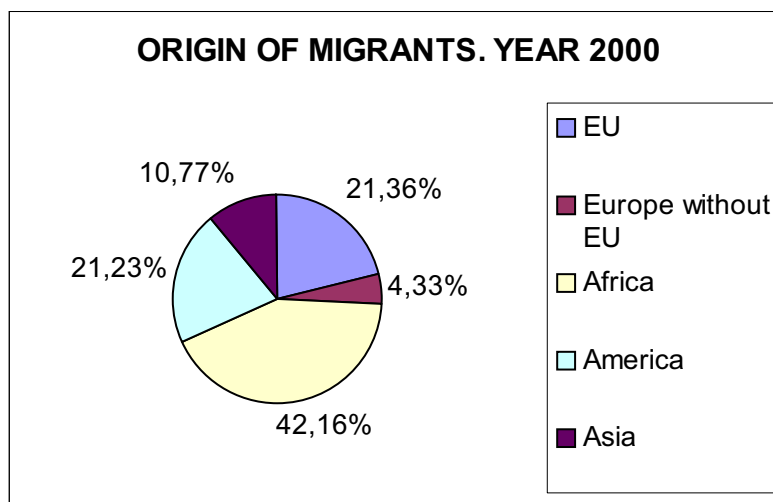
3.2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSION

Foreign population in Catalonia has had an important evolution and growth since the 90s, but since 2000 this growth has been even faster. According to Home Office data about foreign people with work permit, between 2000 and 2005 foreign people went from 3,5% to 6,9% of the population in Catalonia, and this percentage grows every year. By contrast, according to data from the registers at municipalities the number of immigrants represents 11, 5% of the population; the difference between residence permits and the data in municipalities is due to irregular immigration.

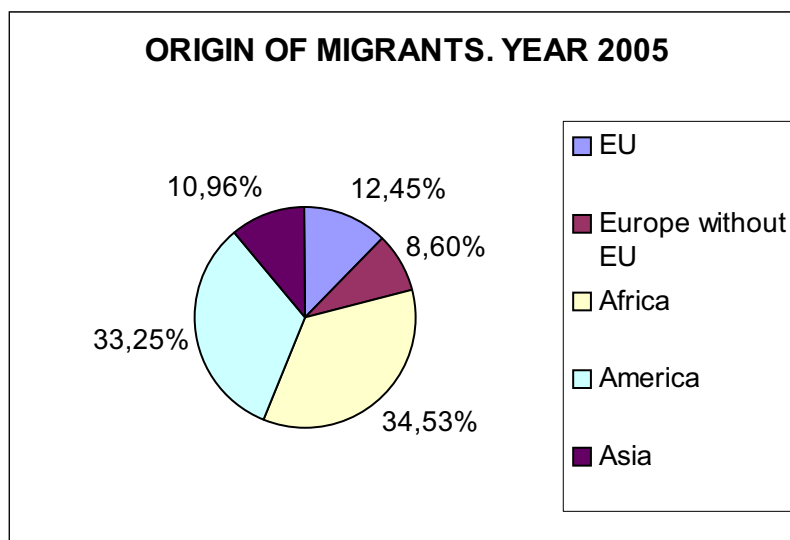
With respect to origins, Moroccans are the biggest community, but in relative terms they have lost importance compared to other groups: those coming from South and Central America have gone from 60.000 residents in 2000 to almost 300.000 in 2005, and those coming from non-UE countries, from 41.000 people in 2000 to 100.000 in 2005.

Globalization implies that origins are diverse, and immigrants profile is more and more heterogeneous. This diversification results in more than 180 nationalities. The evolution of foreign population in Catalonia shows an important growth of Latin-Americans, partly due to the severe economic crisis affecting South America. By contrast, population coming from the rest of Europe, Africa and Asia grows slowly.

The presence of immigrants from Asia grows at a constant rate, although their relative weight is still low. Furthermore, the arrival of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, mainly from Gambia, Mali and Nigeria, is higher and higher. Finally, we have to outline the important growth of immigrants coming from Eastern Europe, basically from Romania, Ukraine and Russia.



Source: Own elaboration on data from Idescat.



Source: Own elaboration on data from Idescat

FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN CATALONIA BY NATIONALITY

	2000	Percentage	2005	Percentage
Germany	9.594	4,46%	10.958	1,81%
Belgium	2.318	1,07%	2.757	0,45%
France	10.721	5%	12.389	2,05%
Italy	7.519	3,50%	20.687	3,42%
Netherlands	3.628	1,69%	4.705	0,78%
Portugal	3.145	1,46%	4.552	0,75%
United Kingdom	6.444	3%	8.877	1,47%
Rest of UE	2.565	1,20%	10.409	1,72%
Non community UE	9.316	4,33%	51.887	8,60%
Algeria	2.505	1,16%	5.918	0,98%
Gambia	7.503	3,49%	13.235	2,20%
Morocco	72.748	33,83 %	163.589	27%
Senegal	2.782	1,30%	9.576	1,58%
Rest of Africa	5.095	2,36%	16.731	2,77%
Argentina	3.834	1,79%	18.983	3,14%
Colombia	3.890	1,80%	30.593	5,07%
Cuba	3.203	1,49%	6.242	1,03%
Ecuador	5.392	2,50%	61.814	10,24%
USA	2.160	1%	2.554	0,42%
Peru	10.549	4,90%	24.248	4,02%
Dominican Republic	7.295	3,40%	13.987	2,32%
Rest of America	9.370	4,35%	42.331	7,01%
Philippines	4.629	2,15%	7.053	1,17%
Pakistan	4.282	2%	17.330	2,87%
China	8.547	3,98%	26.183	4,33%
Rest of Asia	5.682	2,64%	15.624	2,59%
Oceania	196	0,09%	270	0,04%
Unknown country	52	0,02%	184	0,03%
Total	214.997	100%	603.636	100%

Source: Own elaboration on data from Idescat

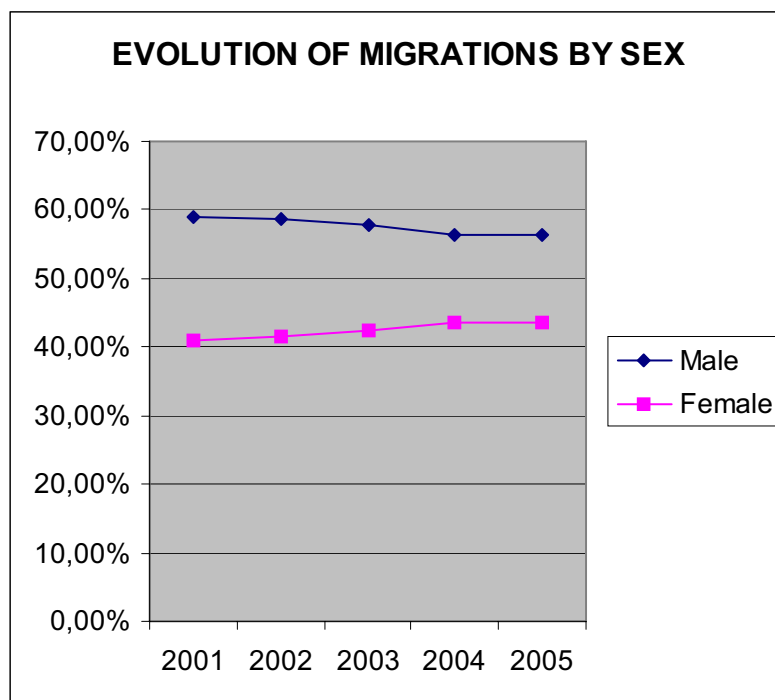
3.2.2 SEX COMPOSITION

During the last years, feminization of immigration has been accentuated as a result of labour opportunities for women. In some migrant groups, women are the majority: Dominican Republic, Cuba, Venezuela and Peru. This table shows that since 2001, the percentage of immigrant women has been continuously growing: in 2001 they represented 40,93% and in 2005, they reached 43,71%.

FOREIGN RESIDENCE IN CATALONIA BY SEX

Years	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total
2001	164.461	59,07%	113.912	40,93%	278.373
2002	192.462	58,59%	135.999	41,41%	328.461
2003	221.395	57,73%	162.061	42,27%	383.456
2004	260.918	56,48%	200.975	43,52%	461.893
2005	339.750	56,29%	263.886	43,71%	603.636

Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.



Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data

3.2.3 AGE GROUPS

Foreign population structure by age in Catalonia corresponds to a young working population.

AGE STRUCTURE OF MIGRANT POPULATION IN CATALONIA. YEAR 2005

	Population	Percentage
0 to 14 years old	81.172	13,40%
15 to 24	83.028	13,80%
25 to 44	340.979	56,50%
45 to 64	83.355	13,80%
65 and more	15.075	2,50%
Total	603.636	100%

Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.

The average age of foreign population is 31 years old, as compared to 41,5 for native population. The percentage of young people represents 13,80% of the immigrant population, very similar to the percentage of the previous age group (13, 40 %). The bulk of foreign population is between 25 and 44 years old.

Foreign population presents very different demographic profiles depending on the origins. The population pyramid of citizens from the EU is the oldest. The African pyramid shows a strong imbalance between male and female, because male population doubles female population and its composition is extremely young. The structure of American population is the opposite: women outnumber men. Asia's and Oceania's pyramids have a majority of young male working population.

3.2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT POPULATION

A lot of immigrants in the Catalan territory are concentrated in Barcelona, with 10% of the total population. In other areas, percentages are even higher: 14% in Gerona and 11% in Tarragona.

Each group presents its own specific territorial distribution. South Americans and Asians are mostly located in urban areas, while Africans have a more balanced distribution, with presence in medium-sized municipalities. The causes for this distribution can be found in migrants networks which generate concentration of foreign population by communities of origin and linked to the economic sectors they enter. For example, South-Americans work mainly in catering and domestic services; Asians in commerce and catering, which are sectors located in urban areas. By contrast, Africans are scattered throughout the whole territory because the majority work in agriculture, industry and construction.

Territorial distribution shows concentration in three areas acting as attractive poles: great cities linked to services (Barcelona and its greater area), counties where there is intensive irrigation agriculture (city of Lleida and surrounding area) and some coastal tourist areas experiencing a construction boom (counties in Gerona and Tarragona).

3.3 FOREIGN AND AUTOCHTHONOUS YOUNG POPULATION IN CATALONIA

3.3.1 VOLUME OF POPULATION

Young foreign population has grown due to the strong migrations of the last years. Many of those young people have arrived to Catalonia unwillingly, because their parents had started a migration

process due to economic issues; others, on the contrary, started voluntary migration processes, whose finality is to get a job and send money to their countries of origin.

The percentage of migrant young people has grown spectacularly since 2000, when they were 2,88% of the whole population of people aged between 15 and 24¹⁷. In only five years, this percentage has been multiplied by ten, growing up to 20,78%. All origins have grown, but especially Africa and South-America. Africans represented 1,46% in 2000 and 6,49% in 2005, and South-Americans, who in 2000 weren't even 1% (0,42%), were 7,07% in 2005.

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG MIGRANTS COMPARED TO THE WHOLE YOUNG POPULATION. AGES FROM 15 TO 24

YEAR 2000

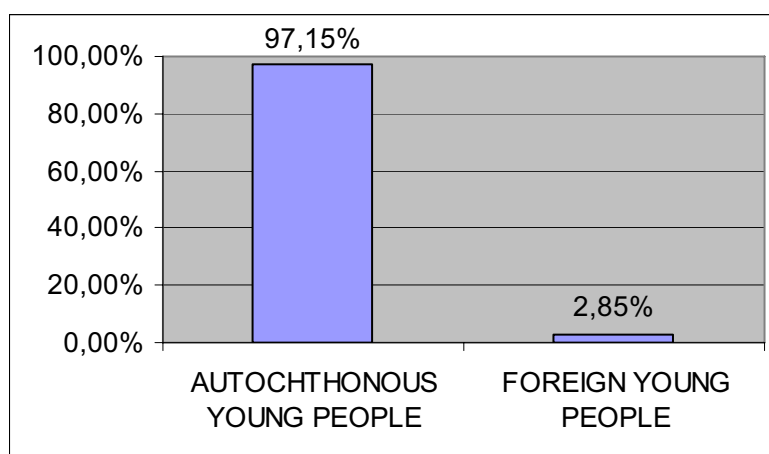
Origin	Population	Percentage
Spain	857.015	97,12%
Rest of UE	3.807	0,43%
Rest of Europe	1.016	0,11%
Africa	12.916	1,46%
North and Central America	1.886	0,21%
South America	3.769	0,42%
Asia and Oceania	2.005	0,22%
Total	882.414	100%

YEAR 2005

Origin	Population	Percentage
Spain	476.707	79,22%
Rest of UE	10.683	1,77%
Rest of Europe	14.304	2,37%
Africa	39.079	6,49%
North and Central America	7.389	1,28%
South America	42.570	7,07%
Asia and Oceania	10.997	1,82%
Total	601.729	100%

Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.

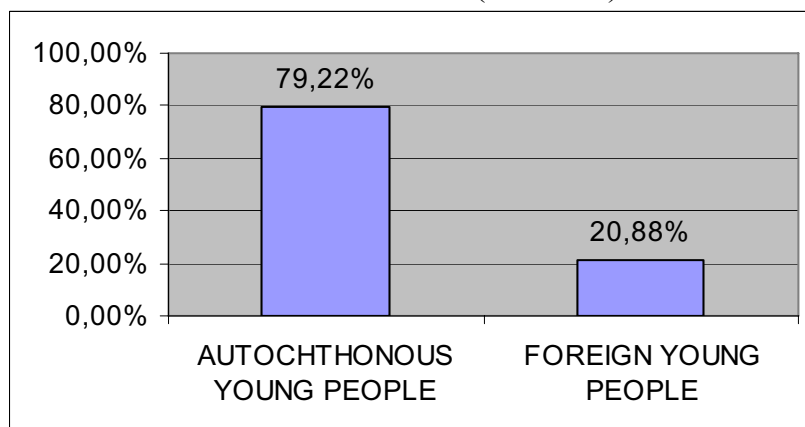
ORIGINS OF YOUNG PEOPLE (15 TO 24). YEAR 2000



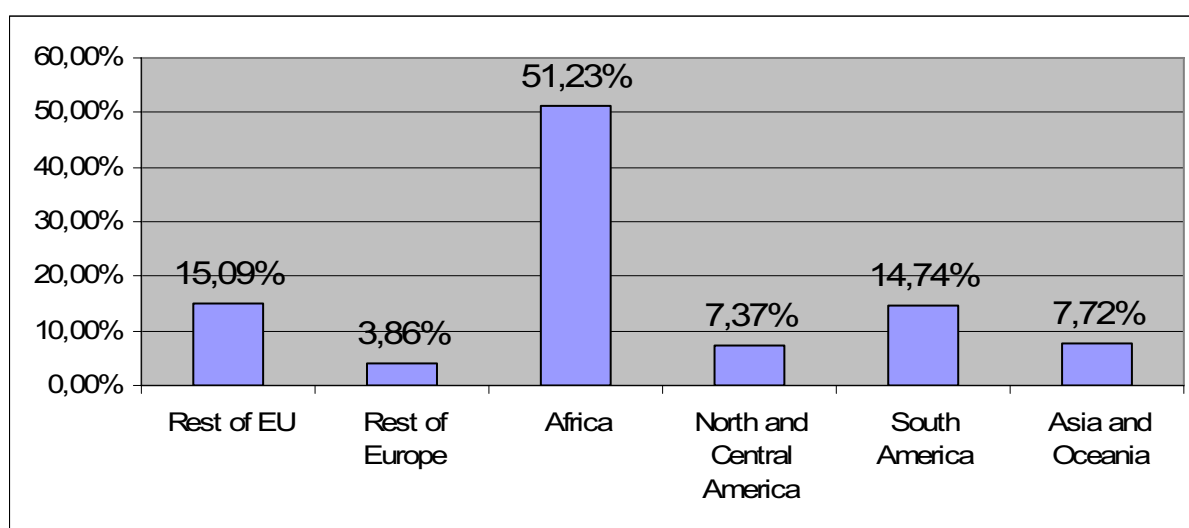
Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.

¹⁷ We consider this age range and not 16 to 24 as the rest of the study, because Idescat data are presented this way, every five years.

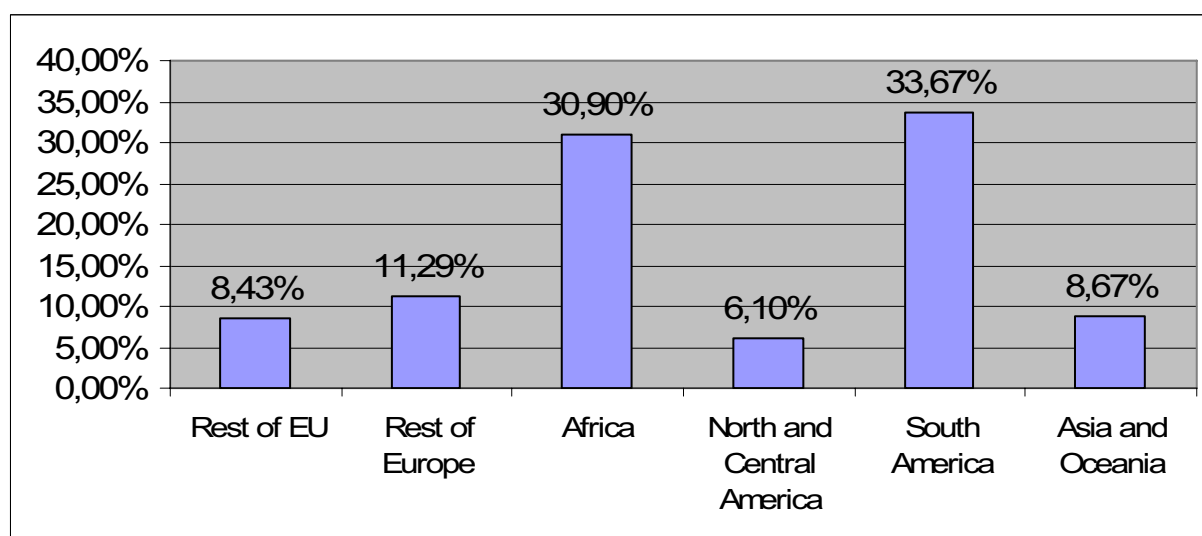
ORIGINS OF YOUNG PEOPLE (15 TO 24). YEAR 2005



ORIGIN OF FOREIGN YOUNG PEOPLE. YEAR 2000



ORIGIN OF FOREIGN YOUNG PEOPLE. YEAR 2005



Sources: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24 BY SEX. YEAR 2005

Young migrant male represented 20,44% of the total young male population in Catalonia; young migrant women, in turn, represented 18,66% of the total population of Catalan young women.

Origin	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total
Catalonia	557.800	75,47 %	527.481	76,70 %	1.085.281
Rest of Spain	30.208	4,08 %	31.889	4,63 %	62.097
Foreign countries	151.067	20,44 %	128.327	18,66 %	279.394
Total	739.075	100 %	687.697	100 %	1.426.772

Source: Own elaboration based on Idescat data.

3.3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT YOUNG POPULATION

With respect to their territorial distribution, this can be explained by the attractiveness of jobs, especially for the groups aged from 20 to 24 and from 25 to 29. The main feature of the territorial distribution is the concentration of young people in municipalities of the coast and Lleida, which have a high percentage of migrant young people, between 15 and 30% (for example, Artesa de Segre 28%, Mollerussa 23% and some towns more than 30%, such as Guissona 33%).

African young people are more scattered throughout the territory, but there are some counties where they are more concentrated: Maresme, Baix Empordà, Vallès Occidental, Osona and Baix Llobregat.

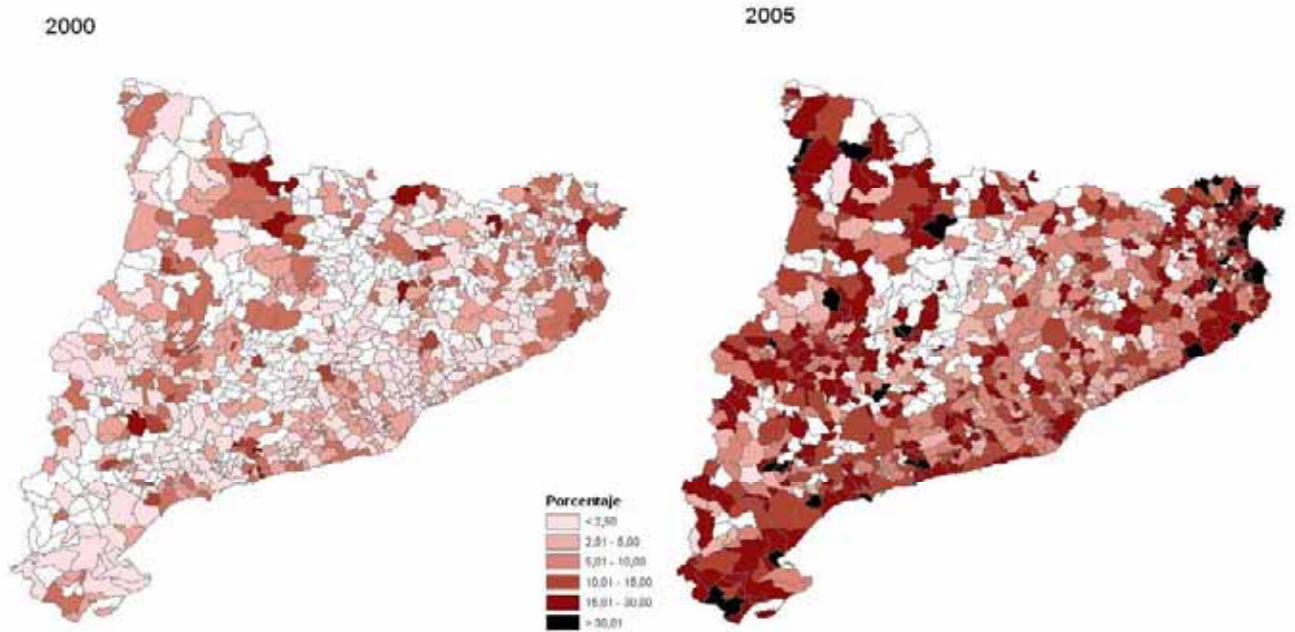
In the case of American people, concentration is higher in Barcelona and in county capitals of the coast and the inner part of the country.

Territorial distribution of Asian young people is an example of concentration, because most of them live in Barcelona and its Greater Area, but their presence out of that area is very small.

With respect to European young people, most of them are in Barcelona and its Greater Area, just like Asian young people.

In Catalonia, along the last decade, young autochthonous population has decreased with respect to other age groups. But thanks to the foreign population arrived at the beginning of the 21st Century, population in Catalonia is experiencing a light but sustained rejuvenating process (Observatori Català de la Joventut , 2005).

MAP 1 PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN PEOPLE AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24 BY MUNICIPALITY



SOURCE: Own elaboration on figures of IDESCAT

3.4 LATIN-AMERICAN YOUNG PEOPLE IN CATALONIA

During 2000-2005, as it has been said, the number of Latin-American residents in Catalonia has been multiplied by five, as also has the group of young people. Some features of this heterogeneous group have been stressed in the previous chapter, considering some discourses about their social conditions and their identity issues.

Here we will outline the way Spanish legal framework makes it easier for Latin-Americans to get Spanish citizenship, compared to migrants from other origins. In 2005, 74,07 % of the those who were granted Spanish citizenship (42.829) were Latin-American people (31.727), and 5,79% were given to young people aged between 15 and 24. Most citizenships were concentrated in ages between 25 and 34 (11.266), which represent 35,5,% of the total.

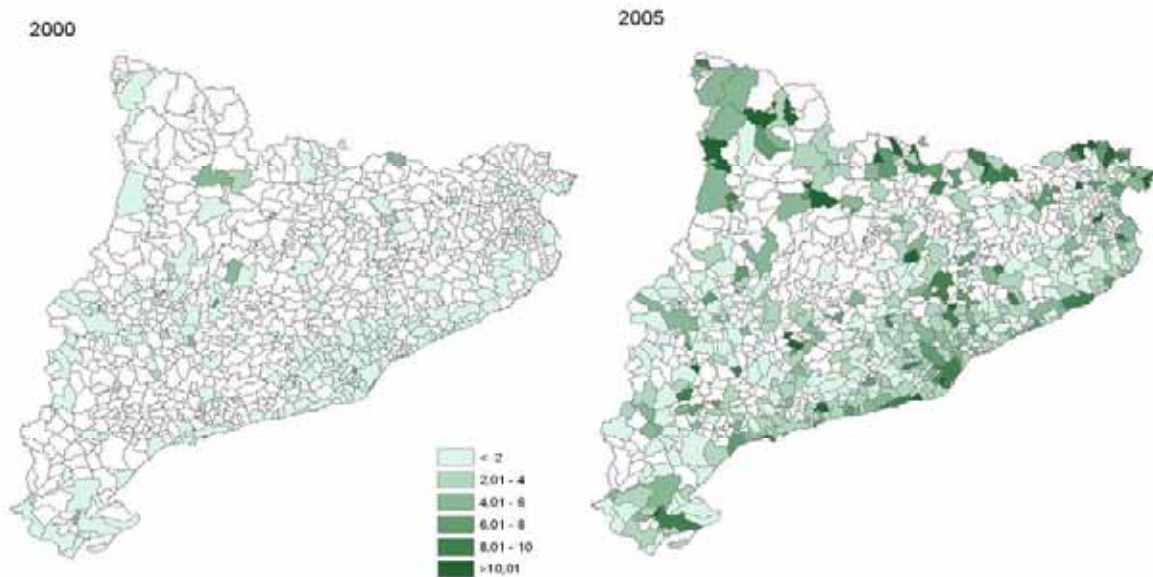
NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE, AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24, WHO HAVE GOT SPANISH CITIZENSHIP, BY ORIGIN YEAR 2005

Origin		Percentage
Community Europe	911	2,13%
Rest of Europa	696	1,62%
Africa	7346	17,15%
Latin America	31727	74,07%
North America	103	0,24%
Asia	2010	4,69%
Oceania	9	0,02%
Stateless	27	0,06%
Total	42829	100%

Source: Own elaboration based on data from Justice Department.

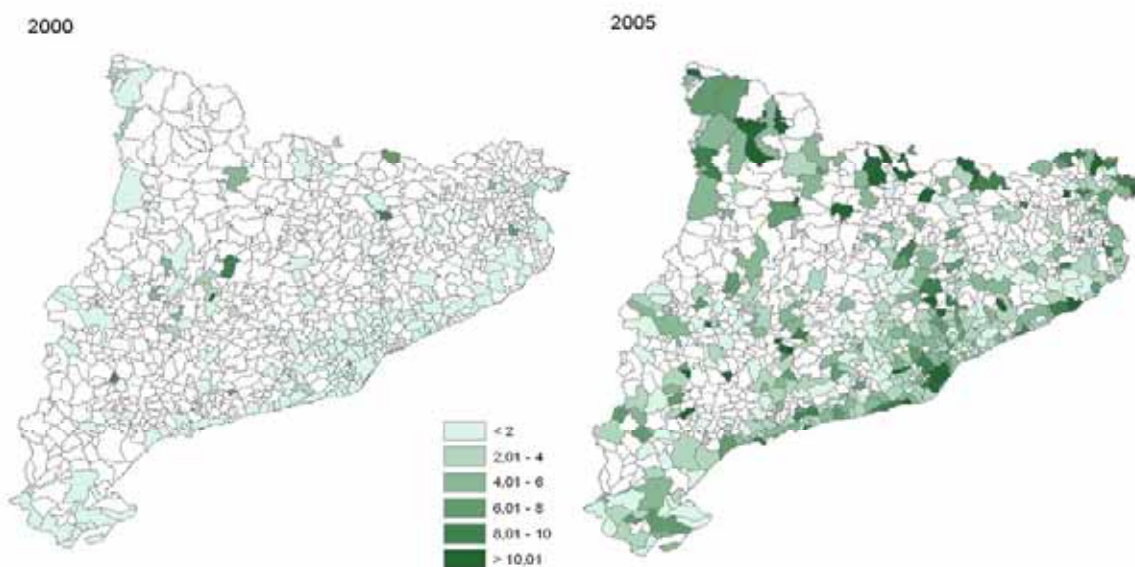
At the same time, we must say that having been a region that received part of the Spanish emigration during the last century, Catalonia is now a starting point for returned migrants and their descendants; this is valid for countries such as Venezuela, Cuba and Argentina.

MAP 2 PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG POPULATION, AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24, FROM SOUTH AMERICA



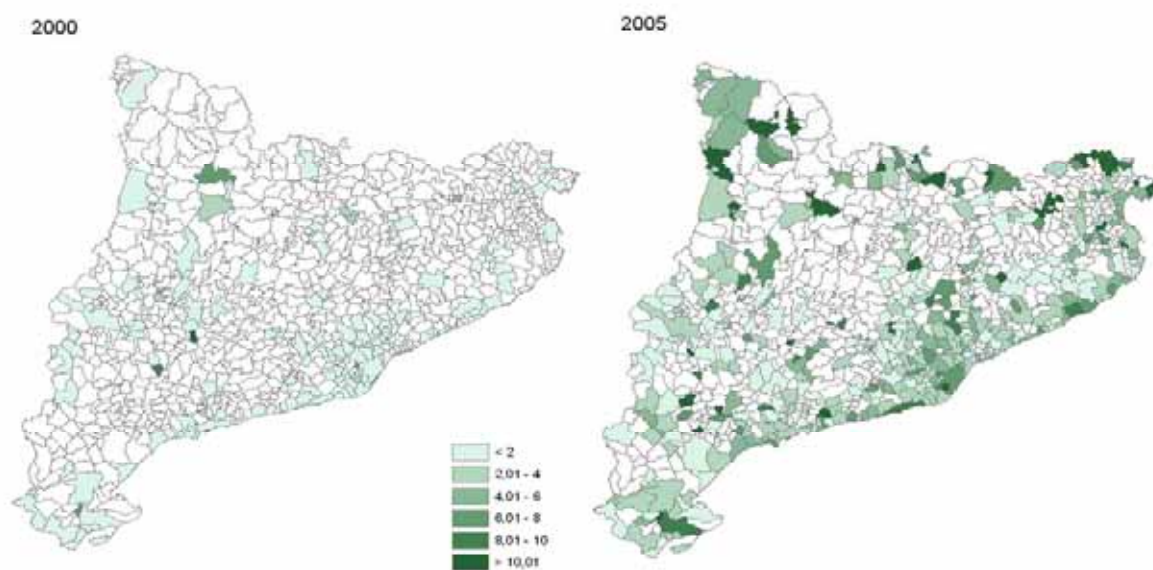
SOURCE: Own elaboration on figures of IDESCAT

MAP 3 PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE YOUNG POPULATION, AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24, FROM SOUTH AMERICA



Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de los datos de IDESCAT

MAPA 4 PERCENTAGE OF MALE YOUNG POPULATION, AGED BETWEEN 15 AND 24, FROM SOUTH AMERICA



Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de los datos de IDESCAT

3.5 A PICTURE OF THE SITUATION IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA

In Barcelona, as in other cities of Southern Europe, international immigration during the 90s and the beginning of the 21st century has experienced a spectacular growth; the number of foreign residents is now similar to the one at cities in the centre and north of the continent. Urban integration of this population takes place in a socially stratified city where the characteristics of the housing market act as a filter in the distribution of the population.

Job, education, characteristics of the housing and nationality are factors that explain spatial integration of foreign population in the city (Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, 2005).

According to the data of 2001 census, in the city of Barcelona there were 74.019 foreign people, representing 4,9% of the total population. Annual registers offer updated information; in January 2004, foreign people were 12,8% of a total of 163.046 people and in January 2006, there were 260.058 foreign people, with represents 15,9% of the total of residents.

In January 2007 this number has been reduced to 250.789, due to the Foreign Law enforcement, which allows to deregister non-community foreign people who haven't renewed their registration every two years. Nonetheless, the importance of the number of foreign people on the whole population has hardly changed: 15,6%, with respect to 15,9% in 2006. In only six years, the number of foreign residents in Barcelona has multiplied by four: from 74.019 in January 2001 to more than 250.000 in January 2007.

EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN BARCELONA BY ORIGIN

Origin	2001	%	2007	%
EU	13.141	17,75	44.343	17,05
Rest of Europe	3.145	4,24	18.852	7,25
Asia	12.175	16,44	42.507	16,35
Africa	10.044	13,57	22.336	8,58
North America	1.170	1,58	3.746	1,44
Central America	6.985	9,44	19.462	7,48
South America	27.223	36,78	108.486	41,71
Oceania	99	0,13	326	0,12
Total	74.019	100,00	260.058	100

Source: Own elaboration base on data from the Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council.

2006 has been the first year of enforcement of the Foreign Law, which has meant deregistering foreign population that hadn't renewed their registration. This has implied that, for the first time since 2001, the number of foreign people has been reduced both in absolute and relative terms. For the whole city of Barcelona, the reduction has been 3,6%. The district that has lost more foreign population has been Ciutat Vella, with 7,3%. Despite this, foreign people keep arriving to the city.

According to the table about the evolution of foreign people in Barcelona, between 2001 and 2007 the number of immigrants has been increased for all nationalities, but the relative weight of each of them has varied: the relative weight of community Europeans has been reduced, from 17,75 % in 2001 to 17,05 in 2007; the relative weight of migrants coming from Africa is 8,58%, while in 2001 was 13,53%; and the relative weight of South-America passes from 36,78 % in 2001 to 41,71% in 2007.

With respect to the distribution in the urban space, it has been observed that common nationality is a factor of concentration. For example, approximately 50% of South Americans live in the centre of the city. This unequal distribution is linked to the economic specialization of the territory, where productive changes towards tertiarisation appeal the population that will occupy those positions, with higher levels of education and employment (Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, 2005).

ANALYSIS BY AGE. PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANT POPULATION IN BARCELONA BY AGE. YEAR 2005

The bulk of foreign population in Barcelona is between 25 and 29 years old (15.870), followed by individuals aged between 30 and 34 (11.780), and those aged between 20 and 24 (9.574); thus, it is a very young population.

Age	Population	%
0-4	3.091	4,39
5-9	1.971	2,80
10-14	1.802	2,57
15-19	3.278	4,66
20-24	9.574	13,6
25-29	15.870	22,55
30-34	11.780	16,74
35-39	7.104	10,1
40-44	4.603	6,55
45-49	3.123	4,44
50-54	2.146	3,05
55-59	1.641	2,33
60-64	1.177	1,68
Over 65	3.200	4,55

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION TRENDS IN MIGRANT POPULATION

Spatial distribution trends show dispersion of foreign population throughout the whole municipality. Better-off neighbourhoods haven't experienced a significant growth of foreign residents.

FOREIGN POPULATION IN BARCELONA BY DISTRICTS EVOLUTION 2001- 2006

District	2001		2006	
	Total population	%	Total population	%
Ciutat Vella	15.512	21	40.952	15,7
Eixample	13.386	18,1	44.366	17,1
Sants – Montjuïc	8.585	11,6	32.717	12,6
Les Corts	3.320	4,5	9.359	3,6
Sarrià – Sant Gervasi	5.939	8	16.318	6,3
Gràcia	4.805	6,5	17.156	6,6
Horta-Guinardó	4.850	6,6	18.998	7,3
Nou Barris	4.961	6,7	22.812	8,8
Sant Andreu	4.057	5,5	16.433	6,3
Sant Martí	7.019	9,5	29.745	11,4

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Statistics Department of Barcelona City Council

In 2001, the highest percentage of foreign people, 21% of the total, were concentrated in Ciutat Vella, followed by Eixample, with 18,10%, and by Sants- Montjuïc by 11,6%. Those three districts had 50% of the total migrant population. On the contrary, in 2006, the percentage was 45%. There is another district with a high percentage of immigrants: Sant Martí, with 11,4%.

Nowadays, in the city of Barcelona, the areas with a relatively higher concentration of immigrants are Poble-Sec (District of Sants–Montjuïc), with 26,8% of foreign people with respect to the total population; Trinitat Vella (District of Sant Andreu) with 8,7%, and Ciutat Meridiana (District of Nou Barris) with 24,2%. Although those are not the neighbourhoods with more immigrants in absolute terms, they have the highest percentage with respect to the total resident population, and those are the neighbourhoods where the City Council has acted through the Pla de Barris (Neighbourhoods Plan, a rehabilitation plan for poor areas in the city promoted by local authorities).

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN POPULATION IN BARCELONA BY LATIN-AMERICAN GROUPS. YEAR 2006

With regard to Latin-Americans, there is a trend to settle in specific neighbourhoods of the city based on nationality: for example, Dominicans settle mainly in Ciutat Vella (14,50 %), Eixample (19,60 %) and Horta Guinardó (14,80 %); on the contrary Argentines concentrate in Ciutat Vella (12,50 %), Eixample (21,50 %), Sant Martí (12,40 %) and Sants–Montjuïc (10,4 %).

District	Dominicans	Brazilians	Argentines	Colombians	Peruvians	Bolivians	Ecuadorians
Ciutat Vella	14,50	11,50	12,50	7,50	4,20	7,60	8,40
Eixample	19,60	21,70	21,50	18,30	20,10	10,30	12,90
Sants – Montjuïc	3,30	12,10	10,40	15,10	14,80	10,90	15,10
Les Corts	2,40	3,80	4,10	4,50	3,20	1,90	2,10
Sarrià - Sant Gervasi	3,40	6,20	7,00	6,00	4,90	4,80	2,30
Gràcia	6,20	8,00	9,60	7,50	6,50	5,30	5,10
Horta-Guinardó	14,80	7,50	9,80	11,50	9,80	8,90	10,30
Nou Barris	7,10	5,80	5,40	8,50	9,60	15,80	19,20
Sant Andreu	10,90	5,00	5,30	7,10	12,30	6,40	9,80
Sant Martí	0,20	10,80	12,40	12,90	13,90	9,30	13,60
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

4. MIGRANT YOUTH IN CATALONIA AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

4.1. EDUCATION LEVEL AND EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT YOUNG PEOPLE

The number of working young migrants, both in the regular market or in informal jobs, is superior to the number of students, in the case of male and female. However, foreign students in schools have been noticeable for a long time. There are more than 100 different nationalities. During the last four years, foreign students have gone from 36.301 (2001-2002) to 89.066 (2004-2005). This is an accumulated growth of 144%. The groups with a higher growth are those from non-community

Europe (215%) and from Central and South America (149%). (Secretaria per a la Immigració, 2005).

During the school year 2004-2005 foreign students were 9% of the total in the educative system, and this percentage reached 12% in the school year 2005-2006. Moroccans are the largest group. At the beginning of the school year 2004-2005, 23.735 were Moroccan students, which is more than one-fourth of the total foreign students (27%). Moroccan presence is important in pre-primary and in obligatory school; on the contrary, compared to its demographic weight, they are barely present after obligatory school. Despite they grow in absolute numbers, during the last years, Moroccan students have lost weight on the whole foreign-born students due to the arrival of children and teenagers from Central and South America and Eastern Europe.

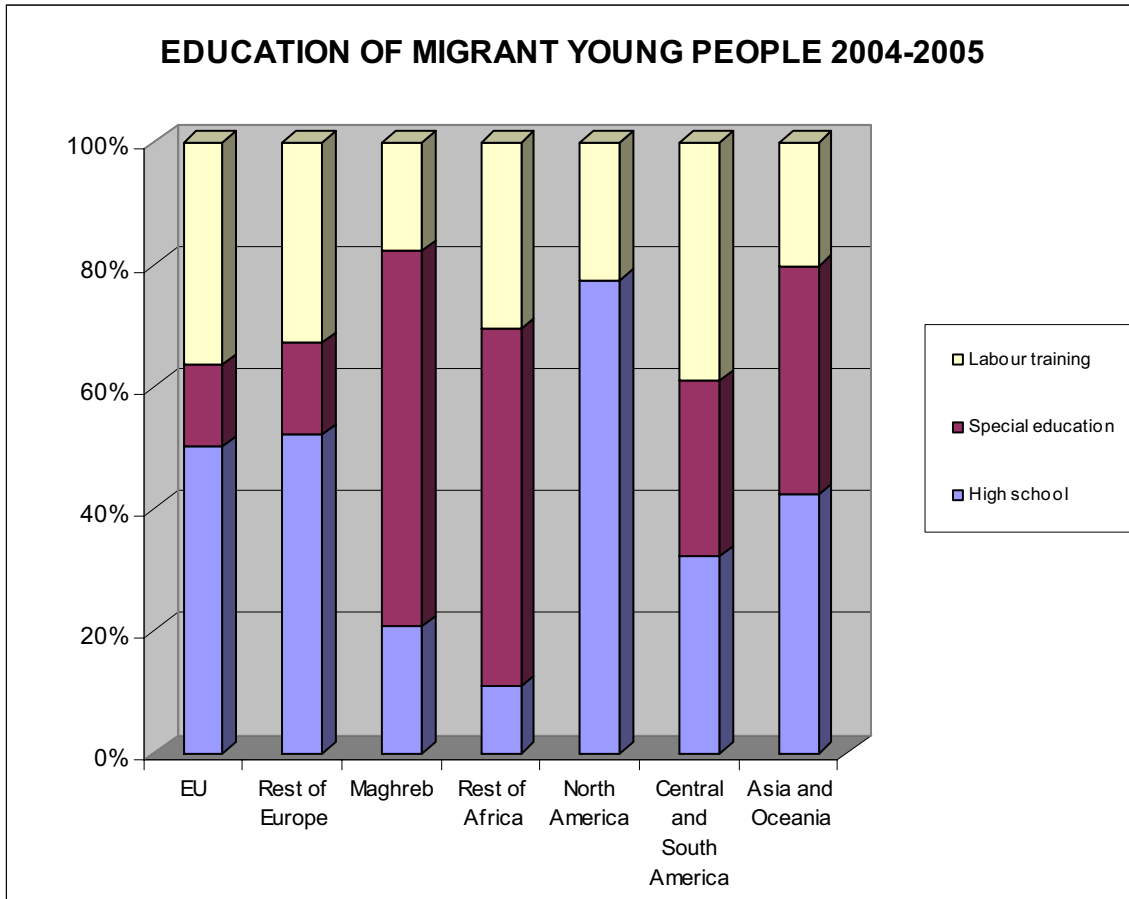
We have to point out the important growth of the group coming from Central and South America, both in absolute and relative numbers, particularly those coming from Ecuador, Colombia and Argentina. Latin-American students were 54,5% of the total foreign students en 2004-2005, compared to 21% in 2001.

ORIGIN OF FOREIGN STUDENTS SCHOOL YEAR 2004-2005

Origin	High School	%	Special Education	%	Labour training	%	“Social guarantee programs”
UE	437	11,99	24	3,2	171	8,75	Without data
Rest of Europe	580	15,82	34	4,53	195	9,98	Without data
Maghreb	399	10,89	242	32,1	182	9,31	Without data
Rest of Africa	50	1,36	54	7,21	74	3,78	Without data
North America	38	1,03	0	0	6	0,3	Without data
Central and South America	1973	53,83	361	48,2	1278	65,4	Without data
Asia and Oceania	188	5,12	34	4,54	48	2,46	Without data
Total	3665	100	749	100	1954	100	841

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Education Department.

With respect to the origin of students after obligatory education, most of students in high school come Central and South America (1973 students), followed by the ones coming from non-community Europe (580) and in the third place, those from Maghreb (399). The situation is similar in special education and training courses: the most important group is the Central and South American (361 students in special education which are 48% of the total) and 1278 in training courses, 65% of the total.



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Education Department.

4.1.1 PRESENT EDUCATION

PRESENT EDUCATION OF YOUNG MIGRANTS SCHOOL YEAR 2005-2006

Education level	Total students	%
High School	4292	54,78
Special Education	749	9,55
Labour Training	1954	24,94
Social Guarantee Programs	841	10,73

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Education Department.

According to this table, most immigrant students are in high school, 4292 students, which represents 54,78 % of the students in some of those four kinds of education after the obligatory stages. The second one in importance is labour training, with 1954 students (24,94%).

Students in “Social Guarantee Programs” are 841 (10,73% of the total). Those programs have been created by the Education Department according to the current legal framework, in order to guarantee education and training for kids who finish secondary education without graduating.

Finally, students who receive special education are 794, 9,55% of the total students in this kind of education. These students have educative special needs, because of auditory, visual or sensory problems, or because they need more attention by teachers when coming to a different educative system. Special education has a particular program of workshops, in order to develop basic skills such as language, science or hand skills.

4.2 LABOUR MARKET AND MIGRANT YOUNG PEOPLE

4.2.1 IMMIGRANTS' LABOUR MARKET IN SPAIN

The labour market that young migrants face in Spain, unlike labour markets in most of EU countries, has a strong segmentation. Immigrants in Spain, despite their level of education, are initially forced to accept jobs which have been rejected by Spanish population (and thus, with worse conditions: lower salary, higher temporality rates, etc.) (Martínez, Remedios, 2007).

With regard to sexual division of labour, men use to work on jobs linked to industry, construction and catering. Women work on traditionally feminine jobs, such as those linked to caring (elderly and sick people), and cleaning (in companies or in domestic service, etc), often jobs with no guarantees.

4.2.2 YOUNG MIGRANTS IN CATALAN LABOUR MARKET

Activity rate for foreign young people is higher than for autochthonous young people, although there are also differences based on their origins. Most immigrants arriving to Spain have wage work as their main goal, unlike most autochthonous young people who are focused on education for a long time.

ACTIVITY RATE BY SEX, AGE AND NATIONALITY, SPAIN. YEAR 2006

Activity rate by sex, age and nationality. Spain 2006	Male				Female	
	All ages	16 to 24	All ages	16 to 24	All ages	16 to 24
Nationality						
Spanish	56%	49,30%	67,10%	53,40%	45,30%	44,80%
Foreign countries(Total)	76,30%	65,30%	85,60%	71,10%	67,20%	59,90%
Europe (EU countries)	55,40%	72,30%	64,30%	74,60%	46,80%	70,50%
Europe (rest of Europe)	82,90%	72, 8 %	91,80%	81, 1 %	74,70%	66,10%
Latin America	82,90%	65,30%	88%	65,30%	78,70%	65,20%
Rest of the world	72,20%	55,40%	90,50%	72,70%	43,90%	39,30%

Source: Own elaboration based on the Economically Active Population Survey (EPA)

The table shows how foreign young people's activity rate is higher. Generally, activity rates are high both for the total population and for the group aged between 16 and 24. Latin-American young people have lower activity rates than young people from other origins.

Employment rate for young people in Catalonia, as in the whole Spain, is high: people aged from 16 to 24 have a rate of 44,5%, and the State average is 44,8%. It is important to stress that those data don't mention the quality of jobs (aspects such as low salaries, job precariousness, temporality, etc...).

OCCUPATION RATE OF THE POPULATION IN CATALONIA. YEAR 2005

Employment rate	Employment rate Year 2005		
	Male	Female	Total
Age			
16-19	30,6	18,5	24,7
20-24	68,1	60,3	64,3
25-29	85,4	74,2	80
30-34	92	74,4	83,5
35-39	91,7	75,2	83,7
40-44	92,5	65,4	79,1
45-49	92,3	66,3	79,3
50-54	86,9	56,7	71,5
55-59	74,5	42,6	58,1
60-64	52,1	23,6	37,4
65 and more	4	1,5	2,6
Total	67,6	46,8	57

Source: Own elaboration based on the Economically Active Population Survey (EPA) data.

Another fact showing the high activity rate of migrant young people in Catalonia is on the one hand, the high number of work permits granted in 2005, 178.290, this is, 38.000 more than the previous year; on the other hand, affiliation to the Social Security by foreign immigrants represents 12% of the total affiliations.

WORK PERMITS GRANTED TO FOREIGN PEOPLE IN CATALONIA. YEAR 2005

Province	2004	2005
Barcelona	91.856	120.039
Girona	15.867	21.967
Lleida	18.900	16.339
Tarragona	13.536	19.945
Total	140.159	178.290

Source: Labour and Social Issues Department.

Latin-Americans are 37% of the total foreign people in the Social Security System in Catalonia. The group coming from Ecuador is important, being 34,41 % of the affiliated people from Central and South America. People from Colombia and Peru are also important, being 14,61 % and 11,63 % each one. The rest of countries have lower percentages.

FOREIGN PEOPLE REGISTERED IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY IN CATALONIA. YEAR 2005

	Population	Percentage
16 to 24	47.378	12%
25 to 54	337.248	85%
Over 54	12.177	3%
Total	396.860	100%

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Annual Statistics about Immigration. Labour and Social Issues Department.

FOREIGN PEOPLE REGISTERED IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY IN CATALONIA COMING FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. YEAR 2005

Country	Population	Percentage
Ecuador	51.807	34,41
Colombia	21.996	14,61
Peru	17.521	11,63
Argentina	13.970	9,28
Bolivia	11.038	7,33
Dominican Republic	7.129	4,73
Cuba	3.937	2,61
Uruguay	5.706	3,8
Brazil	4.053	2,7
Venezuela	2.527	1,68
Central and South America	150.554	37,9
Total Cataluña	396.860	100
Total	150.554	100

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Annual Statistics about immigration 2005
Labour and Social Issues Department.

Difficulties to find a job and situations of labour precariousness and temporality for migrant young people are still worse than for Catalan young people. Besides, Foreign Laws pose some restrictions in labour integration of foreign young people, which fuels informal economy.

According to the data in the Economically Active Population Survey in 2005, among the 66 registered job categories, only 12 of them concentrate more than 71% of working immigrants (for Spanish population, that percentage would be 27%). 8 of those 12 categories are considered “non qualified jobs”, 3 of them are for “qualified workers” and one includes workers in catering services. Thus, most of those jobs do not require a high a education level or a professional training.

The job category with more foreign workers is “domestic employees” and cleaning staff, especially for Latin-Americans and people coming from Eastern Europe. In the case of Africans, most jobs are linked to agriculture and construction.

5. POLITICAL DIMENSION AND DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT. AUTOCHTHONOUS AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH POLICIES IN CATALONIA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we focus on policies for both autochthonous and migrant youth in Catalonia. We want to stress that this dimension is very wide, including actors, contexts and (administrative and intervention) fields. Thus, this text can only be a partial approach to the issue. In fact, youth policies in Catalonia are something very recent. The discourse we offer tries to systematize the issues linked to those fields and to offer a picture of the situation.

Our work focuses on Catalan public policies established for youth and for immigrants' integration. It will be necessary to consider the political competences that the Spanish State and Catalonia have on both issues (immigration and youth), through institutional documents and plans, and interviews.

5.2 YOUTH POLICIES IN CATALONIA

5.2.1 CONTEXT

Youth policies have been consolidated in Catalonia, after two decades of democratic municipalities and autonomic government. Regardless of their implementation, their restrictions or their real importance, youth policies have acquired an institutional status and acknowledge during this time. This wouldn't have happened if the concept of youth hadn't been consolidated. Besides, since 2000 on it has been considered that those policies have a role in the construction of citizenship, as they are supposed to provide individuals with abilities to fulfil their life project and their collective projects. However, according to some experts¹⁸, there is still a gap between those theories and political practices, in which youth policies occupy a peripheral position.

This section describes the main features of Catalan youth policies and their implementation at local level, with a previous theory evolution of those policies.

5.2.2 THE EVOLUTION OF CATALAN YOUTH POLICIES': TRANSITION POLICIES, AFFIRMATIVE POLICIES AND INTEGRAL POLICIES.

At first stages, Catalan youth policies considered youth as a mere period of transition to adult life, a social emancipation process in which education and labour are key resources. According to this, authorities must develop socio-economic policies for individuals, mainly focused on education, labour and housing. Other aspects such as citizenship practice or cultural production are not considered in those policies. Under this point of view, youth is a stage that should be finished soon; the goal of transition policies for individuals is to enter labour market and purchase a house once they have finished studying.

An affirmative conception of youth policies breaks with the previous one. Instead of focusing on aspects that, allegedly, allow overcoming that stage, affirmative policies are based on youth's features: youth culture, identity and leisure. Thus, labour policies, as well as health or housing policies, must be implemented by their own departments, not by youth departments, since this one should focus on citizenship, creation, mobility or youth experience. Youth is then a stage with unique features that must be recognized and fostered before adult life.

The so-called integral policies take some aspects from the affirmative conception without neglecting material dimensions of social life (housing, labour, health, etc.). These policies foster individuals' autonomy, under an "integral" perspective of youth, considering that public intervention is part of a net of relationships that define the possibilities to decide a life project. Authorities must coordinate their measures and act transversally in a cross-departmental way, in order to allow young adults to develop their life plans and their citizenship. In order to do so, authorities must foster education as a resource for social transformation, access to culture and acknowledgment of youth culture and leisure, access to housing, responsible health, gender diversity, social and territorial cohesion, interculturality, inequality correction and participative democracy (Nin, R., 2006).

¹⁸ Giménez, L.; Llopart, I., 2002

5.2.3 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR YOUTH POLICIES IN CATALONIA

- *National Plan for Youth* and the new *Law for Youth* in Catalonia.

Catalan government has exclusive competences on youth¹⁹, although the State can rule on youth policies using sectors' competences. Catalan authorities have now a *Pla Nacional de la Joventut*²⁰, a project promoted by the *Secretaria General de la Joventut*²¹, in consensus with the *Consell Nacional de la Joventut de Catalunya*²² and all parties in the Catalan Parliament. It was approved at the end of 2005 and it establishes the guidelines for public policies addressed to youth.

The PNJCAT includes two action lines and a strategic model with nine thematic axes. The first action line is emancipation, and it includes the following axes: education, labour, housing, health, culture and mobility. The first three axes are considered as the central issues in any person's life, and thus, as basic elements of youth policies. Health, culture and mobility are defined as mixed thematic axes, relevant for the construction of identities and present in the whole life of a person.

The second action line is participation, and it includes the thematic axes of dialogue for the design and management of policies, support to youth associations and promotion of participation culture.

The possibilities to build a life project and the possibilities to link this project to other collective projects are the main goals of the PNJCAT. And its guiding principles are integrality, transversality, diversity, proximity policies, participation, co-responsibility, innovation and social learning. Besides, the plan considers that its implementation has to adapt to the specific needs of the territories.

Methodologically, the PNJCAT has an inter-departmental, inter-institutional and participative global strategy.

At present, the Catalan government is working on a bill for youth²³ in Catalonia after promoting a process of citizen participation in its elaboration. According to the *Secretaria General de Joventut*, the LPJC will be the legal framework for youth policies ruled according the methodological framework promoted by the PNJCAT, and with those goals: to regulate, order and specify the functions of the authorities related to youth policies; to define what is to be young and what are youth policies; to consider the main thematic axes included in youth policies (housing, work, education, health, culture...) and the programs, funding, activities, facilities, etc. needed for the implementation; to regulate youth participation; and finally, to recognize and to foster youth associations.

5.2.4 YOUTH POLICIES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to local authorities, youth policies respond to the specific needs of youth compared to those of the rest of the population. The presence of a Department for Youth, with its staff and its budget, is necessary in order to guarantee specific actions, not only in sports and leisure, but in all the local fields: social services, labour, education, health, housing, etc.

Also, someone has to foster communication with young people in order to better know their opinions, claims and needs. However, according to the way Gimenez and Llopart describe the most common policies, all those ideas remain in a theoretical domain (Giménez y Llopart, 2002). In

¹⁹ Art. 142 of the *Estatut d'Autonomia*.

²⁰ National Plan for Youth. From now on referred as PNJCAT.

²¹ Youth General Secretary. It is the organ that must define, coordinate and promote youth policies in the Catalan government, giving priority to youth participation.

²² Youth National Council. It is a non-governmental platform formed by 89 Catalan youth agencies (students, social agencies, labour unions, political groups and youth territorial councils).

²³ From now on, we will refer to the *Llei de Politiques de Joventut de Catalunya* as LPJC.

Catalonia there hasn't been a standardized development of youth policies, neither considering their contents and methodology, nor considering their territorial scope and intensity. There are different speeds in the application of those policies, in relation to the different context, claims and institutional processes.

There is a group of municipalities where youth actions are practically non-existent. Those municipalities are small, and usually they are in the most uninhabited counties in the country; they don't have a specific position to develop policies, and thus isolated actions can be performed by the mayor or by groups of local young people. In those cases, the scarcity of human resources and the reduced number of young people in the villages explain the scantiness of youth policies.

A second group is the one formed by the municipalities going through implementation processes. Frequently, actions are lead by a town councillor that has other tasks in the local government. The plan doesn't use to be clear or feasible, and, in case they have accurate knowledge of youth's needs, the structure of the local government slows down the actions (Giménez y Llopart, 2002).

In the third group there are the main municipalities of each territory and the most populated towns, which have a higher development in youth policies. Those municipalities have defined their actions according to the changing reality of youth and also according to youth theories. The interaction between youth and political practice has resulted in concepts such as transversality, integrality or participation, which have inspired policies and plans (Integral Youth Plans or PIJ). PIJs are tools for defining, promoting and coordinating youth policies in each territory. Based on a theoretical model that describes social reality, they offer integral answers: actions to be taken, agents and methods. But again there is a gap between discourse and practice, because local authorities use to hinder the development of youth policies, which traditionally have not been relevant. Most actions (and budgets) are focused on cultural and educative activities, and labour or housing policies are absent on the political agenda (Giménez y Llopart, 2002), and issues such as equal opportunities are treated by social services, barely coordinated with youth services.

With regard to theoretical models of social participation, policies are limited to funding the existing youth associations. Besides funding, participation is understood as a consultation mechanism, and a way to obtain information, more than an exercise of citizenship.

Summarizing, most youth policies in Catalonia are developed in other sectors, despite discourses talk about integrality and transversality. They belong to a peripheral sphere, and they are still weak and limited.

5.3 IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION POLICIES IN CATALONIA

5.3.1 CONTEXT

Generally, the Spanish State has legislative competence on immigration policies in the Catalan territory. At present Catalonia has a strong role in social integration policies in its territory, but an almost non-existent role in immigration policies (such as determining the fluxes that the territory can accept, which is a State competence²⁴). The *Estatut d'Autonomia* of 2006 states that the *Generalitat* has exclusive competence in reception and integration of immigrants, work authorization, and participation in decision making such as the number of workers to be accepted in Catalonia.

The history of immigration / social integration policies in Catalonia is also recent. Since the 90s, Catalonia has been claiming power over those policies, and this led to the creation of the *Secretaria*

²⁴ The Law 8/2000 establishes that the Generalitat can propose the number of work permits needed in the Catalan territory, and that committees can analyze issues related to foreigners' residence and work.

*per a la Immigració*²⁵ in 2000. The will to create discourses and practices around the “Catalan integration way” (Garreta, J. (director); Llevot, N., Lapresta C. 2006: 21), can find its place at the Law for reception of immigrant people in Catalonia (in progress).

In this section we explain the creation of structures, documents and centres for immigration / social integration of foreign people in Catalonia.

5.3.2 HISTORICAL VIEW OF IMMIGRATION / SOCIAL INTEGRATION POLICIES IN CATALONIA

- The 90s: observation and first steps

In 1985 the first Foreign Law was approved in Spain, so the country could enter the European Economic Community. That law was widely criticised, particularly in Catalonia, as the territory was witnessing the incipient arrival of immigrants.

At the beginning of the 90s, Catalonia starts a first stage of observation, as defined by Garreta & co (2006: 110), with immigration causing surprise and with an uncoordinated answer given mainly by non-governmental agencies. The Third Sector and Catalan associations were sensitive to the difficulties faced by many immigrants in Catalonia. At the same time, some immigrant groups developed conscience of their condition, and started building self-protection and negotiation networks. Some “experts” were needed to work on those issues and to propose solutions.

In 1992 the Girona Report was written, a document with 50 proposals resulting from claims and ideas of the “Associations’ committee” and the non-governmental organizations in Girona’s counties. In 1993 the *Generalitat* created the *Commissió Interdepartamental pel seguiment i la coordinació de les actuacions en matèria d’immigració*²⁶ including eight departments of the *Generalitat*. This commission presented the “Inter-departmental Immigration Plan”, a pioneer document that defines the first ideas to create the conditions required for personal and collective development of immigrants.

In 2002 the *Secretaria per a la immigració*²⁷ (Decree 293/2000) was created, at the Wealth and Family Department of the *Generalitat*²⁸.

- The last years. Towards a “Catalan integration way”: consolidation of local claims about immigration / social integration policies

The Second “Inter-departmental Immigration Plan (2001-2004)”, reclaims the historic presence and integration of immigrants in the region, and asks for a leading role of Catalan authorities in immigration policies. The text states that for a long time Catalonia has been able to incorporate people from different cultures and at the same time, preserve its “identity”. This is important, because it is the basis for an integration model aiming to respect and coexist with the cultural plurality of foreigners, inside a framework that still has its claims about Catalan national identity with respect to the Spanish State.

Thus, this document builds a discourse around the “Catalan integration way”, that will have to defend cultural plurality in a community that wants to defend, at the same time, its local identity, based in its language. The present “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008” talks about defending “Catalan language and identity”, and clearly states that “knowledge and use of the

²⁵ Immigration Secretary.

²⁶ Interdepartmental commission for immigration issues.

²⁷ Secretary for Immigration.

²⁸ At present the *Immigration Secretary* is part of the *Social Action and Citizenship Department*.

Catalan language must be seen by immigrant population as a strategic investment”²⁹. Immigrants’ resistance to learn this language is explained as follows: “The arrival of immigrants to bilingual societies shows power relationships existing in relation to language. Immigrants adapt to the language that has more social, economic and political power. The fact that many immigrants use Spanish reflects the complex social situations existing in Catalonia”³⁰.

The social integration model for immigrants in Catalonia criticises both the “assimilation model” and the “melting pot model”, and proposes a model that can be defined as “cultural pluralism”: a social integration model able to respect cultural differences in migrant populations. This model can be understood from two perspectives: the multinational plurality of the Spanish State and the pluralism of immigration (Fossas, E., 2000).

The contradictions of this model can be seen when analyzing the perspective of many migrant people, particularly Spanish-speaking such as Latin-Americans, who feel obliged to learn an unexpected language.

Many Latin-American young adults, interviewed in previous field work, said that they didn’t know anything about another language at their destination. The first impact with Catalan can be disturbing:

KB: At the beginning when I came here from Uruguay, I was as if people were speaking Chinese... I didn’t understand a word...

CF: ...it was Catalan...

KB: Yes, it was Catalan... but... to tell the truth... I didn’t have any knowledge of Catalan...

CF: Didn’t your mum explain you that?

KB: No...I knew I was coming to Spain, the usual...³¹

Learning a language doesn’t happen immediately, especially if it isn’t considered necessary, according to some people (immigrants but not only) who think Catalonia is part of Spain and Catalan people can speak Spanish. The will of Catalans to speak their language as a *lingua franca* in the territory can be seen as a violent and assimilatory imposition. It is not infrequent listening to immigrants say that they don’t understand the importance of the Catalan linguistic and cultural claims³². In fact, this attitude is the opposite of those Catalans reclaiming their identity, and the integration model wouldn’t be exactly linked to the concept of “cultural pluralism”.

The “Inter-departmental Immigration Plan (2001-2004)” guarantees health, education and social rights, among others, for immigrants; as well as right to family reunification in Catalonia. Another important aspect of this plan is the need of coordination between the State and the autonomous regions in immigration policies. The plan stresses out the contradictions existing when having an important role in integration but lacking the power to determine de fluxes coming to the region. It seems inappropriate to separate immigration and integration policies. And there is also a demand regarding to the funding that the State should provide for social integration policies in the autonomous regions.

²⁹ Secretaria per a la Immigració, 2005: 48

³⁰ Secretaria per a la Immigració, 2005: 48

³¹ This fragment is part of the transcription of a group interview in a High School in Barcelona 04/04/2006 with some members of the street organization Latin Kings, performed by Carles Feixa. (KB.: King Black: CF: Carles Feixa)

³² Franco’s repression to local feelings in the regions during the dictatorship was expressed for instance through the prohibition to speak Catalana and other languages existing in the Spanish territory. It explains the present claims about it. In fact, without that context, the situation can be surprising and ununderstandible, as well as the fact that the “Inter-departmental Immigration Plan 2005-2008) includes a specific section to defend Catalan identity and language.

The “Inter-departmental Immigration Plan (2001-2004)” explains the commitment of the *Generalitat* to promote the immigrants’ integration considering all the areas involved: health, education, labour, social services... The goals can be summarized as follows, according to Garreta & co: “to promote global integration policies for foreign immigrants in a process of construction and maintenance of social cohesion; to establish and to carry out programs and services fostering personal and social development of foreign immigrants; to promote the participation of foreign immigrants in the Catalan society considering their cultural contribution and their identity; to promote information and awareness-raising about the reality of foreign immigration in Catalonia among the population and, specifically, among professionals working with foreigners; to fight against economic, political and social exclusion as a basic element for coexistence and social cohesion; to promote equal opportunities for people in order to exercise their citizenship rights, and to promote analysis and national debate in order to accomplish a global agreement on immigration” (Garreta, 2006: 24).

5.3.3 THE PRESENT DISCOURSE: TOWARDS A NEW CONCEPT OF CITIZENSHIP

- The “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008” and the “Law for Reception” making process.

In 2004 there was a change of government at the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, and the party CiU (Convergència i Unió), in power since 1979, was substituted by a three-party coalition³³. In one year this new government wrote a document, still in force, defining the new orientation for the Immigration Secretary: the “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008”. This text reassures the continuity of the previous Plans, subscribing their main guidelines, and stresses out the need of a stronger role of the *Generalitat* and the need of coordination. One of the main problems of the integration policies, at the administrative level, is the difficulties faced by the departments of the *Generalitat*, the *Diputacions*³⁴ and the municipalities, to work co-ordinately and coherently. A report by the *Grup de Recerca sobre Immigració i Innovació política*³⁵ in 2003 states that the relationships between municipalities and *Generalitat* can be strained due to conflicts around competences and political leadership; our field work confirms those difficulties, as we will see.

The “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008” proposes a new concept of “citizenship”, linked to residence, instead of nationality. In fact, it is clear that Catalonia doesn’t have the legal framework to implement this concept, because it lacks the competences. The proposal is based on a pluralist model of citizenship that includes equality before the rights and the duties of all residents in Catalonia, regardless their national belonging in a conventional sense. At present, there is a wide gap between the proposal and the true contexts in which many immigrants use to live.

Different departments in the *Generalitat* will carry out some programs developing the goals at the “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008”. Most of them will last for 4 years and they are divided in three main areas: reception policies, equality policies and accommodation policies.

These days, the Immigration Secretary has opened a participative process to prepare the “Law for the reception of immigrated and returned People in Catalonia”. This law, proposed at the Estatut 2006 “must regulate the definition of reception, the beneficiaries, the principles of reception and its management, its legal value, contents, structure, responsible agents, competences, immigration plans, funding, organizations and professionals linked to the diversity management”³⁶.

³³ Partit Socialista de Catalunya, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and Iniciativa per Catalunya – Verds.

³⁴ Administration corresponding to the provinces.

³⁵ Research group about immigration and Political Innovation.

³⁶ Secreteria per a la Immigració, 2007: 8

5.4 POLICIES FOR YOUNG MIGRANTS: A RECENT HISTORY

5.4.1 CONTEXT

The “Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2005-2008” mentions for the first time the aim to incorporate young immigrants into the framework of youth policies, creating spaces where migrant and Catalan young adults can share activities, experiences and networks. Those political goals are very recent, and have been encouraged just during the last years³⁷ as a result of the unexpected youth migrant presence and the creation of stigmatized social imaginaries, linked to certain groups (such as the wrongly called “Latin gangs”). Authorities have realized that there are many different problems linked to the presence of young migrants in Catalonia. If in previous chapters we stated that youth policies are weak and limited, this is especially true for migrant youth policies, even weaker and more limited. In this last section we will offer a picture of the political proposals around young immigrants, and we will describe some experiences through their main protagonists.

The last “Immigration Plan” states that “young people from migrated families are a social group that needs active policies. Those young people, often between two worlds, are part of a new Catalan youth reality that needs to be known and addressed. Some of those young adults, involved in complex personal, legal and social situations, are at risk of social divide and isolation. It is necessary to improve the contacts between autochthonous youth and those recently arrived”³⁸.

The report *Infància i Immigració: tendències, relacions i polítiques*³⁹ written in 2004 by the CIIMU (Institute of Childhood and Urban World Consortium), includes a critical analysis of policies for minors and young immigrants in Catalonia, stating that “there isn’t any authority coordinating and articulating measures and actions...”⁴⁰ This has to be considered in order to understand this section; actually, until now there hasn’t been a general proposal about social integration policies for young adults: Mawa N’Diaye, coordinator of the Inter-culturality Team at the *Secretaria General de Joventut*, states that “now we are starting to structure the general proposal for immigrant youth... including leisure and many other things: labour, housing, culture, everything. We want to analyze the reality, and the reality of young Latins because it is one of the largest groups in Catalonia”⁴¹.

The general picture of migrant youth policies in Catalonia is thus an empty picture that is starting to be filled with proposals: the gap between discourses and practices is still very wide.

5.4.2 MIGRANT YOUTH POLICIES AS INTERCULTURAL POLICIES FOR ALL YOUNG ADULTS. THE CREATION OF SHARED YOUTH SPACES.

- The experience of the *Espais Joves Interculturals*⁴²

An interesting pioneer experience can be found in those Intercultural Youth Spaces, a pilot announcement for projects linked to municipalities that was released by the *Secretaria General de la Joventut* and the *Secretaria per a la Immigració*⁴³ and managed by the Interculturality Team⁴⁴ at

³⁷ An important date in order to contextualize cultural and educative policies for migrant youth in Catalonia, is the 2000, at a symbolic level, when Project Caleidoscopi started (*Fundació Jaume Bofill* and *Secretaria General de Joventut*).

³⁸ *Secretaria per a la Immigració*, 2005: 48

³⁹ *Childhood and Immigration: Trends, Relationships and Policies*.

⁴⁰ Carrasco, S.; Ballestín, B.; Borison, A., 2004.

⁴¹ Interview to Mawa N’diaye y Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007:16 (Mawa N’Diaye)

⁴² Intercultural Youth Spaces, from now on EJI

⁴³ The presentation of this project (*Secretaria General de la Joventut*, 2006) states that the recent transversal work between both secretaries “must be useful for establishing standards in reception, emancipation, participation and accommodation policies”.

⁴⁴ This team wants to incorporate the intercultural dimension to youth policies promoted by the *Secretaria General de Joventut*. They have three areas: “youth associations, immigrants’ associations and work with local governments. We

the *Secretaria de Joventut*. The projects include different activities for migrant and autochthonous young adults in intercultural spaces. Those spaces are “stable meeting spots in which young adults from different origins can meet and share interests and needs. In those places mutual knowledge and intercultural cooperation are promoted in order to build a cohesive society and to guarantee equal opportunities”⁴⁵. The activities can be different (sports, culture, music, training, art, leisure, etc.)⁴⁶, and the projects are developed by teams created by each municipality and by Youth Departments.

Those projects are very recent, they started around September 2006 and at present there are 37 projects being developed in Catalonia. For example, the Local Government of Esplugues de Llobregat, a town in Barcelona’s Great Area, has created a multicultural space around sports, animation, and non-formal education. This county has large presence of Latin-American young adults; most of them arrived during the last years through family reunification. Public spaces, specifically parks, were perceived as places where youth are divided according to origin. Latin-American could be seen in basket courts and public opinion reacted saying that those youngsters were “occupying public spaces”⁴⁷. The project aims to question those ideas through the creation of new scenarios where young people can really meet each other, break clichés and foster intercultural coexistence. In order to do that, they promote activities for Latin and non Latin young adults in the park and in a centre: computing, animation and non-formal education.

It is not possible to evaluate those projects by now, considering they are very recent. But the discourses stress the need to understand and to improve coexistence, as well as the need to give answers and solutions to youth immigrants’ situation.

- The antecedent of intercultural policies for youth: *Caleidoscopi*.⁴⁸

The antecedent of all those projects is *Caleidoscopi*, a project promoted from 2000 to 2004 by the *Fundació Jaume Bofill* y la *Secretaria General de Joventut* in order to foster the participation of young immigrants in leisure spaces usually used by autochthonous youth. Instead of focusing just on leisure, as *Caleidoscopi* did, EJI focus on wider goals, such as training and socio-cultural integration in Catalan society.

As Mawa N’Diaye states, *Caleidoscopi* was born to work “on one important void: the diversity on the streets wasn’t reflected by *casals* and non-formal associations”⁴⁹. One of the main goals was to foster dialogue with newly arrived young people and to counsel families about the benefits of non-formal education spaces for their children. During those years, coordination among authorities, immigrants associations and educational agencies was fostered, in order to “give an educative answer to diversity under an intercultural perspective”⁵⁰, as Elisenda Polinya puts it.

Authorities wanted to prevent young people from joining according to the country of origin, a dangerous trend that fosters youth ghettos and doesn’t facilitate either social integration for immigrants nor open attitudes to diversity in autochthonous youth. Thus, migrant youth policies in Catalonia are generalist and open policies, with an intercultural perspective: they address to all

could do it much better, but we are starting and until recently we had been working on leisure and now we are working on more areas...” Interview to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 9 (Elisenda Polinya).

⁴⁵ Secretaria General de la Joventut, 2006

⁴⁶ The areas developed by this program are: sports, labour, cultura, animation and education.

⁴⁷ During the last years the idea of Latin-American young adults, and particularly street organizations, as turf fighters has become a common place.

⁴⁸ The name of this plan is *Caleidoscopi* – which means kaleidocope - *Pla d’actuació per a la interculturalitat en el lleure*, a plan for leisure and interculturality.

⁴⁹ Interview to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 1-2 (Mawa N’Diaye). The *Casals* are leisure facilities for teenagers linked to Catalan culture.

⁵⁰ Interview to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 2 (Elisenda Polinya)

young people, and they pay special attention to diversity. Young migrant policies in Catalonia are intercultural policies, “in order to have the same citizenship reference”⁵¹ and for young migrants “to have an identity of reference in Catalonia (...)”⁵².

5.4.3 LATIN-AMERICAN YOUTH AND PUBLIC POLICIES

There are no particular policies for particular groups of migrant young people in Catalonia, neither for Latin-Americans nor for young people coming from any other place. Carlos Piegari, Coordinator of Communication in FEDELATINA (Federation of Latin-American agencies in Catalonia), as stated in the first part of this report, considers that the arrival of young immigrants took the authorities by surprise. He considers that generalist policies are not being appropriate for Latin-American youth and that “there isn’t a policy for migrant Latin-American youth... that policy has been built by us... and in fact we are learning this... we didn’t say “ah! So there isn’t a policy for Latin-American young people? Here you have our policy!”. I don’t lie to you... we are building it, we are building it day by day...”⁵³. According to Piegari, authorities considered the need to think these policies as a consequence of social concerns and media’s panic around the alleged “Latin youth gangs”. By 2003, as we well see, some crimes allegedly linked to some Latin-American groups (transnational organizations with a defined structure, particular styles, complex iconography and symbols, etc.) allowed the construction of a shared negative public image of Latin-American youth⁵⁴. As a consequence of this image, promoted by the media and tending to consider all Latin-American young people as violent, dangerous and gangs-related, authorities thought for the first time about creating policies for those young adults. Despite official discourses in Catalonia consider that policies are developed “normally”⁵⁵, we noticed that the first policies for Latin-American youth were created as a result of processes of social stigmatization.

Interviewee people from migrant youth agencies in Catalonia declare that there is an important void. Generalist policies for youth are not for everybody, according to Piegari, but for the privileged ones, meaning that many young people living in Catalonia don’t benefit from them because they don’t have the information. Another important issue is the fact that leisure and training facilities for Catalan youth might not be appropriate for kids that have had their primary socialization in a very different context⁵⁶.

- The experience of FEDELATINA⁵⁷

The Project promoted by FEDELATINA “is specifically linked to gangs. There were boys with legal problems and justice mediators used to call us saying: “this kid has a problem. What are we going to do with him? Can you take care of him?” And then we decided to start working with them... They were calling and asking: “you have so many associations, why don’t you do social work in them?” It doesn’t exist, because boys don’t want to volunteer anywhere... Then we said: “Send them to some place to do what?... We better do it” And then we organized communication

⁵¹ Interview to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 2 (Mawa N’Diaye)

⁵² Interview to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 2 (Elisenda Polinya)

⁵³ Interview to Carlos Piegari, 16/02/2007: 1

⁵⁴ This particular image was linked to some Latin-American young people, those who used to use the street and those linked to some styles (wide clothes, symbols considered gangs-related, tatoos, etc. and rap, hip-hop or raggaeton music).

⁵⁵ Secretaria General de la Joventut, 2000:3

⁵⁶ Field work shows that Latin-American boys live “public space” (streets, parks...) more intensely than autochthonous youth. Another issue that appears in the interviews is control: leisure and educative spaces are created in a rigid and regulated, and thus non attractive for young people used to other contexts.

⁵⁷ At present FEDELATINA has 104 Latin-American agencies in Catalonia linked to the federation.

workshops”⁵⁸. This project started in 2005 with the Prevention Services of Barcelona’s City Council, and it is based on Carlos Piegari’s experience on art, theatre and music workshops with kids from marginal neighbourhoods in Argentina. Art activities are meant to contribute to the analysis of the reality surrounding young people, and they allow starting different training and learning processes. Those processes provide with psychological⁵⁹ support for young people and competences around audio-visual, journalism, and music areas, among others.

Recently, in 2007, a new stage of this project started with a team of psychologists, artists and communicators. The project is divided in different stages: the first one turns around psychological support, the second one focuses on image workshops, the third one on sound workshops, and the last one on radio and TV. Those activities have proved to be successful. In any case, it has to be clear that those projects are marginal and that they have a very low impact on the general context.

- The experience of a marginal neighbourhood in the Great-Barcelona Area

Educative and training activities around music and culture seem to be appropriated in order to foster dialogue between immigrant and autochthonous young people. In this sense, it is interesting to explain the project carried out by two outreach workers, one in Barberà del Vallès and the other one in Sabadell Sud, two towns in the Great-Barcelona Area. The first one works in the marginal neighbourhood of La Románica, with young people from many origins (particularly Catalan “*barriobajeros*”⁶⁰ and Ecuadorians), and the second one works with Latin-Americans from different countries. They both are trying to create “a space for mutual knowledge around hip-hop culture, in order to create cohesion among autochthonous and immigrant young people in Sabadell Sud and Barberà del Vallès. In this space – which is not only a physical space – they will work on values, conflicts resolution or racist prejudices. We consider equally important to meet young people in order to give them training and labour resources and to bridge the gap between them and authorities, so their demands can be listened through the creation of stable groups or associations”⁶¹. Pablo Gómez, outreach educator in La Románica told us about his work with autochthonous youth (mostly born in migrant families from the south of Spain and Spanish-speaking) and immigrant youth (mainly Ecuadorians). His story, very critical to actual migrant youth policies in Catalonia, doesn’t hide the difficulties he has faced in this field, with scarce resources and different handicaps (authorities’ stigmatized idea of some migrant groups, difficulties to establish dialogue with police corps, lack of coordination, etc.). Pablo Gómez says that in this context, the workers’ will and creativity become very important (or maybe too much). Coordination at the base is important, but if it isn’t assumed by authorities, it is clear that coordination mechanisms are not guaranteed in order to create the network proposed in theories⁶².

These outreach workers want Latin-American young people (particularly those between 14 and 20 years old) to get closer to public resources, as well as to foster associations and migrant youth’s participation through cultural activities, music, sports and shared dialogue. The trend to create

⁵⁸ Interview to Carlos Piegari, 16/02/2007: 2

⁵⁹ The presentation of this Project says that “meeting the new urban space in Barcelona, due to migration or change of residence, means that the existential lenses need to be refocused. Some can do it by themselves in more or less immediate ways. Others cannot, and then there are possible conflicts” Fedelatina, 2007: 3

⁶⁰ *Barriobajeros* is a derogatory word used in this context; it can be understood as low-class or as something similar to British *chavs*.

⁶¹ Regidoria de Joventut del Ajuntament de Barberà del Vallès y de Sabadell Sud, 2007: 2-3

⁶² Pablo Gómez points out that the jerarchies between authorities sometimes don’t promot networking, and they can even hinder it: “So sometimes, people... I don’t know. They don’t want to. And I don’t know why... and that is why if I depend on the fact that my superiors talk to theirs, their superiors to their peers at the other municipality, so that at the end I have to talk to the other outreach worker who is in the same situation tan me... It’s better for mi to talk directly to him. And I forget about all those steps I would have to take...” Interview to Pablo Gómez, 21/02/2007: 18

defined groups based on the origins (Ecuadorians with Ecuadorians, Moroccans with Moroccans, autochthonous with autochthonous, etc.) threatens generalist youth policies.

According to Pablo Gómez, it is necessary to accept their division and work with them in order to know the kids and to start breaking those divisions. Generalist policies for youth have to be previously prepared. In this sense, it is interesting to notice that those outreach workers defend open policies, not created for specific groups of young migrants, and at the same time they call their project "Project for Latin-American youth in Sabadell Sud – Barberà del Vallès" as they talk about "the risk of exclusion that Latin-American adolescent and young adults face due to different reasons (...). We don't mean they need special treatment but we do have to respond to different issues such as legal status, police pressure, and surrounding prejudice; maybe they focus too much on those young people, and too little on the rest"⁶³.

5.4.4 LONG TERM GOALS: INTERCULTURAL GENERALIST YOUTH POLICIES

In short, discourses in Catalonia turn around generalist intercultural policies for youth as a whole. In fact, we have to consider actions with specific groups as a previous step in order to establish dialogue with young people, and plan social integration. At present the main goal would be to be able to promote long term policies for all young people. At present, there is still a gap between theories and practices, and the change in discourses hasn't reached practices. With these ideas we finish this chapter, in which more than practices, we have tried to describe the discourses sustaining a process: the approach by Catalan authorities to migrant youth's complex reality, so that they can become citizens.

6. TOWARDS A FIRST APPROACH TO ASSOCIATED LIFE OF MIGRANT YOUTH IN CATALONIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers a diagnosis and a reflection about formal youth associations, both autochthonous and migrant, in Catalonia. At certain extent, it is meant to be the starting point for future research about youth associations in Catalonia. The next section analyses formal youth associations and youth councils in Catalonia. The third section explains the role of migrant youth associations in those institutions, and the fourth one presents the only example of Latin-American youth formal association existing in Catalonia (the "Organización Cultural de los Reyes y Reinas Latinos"). The last section offers some reflections about social participation.

6.2 CATALAN YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS: THE *CONSELL NACIONAL DE JOVENTUT* AND THE *CONSELL DE LA JOVENTUT DE BARCELONA*

In this section we present two of the key participants in the organization of Catalan youth, the *Consell Nacional de la Joventut de Catalunya* (CNJC) and the *Consell de la Joventut de Barcelona* (CJB)⁶⁴. We will briefly consider some questions around the representativity of those institutions, although it doesn't seem important in youth policies anymore, in order to provide an appropriate context to understand migrant youth associations. Evidence show that there are very few formal

⁶³ Regidoria de Joventut del Ajuntament de Barberà del Vallès y de Sabadell Sud, 2007: 1.

⁶⁴ National Youth Council of Catalonia and Youth Council of Barcelona.

migrant youth associations in Catalonia, but we cannot forget that it happens in a context where only a minority of young people are involved in youth associations⁶⁵.

6.2.1 THE *CONSELL NACIONAL DE LA JOVENTUT DE CATALUNYA* (CNJC)

The *Consell Nacional de la Joventut de Catalunya* (CNJC) is a non governmental platform consisting of 89 Catalan youth organizations and territorial youth councils. Its aim is to promote young people's interests in Catalan society and in the presence of authorities. The CNJC recognizes as its goals: to promote youth associations and particularly, democratic participation; to bridge the gap between youth and authorities in order to improve youth's situation; and to promote dynamic and coordinated relationships between youth organizations, also at an international level. The Parliament and the Catalan government recognize the CNJC as a valid negotiator in youth issues.

The CNJC considers participation is a tool for collective transformation that can improve life conditions for young people. Its work areas are: territorial participation, emancipation and health, formal and non-formal education, international network, cooperation, campaigns and research, and communication.

The organizations in the CNJC are educative organizations (scout movements, youth facilities – *casals* – and youth groups, and educative leisure movements – *esplais* -), students' and workers' unions, cultural and exchange organizations (NGOs, hiking clubs, students organizations), political groups (youth organizations belonging to political parties represented at Parliament), social organizations (homosexuality, feminism, religion, peace...), youth councils and other different organizations.

6.2.2 THE *CONSELL DE LA JOVENTUT DE BARCELONA* (CJB)

The *Consell de la Joventut de Barcelona* (CJB) represents youth organizations in the capital city. It was born 30 years ago as an instrument for youth participation to promote association. The CJB is considered a place for exchange, cooperation and debate among youth organizations, and it works in eight areas, similar to those at the CNJC. Barcelona's City Council, through its *Regidoria de Joventut*⁶⁶, created the *Casal d'Associacions Juvenils de Barcelona*⁶⁷, a facility that offers information, services and resources for youth organizations and groups in the city, in order to promote their development.

6.2.3 YOUTH COUNCILS: LOW PARTICIPATION, LOW REPRESENTATIVITY

Youth councils have been one of the most typical actions in youth policies, both in Catalonia and in all European countries. Support to volunteer associations and youth organizations has been central for those councils, whose goal, to promote youth participation, has been shared by authorities in youth policies. In fact, the "White book" of the European Commission (2001) included this goal as the lowest common denominator for youth policies. But the same year, and also fostered by the European Commission, IARD Institute from Milan carried out a study that outlined the need to overcome the limits of traditional participation mechanisms, such as youth councils and participation through youth organizations. The conclusions can be summarized in four: 1) youth councils represent only a minority of young people; 2) youth councils are not socially representative of youth population, mainly because disadvantaged young people don't have any participation in such

⁶⁵ Catalan authorities try to thwart this fact fostering youth participation and youth associations. The *Equip de Foment de la participació juvenil* de la *Secretaria de la Joventut* works on the design, execution and assesment of youth participation programs in Catalonia (www.gencat.cat).

⁶⁶ Youth Department.

⁶⁷ *Casals* is the popular word for those facilities in Catalonia, it can be understood as youth clubs.

platforms; 3) there is a changing trend in the motives to participate in organizations and councils: participation is now based on self-interest; 4) people in youth organizations and youth councils are not always the young ones, but very often, adult people. Consistently with these results, they propose to promote participation in non formal associations, as a complement for formal associations and their organs of representation. We mention this report because at least three of the four conclusions, the three first ones, fit perfectly with the situation of Catalan youth councils.

Data show a low youth participation in formal organizations in Catalonia⁶⁸: in 2002, 26% of young people were associated, and 58% of those belonged to recreational organizations (mainly sports and leisure), 23% (15% of the total) belonged to educative and artistic associations and 19% (5% of the total) belonged to youth organizations (Font, 2002)⁶⁹. These data shed light on the representativity of youth councils in Catalonia, especially when those platforms consist of youth organizations (in which only 5% of Catalan young people participate) and when most of associated people belong to sport clubs.

Regarding to the link between socio-economic status and association in Catalonia, 65% of high class young people don't belong to any association, while in lower classes it reaches 85% (Font, 2002).

6.3 INSTITUTIONALIZED MIGRANT YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS: AN INCONSISTENT (OR INEXISTENT?) PRESENCE

There is a public consensus about the role that migrants' associations play as a mechanism for participation in the receiving society. It is also evident that migrants' associations are very diverse and so they are the functions they fulfil, which has been partly possible thanks to the support by Catalan authorities. But until now, this growth hasn't meant the development of migrant youth associations, at least the formal ones, due to complex reasons (youth migrations are recent; "adult" organizations have more power; there are symbolic and material obstacles to access youth councils, etc.).

The statement that institutionalized autochthonous youth associations are not representative of Catalan youth is even more truthful when talking about migrant youth.

Institutionalized migrant youth associations in Catalonia, in fact, don't have a consistent presence; or as we wonder at the heading, its presence is practically inexistent, because most migrant young people are not associated. More than presence, we have to talk about absence. For example, none of the 103 Latin-American organizations in FEDELATINA has a youth section or considers it is important. In other migrant communities the situation is similar, despite some may have a youth section. According to the Interculturality Team at the *Secretaria de Joventut*, it is significative the fact that the only migrant youth associations in Catalonia are *the Latin Kings* and the *Associació de Joves i Estudiants de Guinea Equatorial*⁷⁰.

Guinea's Students Association is the only one present at the *Consell Nacional de la Joventut* and at the *Consell de la Joventut de Barcelona*. This association was born 12 years ago and it helps Guinean students coming to Catalonia, with a fund for 3 to 5 years (depending on degrees), provided by the Generalitat. Two years ago the association entered the secretary of the council through its charismatic secretary and soul: Soco Mbuy, a 29 year old Guinean woman. The association is formally constituted by about 100 members, most of them man (90 men and 10 women), although its representative is a woman. Their ages go from 18 to 35, and there is a minority of students with

⁶⁸ Most recent data are from 2002 (Enquesta de la joventut catalana 2002, Observatori de la Joventut de Catalunya). At the end of this year, there will be more available data about last year.

⁶⁹ Besides, under a comparative perspective, Catalan youth, as the rest of Spanish citizens, belong to associations in a lower degree than European population, whatever kind of organization we consider (Morales, 2004).

⁷⁰ Guinean Students Association.

funding, those who go to Catalonia to get their degrees and then return to Guinea, although considering the difficulties in their country, many of them decide to stay in Catalonia.

The goal of this association, at a theoretical level, is to promote the integration of Guinean young people in Catalonia. But at present the association doesn't have a clear working plan, and its activities are those linked to the assistance to two students with fund. They don't have a real associated life, considering that they meet three or four times per year. It is important to notice that the only migrant association with representation is an organization with a weak participation and almost non-existent. The *Associació de Joves i Estudiants de Guinea Equatorial* seems to live because of the efforts of its leader, and not as a structured organization with defined goals. Her experience at the Secretary of the Council seems to be a personal commitment, more than a shared work in the association. The areas she works at are cooperation, communication and social integration; particularly "social integration is a new area created at the council and it has three thematic axes: conflict resolution, gender and citizenship"⁷¹. It is clear that in order to talk about youth's citizenship, migrants should have a more consistent presence, considering the concept of citizenship that the authorities are promoting. Soco explains her attempts, until now useless, to promote the presence of migrants at the CNJC. In fact, she considers that the council isn't closed for young migrants, but at the same time, nothing is done to promote their participation. Definitely, according to Soco, the council doesn't actively promote migrant youth participation, although it should be done according to its goals. At the same time, there aren't proposals of migrant youth groups to enter the CNJC, and there is a wide gap between young people and local politics. In fact, we can state that many migrant young adults don't have the slightest knowledge of the council and its work. Definitely, there is a deep indifference between the heterogeneous group of young migrants and Catalan youth associations. Soco bitterly concludes that there is a lot of hypocrisy in politics, despite she believes in her personal work at the council: "(...) they can only have an immigrant person there to... "to add a touch of colour", as I say... in campaigns, there is a black boy, or a South-American behind him, so they can say that they talk about immigration... when the campaign is done it is as if they said: if they ask, I never saw you..."⁷²

Another example of clash between migrant youth associations and the official discourse is what happened at a county council close to Lleida. Roser Nin, youth specialist in the County Council of El Penedès, explains how a group of 16 young adults from different countries and continents met in a training course called "Young adults, coexistence agents" promoted by the Immigration Area at the County Council of Segrià. The 35 hours course was meant to stimulate the interests of young adults in mediation and participation in culturally diverse contexts. It was open to migrant and autochthonous young adults, but only migrant young adults applied for that course. Those 16 boys and girls (from Morocco, Gambia and Romania, and ages between 18 and 25) decided to start a migrant association and start working on their project. This is an interesting experience because it doesn't focus on the ethnic and national origin, but on their identity as young and migrant people. It is something new in Catalonia, and their discourse fits with the institutional one. "Not only to promote associations, but also the fact of having more diverse identities, diverse activisms... one identity according to the origins, but another one according to interests, beliefs, whatever..."⁷³.

With respect to unaccompanied migrant young people coming from Morocco, Sergi Tabarnet, coordinator of the Program SAEJ (a service specialized in receiving young people), states that associations are completely out of those kids life, as well as the concept of association as a tool to improve their rights and their conditions. According to Tabarnet, they don't see associations as a way to improve their life through the idea of family, as Latin-American street organizations do.

⁷¹ Interview to Soco Mbuy, 12/03/2007: 11

⁷² Interview to Soco Mbuy, 12/03/2007: 15

⁷³ Interview to Mawa N'diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 12 (Elisenda Polinya)

Tabarnet says that in situations of marginality young adults can respond through joining, but sometimes individualism can prevail as the right attitude to face problems and risks.

An important idea we want to stress is that institutionalized youth associations (or formal associations) cannot explain the way migrant young adults associate with each other. That is why we propose that the next stages of TRESEGY study Catalan youth associations under a wide perspective, particularly Latin-American street organizations.

Once we have seen the inconsistency of migrant youth associations in Catalonia, it is clear that forms of association can be very different and separated from institutionalized forms. Latin-American street organizations show different ways to “join” and “to be an organization” in a way that is not recognized by the receiving society, or that is only recognized after a dialogue process. Our goal is to focus on those experiences and to analyze them.

Formal youth migrant associations in Catalonia, as we have seen, are practically non-existent, although there is a trend to create them (experiences such as the mix migrant association in Segrià and the process followed by Latin-American street organizations). This formula has some potential benefits: public acknowledgement of the group, coverage of the message, possible public funding, and the opportunity to be the protagonists, which is something they couldn’t achieve individually.

6.4 THE ONLY EXAMPLE OF LATIN-AMERICAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION IN CATALONIA: *LA ORGANIZACIÓN CULTURAL DE LOS REYES Y REINAS LATINOS DE CATALUÑA*⁷⁴

Generally, Latin-American young adults in Catalonia are not associated at an institutional level. Informal association is much more common, and we will continue to investigate this phenomenon during TRESEGY Project.

In this section we will focus on the only example of Latin-American youth association in Catalonia, the cultural organization of Latin Kings and Queens of Catalonia. This organization became a cultural association in September 14 2006, as a result of a dialogue process.

6.4.1 ANTECEDENTS

In September 10, 2003, the newspaper El Periódico de Cataluña published an article saying that the police were worried because of the presence of a “dangerous gang” luring minors in high schools and assaulting people in Barcelona⁷⁵. In a muckraking style, the article presents a report by Barcelona’s local police about the Latin Kings, and describes what would be considered as a “Latin gang” for a long time. It even presented the “typical profile” of a gang member, with his outfit and colours, in order to be identified and avoided.

In October 28, 2003, Ronny Tapias, a 17 year old Colombian boy was murdered at the exit of the High School he attended in Barcelona. It was a media scoop. Newspaper presented this crime as something linked to “Latin gangs”. Many articles were written about the phenomenon, stating that “Barcelona is scared of gangs”⁷⁶ or that “The growth of youth gangs shows the need for more police presence”⁷⁷. For the first time in Spain, Latin Kings and Netas became being well-known under the label of “criminal gangs”. Beyond their existence, media coverage contributed to create

⁷⁴ The cultural organization of Latin Kings and Queens in Catalonia. This section is a short versión written by the autor and presented at the meeting “I Congreso sobre infancia, adolescencia y juventud: Ciudadanos y ciudadanas de derechos, San Sebastián, march 6-7, 2007” and referenced as: Giliberti, L., 2007.

⁷⁵ El Periódico, 10/11/2003

⁷⁶ La Vanguardia, 02/11/2003

⁷⁷ El Periódico, 30/10/2003

public opinion tending to criminalize and to build a distorted image of Latin-American young people in general, allegedly violent and voluntarily displaced.

The Latin Kings as a transnational organization, but mainly as a sociability group, existed in Madrid and Barcelona since 2001. In fact, before October 28, 2003, few people knew about their name.

6.4.2 REHABILITATION POLICIES AND THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

Since 2002, Barcelona's local police had started working on this phenomenon, after some conflicts between kids that claimed to be members of the Latin Kings, Ñetas and Masters. The first police report was released at the end of 2003. After the murder of Ronny Tapias and the following media scoop, there was a rising sense of alarm and the first actions were planned by security corps and social agents.

Those actions used to "give priority to police work and therapeutic work, considering that those were based on a stereotyped definition of those groups as criminal and cult-like organizations"⁷⁸. Besides the identification and police persecution, a kind of "rehabilitation" work was started with members of "Latin gangs" when their families asked for it; the idea was to help overcoming the addiction to those organizations, offering counselling for families and members, diagnosis, and help to quit the organization⁷⁹.

Besides the criminalization, social fears and rehabilitation policies promoted by media alarmism, this treatment of "Latin gangs" made them attractive for some young adults. The criminalization process had some side effects, because the stigma in the receiving society became an emblem for migrant kids⁸⁰. It is interesting to notice that since the media coverage started, the street organizations increased their membership and social presence⁸¹.

The image of the Latin Kings Nation proposed by the members is an upside down image of the official public image shared by civil society.

6.4.3 DIALOGUE PROCESS AND CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE

Some circumstances created the conditions for a change and the beginning of a dialogue between Catalan institutions and migrant young adults belonging to the Latin Kings.

During 2004 Prevention Services in Barcelona's City Council wanted to know the situation of Latin-American young adults in the city, in order to promote effective policies and actions. That is why they fostered a research to be carried out by the team led by the anthropologist Carles Feixa, through the Institute of Childhood and Urban World Consortium (CIIMU)⁸². "Besides collecting the testimonies of many Latin young adults, and the professionals working with them (professors, families, social educators, members of associations, journalists, policemen, etc.) the fieldwork led to contact the leaders of the local "franchises" of Latin Kings and Ñetas"⁸³. The dialogue was easier due to the internal process in the Latin Kings, which had new leaders with ideas against underground

⁷⁸ Feixa, C.; Canelles, N., 2006: 46

⁷⁹ Feixa, C.; Canelles, N., 2006: 46-47.

⁸⁰ In a tragic mirrors game, the receiving society doesn't recognize them as worthy negotiators, so they don't recognize the receiving society either.

⁸¹ According to our informants we can say that the Nation – as they call to the organization – started to grow up to 300 members in Barcelona and the greater area. It is a very small number compared to the 50.000 Latin-American young adults living in that area.

⁸² This research group, recently named as *Grup Hebe. Estudis sobre joventut i cultura*), and to which two of the authors of this report belong (Luca Giliberti and Noemí Canelles), is still active working on those issues.

⁸³ Feixa, C.; Canelles, N., 2006: 47.

The results of the research have been published in: Feixa, C. (Dir.); Porzio L., Recio, C. (Coords)., 2006, *Jóvenes "latinos" en Barcelona. Espacio público y cultura urbana*, Anthropos – Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, Barcelona.

work. Despite they didn't say it openly, at the middle of 2005, the organization had started to use public facilities to hold meetings and activities.

In November 2005 the results of the research were presented at the *Centre de Cultura Contemporànea de Barcelona*. In a seminar called "Latin Youth: Public Space and Urban Culture" (November 21-23, 2005) the phenomenon was explained under a different point of view, and new intervention models were presented. Some members of the Latin Kings and the Ñetas "declared their contempt for violence and their wishes to start a process of dialogue with institutions and youth movements. Before an astonished audience, this vulnerable but promising process started, towards the reform of gangs from the inside out..." Those organizations started to become cultural youth associations, with the mediation of researchers and the help from different Catalan institutions, such as the City Council, the Youth Council and the Human Rights Institute. At the same time, the media started to talk about this process and to give a different public image of the groups.

6.4.4 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE "ORGANIZACIÓN CULTURAL DE LOS REYES Y REINAS LATINOS DE CATALUÑA"

On September 14, 2006, the "*Organización cultural de los Reyes y Reinas Latinos de Cataluña*" was officially presented in a youth facility. It had been registered at the register for associations of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*. The constitution in association has been a complex process, considering the mutual fears of both migrant young adults and receiving society. The Latin Kings have had to think about it carefully, write their statute and create a discourse about them. At present their situation in Catalonia is better, because they can carry out their activities in public spaces without being bothered: sports championships, concerts, music recording, meetings, etc. They have some references such as FEDELATINA (the federation of Latin-American agencies in Catalonia) or a priest they consider their spiritual guide in Barcelona⁸⁴.

The acknowledgement of the Latin Kings as an association, though, coexists with very different intervention models and social attitudes in the whole Spain. In Madrid the situation is very different, there is no dialogue with the government of the region and the Latin Kings are accused of being an illicit association there.

In November 2006 the first the Reform of the Law Penal Responsibility for Minors, penalized belonging to "youth gangs" for the first time, with penalties from 3 to 6 years in a closed centre⁸⁵. This law states that those organizations are criminal and illicit⁸⁶, and thus it is not possible to dialogue and they have to be repressed and suppressed. Despite it doesn't solve all the problems, the experience of Barcelona opens a door to dialogue and interaction. What is being known as the "Barcelona Model" is thus a change of perspective, an alternative model to repression, and considering the decrease of violence in Catalonia, a more valid one. Institutions have to listen and understand before criminalizing or stigmatizing.

⁸⁴ Father Joan Cabot has a very good relationship with them, he lets them use the church as a place for meetings and he helps in the dialogue process.

⁸⁵ This Reform considers that any action as a gang, organization or association is a crime and it can be punished by juvenile detention.

⁸⁶ In this article we defend the opposite thesis. It is interesting to notice Luis Barrios' discourse, interviewed Ambar Casals y Juan Carlos Martínez. He says: "No. They are not criminals, these are not criminal organizations. They have people committing crimes, and you have criminal policement... The Church wasn't created to commit crimes, and you have some priests who are bastards. But let's not generalize..."

6.5 SOME IDEAS ABOUT ASSOCIATED LIFE OF AUTOCTONOUS AND MIGRANT YOUNG ADULTS: COEXISTENCE AND INTERACTIONS

The arrival of young people from different countries to Catalonia, considering youth participation, implies that different perspectives meet in a framework whose main feature is the lack of formal participation, as we have seen in previous sections.

However, despite this lack of experiences in associations, we must consider other contexts. They are not formal associations or organizations created by young people, but still they offer opportunities for socialization and participation. We have identified three different experiences: The first ones are social and educative initiatives generally linked to social services. These promotion and protection initiatives offer spaces for young people from different countries to meet, while they share training processes, emancipation processes or other activities. The second kind of participation experience is the one offered by immigrants' associations created by adult people but offering some activities for young people. And finally, we mention a specific group, the Latin-American students in Catalan universities. Their experience shows different possibilities of identification and differentiation with respect to autochthonous young people and non-student immigrants. Next we describe those experiences:

6.5.1 SOCIAL AND EDUCATIVE INICIATIVES

The first experiences are protection and promotion initiatives for youth planed by the different governments, and often managed by agencies belonging to the third sector. These initiatives can be labour training, street or outreach work, residential programs, alternative to parole programs, etc. Generally, those programs address needs of low-class young people, the so-called "at risk youth". This idea is now mixed with migration, since migrant young people are the ones living in certain neighbourhoods, or facing difficulties to enter the labour market due to their legal status. As outreach worker Pablo Gomez says, young migrants "(...) are at risk population, because they are displaced... after going through a migratory process, at a difficult age, because they are teenagers, without education... I don't know, many of them haven't finished school. Eh... Without a job, many of them can't work although they want to, because of the papers. I mean that this is an at risk group in this sense"⁸⁷.

Interviews to professionals in these programs show they are conceived as public policies managed sometimes by local governments or by agencies in the third sector, but the programs have never been planed by the target group. However, the experience of these projects means the possibility to carry out an activity in which young people from different origins get to know each other. This experience of mixing doesn't happen spontaneously in other places, because according to those professionals, adolescents use to relate to people who come from their own countries. For example, Sergi Tabarnet says this about Moroccan boys: "It is very difficult for our boys (...). We try them to share their leisure with other people, so that through leisure, sports and all those things, they can open up to more people, OK? (...) Because they use to create groups for themselves"⁸⁸. That is the reason why these initiatives offer possibilities for socialization otherwise non-existent, and they make it possible for young people to identify with each other because of the experience they share, regardless of nationality. Besides, this kind of project becomes a referent for young people when they need information or resources.

⁸⁷ Interview to Pablo Gómez, 21/2/2007: 8-9

⁸⁸ Interview to Sergi Tabarnet, 23/02/2007: 14

A particular initiative is street or outreach education. The trend to group according to nationality is strong in the streets, and it is especially true for Latin-American young adults. But at the same time, the street is a space where many groups coexist and where relationships are held by the youngsters themselves; despite streets are non formal spaces, the degree of organization and relationship indicates that young people have a practice of participation there. Pablo Gómez explains two attempts to formalize groups by young migrants: “They want to create a formal group in order to hold parties from time to time, and to get a public facility to do so. To... have meetings and so (...)”⁸⁹. But such initiatives face a dilemma: they are seen as a risk. This perception of risk affects the presence of Latin-American young adults in public spaces, because their presence is thought to be linked to criminal organizations. The same outreach worker explains the answer that authorities gave to the group of Ecuadorians that wanted to create a formal association: “The idea of an association was rejected, OK?, because they were a... violent and conflictive group, they said those were territorial animals”⁹⁰, “you can’t create an association if its goal is to extort, if the goal is to...(...) look for fights, look for funding for your assoc... for your organization, like a gang and that stuff”⁹¹. Those answers show the mistrust towards the organization proposals coming from young migrant people, so street projects face a paradox when they foster participation and at the same time they find diffuse institutional barriers when trying to formalize it.

6.5.2 MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

The second kind of participation experience for young migrants is the one offered by migrant associations that create a youth section, the two existing students associations and immigrant associations that include young members, despite not having youth section. Although migrant associations have been analysed in section 6.2, here we will focus on their interaction with autochthonous youth associations.

Migrant associations offer different possibilities for youth participation. For example, although the *Associació de Joves Estudiants de Guinea Equatorial* was created by young people, their situation is very different from the one of migrants who come to Catalonia to work. The activities of that association are focused on tuition funds and stays in Catalonia⁹², and this doesn’t help consolidating the membership. Other associations, as the *Associació de Dominicans de Catalunya*, carry out workshops and activities for young people. However, as we saw previously, the interviews show that those associations or activities are insufficient to represent the reality and interests of Latin-American young people. This shortage is especially important if we consider interaction with autochthonous youth because of two reasons: the first one is the nationality-based character of immigrant associations, and the second one is the lack of specificity, which implies that they cannot enter youth councils as youth associations, and despite its weakness, that would be the only interaction platform for formal associations.

A project trying to solve this lack of representativity in formal spaces is the project *Espais Joves Interculturals*⁹³. One of its goals is to promote youth sections in immigrant associations so they can become associations themselves and enter the council. Even accomplishing this goal, the unsolved problem would be the lack of representativity of the council with respect to youth in general, and

⁸⁹ Interview to Pablo Gómez, 21/2/2007: 10

⁹⁰ Interview to Pablo Gómez, 21/2/2007: 9

⁹¹ Interview to Pablo Gómez, 21/2/2007: 10

⁹² Interviews to Mawa N’diaye and Elisenda Polinya, 26/03/2007: 11 (Elisenda) and to Soco Mbuy, 12/03/2007: 8, 9 y 11 show how peculiar is that association, as explained in section 6.2.

⁹³ Intercultural Youth Spaces.

also the existing tension between autochthonous associations, very linked to Catalan identity and the new Latin-American forms of association, also very focused on Latin identity.

6.5.3 LATIN-AMERICAN STUDENTS IN CATALAN UNIVERSITIES

Finally we have to talk about a group whose experience contains interesting elements in order to understand the situation of Latin-American young people in Catalonia: the group of students coming from Latin-America and studying at Catalan universities. This group has a peculiar situation: as students they are different from teenagers reunited by working families; however, considering some material and symbolic difficulties, they are “Latinos” for Catalan society, and they have constant relationships with autochthonous young students.

Foreign students⁹⁴ in Barcelona’s universities have been growing since 1987, first year of the Erasmus Program, and reached 11,8% of the students in 2005, considering undergraduate and postgraduate students. Postgraduate foreign students (in this case meaning non Spanish) were 30,30% of the total, also in 2005. Latin-America is the origin of 26% of those students, and they are the bigger group. Most common countries of origin are Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Argentina and Brazil⁹⁵. They could somehow be called “the Latin-American Erasmus”.

Judith Muñoz is a Chilean PHD student and member of *Hijas de la Tierra*⁹⁶, a group created by Chilean female postgraduate students in Barcelona. She stresses the existing division between Latin-American countries exporting workers (Ecuador, Peru, Dominican Republic...) and those exporting students (Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Argentina and Brazil). But when they arrive to Catalonia, students find out that they are labelled as “Latinos”, no matter where they come from, and this doesn’t fit with their own perception as Argentineans, Chileans or Mexicans. Judith Muñoz describes class and ethnic differences between both groups – students and workers – as well as personal decision /VS need as main reason to travel to Catalonia. But on the other hand, the difficulty to get a job permit, as well as the effects of the label “Latino” which links them to certain jobs, is something that makes them equal. It is interesting to notice that with this experience, the group re-defines its identity in their relationships with other students, both Catalan or from other countries, and it can even change the relationships with their own country. This is what happened to *Hijas de la Tierra*, conceived as a practice of citizenship in a transit state between Chile and Barcelona. Through new technologies (radio and weblog) they produce discourses about women’s rights that maybe they couldn’t produce in Chile, and they create identities linked to both sides. Although this is a unique experience related to their circumstances and political positions, this example shows how the relationships established in Catalonia became a group with a participation perspective and with a hybrid identity beyond the Latin-Catalan tension.

6.5.4 SOME IDEAS AS A CONCLUSION

We started this chapter saying that migrant youth associations must be placed in the framework of youth associations as a whole, and those show a lack of participation and representativity. Most active associations are sports associations, and the most visible groups in youth representation organs are linked to Catalan identity. But those young people are a clear minority compared to non associated Catalan youth.

⁹⁴ These data consider foreign students as non Catalan students.

⁹⁵ Montull, Albert, 2007

⁹⁶ Daughters of the Earth.

The arrival of Latin-American young people has introduced new association patterns: the trend to meet in the street, in a non formal way, in big groups. Generally, immigrant young people go through processes of training, emancipation and socialization through agencies different from formal associations, some times through social or youth services, and maintaining their non formal relationships.

The only experience that goes from a non formal group to a formal and legal association is the one of the Latin Kings and Queens, and this case poses some questions, because they have been treated as a gang by the media, and because policies addressed to them are contradictory. The acknowledgement of the association doesn't eliminate social perception of risk and stigmatization of young people. This association establishes a precedent full of questions about future social integration of Latin-American young people in Catalonia.

The trend to establish origin-based relationships is a constant, both in formal associations and informal interaction. The example of Latin-American students in Catalan universities shows the strength of the label "Latin". Based on this, young people establish relationships considering their need to build their identity including the meaning of being "Latin". It happens in an also fragmented society, in which young people asserting their Catalan identity are more active and visible than the sons and daughters of the previous Spanish immigrants, and whose patterns of relationship should be analyzed. Thus, depending on class, symbolic capital and resources, among others, Latin-American young people can assume different positions between "Latinity" and "Catalaninity", but by now besides associations whose base is the country of origin, the only Latin-American existing association denounces racism and claims their Latin identity. Other references, such as Europe, are far away even for autochthonous associations. Considering the discourses of our interviewees, the notion of Europe isn't relevant as a framework to build youth identities. Even so, growing mobility within Europe is contributing to the consciousness of a transnational common space, especially for students and also for migrants. But until now, this fact hasn't reflected in the identity of European autochthonous young people, and obviously, neither it has in migrants' identity. Even an experience that could be similar to the Erasmus one, which has had an important impact in European universities, becomes difficult when protagonists are Latin-American students, because of the meaning of being "Latin", more important than class and cultural level.

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SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

MADRID

WP 3- JUNE 2007

NATURE: REPORT

DISSEMINATION LEVEL: PUBLIC

AUTHORS: Colectivo Ioé
Miguel Ángel de Prada, Walter Actis,
Carlos Pereda y Emma Mateos

SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]
[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]

Project Acronym: TRESEGY - Contract n°: 029105

Project Full Title: “*Toward a social construction of an European youth: the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers*”

Introduction

Ce document est le Rapport de synthèse sur le Contexte local de Madrid, pour lequel le District Centre a été retenu comme unité d'analyse dans le cadre du Projet TRESEGY et qui constitue le document n°7 du WP3.

Il a été élaboré d'après le document commun adopté lors de la rencontre de Metz (10 novembre 2006). Il comprend quatre chapitres, plus la Bibliographie, la liste des personnes interviewées et l'Annexe statistique.

Ce document rassemble les données statistiques et bibliographiques sur l'unité locale retenue à Madrid, enrichies de la série d'entretiens réalisées au sein de différentes institutions compétentes (voir liste d'Entretiens). Le lecteur intéressé pourra se référer au texte complet en consultant le SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N°6, rapport de l'équipe de Madrid, le Colectivo Ioé.

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I. UNITÉ D'ANALYSE RETENUE. LE DISTRICT CENTRE DANS LA VILLE DE MADRID.

1. Unités territoriales de référence

A Madrid, l'échelon retenu pour le Projet TRESEGY est le district Centre. Les échelons supérieurs au plan spatial et administratif sont la Municipalité de Madrid, la Communauté de Madrid et l'Espagne.

1.1. L'Espagne

Au cours des deux dernières décennies, l'Espagne a cessé d'être un pays d'émigration pour devenir un pays récepteur net d'immigration. Actuellement, c'est le pays de l'Union Européenne qui reçoit le plus d'immigrants étrangers. Le solde migratoire des huit dernières années (3.187.639 nouveaux immigrants) compte pour 77% dans la croissance démographique (436.000 par an)

1.2 La Communauté de Madrid

La structure administrative de l'Espagne repose sur l'existence de 17 Communautés Autonomes, elles-mêmes subdivisées en provinces et municipalités. La Communauté de Madrid est située au centre géographique de la péninsule. Elle est assez peu étendue par rapport aux Communautés Autonomes qui l'entourent. Cependant, la Communauté de Madrid concentre l'un des principaux noyaux de population en Espagne.

A partir de 1940, l'aire métropolitaine de Madrid a enregistré une forte croissance, l'apport migratoire en provenance d'autres régions d'Espagne étant l'une des principales composantes de cette croissance.

L'immigration étrangère n'a eu qu'un faible impact sur la dynamique démographique de la Communauté de Madrid jusqu'en 1995. Depuis cette date, celle-ci est devenue l'un des grands pôles d'attraction en Espagne.

1.3 La Municipalité de Madrid/Ville de Madrid

Le territoire de la Communauté de Madrid est subdivisé en 179 communes aux dimensions très hétérogènes. La commune de Madrid correspond à la Ville de Madrid (3.128.600 habitants), qui constitue le plus grand centre urbain de la Communauté. Dans ce rapport, nous nous référerons indifféremment à la commune de Madrid ou à la Ville de Madrid.

Le nombre d'étrangers actuellement inscrits au *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes* de Madrid dépasse 500 000 personnes, soit quatre fois plus qu'en l'an 2000.

Tableau I.1 Population étrangère par unité territoriale (2006)

	Population totale	Etrangers	% de population étrangère	% du total des étrangers
España	44.708.964	4.144.166	9,3	100,0
Comunidad de Madrid	6.008.183	800.512	13,3	19,3
Ciudad de Madrid	3.128.600	439.973	14,1	10,6

Source : Elaboration propre, *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*, 1^o janvier 2006.

La commune de Madrid comprend 21 districts dans l'état actuel de la structure administrative. En outre, il existe un échelon intermédiaire entre les districts et les sections : les quartiers.

2. Le District CENTRE

Le district Centre constitue le centre vital de la ville. Il occupe une place « centrale », non seulement en termes géographiques, mais aussi de par le pouvoir d'attraction des commerces, de l'administration, des loisirs et des services.

Il est beaucoup plus densément peuplé que la moyenne des districts. Il se distingue par sa forte hétérogénéité sociale et par le grand dynamisme de ses entreprises. Les immigrés s'y installent, attirés par les pensions et petits hôtels bon marché, par sa situation centrale, par le réseau de transports qui le relie au reste de la ville, les services administratifs essentiels, les logements en location de moindre qualité mais moins chers qu'ailleurs, et par les locaux commerciaux disponibles.

Le district Centre est composé de six quartiers : Palacio, Embajadores, Cortes, Justicia, Universidad et Sol (voir Plan page suivante).

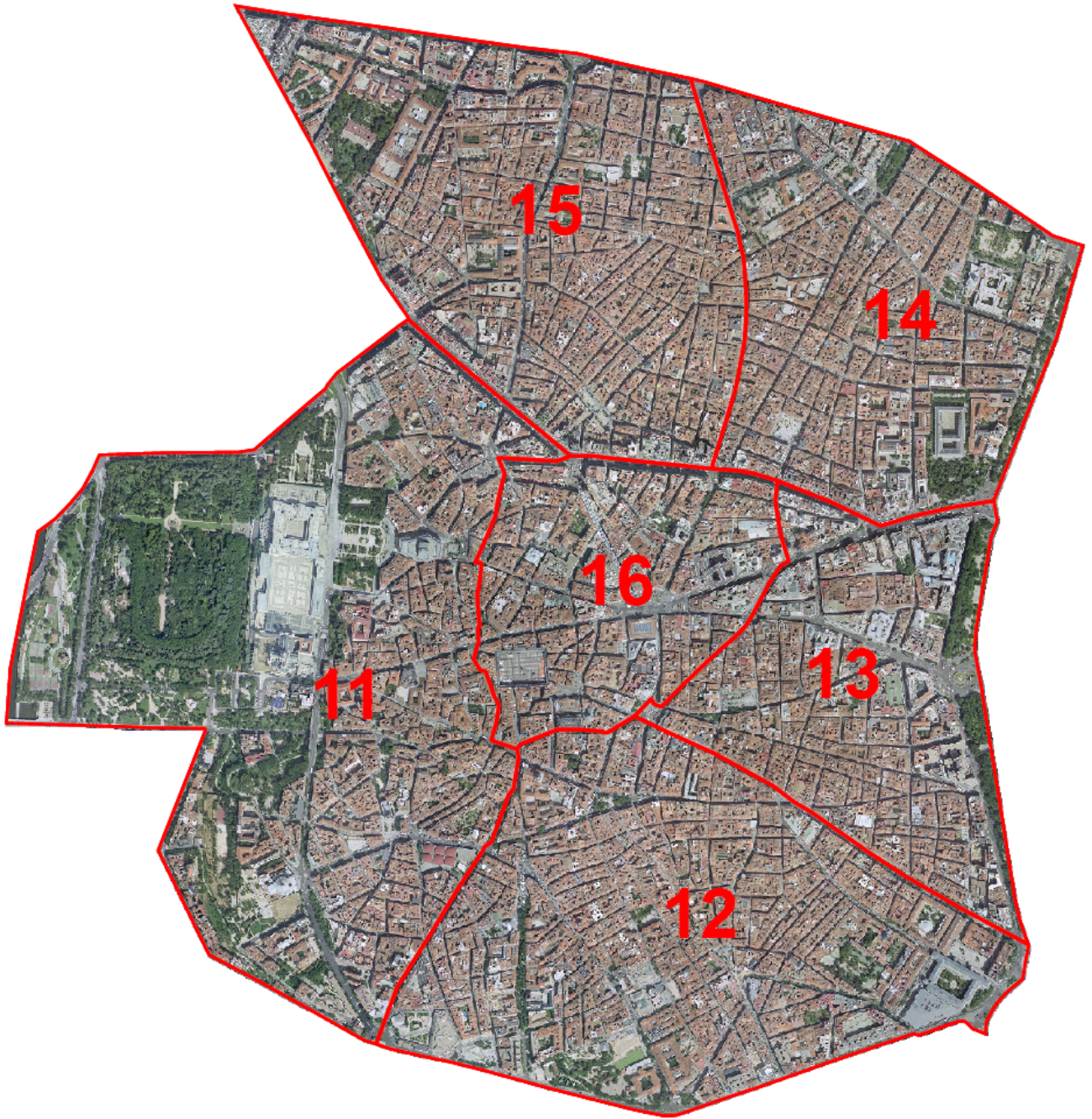
La proportion d'étrangers dans le district Centre est deux fois plus élevée que la moyenne madrilène. Dans les quartiers Embajadores et Sol elle atteint 33%. Mais en valeur absolue, ce sont les quartiers Embajadores et Sol qui comptent le plus d'étrangers.

Tableau I.2. Population étrangère du district Centre par quartier (2006)

	Population totale	Etrangers	% d'étrangers
MADRID	3.128.600	439.973	14,1
Centro	149.718	42.822	28,6
11. Palacio	24.811	4.971	20,0
12. Embajadores	51.527	17.440	33,8
13. Cortes	11.597	2.837	24,5
14. Justicia	17.699	4.341	24,5
15. Universidad	35.349	10.288	29,1
16. Sol	8.735	2.945	33,7

Source : Elaboration propre, *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes* au 1^o janvier 2006.

Plan du District Centre



Barrios
11 - Palacio
12 - Embajadores
13 - Cortes
14 - Justicia
15 - Universidad
16 - Sol

Seccionado censal vigente desde 1 de noviembre de 2006
Dirección General de Estadística



- C'est dans le quartier Embajadores que se trouve le secteur de **Lavapiés**. C'est par excellence une **aire urbaine multiethnique**. L'arrivée d'immigrants à Lavapiés a entraîné une revitalisation commerciale du secteur grâce aux commerces de gros, aux boutiques de télécommunications, aux salons de coiffure, aux magasins d'alimentation, etc. D'autres groupes récemment implantés sont constitués de personnes exerçant des professions libérales ou qualifiées, appartenant aux classes moyennes, qui se logent dans les immeubles restaurés de Lavapiés, sur le modèle du foyer habité par une seule personne, remplaçant la population traditionnelle à faibles revenus. On y trouve aussi beaucoup de jeunes impliqués dans des mouvements sociaux alternatifs (centre sociaux autogérés, groupes féministes, associations antifascistes, etc.).

- C'est dans le quartier Universidad que se trouve le secteur de **Malasaña**. Les immigrés y sont présents pour les mêmes raisons que dans le quartier Embajadores, auxquelles il faut ajouter le nombre important d'hôtels et pensions fréquentés par les étrangers, de façon temporaire ou stable. Malasaña a toujours été un **territoire festif pour les jeunes**. C'était le centre de la « movida » madrilène¹ et le quartier est toujours célèbre pour sa vie nocturne et son atmosphère de tolérance.

- Dans le quartier Justicia, nous distinguerons le secteur de **Chueca**, connu pour être le quartier gay le plus étendu et le plus célèbre de toute l'Espagne. L'implantation de la communauté gay dans ce quartier a modifié l'image dégradée qui était la sienne auparavant. Actuellement, il se distingue par son ambiance multiculturelle où se côtoient toutes les ethnies et les orientations sexuelles.

- Enfin, le quartier Sol est le plus emblématique de Madrid. Il s'agit d'un secteur à forte densité commerciale, avec des boîtes et des night-clubs, des théâtres et des cinémas. Il attire beaucoup les immigrés étrangers et autochtones, tant par le nombre d'établissements hôteliers bon marché que par les activités à la limite de la régularité qui s'y déroulent : « vente ambulante » dans la rue, mendicité, offre de services sexuels, jeux de hasard, etc.

- Les quartiers de Palacio et Cortes, qui comptent une proportion d'immigrés inférieure à la moyenne et une population relativement réduite n'offrent aucun secteur intéressant dans le cadre du programme TRESEGY.

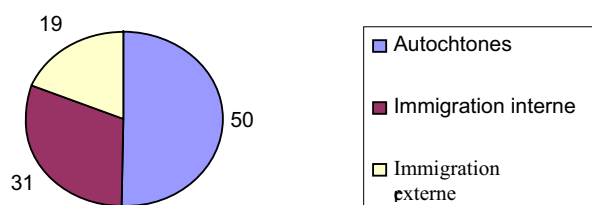
¹ Mouvement de contre-culture jeune qui est apparu au début de la transition démocratique et qui a duré jusqu'aux années quatre-vingt.

II. Démographie et immigration dans le district Centre

En janvier 2006 le nombre d'étrangers inscrits au *Padrón* sur la commune de Madrid dépassait les 536 000, soit environ 17% du total des inscrits, et cinq fois plus que six ans auparavant. Au vu de ces données, on pourrait croire qu'il y a peu de temps que la ville reçoit des flux migratoires. Cette conclusion est valable à condition de ne considérer que les flux migratoires en provenance de pays tiers.

Si nous considérons les provinces de naissance des habitants de nationalité et d'origine espagnole, nous constaterons que plus du tiers (36% selon le recensement de 2001) provient d'autres régions d'Espagne.

Graphique II.1 : Population de plus de 16 ans à Madrid, par origine, 2006



Bien que les premières séries larges de statistiques sur Madrid datent de 1850, on sait que depuis le temps où Madrid est devenue capitale de l'Espagne, au XVI^e siècle, entre la moitié et les deux tiers de ses habitants proviennent d'autres provinces. Cette situation indique que la ville s'est constamment renouvelée, et que l'arrivée de nouveaux habitants est une constante historique. L'élément nouveau n'est pas l'importance des flux migratoires, mais le fait qu'ils proviennent d'autres pays.

1. Population étrangère dans le District Centre.

D'après le « Diagnostic de Développement Durable du District Centre »², la population de 16 ans est plus « a chuté de 12,18% sur la période 1986-1996, à la suite de l'exode de la population résidente vers d'autres districts ou des communes périphériques, surtout des gens jeunes qui cherchaient un logement moins cher ». A partir de cette date on observe au contraire une forte croissance, due dans une très large mesure à l'arrivée de population étrangère.

² BUREAU DU DISTRICT CENTRE, 2006

Tableau II.1. Evolution de la population étrangère par quartier, 2003-2006
(valeurs absolues)

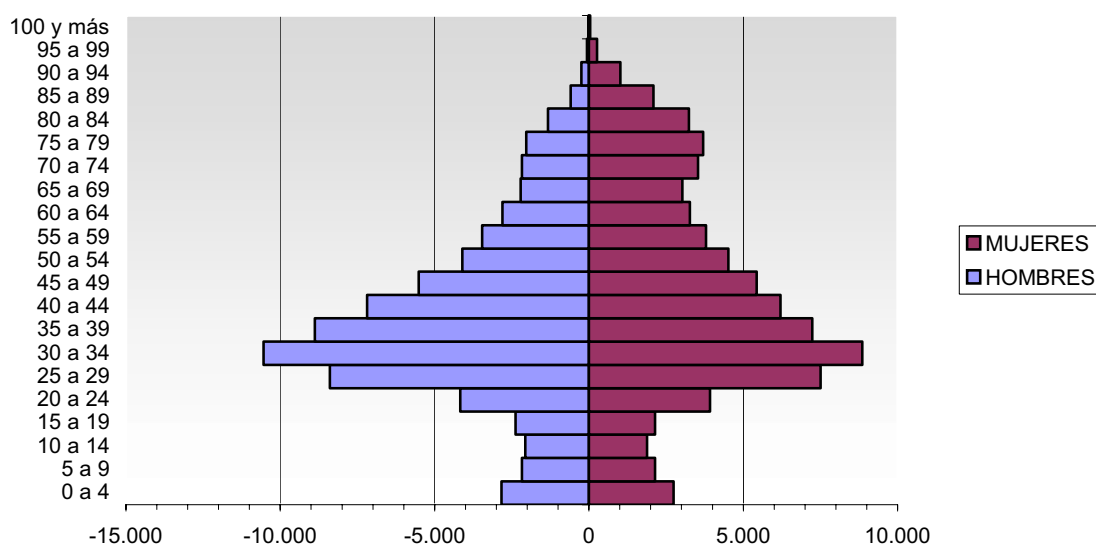
	CENTRO	Palacio	Embajadores	Cortes	Justicia	Universidad	Sol
2003	31.112	5.135	5.613	2.790	4.423	10.129	3.022
2004	43.399	5.017	17.105	2.978	4.598	10.563	3.138
2005	46.314	5.363	18.626	3.128	4.836	11.129	3.232
2006	41.202	4.849	17.126	2.657	4.151	9.767	2.652

Source : Elaboration propre à partir du *Padrón Municipal de Habitantes*.

2 . Structure démographique du District Centre.

Le district Centre présente une structure démographique concentrée sur le milieu de la pyramide des âges, c'est-à-dire sur la population adulte jeune (**voir Graphique II.2**). La prédominance de ces tranches d'âge moyen est directement reliée au volume important d'immigration transnationale, qui fait baisser l'indice de vieillissement de la population locale.

Graphique II.2. Pyramide des âges de la populations du district Centre



Source : élaboration propre, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes au 1^o janvier 2006

La présence de population étrangère est importante parmi les **moins de 16 ans** (32% du total) et les jeunes de **16 à 19 ans** (près de 36%). Mais c'est parmi les cohortes de 20 à 29 ans et de 30 à 39 ans qu'elle a le plus de poids, respectivement 49,5% et 39,8%.

Tableau II.2 Pourcentage d'étrangers par tranche d'âge dans le district Centre (2006)

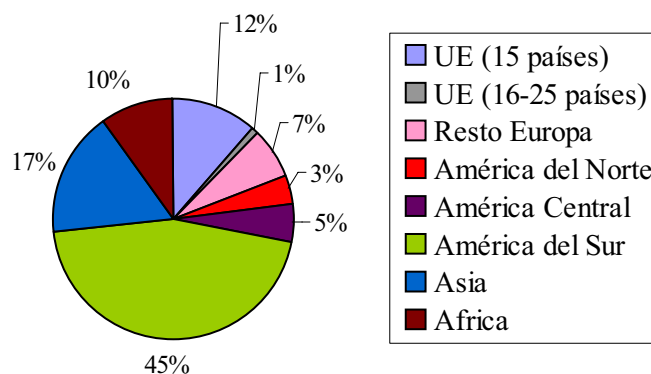
	Españoles	Extranjeros	% extranjeros
0-15 años	9.955	4.708	32,1
16-19 años	2.366	1.327	35,9
20-29 años	12.103	11.886	49,5
30-39 años	21.348	14.146	39,8
40-49 años	17.630	6.708	27,6
50-59 años	13.232	2.639	16,6
60 y más	30.212	1.407	4,4

Source : élaboration propre, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes au 1^o janvier 2006

3. Nationalité d'origine de la population

Bien loin de présenter une particularité ou une exclusivité en terme d'appartenance ethnique et de nationalité, le district Centre apparaît comme un espace de réception de flux très hétérogènes sur le plan de la nationalité et de l'appartenance ethnique.

Graphique II.3 : Population étrangère du district Centre par aire géographique d'origine (2006)



Source : élaboration propre, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes au 1^o janvier 2006

4. Présence et importance des groupes de population jeune.

8,4% de la population totale du district Centre sont des jeunes de 15 à 24 ans. Le taux de jeunes dans la population étrangère est de 13%, contre 6% dans la population espagnole. Dans le district Centre, 44% des jeunes sont de nationalité étrangère.

**Tableau II.3 : Population jeune du district Centre par sexe et par nationalité
(valeurs absolues)**

	AUTOCHTONES		ETRANGERS		TOTAL	
	15-19 años	20-24 años	15-19 años	20-24 años	15-19 años	20-24 años
Hommes	1.500	2.085	880	2.079	2.383	4.164
Femmes	1.415	2.020	730	1.898	2.145	3.919
Total	2.915	4.105	1.610	3.977	4.528	8.083

Source : élaboration propre, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes au 1^o janvier 2006

Si l'on considère la nationalité, les groupes de jeunes les plus représentés dans le district Centre sont les Maghrébins et les Latino-américains. Les jeunes originaires d'Afrique, qui constituaient presque un tiers des jeunes immigrés dans les années quatre-vingt-dix, ne représentent actuellement que moins du quart. Au contraire, les jeunes Latino-américains atteignent aujourd'hui la moitié de la population étrangère jeune.

Si nous observons les neuf nationalités de jeunes migrants qui pèsent plus de 3% du total, quatre d'entre elles comptent davantage de femmes (Roumanie, Bolivie, République Dominicaine et Colombie). L'Equateur compte presque autant d'hommes que de femmes (49,9 % contre 50,1%), tandis que quatre autres groupes nationaux comptent davantage d'hommes (Bengladesh, Maroc, Chine et Pérou). Les femmes roumaines et les hommes du Bangladesh sont proportionnellement les plus nombreux (57% et 88% respectivement).

L'ancienneté dans l'immigration n'est pas la même pour tous les groupes nationaux. De ce fait, le temps de présence dans le District Centre varie d'un groupe de jeunes à l'autre. Ainsi, au cours des trois dernières années (2004-2006) on a vu s'installer dans le District, par ordre d'importance, 270 jeunes en provenance de Chine, 235 de Bolivie, 232 de Roumanie, 228 du Bangladesh, 213 du Brésil, 159 du Maroc, 135 d'Equateur, 115 du Paraguay, 96 du Pérou, 88 d'Argentine, 84 d'Italie et 60 de France. Le flux des derniers arrivants ne correspond donc pas à l'implantation préalable de tel ou tel groupe national. Par exemple, parmi les jeunes Equatoriens, qui sont les plus nombreux (876) et qui représentent 17,3% des jeunes étrangers, les nouveaux arrivants (sur les trois dernières années) se classent au septième rang. En revanche, les Chinois qui se classent au deuxième rang en valeur absolue (471) enregistrent la plus forte augmentation au cours des trois dernières années. Le Maroc et la Roumanie se situent entre les deux, respectivement au troisième et quatrième rang en valeur absolue et au sixième et troisième rang pour ce qui est de l'augmentation récente.

5. Structure familiale chez les jeunes étrangers.

Les familles des jeunes immigrés sont sensiblement différentes des familles des jeunes Espagnols, tant sur le plan de la composition des foyers que sur le plan des processus de transition vers la constitution de foyers autonomes. Ainsi, pour des raisons qui tiennent directement au travail et au projet migratoire, les étapes fondamentales de leur cycle vital se situent plus tôt que chez les jeunes Espagnols.

Selon le Rapport Jeunesse en Espagne 2004³, plus de 70% des jeunes Espagnols vivent chez leurs parents. Cette situation ne concerne que moins du tiers des immigrés. De plus, les immigrés ont proportionnellement plus d'enfants que les Espagnols, à un âge plus précoce. Seuls 10% des jeunes Espagnols ont des enfants, contre 28% des étrangers. Les immigrés ont leur premier enfant à 21,1 ans en moyenne et les Espagnols à 22,8 ans.

6. Caractéristiques des groupes de jeunes qui fréquentent/habitent le District Centre

Parmi les jeunes Espagnols du district Centre on trouve : un groupe appartenant à la minorité gitane, implanté depuis plusieurs décennies ; des squatters dans les quartiers les plus dégradés ; des membres des professions libérales attirés par les services de proximité et les activités culturelles ; enfin, un groupe d'homosexuels intéressés eux aussi par les atouts du Centre, par exemple une plus grande permissivité sociale et des loyers relativement moins élevés dans certains quartiers.

Certaines communautés, par exemple les Marocains du quartier Embajadores, sont installés depuis déjà un certain temps et sont propriétaires de logements et de commerces. Cette population correspond à un modèle migratoire particulier qui donne naissance à ce que certains auteurs appellent des « familles transnationales » ; on y trouve aussi un certain nombre de mineurs non accompagnés originaires du Maghreb ou d'Afrique noire⁴, dont les référents familiaux sont restés dans le pays d'origine ; ou encore des familles dont la moitié des membres sont dans le pays d'accueil (un mineur ou un adolescent accompagné de certains de ses frères aînés), tandis que le reste de la famille reste au pays. Parmi les Sénégalais, une partie importante de ceux qui vivent dans le quartier Embajadores vit de la vente de marchandises sur les trottoirs du centre ville⁵, (cette activité est appelée « top manta »).

Les Equatoriens sont proportionnellement beaucoup plus nombreux dans le district Centre que tous les autres groupes nationaux, mais ils sont invisibles sur le plan social. Les jeunes Equatoriens et Dominicains se concentrent surtout au nord du district. A Lavapiés (quartier Embajadores) il y a aussi des Equatoriens qui vivent du commerce, mais moins que d'autres nationalités. Les jeunes sont très peu présents dans les associations de quartier. Il se trouve quelques cas isolés membres des « Latin Kings ».

De nombreux jeunes d'origine chinoise habitent aux alentours de la Plaza de España (quartier de Palacio)⁶, où la population chinoise possède beaucoup de restaurants et de commerces ; dans le quartier de Lavapiés, ils travaillent surtout dans les commerces de gros (textile, chaussures et bijouterie fantaisie). Ces jeunes, à la différence des Marocains et des Equatoriens, évoluent dans des espaces privés ou semi-publics, qui sont aussi leurs espaces de loisirs.

³ INSTITUTO DE LA JUVENTUD, Informe Juventud España 2004. Condiciones de vida y situación de los jóvenes, Madrid, 2005

⁴ Au cours des six premiers mois de l'année 2005, le programme d'action éducative « A pie de calle » mis en œuvre par le Secrétariat à la Famille et aux Affaires Sociales de la Communauté de Madrid dans le district Centre a constaté la présence de 35 mineurs se trouvant dans cette situation.

⁵ WAGBOU, M. (2000): pp 394-395

⁶ Voir Plan « Barrio 11. Palacio » dans l'Annexe I : Plans du district Centre.

La population originaire du Bangladesh se concentre à 75% dans le district Centre, surtout à Embajadores, mais elle est installée depuis peu, de sorte que son mode d'implantation est mal connu. On commence à observer un début de regroupement familial parmi cette population.

Dans le quartier Universidad, on trouve aussi des Philippins, une population qui n'augmente pas mais qui est très ancienne dans le quartier.

L'un des flux migratoires les plus récents est originaire de Roumanie et dans une moindre mesure de Bulgarie. Parmi eux, un assez grand nombre de jeunes familles gitanes.

Parmi les jeunes qui viennent de l'Union Européenne et des Etats-Unis il y a quelques membres de professions libérales, mais surtout des travailleurs exerçant diverses professions, ainsi que des étudiants, qui émigrent seuls et habitent généralement en co-location.

On pourra consulter en Annexe les données de mars 2007 correspondant à la population étrangère de 16 à 24 ans dans le district Centre, par pays, par sexe, et par ancienneté de résidence dans le district.

III. Situation socio-économique et accès aux ressources sociales

Le district Centre offre une série de caractéristiques socio-urbaines qui lui ont donné l'image d'un ensemble de quartiers dégradés sur le plan social et économique, en cours de rénovation, et aussi l'image d'une « enclave » d'immigrés.

1. Situation économique

En l'an 2000, le revenu familial moyen du district Centre était de 12.393 euros par habitant, avec des écarts importants d'un quartier à l'autre. Le district Centre se situe dans une fourchette moyenne-basse par rapport aux autres : au-dessus des districts de la couronne sur de Madrid et au-dessous des districts du nord, de l'est et de l'ouest de Madrid.

Tableau III.1. Revenu familial par habitant à Madrid et dans le district Centre

	MADRID	Centro	Palacio	Embajadores	Cortes	Justicia	Universidad	Sol
Euros	12.768	12.393	13.941	10.106	13.867	14.671	12.505	13.103
Índice	100	97	109	79	109	115	98	103

Source : Instituto de Estadística de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2000.

Pour ce qui est de l'accès à l'emploi des jeunes étrangers, les chiffres montrent une situation voisine mais non identique à celle des étrangers pris dans leur totalité. Par exemple, ce sont les Equatoriens- le groupe national le plus important parmi la population étrangère- qui sont les plus nombreux à être embauchés, puisqu'ils bénéficient de presque un tiers des contrats établis pour des étrangers, suivis des Péruviens, des Colombiens et des Roumains.

2. Education

Dans le district Centre⁷ les élèves de l'Enseignement Secondaire Obligatoire (12-16 ans) sont scolarisés à 55% dans des établissements sous contrat et à 43% dans des établissements publics. Les étrangers représentent 40% des élèves et sont scolarisés différemment : 54% sont inscrits dans des établissements publics et 46% dans des établissements sous contrat.

Au niveau du Baccalauréat (17 et 18 ans) le pourcentage d'élèves étrangers chute brutalement à 6,3% des effectifs. La répartition par type d'établissement accentue encore les différences entre Espagnols et étrangers : tandis sur l'ensemble des élèves 75% fréquentent un établissement public, parmi les étrangers ce taux est de 94% ; les établissements privés, qui jouent un rôle plus modeste à ce niveau, scolarisent 22% des élèves, mais seulement 2,6% des étrangers.

Les formations dites de Garantie Sociale, qui s'adressent aux jeunes de plus de 16ans et de moins de 21 ans qui n'ont pas atteint les objectifs de l'Enseignement

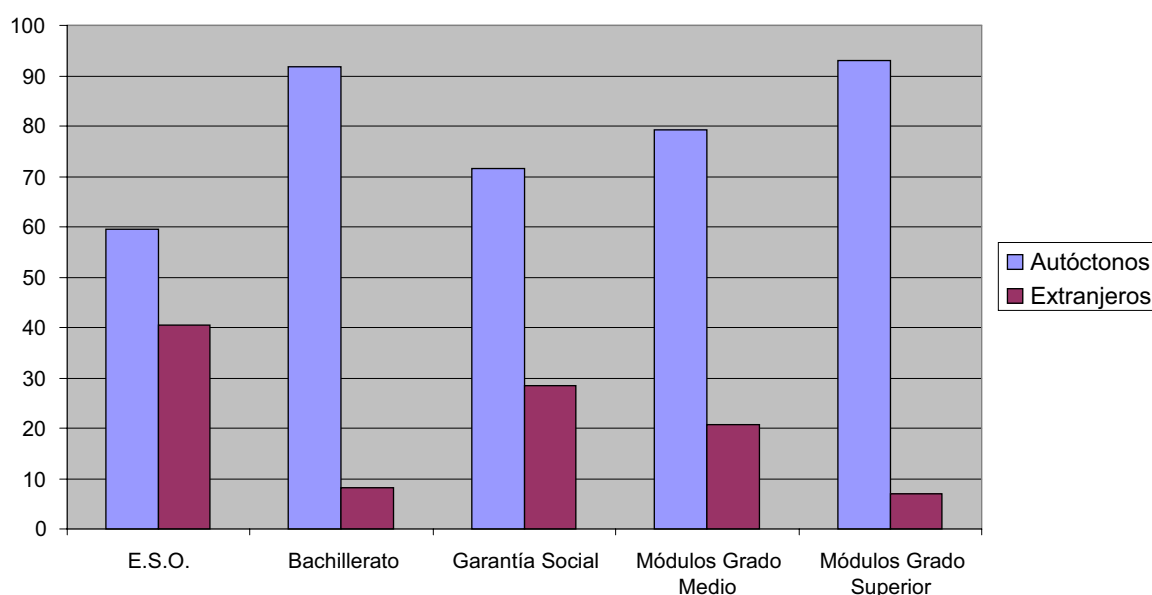
⁷ Voir l'information détaillée dans le Tableau III.6 de l'annexe statistique.

Secondaire Obligatoire et n'ont pas non plus suivi de Formation Professionnelle, incombent principalement aux établissements sous contrat. Le nombre d'élèves qui suivent ce type de formation est beaucoup plus réduit, mais la proportion d'élèves étrangers a augmenté de façon significative, jusqu'à 22% des effectifs.

Pour l'année scolaire 2005-2006, dans le district Centre, la plupart des élèves de Formation Professionnelle de niveau 1 étaient inscrits dans des établissements sous contrat (83%), dont un cinquième d'étrangers, une pourcentage bien supérieur à celui de Madrid pris dans son ensemble (11%).

Pour la même année scolaire, les élèves de la Formation de Professionnelle de niveau 2 se répartissent de façon à peu près égale : 35% sont inscrits dans des établissements sous contrat, 33% dans des établissements privés et 32% dans des établissements publics. Les étrangers représentent 7,3% du total des élèves ; ils sont plus nombreux dans les établissements sous contrat (42%) et moins nombreux dans le privé.

Graphique III.1 Effectifs scolaires du secondaire (12-18 ans) par nationalité, district Centre (Année 2005-2006)



Source : Elaboration propre, Consejería de Educación de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2006.

3. Logement

L'achat d'un logement est fortement conditionné par les prix élevés du marché. En décembre 2006, le prix moyen au mètre carré dans l'habitat ancien du district Centre était de 4.603 euros⁸ (contre 4.274 euros sur l'ensemble de la commune).

La population étrangère, qui ne possède pas de patrimoine familial dans le pays d'accueil et qui supporte les contraintes du projet migratoire, souvent dans sa première

⁸ Voir information détaillée au Tableau III.8 de l'annexe statistique.

phase, se loge plutôt en location. Les conditions d'accès à un logement habitable se sont progressivement durcies. Sans compter les discriminations auxquelles se heurtent les immigrés. Il s'est donc créé un marché parallèle de logement pour mal-logés.

4 . Santé

Si l'on considère que le Centre est l'un des districts les plus peuplés de Madrid, il est sous doté en équipements de santé. Malgré tout, les habitants en ont une image positive : selon le rapport « Rééquilibrage territorial »⁹, le district Centre est noté à 152 points, par rapport à la moyenne Madrilène fixée à 100.

L'augmentation de la population étrangère, la féminisation des flux migratoires et une série de causes aussi complexes que diverses font que les statistiques de santé publique montrent un nombre et un pourcentage croissants d'interruptions volontaires de grossesse (IVG) parmi les jeunes étrangères. En 2004, dans la Communauté de Madrid, 53,25% des IVG concernaient des femmes immigrées. Parmi les explications possibles : l'assimilation de modèles familiaux et reproductifs espagnols par les étrangers, le faible niveau de revenus, les difficultés à constituer un foyer, etc.

5. Sécurité

L'enquête « Rééquilibrage territorial » fait ressortir l'image du district Centre comme celle d'un secteur urbain peu sûr (de fait, le moins sûr) : plus de 60% des foyers déclarent que l'insécurité est un motif d'inquiétude. Les habitants du district Centre classent très au-dessus de la moyenne l'existence de problèmes de délinquance (à 166, par rapport à la moyenne de Madrid, fixée à 100). Certains groupes qui ne résident pas forcément sur place peuvent profiter du maillage commercial et récréatif pour se livrer à des vols, ce qui suscite ce sentiment d'insécurité chez les habitants.

16% des jeunes Espagnols et 12% des jeunes immigrés a été impliqué dans une forme ou une autre de conflit dans la rue. Les secteurs où les agressions sont les plus nombreuses sont Malasaña (quartier Universidad), Chueca (quartier Justicia) et Lavapiés (quartier Embajadores), où interviennent des groupes d'extrême droite et d'extrême gauche. Exceptionnellement, il y a eu des rixes entre des jeunes de nationalité différente, dont certaines sont attribuées à des membres de groupes ou bandes de jeunes « latinos » qui ne résident pas forcément sur place.

6. Environnement et équipements

Selon le rapport « Rééquilibrage territorial dans la ville de Madrid » (2004) cité plus haut, qui a eu recours à une enquête auprès des habitants pour évaluer les aspects environnementaux, le district Centre se situe très au-dessus de la moyenne madrilène (100) pour ce qui est de l'existence de problèmes de pollution (135), de propreté(132), de bruit (125) et de manque d'espaces verts (204).

L'enquête fait également ressortir le manque d'équipements sportifs, évalué très négativement (38) par rapport aux autres districts (100). En revanche, la centralité

⁹ CUADRADO J., MARCOS M.Á., LISBONA, L. (2004)

favorise les transports et la mobilité, de sorte que le pourcentage habitants qui font état de problèmes de communication est très inférieur à la moyenne (26 contre 100).

7. Loisirs et temps libre

D'après le « Rapport Jeunesse Espagne 2004 », les jeunes étrangers font état de liens d'amitié plus limités que les Espagnols. Les relations personnelles ne se nouent pas dans les mêmes espaces : les Espagnols créent des liens surtout dans le quartier où vivent leurs parents (37%) ou dans les établissements scolaires (30%), tandis que la principale sphère relationnelle des jeunes étrangers est le lieu de travail (29%), puis le lieu de résidence (21%).

L'enquête OMCI 2005¹⁰ a interrogé les jeunes sur les lieux où ils passent leur temps libre. Les réponses indiquent que la plupart d'entre eux (86%) passent une partie de ce temps libre chez eux avec leurs amis, dans les bars ou les discothèques (81%), dans la rue (76%) et dans les jardins publics (70%). Les jeunes Espagnols fréquentent davantage les bars et les discothèques, tandis que les jeunes d'origine étrangère fréquentent davantage les parcs et jardins ou les rues. Il faut tenir compte du fait que les immigrés ont moins de pouvoir d'achat, un niveau de consommation inférieur aux jeunes Espagnols, et que par conséquent ils recherchent les loisirs gratuits : ils ne peuvent pas aller en boîte tous les samedis ni faire la tournée des bars.

Le district Centre concentre une grande partie de l'offre de loisirs pour les jeunes à Madrid, surtout le jeudi, le vendredi et le samedi. Entre sept heures du soir et minuit, les jeunes se rassemblent sur les places pour s'adonner au « botellón »¹¹. A partir de onze heures du soir, les plus jeunes se retirent et les jeunes adultes entrent en scène. Ils ont un pouvoir d'achat plus élevé et fréquentent les bars et pubs « à thème » du quartier¹². Les espaces de loisirs des jeunes sont également compartimentés selon un imaginaire idéologique « gauche/droite », qui classe Malasaña (quartier Universidad) comme le fief de « tribus urbaines »¹³ de gauche¹⁴.

Par ailleurs, on a observé des différences d'appropriation de l'espace public en fonction du genre : selon les activités on rencontre plus de garçons de filles, surtout dans les activités sportives. Ces différences sont plus ou moins marquées selon les cultures.

¹⁰ Enquête réalisée par le COLECTIVO IOÉ, in GIMÉNEZ, C. et LORES, N. (2006)

¹¹ Le *botellón* consiste à consommer de l'alcool, des boissons gazeuses, des en-cas, du tabac voire des drogues douces dans les parcs, sur les places et dans les rues.

¹² Les quartiers concernés (Malasaña, Lavapiés et Chueca) ont été décrits au chapitre I de ce rapport.

¹³ Groupes de jeunes ou bandes partageant des traits et pratiques (idéologie, musique, tenues vestimentaires)

¹⁴ (IREFREA, 2000)

IV. POLITIQUES DE LA JEUNESSE ET DE L'IMMIGRATION. GESTION DE LA DIVERSITÉ

1. Politique de la jeunesse

L'article 48 de la Constitution Espagnole de 1978 stipule que « les pouvoirs publics créeront les conditions de la participation libre et effective de la jeunesse au développement politique, social, économique et culturel ». En partant de ce mandat, les institutions publiques, dans leur aire de compétence et à leur niveau territorial respectifs, mettent en œuvre les politiques publiques répondant à ces objectifs.

1.1 Communauté de Madrid

Le **Programme Intégré pour la Jeunesse 2003-2006** est l'outil de planification et de coordination des politiques de la jeunesse de la Communauté de Madrid. Il est piloté par la Direction Générale de la Jeunesse et met en application les directives de la Loi sur la Jeunesse, qui reprend la législation nationale. Ce programme a instauré des actions de formation sur la construction de l'Union Européenne, afin que les jeunes de la Communauté comprennent le sens des institutions européennes, de la monnaie unique, etc.

Le principal organisme de jeunesse reconnu par l'administration publique est le Conseil de la Jeunesse de la Communauté de Madrid (CJCM). La seule association d'immigrés qui y siège est ATIME (Association de Travailleurs Immigrés Marocains en Espagne).

En 2002, le Conseil déclarait que « les politiques de la jeunesse européennes sont ciblées sur la mobilité des jeunes en tant qu'expérience multiculturelle qui renforce la citoyenneté européenne, mais elles négligent l'insertion réelle de la jeunesse dans la vie économique, sociale et politique de proximité, ainsi que le rôle des associations représentatives de la jeunesse et de ses intérêts ». Dans le même esprit, le Conseil exposait les conclusions suivantes :

- La jeunesse madrilène se trouve dans une situation d'inégalité criante par rapport aux jeunes d'autres états-membres de l'Union Européenne, tant sur le plan de la formation que sur le plan des ressources donnant accès à l'autonomie, ou sur le plan de la qualité de l'emploi.
- Les programmes d'échange éducatifs et culturels, comme les programmes Socrates et Jeunesse ne sont pas assez dotés en moyens financiers ni en contenus éducatifs.
- Les associations de jeunesse européennes, bien qu'elles soient censées représenter l'esprit de l'espace social européen, la mise en avant de la multiculturalité et de la démocratie dans la prise de décision -des conceptions qui inspirent la construction européenne- ont une capacité d'action réduite en raison du faible nombre de jeunes européens associés. Les lignes budgétaires destinées aux associations de jeunesse de niveau européen sont rognées tous les ans, de sorte que nombre de ces associations se voient contraintes de faire appel à des financements privés ou de disparaître.

Lorsqu'il s'est agi d'élaborer les nouvelles propositions écrites pour 2007-2010, le Conseil de la Jeunesse de la Communauté de Madrid a inclus la dimension européenne comme axe transversal dans tous les domaines d'intervention. Apparemment, le résultat n'est pas à la hauteur des espérances : les références à la

dimension européenne ont perdu en importance dans les débats internes aux commissions de travail.

1.2 Ville de Madrid et district Centre.

La Direction Générale de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse de la Mairie de Madrid (qui relève du secrétariat à l'Emploi et aux Services Publics) s'est vu confier le pilotage de la politique municipale ciblée sur la jeunesse. **Le Plan Jeunes de la Ville de Madrid 2006-2009**, élaboré par cet organisme, est l'instrument stratégique de planification qui impulse et articule l'ensemble des actions s'adressant aux jeunes qui vivent sur la commune de Madrid.

Le Plan Jeunes définit la « jeunesse » comme un ensemble de populations qui, loin d'être homogènes, sont porteuses de comportements, de dynamiques sociales, d'intérêts, de besoins, de problèmes et d'attentes de nature très différente. Il distingue entre trois groupes de jeunes, en fonction de la nature et de l'objectif de ses interventions :

- Les adolescents et les jeunes scolarisés qui ont des problèmes liés au temps libre, aux loisirs, à la perception de leur propre identité, qui présentent des conduites à risque, etc. Ce groupe appelle des stratégies de prévention, notamment dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la famille.
- Les jeunes qui tout en étant encore en formation concilient études et travail, ou qui sont déjà complètement entrés dans la vie active. Ils sont sortis de l'adolescence et ils vivent intensément les opportunités que leur offre la ville, liées à leur identité de jeunes et à leur vision de l'avenir. Ils tendent à mettre en avant aussi bien les problèmes qu'ils rencontrent que leur affirmation en tant que groupe, et font preuve de grandes capacités de transformation, d'innovation, d'expérimentation et de recherche de nouvelles expériences de vie.
- Les jeunes qui sont au bout de leur étape de formation et qui font face à une longue phase d'insertion professionnelle et d'émancipation (accès au logement, création de leur propre famille, report de la naissance du premier enfant, etc.). Au cours de cette étape, les stratégies professionnelles et d'émancipation sont décisives pour aborder les problèmes posés par la situation de dépendance, les entraves à un projet de vie personnelle et les difficultés de tous ordres liées à l'intégration au monde du travail, qui passe par la recherche d'un emploi stable.

Le Plan Jeune ne descend pas jusqu'au niveau du district. Il se propose de créer un réseau de services pour l'ensemble des jeunes résidents. Ce projet repose sur la conviction qu'une fois surmontées les inégalités liées aux origines et une fois résolue la question du statut administratif, il n'y aurait pas de différences substantielles entre les préoccupations, les besoins et les attentes de la « jeunesse immigrée » et de la jeunesse espagnole. De ce fait, les propositions écrites ne portent aucun diagnostic ni aucune appréciation sur le phénomène migratoire.

Par rapport à l'Europe, les principales lignes d'intervention du Plan Jeunes municipal sont le soutien aux associations, la connaissance des institutions européennes, la mobilité et les échanges avec des jeunes d'autres pays, et surtout la collaboration internationale entre associations de jeunes et organismes publics. A cet égard, la Direction Générale de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse considère que le programme européen **Jeunesse en Action 2007-2013** est le cadre approprié pour intégrer et relier

les politiques locales en matière de jeunesse aux initiatives qui se déroulent dans le reste de l'Europe.

A la différence d'autres villes, Madrid ne s'est pas doté d'organisme consultatif en matière de jeunesse. La proposition de constitution du Conseil de la Jeunesse de la Ville de Madrid a été rejetée le 31 octobre 2006.

Si l'on descend au niveau du district, les compétences en matière de jeunesse s'exercent à travers la gestion des ressources et des services de proximité. Cette fonction incombe avant tout à l' « Unité chargée de la Culture, de la Formation et des Sports » du district Centre, sans qu'il existe un centre social spécifique comme une Maison de la Jeunesse ou autre. En plus de la gestion des interventions que lui confie la Mairie de Madrid, le district Centre organise des camps de vacances, des sorties le week-end et des activités sportives.

Les associations de jeunes qui ont leur siège dans le district Centre ont un rayon d'action à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du district. D'une part, certaines ONG et associations travaillent auprès des jeunes et reçoivent un soutien de la part des administrations publiques. D'autre part, il existe des collectifs qui appartiennent aux « mouvements sociaux » comme La Dinamo, El Laboratorio, Escalera Karakola, etc. Il s'agit de réseaux de jeunes informels qui ne reçoivent pas de subventions publiques et qui sont surtout concentrés à Lavapiés. Ils fonctionnent sur le modèle des assemblées et de l'autogestion, sans intervention de l'administration locale. Comme le fait remarquer le rapport sur le contexte national espagnol, le premier groupe d'associations correspond à un schéma « besoins-ressources ». Elles considèrent les jeunes migrants comme des personnes présentant des carences du fait même de leur condition et leur destinent des programmes et des ressources subventionnés par des fonds publics. De leur côté, les associations informelles remettent en cause le premier schéma et considèrent que tous les jeunes, espagnols ou immigrés, ont une capacité d'autonomie et de décision, sans avoir besoin de tutelle externe ou de programmes spécifiques. Afin de connaître d'autres réseaux où se rencontrent les jeunes du district Centre en dehors des associations, il faudrait se rendre dans les établissements scolaires ou les espaces ouverts (parcs, escaliers en plein air, etc.), où les jeunes pratiquent des activités sportives ou autres, et qui sont leurs espaces naturels de rencontre.

2. Politique d'immigration

La répartition des compétences en matière d'immigration en Espagne – comme nous l'avons exposé dans le rapport sur le contexte national- a entraîné une intervention active en matière d'intégration des immigrés de la part des administrations territoriales régionale et municipale (dans le cas qui nous retient, la Communauté de Madrid et la Ville de Madrid.)

2.1 Communauté de Madrid

Le **Deuxième Plan d'Intégration 2006-2008**, dirigé par le Secrétariat à l'Immigration de la Communauté de Madrid, est l'outil de coordination des programmes de la Communauté en matière d'immigration. Les objectifs portant sur la jeunesse immigrée sont les suivants :

- Renforcer les mesures destinées aux jeunes immigrés, en mettant en œuvre les moyens économiques, techniques et/ou matériels nécessaires.
- Promouvoir la participation sociale, la vie associative et le bénévolat des jeunes, en instaurant des mécanismes de soutien et en impulsant la formation des responsables associatifs en matière d'interculturalité.
- Prévenir les conflits et la constitution de bandes de jeunes violentes, en détectant et en anticipant les conflits potentiels et la formation de telles bandes.

2.2 Ville de Madrid

Le rôle de l'administration locale dans l'intégration de la jeunesse immigrante se situe dans le cadre de ses compétences de « service social » à l'intention de toute la population. La Mairie de Madrid est intervenue par étapes successives en matière d'immigration¹⁵.

Première étape (1993-1996)

Les premières interventions des « services sociaux » ont eu lieu à la suite de rassemblements d'immigrés dans certains espaces publics, ce qui suscitait un certain trouble parmi la population espagnole, et certains conflits de voisinage. Au cours de cette étape, la Mairie a mis sur pied un projet de recherche participative pour le district Centre, en abordant des sujets tels que les difficultés scolaires des mineurs étrangers, les enfants qui restent longtemps seuls à la maison ou qui prennent en charge d'autres mineurs, et la concentration d'élèves immigrés dans certaines écoles. A la suite de cette expérience, on a commencé à organiser des journées d'étude et des tables rondes autour du thème de l'interculturalité et d'autres activités de soutien dans les établissements scolaires.

La Ville s'est également souciee des migrants sur le plan de la santé, étant donné que jusqu'à la modification de la Loi sur l'Immigration de l'an 2000, le système de santé publique ne couvrait pas toute la population étrangère, quelle que soit sa situation sur le plan juridique. Jusqu'à cette date, ce sont les Centres de Santé municipaux et les organisations non gouvernementales qui se sont efforcées de pallier cette carence.

Deuxième étape (1996-1999)

Le Service de Médiation Sociale Interculturelle (SEMSI) a été créé en 1997. Son rayon d'action comprenait les quartiers à forte présence immigrée, dont le district Centre. Dès le début la figure du médiateur a été conçue comme un lien entre les habitants et non pas comme un professionnel spécialisé dans la prise en charge des étrangers.

Troisième étape (1999-2003)

Entre 1999 et 2001 il y a eu deux processus de régularisation. En l'an 2000, la nouvelle loi a reconnu le droit d'accès au réseau de santé publique. Les services publics

¹⁵ DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE L'IMMIGRATION, DE LA COOPÉRATION POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT ET DU BÉNÉVOLAT, Ville de Madrid (2005)

à vocation locale se sont orientés vers la prise en charge de besoins plus spécifiques : l'intégration des mineurs non accompagnés, les familles roumaines d'ethnie gitane, et l'accueil d'urgence des immigrés. En même temps, on a mis sur pied des projets visant à favoriser le vivre ensemble interculturel dans tous les districts.

Etape actuelle (2004-2007)

Actuellement, le **Plan Madrid pour la Convivialité Sociale et Interculturelle** (*Plan Madrid de Convivencia Social e Intercultural 2004-2007*) reprend les directives de l'administration locale en terme de gestion de la diversité. La coordination du plan dépend de la Direction Générale de l'Immigration, de la Coopération pour le Développement et du Bénévolat. Ce plan ne comprend aucun chapitre ciblé sur les jeunes. Néanmoins, certaines de ses lignes d'action incluent les jeunes immigrants :

- a) **Plan Jeunes Madrid (2004-2007)**. Objectifs. Créer un réseau de soutien social pour tous les jeunes du quartier, encourager la participation à des activités de loisirs et améliorer l'intervention socio-éducative auprès des jeunes.
- b) **Foot ensemble (*Mundialito convive*)** : Tournoi de foot qui ne peut réunir plus de deux joueurs de la même nationalité par équipe.
- c) **Art dans la Cité (*Arte y convivencia*)** : Intervention éducative dans des contextes non institutionnels autour des arts.
- d) **Programme intégral de prévention des situations d'exclusion sociale pour jeunes immigrants** : Ciblé sur les jeunes immigrants de sexe masculin entre 18 et 21 ans, afin de leur fournir un logement et des outils pour accéder au travail, à la scolarisation, aux services juridiques et de santé, aux loisirs et au temps libre.
- e) **Education à la tolérance et à la solidarité dans les établissements scolaires de Madrid** : programme de sensibilisation dans les établissements d'enseignement primaire et secondaire.
- f) **Initiative « Colegio Mayor »** : Prévoit d'embaucher 40 boursiers de différentes nationalités pour qu'ils travaillent au service de la communauté.

2.3. District Centre

En 2005, les médiateurs du district Centre, à partir de la structure du SEMSI, ont lancé le projet « Regards », dans l'idée de susciter un débat sur les limites du terme « citoyenneté » dans son acception traditionnelle et de contribuer à élargir le sens de la citoyenneté. Pour ce faire, plusieurs séances de réflexion avec diverses associations du district ont été mises en place. Le débat a porté sur les thèmes suivants : a) Questionnements du concept traditionnel de citoyenneté b) Participation politique c) Droits économiques et sociaux d) Identités et gestion de la diversité culturelle.

Le thème de l'identité européenne n'a pas été abordé dans le cadre de ce projet, car il entend renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance au niveau local. Apparemment, le fait d'accéder à la nationalité espagnole ne semble pas non plus renforcer ce sentiment, mais donnerait plutôt lieu à une situation d'ambiguïté : les personnes dont les parents ont acquis la nationalité espagnole ont l'impression de se trouver face à un dilemme ou une contradiction : « être ou ne pas être » (citoyen) et « citoyen de quoi ».

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LISTE RÉCAPITULATIVE DES ENTRETIENS

- 1. Miguel Ángel Alcolea**
Département d'Analyse Géographique Régionale. Faculté de Géographie et d'Histoire. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 91 394 59 72
maalco@ghis.ucm.es
- 2. Javier Aníbal.**
Bureau d'Information Jeunesse du District Ventre. Mairie de Madrid.
91 365 64 04
- 3. Adolfo Criado**
Secrétaire à la Jeunesse, Communauté de Madrid. 91 531 26 55
programas@cjcm.org
- 4. José Luis Gordo López**
Centre de Soutien à l'Emploi ALCOR 1 (Districts Usera, Centre et Arganzuela). Mairie de Madrid. 91 392 02 80
- 5. Margarita Echeverri.**
Programme d'Etudes Ibéro-Américaines : Réalité Politique et Sociale.
Universidad Complutense de Madrid. 91 394 26 64. mariaecheverri@yahoo.com
- 6. Carmen del Peso**
Services Sociaux. Département des Services Publics. Assemblée municipale du District Centre. 91 588 50 67
- 7. Luís Rubio et Carlos Ubenga**
Observatoire des Migrations et de la Convivialité Interculturelle de la Ville de Madrid, Mairie de Madrid. 91 588 50 79.
- 8. Helia Isabel del Rosario.**
Observatoire des Migrations et de la Convivialité Interculturelle de la Ville de Madrid, Mairie de Madrid. 91 299 49 52
- 9. Ariadna Navarro.**
Centre Europe Jeune de San Blas. Institut de la Jeunesse. Ministère du Travail et des Affaires Sociales. 91 313 46 79. europa@europajovensanblas.com
- 10. Juan Manuel Camacho.**
Conseiller Technique à la Direction des Services de l'Enseignement, de la Jeunesse et des Sports. Mairie de Madrid. 91 480 11 12.
camachogim@munimadrid.es
- 11. María Fresno.**
Unité d'Activités Culturelles, District Centre. fresnomc@munimadrid.es



SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

KREUZBERG 36/BERLIN

WP 3- JUNE 2007

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1 The selected local area of investigation: Kreuzberg 36

The first chapter introduces the concept of social space and the procedure for the WP3, thereby defining the local context under which the study is implemented. After specifying the geographical and social focus, the multicultural processes of inclusion and exclusion are presented and a general description of the socio-economic situation of the population of the municipality Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is given, focussing on the age distribution, the average income of households, recipients of social welfare and the unemployment situation.

For the realisation of the objectives of the TRESEGY project, the sub-municipality *Kreuzberg 36* has been chosen as the local space of interest. As will be shown in this chapter, it is difficult to officially define the enclosure of *Kreuzberg 36*, as it is not an administrative division of the city of Berlin. However, the area of Kreuzberg 36 possesses a geographic delimitation and in addition specific social characteristics which make the social space an appropriate area of investigation.

1.1 Clarification of the concept of social space and the procedure for WP3

The term social space will be taken up, combining Giddens' theory of structuration (1995) and Bourdieu's theory of practice (1995). Bourdieu analyses the social space against the background of the concept of the social field, in which the objective structure of relations as well as the symbolic structure of these relations are embedded. The social field is constituted by the relational differences in position of social actors (system of social positions). Giddens understands the social space as one of the elements of the social integration system: it is perceived as a "space", where the local is the container of the specific and the particular, whilst at the same time constituting the global. Both concepts are of interest for this analysis as they conceive a relational structure that is not limited to face-to-face interrelations, but furthermore also include relations which respond to systematic integration processes on a wider scale. Moreover, Giddens understands the social space in addition to an explicit connectivity to the geographical space.

Therefore, in order to utilise and process the objectives of the third phase of the TRESEGY project, the local context will be defined under consideration of the contributions by both authors. Kreuzberg 36 is understood as a social space¹, in which social, particular and specific relations are configured within a territorial defined reference-area as well as a constitutive part of the global context: the metropolitan zone of Berlin, the geographical and symbolic borders of Germany and of the European Union. By this definition, the social space functions as a structure for processes of inclusion and exclusion for its social actors within a framework of wider contextures (national level of WP2 and local level of WP3).

In this phase of work and under consideration of above mentioned objectives, the social space of Kreuzberg 36 is embedded within the local urban context of Berlin (WP3). This work phase concentrates on the geographical, social and structural contexts where social, economic and political development processes can be observed in connection with migration and young migrants of the second and third generation. At the same time, the multidisciplinary and

¹ It will be interesting to analyse the form in which the population (actors) define their space in the following phases of work (WP4, WP5).

comparative work, including the other national contexts and nine urban localities within the European Union, offers the possibility of linkage to a global context on a broad scale.

In continuation, the objectives of this work phase in general respond to the report and the described social spaces that are affiliated to the metropolitan zone of Berlin, as well as corresponding to the national situation described in WP2.

1.2 Kreuzberg 36: The geographical and social specifications

At present, the city of Berlin is segmented into 12 municipalities. Until the year 2000, Berlin was constituted by 23 municipalities, one of which was Kreuzberg. In January 2001, due to an administrative reform in order to cut expenditures, the 23 municipalities were merged into 12. Only the municipalities Neukölln, Reinickendorf and Spandau were not affected by the merge. The other municipalities are as follows: Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Pankow, Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Steglitz-Zehlendorf, Tempelhof-Schöneberg, Treptow-Köpenick, Marzahn-Hellersdorf and Lichtenberg.

The area of Kreuzberg 36 was part of the former municipality of Kreuzberg, and is now situated within the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.

Graphic 1 The 12 municipalities of Berlin



Source: Die Kleine Berlin Statistik 2006 (The red mark depicts the area of Kreuzberg 36)

Before 1989, the municipality of Kreuzberg formed a part the former West-Berlin. The dismantling of the Berlin Wall however, did not prevent the end of the division between the two parts of the city. On the contrary, the division between the East and West continued, this

can be observed both on economic as well as social level. After the administrative reform, the former western municipality Kreuzberg was merged with the former eastern municipality Friedrichshain. As a result, the present municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg combines “both” Berlins economically and socially. This is especially worth noting in order to understand the different historic past and the combined data on the present economy of the merged municipality.

Furthermore, besides the former administrative division of the municipality, Kreuzberg can be distinguished by its historic postal zone delivery areas: “Kreuzberg 36” or “SO 36” and “Kreuzberg 61” or “SW 61”, the abbreviation “SO” standing for Südost (Southeast), “SW” for Südwest (Southwest)². The area of “SO 36” included parts of the municipality of Mitte and Treptow, however, being on the Eastern side of Berlin, they were separated by the Berlin Wall.

Kreuzberg 36 can therefore be defined geographically both by the historic administrative divisions and by the former postal zone delivery area. The most known squares which form part of the social spaces within Kreuzberg 36 are as follows: Heinrichsplatz, Kottbusser Tor (in the local jargon better known as *Kotti*), Lausitzer Platz, Mariannenplatz, Oranienplatz, Spreewaldplatz and Wassertorplatz. The most familiar streets include the Naunynstraße, Oranienstraße, Paul-Lincke-Ufer, Wienerstraße, Skalitzerstraße, Schlesische Straße and Wrangelstraße. The three latter streets form part of a neighbourhood known as the Wrangelkiez (interview with Yolanda Arias of the Quartiersmanagement office Wrangelkiez). Apart from the official delineation of Kreuzberg 36, the area continues to be identified by its population as a geographical space, but additionally also as a social space which possesses specific characteristics within Berlin and Germany as a whole, a space with its own identity.

Tsianos Vassilis describes Kreuzberg 36 as follows: “*It is a neighbourhood, a symbolic and social space, a community with its own identity: that of diversity*”. (Interview with Tsianos Vassilis, Kanak Attak, Tranmigrationnet, 10.03.07).

1.3 Multiculturalism and processes of inclusion/exclusion

As Tsianos Vassilis comments, one of the essential characteristics which distinguishes Kreuzberg 36, and for which the area is internationally known, is its cultural diversity. The significant presence of its migrant population and its socio-cultural influence portrays this characteristic. However, besides the multicultural appearance Kreuzberg 36 possesses, which has developed itself as a tourist attraction, it can be stated that there is also a present dynamic of incertitude, discrimination and social marginalisation.

These aspects make Kreuzberg 36 an interesting social space for analysis within the project of TRESEGY. It is a field that presents specific forces of tension, on the one hand clarified within the discourse of “multiculturalism”, on the other hand embedded in diverse mechanisms of social exclusion. The investigation takes into consideration the complexities resulting from the characteristics of the area of interest, focussing on the processes of

² After the introduction of the four-digit postal code for West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1961 and until the change to the five-digit postal code in 1993, “SO 36” had the postal code address “1000 Berlin 36”.

inclusion and exclusion of young migrants in the city, taking into account the local perspective as well as the context within the European Union.

1.4 A general description of the socio-economic situation of the population in the municipality Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg

a) The age distribution

According to the figures of the Statistics Office, State of Berlin for the year 2004, the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has a population with an age distribution as follows: the population under the age of 6 years has a proportion of 5.8%, from 6 to 15 years 7.1%, from 15 to 65 years 77.1% and above the age of 65 a proportion of 9.9%.

The proportion of the population above the age of 65 years is considerably smaller in comparison with other municipalities such as Reinickendorf (19.8%) and Steglitz-Zehlendorf (20.3%). Therefore it can be stated that Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has a particularly young population.

More specific data for the sub-municipality of Kreuzberg show the following age distribution for German citizens, as at December 2006: from 25 to 30 years (10,353), from 30 to 35 years (9,063), from 35 to 40 years (9,210), from 40 to 45 years (10,725) and from 45 to 60 years (20,379) (see also Annex 7). The age distribution for the non-German population has a similar weighting: from 25 to 30 years (5,364), from 30 to 35 years (5,731), from 35 to 40 years (5,215), from 40 to 45 years (4,884) and from 45 to 60 years (8,023).

b) Average income per household

The data of the Statistics Office, State of Berlin for the year 2006 show that the average income per household in the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg amounts to 1,200 Euros and is therefore lower than the average income per household for the city of Berlin (1,475 Euros).

c) Recipients of social welfare

For the end of the year 2004, the statistics show that 31,941 persons received social welfare from the state, in other words, 12.2% of the population within the municipality. In comparison, the lowest quota of persons depending on social benefits amounts to 3.7% in the municipality of Treptow-Köpenick. For the city of Berlin, there are a total of 275,691 persons benefiting from the social welfare system, the quota amounting to 8.1%. In other words, the percentage of persons dependent on social benefits is 4% higher than compared to the city of Berlin.

d) Unemployment

As a final point, 30,090 persons were registered as unemployed in the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (as at the end of 2003). Of these persons, 8,207 were non-German citizens, which amount to a quota of 27.27% of all unemployed persons in the municipality. On another point, the highest concentration of unemployment in the city is found in the municipality of Mitte with 31,769 unemployed persons, followed by Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and the municipality of Neukölln, with the highest absolute number of unemployed persons (32,928).

The data presented by the Statistics Office, State of Berlin shows that for the year 2005 there were 296,468 persons registered as unemployed in Berlin (see also Annex 6). Of these, 236,903 were of German, and 57,769 persons of non-German nationality. Within the area which formerly comprised the municipality of Kreuzberg, 18,998 persons were registered as unemployed.

In view of above mentioned data, it can be concluded that generally speaking, the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, besides constituting one of the highest quotas of non-German population, also has a high concentration of social groups with mayor economic disadvantages.

2 The migration population of Berlin

Principal sources: Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt), Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin)

The first part of the following chapter illustrates the usage of the official statistical material (see also chapter 2.1 *The difficulties concerning the approximation of data and sources* on the reliability of the sources in WP2), in order to describe the demographic structure of Berlin's migrant population in the local urban spaces. The allocation of the migrant population within the 12 municipalities constituting the State of Berlin will be shown, focussing on the municipality Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, with special focal point on the sub-municipality Kreuzberg. The second part names relevant migrant communities in Berlin, approximating the most important communities for the sub-municipality Kreuzberg. Finally, a brief assertion is given on historic aspects and social processes of Kreuzberg, which have been relevant for the development of this sub-municipality within Berlin.

2.1 The density of the migrant population

Apart from constituting the capital, Berlin is the city with the largest population in Germany and after St. Petersburg the second largest populated city in Midwest Europe. At present, Berlin boasts a population of 3.4 Million habitants (December 2006). Hitherto, approximately 460.000 habitants have been officially registered as "foreigners" in Berlin. This figure represents 13.7% of the total population of Berlin³.

This proportion is almost 5% higher than the average quota of the foreign population in Germany, which amounts to 8.8% (see also WP2 *Hard Data*). Furthermore, it has to be noted that the figures on the foreign population do not include persons who have been naturalised, or who are holding a temporary suspension of deportation, nor persons with German origin who were born abroad (for example migrants with German ancestors from Argentina). Also not included are illegalised or "undocumented" migrants.

The population of Berlin by gender shows that more than half is comprised by women (1,735,546), equivalent to 51.1% of the total population. Of these, 220,667 are foreigners, making up 47.3% of the non-German female population in Berlin. However, this quota varies considerably when broken down to certain migrant communities. For example, the quota of female migrants within the Latin-American community in Berlin amounts up to 60.5%, therefore it is possible to speak of a feminisation of this migrant community (Hernandez 2006, Escalona 2006).

³ This figure varies by 0.2% depending on the source. The Federal Statistical Office names 466.518 registered foreigners in Berlin, while the Statistics Office, State of Berlin counts 460.555 registered foreigners in the city.

Table 1 **The German and “foreign” population of Berlin**

Registered Population in Berlin by gender and nationality		
	Unit	2005
Total	1 000	3,395,1
Male	1 000	1,659,6
Female	1 000	1,735,5
Germans	1 000	2,928,6
Male	1 000	1,413,7
Female	1 000	1,514,8
Foreigners	1 000	466,5
Male	1 000	245,8
Female	1 000	220,6

Table: Own elaboration

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin:

<http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm>

(last accessed on 19.03.2007)

Berlin is a city with a copious multicultural diversity. The process of settlement of the migrant population or migrant communities in Berlin differs from other German cities, e.g. such as Frankfurt or Hamburg, where immigration has to be understood against the background of labour migration. Apart from its unique history, economy and geography, Berlin holds a central geostrategic position in relation to East Europe and a special role as German capital. In the last decades, a diversification of migration modules and motives can be observed in Berlin, which is itemised as follows: labour migration, both of highly qualified, mobile specialists as well as labourers; migration with motive of family reunification and through social migrant networks; migration motivated by the interest of capacitation or the aspiration to learn about other cultures. Also, it is essential to mention the forced migration, e.g. refugees and individuals in the process of seeking asylum. This diversification of motives for migration to Berlin creates a social laboratory for migration within the European Union (Interview with Vassilis Tsianos, Transmigration 11.03.2007).

2.1.1 The distribution of the migrant population by municipalities

Principal sources: Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin), Ed., 2005: Die kleine Berlin-Statistik; Ohliger, R., Raiser, U., 2005: Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten. (Der Beauftragte für Integration und Migration, und Statistisches Landesamt Berlin).

The city of Berlin embraces a territorial area of 89.182 hectares, and is composed of 12 municipalities. Within the municipalities, the migrant population is distributed dissimilarly. According to the census of the Statistics Office of the State of Berlin (2005), the lowest quota of migrant population is found in the municipality of Marzahn-Hellersdorf and Treptow-Köpenick (both 3.4%), whereas the highest quota of migrant population is located in Mitte (28.4%). In decreasing order, the quota of migrants in the municipality Friedrichshain-

Kreuzberg is 23.2%, for Neukölln 22.2%, for Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf 18.4%, for Tempelhof-Schöneberg 15.7%, for Spandau 10.6%, for Steglitz-Zehlendorf 10.4%, for Reinickendorf 9.6%, for Lichtenberg 7.9%, for Pankow 6.7% and finally Marzahn-Hellersdorf and Treptow-Köpenick, as already mentioned above.

Graphic 2 Migration population quota of Berlin by municipality



Source: Ohliger, Raiser, 2005: 12⁴

2.1.2 The migrant population in the municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and the sub-municipality of Kreuzberg

The municipality of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg encompasses an area of 2,016 hectares. According to the Statistics Office, State of Berlin, the municipality counts 259,071 persons (2006). By gender the population shows a quota of approximately 51% of males, correspondingly 49% of females. As previously mentioned under point 2.1.1, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, with 23.2% has the second largest quota of non-German population after the municipality Mitte, therefore lying 14.4% above the national average of 8.8% (see also WP2 *Hard Data*).

The Statistics Office of Berlin-Brandenburg offers data on the sub-municipality Kreuzberg (as at 31st December 2006) amounting to a total of 147.787 persons registered in Kreuzberg, of those 46,339 do not hold the German citizenship, the “foreign” population in Kreuzberg therefore amounting to 31.4 %. To put it in another way, **of every three habitants living in Kreuzberg, one habitant does not possess a German passport**. In the former municipality of Kreuzberg, the quota of “foreigners” is approximately 23% higher than the national average. The quota for the sub-municipality Friedrichshain is only 12.2%. The fusion of both

⁴ This graphic was created by Fabian Koch for the publication Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten and corresponds to the data of the Statistics Office of the State of Berlin of the year 2003. However, the quotas presented in the graphic are comparable to the figures of December 2005, also presented by the Statistics Office.

sub-municipalities has the statistical impact on the quota, resulting in the previously mentioned figure of 23.2% (see Annex 7).

With a foreign population exceeding 31%, Kreuzberg has a higher migrant population than Frankfurt a.M., the city with the highest quota of migrant population, reaching almost 26%. Additionally, it also surpasses or equals metropolitan zones which have migrant population quotas of 25%, such as New York, Los Angeles, London, Amsterdam, Tel Aviv, Hong Kong, Dubai, Brussels, Jerusalem, Melbourne, Tbilisi, Vancouver and Auckland, among others.

Furthermore, according to data of the Statistics Office, State of Berlin (as at December 2005), the quota of migrant population in some areas of Kreuzberg reaches almost 40%, thus comprising almost half of the population. This quota can be found in specific areas, such as the in the surroundings of the Mariannenplatz, one of the most known squares in Kreuzberg 36.

Table 2 Population of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (as at 31st December 2005) by age and citizenship (the zones of Kreuzberg 36 are depicted in bold).

No.	Statistical area (former municipality) Municipality	Total population	Age in years				foreigners in %
			under 6	6 - 18	18 – 65	65 and older	
012	Mehringplatz	19 314	1 517	3 095	12 651	2 051	34,7
013	Moritzplatz (SO 36)	19 189	1 452	2 773	12 199	2 765	33,8
014	Mariannenplatz (SO 36)	21 473	1 385	2 689	15 601	1 798	39,0
015	Wiener Straße (SO 36)	26 980	1 644	2 917	20 525	1 894	34,3
016	Urban	44 422	2 626	4 533	33 623	3 640	27,3
017	Viktoriapark	15 384	879	1 471	11 705	1 329	23,9
Karte	(Kreuzberg)	146 762	9 503	17 478	106 304	13 477	31,8
113	Volkspark Friedrichshain	148	10	12	120	6	8,8
114	Friedenstraße	14 516	574	974	9 340	3 628	7,6
115	Rigaer Straße	31 168	1 685	1 852	25 252	2 379	11,7
116	Boxhagener Straße	38 714	2 048	2 150	32 457	2 059	12,3
117	Andreasstraße	15 860	579	1 214	9 942	4 125	14,6
118	Stralauer Allee	5 858	280	417	4 611	550	12,0
119	Alt-Stralau	2 158	183	189	1 574	212	5,4
Karte	(Friedrichshain)	108 422	5 359	6 808	83 296	12 959	11,7
	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	255 184	14 862	24 286	189 600	26 436	23,2
	Berlin	3 339 436	166 532	338 512	2 256 376	578 016	13,8

2.2 The migrant population by nationality in Berlin

With focus on the nationality of the foreigners registered in Berlin, 336.448 persons originate from European countries, of those 124.312 are from countries within the European Union. The largest migrant community is from Turkey, comprising of 117,736 persons. The second largest community are persons from the former Yugoslavia, with a total of 51,134 persons.

The third largest group are of Polish origin, adding up to 40,787 persons. The following migrant communities can be listed as follows (descending): Russians, Italians, citizens of the United States of America, French, Vietnam and the Greek community, all of these communities count less than 10,000 persons (see Annex 1 for a detailed overview).

Table 3 Foreign populations registered in Berlin by nationality, region and quantity (as at 31st December 2005)

Nationality and region	Total	Variation to the previous year	
		Absolute number	in %
Europe	336 448	8 405	2,6
European Union	124 312	9 010	7,8
France	11 517	844	7,9
Greece	10 134	- 37	- 0,4
Italy	13 804	599	4,5
Poland	40 787	4 945	13,8
Rest of Europe	212 136	- 605	- 0,3
Bosnia and Herzegovina ¹⁾	10 403	28	0,3
Croatia ¹⁾	11 517	- 160	- 1,4
Macedonia ¹⁾	4 457	139	3,2
Russian Federation	14 005	431	3,2
Serbia and Montenegro ¹⁾	24 757	- 392	- 1,6
Turkey	117 736	- 996	- 0,8
Former Soviet Union	4 983	- 347	- 6,5
America	23 460	799	3,5
USA	12 556	418	3,4
Latin America and the Caribbean	9433	-956	-9.8%
Asia	66 780	362	0,5
Vietnam	11 298	440	4,1
Australia/Oceania	1 426	35	2,5
Africa	17 612	169	1,0
Unsettled	12 751	- 71	- 0,6
Without specification	99	43	76,8
Totalling	460 555	9 655	2,1

1)Territory of the former Yugoslavia

Table: Own elaboration

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin:

<http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm> (last accessed on 19.03.07)

2.2.1 The migrant population by nationality in Kreuzberg

According to the research „Phenomena Endangering the Democracy in Kreuzberg and Possibilities of Intervention: A Discussion and Communication Analysis in the Berlin Municipality Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg“ („Demokratiegefährdende Phänomene in Kreuzberg und Möglichkeiten der Intervention – ein Problemaufriss. Eine Kommunalanalyse im Berliner Bezirk Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg“) published in the year 2003, the most important migrant communities in Kreuzberg originate from Turkey, from the former Yugoslavia and from Poland. This pattern coincides with the three largest migrant communities in the metropolitan zone of Berlin.

The number of persons from European countries living in Kreuzberg amounts to 27,795 (as at April 2007). From the African continent, 1,217 persons live in the sub-municipality, the communities from Ghana, Egypt and Morocco being the largest. The communities from the American continent count 1,687 persons, the most significant are from the USA, Brazil and Cuba. There are 4,255 Asians registered in Kreuzberg, the communities from Lebanon, Iraq and Iran constituting the largest numbers. And finally, there are 117 persons registered who originate from Australia and Oceania.

Table 4 The migrant population by nationality in Kreuzberg (2003)

Herkunft	insgesamt	Bis 15 Jahre	15-45 Jahre	45-65 Jahre	65 und älter	Frauen
Europa insges.	37.795	6.446	20.380	8.605	2.364	17.895
Türkei	23.896	5.209	12.027	5.189	1.471	11.202
Ex-Jugoslawien	1.763	342	780	479	162	670
Polen	1.656	127	876	487	166	943
Afrika insges.	1.217	110	888	203	16	410
Ghana	220	17	156	47	0	104
Ägypten	131	14	70	42	5	28
Marokko	104	6	91	7	0	36
Amerika	1.687	80	1.266	312	29	822
USA	807	18	584	186	19	368
Brasilien	178	12	147	18	1	110
Kuba	113	8	92	11	2	40
Asien	4.255	762	2.628	716	149	2002
Libanon	989	322	558	88	21	432
Irak	589	153	358	65	13	232
Iran	400	33	206	130	31	165
Australien / Ozeanien	117	2	94	16	5	59
Australien	100	2	60	13	5	49
Neuseeland	15	0	12	3	0	8
Fidschi	1	0	1	0	0	1
Staatenlos	334	44	195	74	21	116
ungeklärt	1.661	775	759	98	29	718

Source: Zentrum Demokratische Kultur (Ed.), 2003: *Demokratiegefährdende Phänomene in Kreuzberg und Möglichkeiten der Intervention – ein Problemaufriss. Eine Kommunalanalyse im Berliner Bezirk Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg*”

Translation:

Herkunft: Origin
insgesamt: total (absolut number)
Jahre: years
Frauen: women
Staatenlos: without citizenship
ungeklärt: unsettled

2.3 Historic and social references of the most important migrant communities

As previously noted, a diversification of the models and motives of migration attracting persons to Berlin can be observed. However, in continuation, the historic and social references of the three most significant migrant communities on national level will be further ascertained for the sub-municipality of Kreuzberg.

Clearly, the high quota of the Turkish community within the sub-municipality of Kreuzberg as well as generally within the city boundaries of Berlin and on the national level (see also WP2) can be principally explained with the large movements of labour migration, which developed during the period between 1955 and 1973. By the end of the recruitment phase in 1973, a total of 605,000 migrants from Turkey were registered in Germany. A large fraction of this migration movement was directed towards various cities in Germany. In the following years, social- and family-networks were established, which exist until the present day. Mr Serhat Karakayali, member of group *kanak-attak* Berlin and also of the network “transitmigration” refers to this particular phenomenon as the “autonomy which has been generated by the migration” (interview from 10.03.07). By this means, the Turkish community registered in Berlin makes up 25.5% of the total non-German population registered in the city. It is worth noting that this number does not consider persons of the second or third generation of Turkish immigrants, who have been naturalised (see WP2, chapter 4.2 *German citizenship by right of naturalisation*). Therefore, every fourth person with a non-German passport has the Turkish nationality.

In the case of the population from countries of former Yugoslavia, their settlement mainly responds to two historic-political processes, which occurred in the last century. On the one side, similar to Turkey, Germany established a bilateral contract in the year 1968 in order to enable the entry of migrant labourers from Yugoslavia (Rudolph, 1996). By the year 1973, 535.000 labourers from Yugoslavia were registered in Germany. On the other hand, the historic event more relevant for the increase of this population was the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, followed by a rise of immigration towards the unified Germany from the countries of Eastern Europe in the nineties. Of those, a significant amount of persons came in search of asylum after the outbreak of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Furthermore, persons from countries of the former Soviet Union with Jewish ancestry entered Germany (Ohliger, Raiser, 2005: 10).

Finally, a significant number of migrants in Berlin are from Poland. One of the reasons for this lies in the fall of the socialist block, followed by an increase of immigration to Germany at the end of the 1980s. However, the history of immigration from Poland to Germany goes back to 1880, a period during which the economic differences between Germany and Poland

increasingly became noticeable, and during which the demand for labour in specific sectors of the production industry, especially agriculture, grew in Germany. The proximity of the city of Berlin to the German-Polish border has contributed to the tension that has made the constant displacement of persons possible, to this day. “A large number of Polish citizens living in Berlin are not registered in the city, rather they enter and departure the city with frequency... maybe they work in Berlin during the week and return home for the weekend” (Przemyslaw Kosierkiewicz, Polish migrant, 43 years old, living in Berlin).

3 Berlin – Demographic growth and migration

Principal sources: Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt), Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin); Ohliger, Rainer; Raiser, Ulrich, 2005: Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten. Berlin.

The third chapter gives an insight on the effects of the economic crisis and the population decrease for the city of Berlin. Furthermore, it observes the significant differences of demographic growth between the German and the non-German population of Berlin.

3.1 The metropolis Berlin – Population deficit and migration

Shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a significant amount of expectations arose concerning both the economic as well as the demographic growth for the city, which was by some considered as a metropolis of global importance. Therefore, some of the consequences of the notion that Berlin would develop its economy on a large scale, were that the decision was made in 1991 to change the capital of Germany from Bonn to Berlin, to promote Berlin as Olympic host-city for the Olympic Games 2000, and to relocate the European headquarters of DaimlerChrysler and Sony to the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin. Berlin’s geographical location, e.g. its proximity to Eastern Europe, was viewed as a key pivotal moment between the “East” and the “West”. In this context, the prognosis of demographic research institutes developed projections of an annual population growth of 0.6% for Berlin until the year 2010 or an increase of population by 1.4 million persons (Heder 1990: 47, cited by Riedmann)⁵.

However, neither the economic nor the population growth fulfilled the expectations of those who had hoped for improvement. On the contrary, in the last 15 years day there can be observed on the one side a profound economic crisis and on the other side a significant decrease of population for the city of Berlin until to-day. Between 1993 and 2004 the population of Berlin decreased from 3.47 to 3.38 million. In other words, within a period of more than 10 years, a negative balance became obvious, contradicting the earlier forecasts. One factor among others responsible for the decrease of the population is the higher mortality rate compared to the birth rate. That is to say, the population of Berlin is not reproducing itself. This is shown in the following table 5:

Table 5 The demographic development in Berlin since 1993

Year	Births	Deaths	Deviation of births and deaths	Immigration/emigration of the population	Increase/decrease of the population	Population as at the end of the year
1993	28,724	41,273	- 12,549	22,193	9,644	3,475,392
1994	28,503	40,738	- 12,235	8,852	- 3,383	3,472,009
1995	28,648	39,245	- 10,597	10,006	- 591	3,471,418
1996	29,905	38,099	- 8,194	- 4,461	- 12,655	3,458,763
1997	30,369	36,447	- 6,078	- 26,926	- 33,004	3,425,759

⁵ An interesting article on the city of Berlin since the fall of the Berlin Wall, which stands in relation to the debate on Global Cities as discussed by Saskia Sassen (1996) can be found in the journal: *Derivé*, No 20: *Global City Berlin? Illusionen und die Ironie der Geschichte* (Translation: Global City Berlin? The illusions and the irony of history. Written by Erwin Riedman.

http://www.derive.at/index.php?p_case=2&id_cont=475&issue_No=20 (last accessed 06.06.2007)

1998	29,612	35,224	- 5,612	- 21,325	- 26,937	3,398,822
1999	29,856	34,996	- 5,140	- 7,015	- 12,155	3,386,667
2000	29,695	33,335	- 3,640	- 858	- 4,498	3,382,169
2001	28,624	32,826	- 4,202	10,467	6,265	3,388,434
2002	28,801	33,492	- 4,691	8,685	3,991	3,392,425
2003	28,723	33,146	- 4,423	477	- 3,948	3,388,477
2004	29,446	31,792	- 2,346	1,686	- 649	3,387,828
2005	28,976	31,985	- 3,009	10,201	7,361	3,395,189

Table: Own elaboration

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

<http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm> (last accessed on 20.03.2007)

However, it can be shown that Berlin has recently experienced a slight population increase in the year 2005: At the beginning of the year, Berlin had a population of 3,38 million, by the end of the year the population counted 3,39 million habitants. According to this tendency, the population has increased since 2005 until the last count (06.03.2007) by 4,550 persons. Particularly interesting is the fact that according to the statistics of the state of Berlin for the year 2005, the German population decreased by 4,612 persons, while in the same period the foreign population increased by 11,973 persons. This signifies that the total population increase of 7,361 persons in Berlin for the year 2005 concentrated itself on the non-German population. The same demographic phenomenon can be observed for the period between 1993 and 2004, during which the population decrease did not occur uniformly between the German and the non-German population. During this period, the migrant population increased from 393,044 to 454,545 persons. This number signifies an increase of 14%.

Table 6 The migrant population in Berlin from 1993 to 2005

Year	Births	Deaths	Surplus of births	Increase of population due to immigration	Increase/ decrease of the migrant population	Migrant population as at the end of the year
1993	5,964	520	5,444	30,679	21,467	393,044
1994	6,229	551	5,678	21,240	13,661	406,705
1995	5,863	549	5,314	26,202	18,424	425,129
1996	6,058	632	5,426	17,109	9,965	435,094
1997	5,730	630	5,100	2,542	- 2,104	432,990
1998	5,567	582	4,985	1,649	- 1,336	431,654
1999	5,440	641	4,799	7,548	1,908	433,562
2000	3,270	804	2,466	6,314	706	434,268
2001	2,793	765	2,028	11,618	6,509	440,777
2002	2,338	814	1,524	10,173	3,997	444,774
2003	2,255	866	1,389	8,512	2,551	447,325
2004	2,118	808	1,310	12,925	7,220	454,545
2005	2,053	904	1,149	17,741	11,973	466,518

Table: Own elaboration

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

<http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm> (last accessed on 20.03.2007)

As can be seen in Table 6, the number of births from 1993 to 2005 is constantly higher than the number of deaths within the migrant population. That is to say, in contrast to the figures on the total population, the group denominated as “foreigners” in Berlin is the group that actually reproduces itself.

The non-German population of Berlin is in average younger than the German population. This is also the case when comparing the age cohorts of foreigners and Germans on national level (see also WP2 2.4. a) Criteria on the population registered as foreigners; Age cohorts). Therefore, it can be said that the younger age cohorts of the foreign population are a reason for the higher reproduction rate in comparison to the German population.

3.2 Berlin’s population by age cohorts and migrants

According to the data presented in the publication of the Senate of Berlin “Integration und Migration in Berlin” (Integration and migration in Berlin) by Ohliger and Raiser (2005), the average age of the German population of Berlin resembles the national average age of German citizens. The German population on national level has an average age of 40.5 years, whereas the German population of Berlin has an average age of 43 years. The foreign population of Berlin has an average age of 35 years, corresponding to the average age of the non-German population on national level.

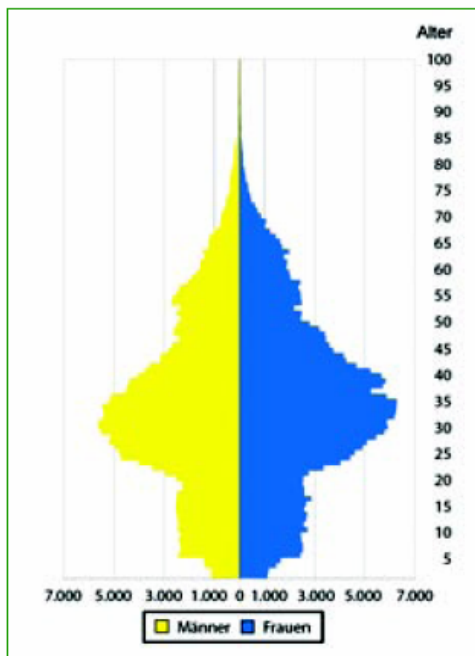
Both groups also differ in the distribution of the age cohorts. While 18.6% of the German population is 20 years or younger, the foreign population amounts to 20.35% in the same age cohort. 36% of the German population is between the age of 21 and 45 years compared to

53,8% of the foreign population. In the age group of 46 to 65 years, 29% of the German population can be found, in comparison to only 20.6% of the non-German population. Finally, for the age group above 65 years, merely 5.3% of the foreign population belong to this group, compared to 16.2% of the German population. More detailed data on the differences of the age cohorts between the foreign and the German population can be viewed in Annex 2.

In view of the presented data it can be concluded that for Berlin – as also for the national level – the index of reproduction for the German population will decrease in the following years, due to the low fertility rates and the high concentration of the population in the higher age cohorts. It appears that in this context, the foreign residents can contribute to the growth of the population of the city of Berlin.

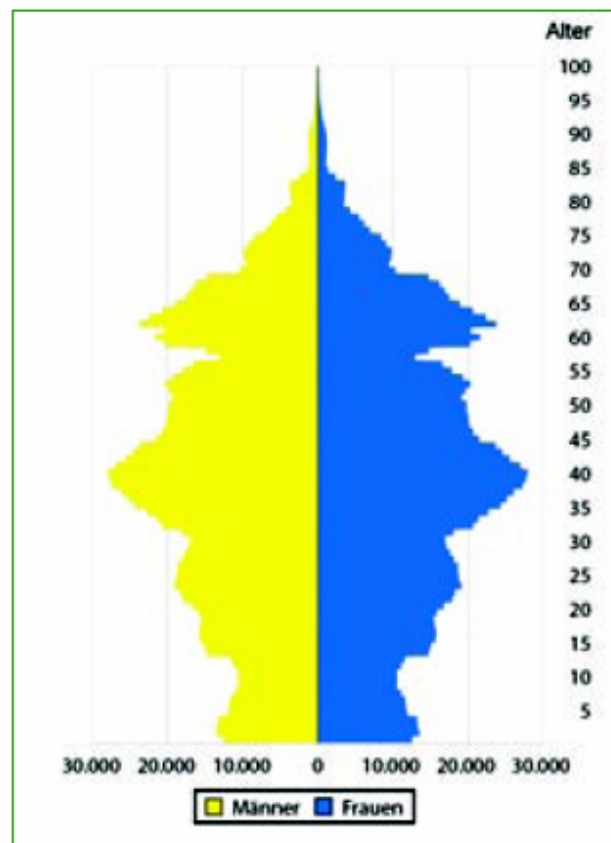
Graphic 3 Population pyramid of German (right) and foreign residents (left) in Berlin (2003)

Abbildung 2: Bevölkerungspyramide der nicht-deutschen Einwohner Berlins (2003)



Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Abbildung 1: Bevölkerungspyramide der deutschen Einwohner Berlins (2003)



Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Translation: Männer – Men; Frauen – Women
 Source: Ohliger, Raiser, 2005: 15

4 Division lines in Berlin

Principal sources: Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin), Ed., 2005: Die kleine Berlin-Statistik; Ohliger, R., Raiser, U., 2005: Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten. (Der Beauftragte für Integration und Migration, und Statistisches Landesamt Berlin).

Following the chapter on demographic growth, this section shows various lines of division for the city of Berlin. First, the East-West division lines separating high and low migrant population zones are demonstrated, followed by the division line separating the central municipalities with a high, and the outer municipalities with a low migration population quota. In the third and final part, further division lines are made clear, such as the average income of households, recipients of social welfare and the unemployment rate by district.

Graphic 4 Migrant population and lines of division in Berlin



Source: Ohliger, Raiser, 2005: 12⁶; and own elaboration

(Note: This map shows the lines (yellow and black) which are described in the present chapter in order to visualise the divisions. Yellow: The municipalities with a high migration population quota; Black: The former division between East [low migration population quota] and West Berlin [higher migration population quota].

4.1 The division of the foreign population in Berlin

As previously described in chapter 2.1, the foreign population in Berlin is allocated dissimilarly within the twelve municipalities of the city. The lowest quota of foreign population (3.4%) can be found in the municipalities of Marzahn-Hellersdorf and Treptow-

⁶ This graphic was created by Fabian Koch for the publication Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten and corresponds to the data of the Statistics Office of the State of Berlin of the year 2003. However, the quotas presented in the graphic are comparable to the figures of December 2005, also presented by the Statistics Office.

Köpenick, whereas the highest quota is registered in Mitte, amounting to 28.4%. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is the municipality with the second highest concentration of migrant population with 23%, followed by Neukölln (22.2%). The reasons for the uneven allocation of the foreign population on the municipalities of Berlin can be found when focussing on historic as well as socio-economic indicators, which are of relevance until this day. These indicators function as division lines within the city boundaries.

4.2 The first and second line of division

A key argument for the uneven allocation of the migrant population in Berlin is the former divide of the city into West and East Berlin. As can be observed in the map of Berlin (Graphic 4), a major division line of the population allocation runs along the former border of East and West Berlin, with the high concentration within the Western half of the city. This is due to the fact that the German Democratic Republic never experienced labour immigration on such a scale as West-Germany during the period of 1955 to 1973 (see also the chapter on *Gastarbeiter* in WP2), and therefore had no immigrants from Greece, Italy or Turkey, who settled themselves in the Western part of the city. However, the administrative reform in the year 2001, which merged many adjacent municipalities – and in the process joining municipalities of both the East and the West of Berlin together, has had an effect on the statistical account of spatial allocations of the migrants living in Berlin, henceforth the majority of the foreign population living in the municipalities of Mitte (former the municipalities of Mitte [East], Wedding [West] and Tiergarten [West]) and the former two municipalities which is now referred to as Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg [East-West]. Nevertheless, the highest quotas of foreigners within the municipalities of Mitte and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg can as yet be found in the Western areas of these administrative areas: Wedding, Tiergarten and Kreuzberg (Ohliger/ Raiser, 2005).

Apart from the East-West differences concerning the living areas of the migrant population, a further line of division can be marked out. The central areas of the city of Berlin are the spaces where the foreign population is concentrated. The municipalities of Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln form part of the central area of Berlin. In these three areas, the quota of non-Germans exceeds 20%. This is due to the fact that these areas were major settlement locations for the immigrants coming to Berlin during the 1970's and 80's, as they offered economic living expenses such as cheap living accommodations (Ohliger/ Raiser, 2005).

4.3 Further lines of division

The settlement of the migrant population in the central areas of the former West-Berlin does not only correspond to specific historic reasons, but also to other variables both economic as well as social.

One of these variables that is shared by the three municipalities of Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln is the high concentration of residents with a low income. The quota of low income residents in these three municipalities is the highest in Berlin. Not only is the amount of income low compared to the other municipalities, but also the quota of households receiving social welfare as well as the rate of unemployment is comparatively high (This data is analysed more detailed with focus on the selected area of research Kreuzberg 36, chap. 1).

4.3.1 Average income of households

According to the official statistics of the state of Berlin for the year 2005, the average income for a household in Berlin amounts to € 1,475 a month. However, in the areas with the highest concentration of migrant population, the average monthly income amounts to € 1,275 for the municipality Mitte, € 1,200 for Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and € 1,325 for Neukölln. The municipalities with the least quota of foreign population, Marzahn-Hellersdorf and Treptow-Köpenick have an average household income of € 1,550 and € 1,600 respectively. In other words, the highest quota of migrant population is found in the areas where the average income of households is lowest.

4.3.2 Recipients of social welfare

A further important aspect in this analysis is the comparison of the municipalities by the quota of persons who receive social welfare. According to the official statistics of the state of Berlin, it can be observed that as at December 2004, the highest quota of recipients of social welfare can be found in the already above mentioned municipalities of Mitte (15.3%), Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (12.2) and Neukölln (15.8%). Interesting to note is however, that in the case of Marzahn-Hellersdorf – one of the municipalities with the lowest quota of registered foreigners – there is also a fairly high quota of social welfare recipients, representing 6.7%. Of all the 18,455 persons in the mentioned municipality receiving social benefits, only 1,378 persons are of foreign nationality. This shows that there is no necessarily relation between migrants as being potential exploiters of the governmental welfare system, as often mentioned in the public discourses on migration and immigrants in the industrialised countries.

Table 7 Recipients of public aid for livelihood by municipality as at 31st December 2004

Municipality	Total number of recipients			Difference to the previous year in %	Thereunder	
	Number	in %	of 1000 residents ¹⁾		Foreigners Number	Female
Mitte	42,212	15.3	132	0.3	17,850	21,411
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	33,726	12.2	130	1.4	12,425	16,636
Pankow	18,142	6.6	52	3.1	1,044	9,248
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	18,633	6.8	59	4.3	5,541	9,690
Spandau	21,940	8.0	97	0.7	4,019	11,664
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	11,656	4.2	40	6.4	2,468	6,331
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	22,911	8.3	69	1.7	6,887	12,239
Neukölln	43,663	15.8	143	4.2	15,886	22,183
Treptow-Köpenick	10,164	3.7	43	6.3	668	5,166
Marzahn-	18,455	6.7	73	8.2	1,378	9,610

Hellersdorf						
Lichtenberg	15,560	5.6	60	6.9	2,116	8,154
Reinickendorf	18,629	6.8	76	10.0	3,810	10,075
Berlin	275,691	100	81	3.6	74,092	142,407
1) Population as at 31.12.2004 am 31.12.						

Source: Statistics Office, State of Berlin

<http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm> (last accessed on 23.03.2007)

4.3.3 Unemployment rate by district

The highest concentration of unemployed persons can also be found in the previously mentioned municipalities of Mitte (31,769), followed by Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (30,090) and Neukölln (32,928), as shown by the official statistics for the end of 2003. Steglitz-Zehlendorf is the municipality with the lowest concentration of unemployed persons (15,199). These figures allow us to conclude that the foreign population of Berlin lives in the areas with the highest concentration of unemployment.

Considering the unemployment rate by district and by nationality, it can be observed that the number of unemployed foreign residents in Mitte amounts to 9,874 persons (31.08%). In Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, the number of unemployed foreigners amounts to 8,207 persons (27.27%) and in Neukölln 9,947 foreign residents are registered as unemployed (30.20%). In the municipality of Steglitz-Zehlendorf the number of unemployed foreigners is 2,226, which signifies 14.6%. It is note-worthy to mention that in the case of Marzahn-Hellersdorf, which has a low quota of foreign residents, the number of unemployed person amounts to 27,333, whereas of those only 1,051 persons are registered as foreigners (3,8%). In this case it can be stated that the quota of unemployed foreigners corresponds to their proportion within the whole of the district (3%) (see Annex 3 and 4).

General conclusions

The presented data shows that within the city of Berlin, various division lines can be constituted, of spatial and historical origin as well as by factors concerning social, economic, and ethnic segregation.

Therefore, it is not surprising, that the underprivileged fragments of society are concentrated in the municipalities of Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln. Within these localities, migrants and persons with a migrant background as a social group and economically underprivileged within the geographical and symbolic borders of Germany can be found in the urban context of the multicultural Berlin.

5 Economic occupation and migration

Principal sources: Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin), Ed., 2005: Die kleine Berlin-Statistik; Ohliger, R., Raiser, U., 2005: Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten. (Der Beauftragte für Integration und Migration, und Statistisches Landesamt Berlin); Newsletter Migration und Bevölkerung, No. 3, April 2005

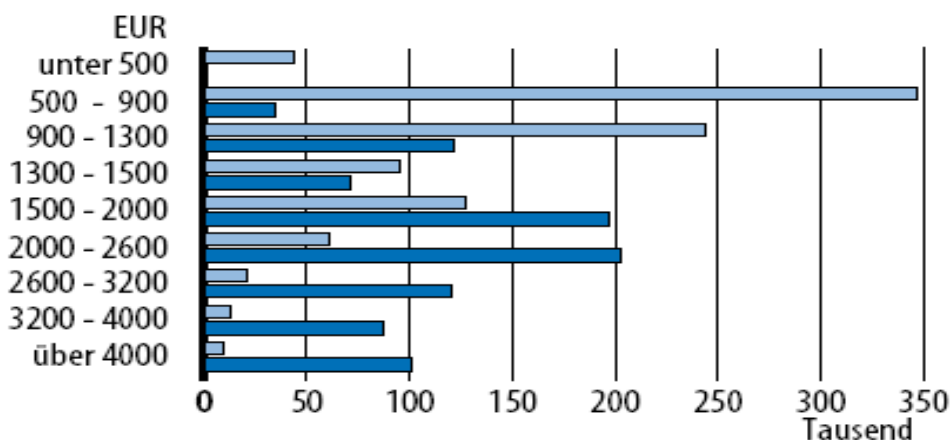
Chapter 5 commences with a comparison of the households by income group, followed by an assessment on employed persons in jobs subject to social security contributions. It is then shown that the foreign population of Berlin is especially affected by unemployment compared to the German comparison group. Furthermore, differences between German and foreign self-employed jobholders are identified.

5.1 The situation of households by income group

The following data was collected by an annual census known as the *Mikrozensus*⁷ in Germany, through the Statistics Office, State of Berlin. The data was published in the documentation “Die kleine Berlin Statistik 2006”.

The situation of households⁸ in Berlin by income group can be displayed as the following graphic 5 shows. The light blue bars show households with one person, the dark blue bars households with more than one person.

Graphic 5 Berlin households by income group



Source: Statistics Office, State of Berlin, Ed., 2005: Die kleine Berlin-Statistik, p. 3

5.2 Employed persons in jobs subject to social security contributions

The data which was elevated by the Mikrozensus in 2005 indicates that of the 3,339,739 habitants of the city of Berlin, 1,777,200 persons were in an age of active productivity

⁷ The Mikrozensus is an official and annually conducted survey, in which 1% of the German households take part. The households which come from specified geographical areas are selected by a random sample.

⁸ The Mikrozensus defines a private household as one or more persons who occupy a housing unit and constitute an economic alliance. The occupants may be a single person, a family or a group of non family members. A family is defined as a married couple with children as well as single parents and persons living in extra-marital cohabitation with their unmarried children living in the same household.

(*Erwerbspersonen*). However, only 1,434,200 of these were employed. In other words, 343,000 persons were registered as not actively productive. The data available from the job agency of the city calculates the number of persons in jobs subject to social security contributions to 1,041,100. Of these, 55,742 persons are non-German, representing approximately 20% of employed persons. According to the same office, the number of registered unemployed persons amounts to 296,461 (a quota of 16%). Of this number, 40% are “foreigners”.

The report “Integration and Migration in Berlin“ by Ohliger and Raiser (2005) ascertains, that the number of persons employed in jobs subject to social security contributions in Berlin has been decreasing in the past decade. Since 1996, the year in which the Statistics Office began to elevate data for both East and West Berlin, the number of persons employed in jobs subject to social security contributions has fallen from 1,184,954 to 1,065,424 by the year 2003. Of these, 996,817 persons were German, while the number of foreign persons amounted to 67,743 (2003). As regards the total of persons in an age of active productivity, 48.22% of German persons are employed in jobs subject to social security contributions, while within the foreign population only 18.93%. Since 1993, the quota of employed persons has sunk drastically, however, in the case of the German population, “only” by 12%, whereas for the foreign population the quota has fallen by approximately 20% (Ohliger/Raiser, 2005: 25).

It has to be taken into account, that since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the city has witnessed a process of de-industrialisation. This process was accompanied by a massive loss of jobs in the industrial sector of the city. This sector of work was dominated by workers with low qualifications and wages. It offered job possibilities for many newly arrived immigrants and those who had come to Berlin during the period of recruitment of the *Gastarbeiter* (see WP2). Therefore, the quota of migrant persons employed in jobs subject to social security contributions was affected to a higher degree than the German population by the process of de-industrialisation in Berlin. However, the economic transformation of the city, in which the service sector and the technology branch now dominates the economy, has not been able to compensate the quota of employed persons. In this situation, persons with a migrant background are especially confronted with structural discrimination, pushing them into the informal labour market, and into precarious jobs with no social security.

Table 8 German and non-German Persons employed in jobs subject to social security contributions in Berlin (1989-2003)

Tabelle 4: Sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte deutscher und nicht-deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit (1989–2003)*

Jahr	insgesamt	deutsch	nicht-deutsch	
			gesamt	darunter Frauen
1989	768.614	671.440	97.714	
1990	831.057	731.599	99.458	
1991	873.110	775.341	97.769	
1992	876.783	777.957	98.826	
1993	873.081	775.896	97.185	
1994	852.429	763.316	89.113	
1995	826.641	742.810	83.831	
1996	1.184.954	1.098.991	85.963	35.721
1997	1.150.629	1.069.594	81.035	33.553
1998	1.137.357	1.057.886	79.471	32.255
1999	1.140.323	1.062.467	77.856	30.136
2000	1.139.096	1.066.506	72.590	30.064
2001	1.125.714	1.052.420	73.294	31.070
2002	1.103.776	1.030.492	73.284	31.106
2003	1.065.424	996.817	67.743	29.553

* vor 1996 nur Berlin (West)
Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Source: Ohliger/ Raiser, 2005: 25

5.3 Unemployment

According to the data of the Statistical Office, State of Berlin, which correlate to the statistics of the Feral Bureau for Labour, Regional Division for Berlin-Brandenburg, there are 293,947 persons registered as unemployed in the city of Berlin (2006). The quota of unemployed persons in an age of active productivity reached 17.5% for the city of Berlin in the year 2006. This figure is significantly higher than the average national unemployment rate, which for February 2007 amounted to 10.1% according to the data of the Federal Statistical Office. Furthermore, the unemployment rate is higher compared to East Germany (16.9%). West Germany by itself has an unemployment rate of only 8.4% (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, report from February 2007).

Within the group of unemployed persons in Berlin, the male contingent amounts to 166,068 persons, this signifies 22.5%. There are 127,428 unemployed females in Berlin, this signifies a quota of 17.6%. As regards nationality, it can be observed that there are 57,943 non-German nationals registered as unemployed in Berlin; this signifies a quota of 41.9%.

In view of the above statistics it can be said that foreign nationals in Berlin are affected by unemployment more strongly than the German population. On national level, the unemployment rate in the year 2004 amounted to 11.7% for the German population, while for the non-German population registered in Germany the quota reached 20.4% (as regards the data of the publication *Migration und Bevölkerung*, No. 3, April 2005).

Observing the period between 1998 and 2003, it can be stated that the total unemployment rate of Berlin increased from 16.1% to 17.5%. Nevertheless, viewing specifically the foreign population in the same period, it can be shown that while in 1998 the quota of unemployed migrants represented approximately twice the amount to the comparison group of German nationals (16.1% Germans; 32.8% non-Germans – approximately twice the rate compared to the national context for the year 2004), by the year 2006 the quota for German nationals had risen to 17.5%, whereas for the migrant population of Berlin the quota of unemployment rose up to 41.9%.

These figures allows us to conclude that not only has the city of Berlin an average unemployment rate higher than the average rate for Germany (around 11%), but also a migrant population that is strongly affected by unemployment, more than twice as frequent as the German population. This has to be considered as an indicator for the conditions of exclusion and discrimination in the economic area, in which migrant groups find themselves confronted by social disadvantages, which is then interpreted as a lack of will to integrate themselves into the German labour market and the conjoined societal relations (Annex 4).

5.4 The situation of self-employed jobholders

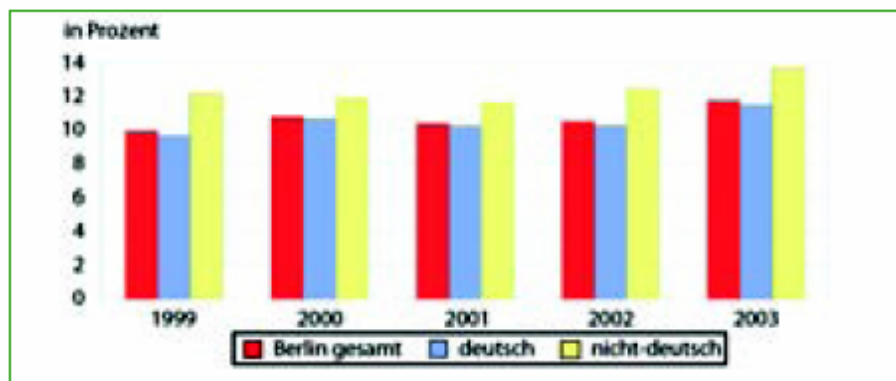
According the results of the *Mikrozensus* 2003 published in the report by Ohliger and Raiser (2005), Berlin counted 188,500 self-employed jobholders of approximately a total of 1.4 Million employed persons. This signifies a quota of self-employed jobholders of 11.7% for the city of Berlin. In the case of the German population, the quota of self-employed persons reaches 11.5% or 165,600 persons. The non-German population involved in self-employment amounts to 22,900 persons, which signifies 13.7% of their group. It can be observed that the quota of persons registered as self-employed has increased in the city of Berlin during the years between 1999 and 2003. In the case of the migrant population, the quota rose from 12.2% to 13.7% (from 20,400 persons to 22,900 persons), thus signifying an increase of 2,500 persons.

Tabelle 5: Selbstständig Beschäftigte deutscher und nicht-deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit in Berlin (1999-2003)

Jahr		Erwerbspersonen			
		zusammen in 1.000	darunter Erwerbstätige in 1.000	darunter Selbstständige	
				in 1.000	in Prozent
1999	Berlin gesamt	1.635,2	1.472,6	162,6	9,9
	deutsch	1.468,1	1.325,9	142,2	9,7
	ausländisch	167,1	146,7	20,4	12,2
2000	Berlin gesamt	1.650,7	1.472,1	178,6	10,8
	deutsch	1.483	1.324,4	158,6	10,7
	ausländisch	167,7	147,7	20	11,9
2001	Berlin gesamt	1.638,2	1.467,8	170,4	10,4
	deutsch	1.466,6	1.316,2	150,4	10,3
	ausländisch	171,6	151,6	20	11,7
2002	Berlin gesamt	1.620,6	1.450,1	170,5	10,5
	deutsch	1.451,4	1.302,1	149,3	10,3
	ausländisch	169,1	148	21,1	12,5
2003	Berlin gesamt	1.604,8	1.416,0	188,5	11,7
	deutsch	1.437,9	1.272,3	165,6	11,5
	ausländisch	166,9	144	22,9	13,7

Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin (Mikrozensus)

Source: Ohliger/ Raiser, 2005: 26



Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin (Mikrozensus)

Source: Ohliger/ Raiser, 2005: 26

It is important to point out that a significant number of persons defined as self-employed jobholders can be found in the service sector or in business establishments owned by the same nationality group. According to Ohliger and Raiser (2005), the quantity of migrants who are involved in a business establishment within the same migrant community amounts to 70,000 persons, in other words, almost half the number of all foreign jobholders in Berlin (144,000). Many of the foreign communities are occupied in business establishments within the Turkish community.

The increase of migrant self-employed jobholders can be understood within the context of a decrease of the number of migrants in jobs subject to social security contributions on the one hand (see 5.2 Employed persons in jobs subject to social security contributions), on the other hand, as a reaction to the tendency of an increasing unemployment (until 2005), which has been the case since the process of de-industrialisation in Berlin since 1989 and strongly affected the migrant community (see 5.3 Unemployment). However, due to the social and cultural discrimination with which the migrant population in Berlin is faced with, they have fewer chances to access the labour market offering jobs with social security. On the contrary, migrants have to create alternative businesses in order to survive, however within the informal economy, or take up low wage jobs, which are often enough precarious, irregular and offer no social security.

Nevertheless, the alternative economy generated by the different migrant communities can be observed in any part of the city, but most of all in the municipalities with the highest quota of migrant population (Mitte, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln), thus forming part of the “multicultural” character and its attractive potentials of the city of Berlin. These areas, with a large range of gastronomies, shops, cafés, markets, kiosks and snack bars, are mentioned in the tourist guides for the diversity and culture it has to offer for the international tourism.

6 Education and migration

Principal sources: Data elaborated and prepared in the report by the Senate of Berlin for Education, Science and Research for the school period 2006/2007 (Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung: Bildung für Berlin)

Secondary sources: Ohliger, Rainer; Raiser, Ulrich, 2005: Integration und Migration in Berlin. Zahlen – Daten – Fakten. Berlin; Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt), Statistics Office, State of Berlin (Statistisches Landesamt Berlin);

Interview: Yolanda Arias, Quartiersmanagement Wrangelkiez (06.12.06), municipality of Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain.

Chapter 6 highlights the importance of education for Berlin’s integration processes. Beginning with an overview on the occurrences at a school with a high quota of migrant pupils, it continues with information on the access to education of young migrants in the city of Berlin.

Precisely in the city of Berlin a broad debate on the access to education, integration politics and the situation of young second and third generation migrants can be made out. This public debate originated against the background of the demoralising results of the PISA study for Germany (see WP2). This was especially the case for Berlin and the public scandal of what was to be coined “the school of horror” in the municipality of Neukölln in the Spring of 2006. Neukölln borders the sub-municipality of Kreuzberg, both areas have a high quota of migrants.

6.1 The Rütli school: “The school of horror”

In March 2006, the teachers and the director of the Rütli school wrote a public letter to the Senate of Berlin, asking for a closure of their school. The Rütli school is a *Hauptschule* (general secondary school, compulsory for all pupils who do not transfer to other secondary schools), with a quota of young migrants amounting above 80%, situated near the border between the municipalities of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln – two of the municipalities of Berlin with the highest quota of non-German residents. The reason articulated by the teaching staff and the director was the “escalation of violence, the lack of respect and ignorance towards the teachers” (Spiegel, 30.03.2006).



Source: dpa/dpaweb

The letter, expressed as a cry for help, had the effect that the mass media used it to stigmatise the Rütli school as the “school of horror”, thus causing a lot of public attention. Nevertheless, classes at the Rütli school continued the following days after the publication of the letter, however under surveillance of police officers.

This conflict unleashed a broad debate by social and political actors on the situation of adolescents with a migratory background within the German education system and

“integration”. The discussions positioned around diversified attitudes on violence, migration, juvenile groups, the linguistic proficiencies of German and social exclusion in the city of Berlin.

Chancellor Angela Merkel for instance brought forth three central axes in her comments on the previous facts that had occurred in Berlin. Firstly, she strongly criticised the institutions responsible for the security in the German capital due to the high criminality rate. Secondly, she emphasised on the reform of the federal integration programmes directed towards young immigrants. Lastly, the chancellor also pointed out the necessity of proficiency, usage and application of the German language both within the schooling system as well as in the national context.

Ms Merkel made clear the importance that “it has to be clear that in German schools, from the first grade upwards, pupils speak the German language” (Frankfurter Allgemeine, online). Mr Kauder, the leader of the fraction of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in the German parliament, pronounced that “finally the issue of integration has become a national concern” and repeated to express a national action plan on integration, in which the increase of social exclusion, as well as the increase of juvenile crime should be considered.

The mayor of the city of Berlin, Mr Wowereit, aligned his focus on the profession of the teachers. He called the education authorities to attention in order to tackle the problem of the schools in a more differentiating manner and addressed specific points of social conflicts. He appealed to be prepared to overhaul the quality of teaching and redefine the specific demands of education. His main concern of attention focussed on the flexibility and capacity of the teaching staff, however he also centred his attention on the adolescent migrants and as a result contributing to the discussion on the German education system⁹. A contrary opinion was expressed by Ms Ursula von der Leyen, Federal Minister for Family Affairs, who preferred to search for the solution within the restructuring of the education system. Her main focus centred on an early enrolment of infants into the education system, e.g. the kindergarten, as a strategy to enforce the learning and usage of the dominant language.

Key issues that evolved within these official discourses were integration, the usage and application of the dominant national language, juvenile crime of migrants, security issues, exclusion, and to a lesser extent the need to further ascertain the structure of the German education system.

⁹ The German education system is structured in various levels, therein differentiated by different types of schools. According to the capacities, the grades and objectives, the type of school is defined for each student after completing primary level, enabling the student to gain admittance to his or her further educational trajectory. In principle, twelve years of basic obligatory schooling exist, nine to ten years full time, and the other part in schools providing vocational education (Berufsschulpflicht) for those students who do not enter the university. Generally, all students visit the Grundschule (primary school). In the Grundschule, the appropriate type of school is defined for each student, choosing between the Hauptschule (secondary school), Realschule (secondary modern school) and Gymnasium (grammar school). Everyone of these education types make possible or obstruct possibilities to climb the education system. Students who successfully complete the Gymnasium are admitted to university. Students graduated from the Hauptschule or Realschule on the other hand will have lower aspirations for superior levels and only gain admittance to medium level qualified education or occupations. The Gesamtschule is a comprehensive school for students from the Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium in secondary I level. This school type enables students to enter secondary II level of the Gymnasium after 9th or 10th grade (by state legislation).

One year after these events (March 21th 2007), the special commissioner of the UNO, Mr Verno Muñoz, presented his final report on education in Germany to the UNHCR, after visiting the country in February 2006. In his report Muñoz strongly criticised the German education system for its hindrances concerning the right of education, above all concerning groups that are socially in a disadvantage, such as students with a migrant background. The recommendations made by the commissioner concerned the German education policy, suggesting that it should “reassess” the existing education system, which determines at an early stage the further education, dividing the education system into three school types, the *Gymnasium*, *Real-* and *Hauptschule* (grammar school, secondary modern school and general secondary school), and therefore also setting the expectations to aspire further education. Thus, the education system is “extremely selective and certainly also discriminative” (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22.03.2007).

6.2 Data on the access to education of young migrants in the city of Berlin

According to the data of the Senate of Berlin for Education, Science and Research for the school period 2006/2007, a total of 313,222 students are registered within the public school system. Of these, 149,068 visit the primary level, 13,079 the Hauptschule, 21,186 the Realschule, 41,951 the Gesamtschule (comprehensive school), 75,568 the Gymnasium and 7,900 visit special schools. The quota of female pupils registered in the public school system amounts to 49.4%.

Considering nationality, 52,484 non-German students were registered. This figure shows that the population referred to as “foreign” within the education system of Berlin amounts to a quota of 16.8%. The number foreign students divide itself as follows: In the primary school (Grundschule) 27,613, representing 18.5% of the students in this school type. The Hauptschule is visited by 4,202 foreign students, which signifies 32.1% of all students in this school type. In the Realschule, 4,095 foreign pupils are registered (19.3%), in the school type “Gymnasium” 7,376 students (9.8% of all students visiting the Gymnasium), the Gesamtschule counts 7,126 pupils (17%) and the Sonderschulen have 1,049 pupils (435; 588), representing a quota of 18.9% (23.5%; 11.9%) of all students registered in this school type.

Regarding the differentiated assistance and the forms and degrees of the education system, the situation for Berlin is comparable to the national level. The access to education depends strongly on whether or not the pupils have a migrant background or not. The differences increase with the rise of the education level. The schooling education level has an important role in view of the opportunities or restrictions for further education.

As can be observed in the data for the school period 2006/2007, 32.1% of the “foreign” student are visiting the Hauptschule, 19.3% the Realschule, yet only 9.8% are registered in the school type Gymnasium. This signifies that foreign students in Berlin, after primary school education, predominantly concentrate further education on the two school types Hauptschule and Realschule. The degree of these school types offer the least opportunities to access further degrees such as on college or university level, yet permits better possibilities for medium level education or vocational training. Contrarily to students with a migrant background who are only marginally represented in the school type Gymnasium, the German comparison group is strongly represented in this school type, signifying that students with a migrant background have less chances to higher education (see Annex 5).

Nevertheless, when assessing the data for the period between 1984 through 2003, it can be seen that the number of persons with a migrant background who have access to vocational training or an apprenticeship training position (“*Ausbildung*”) has decreased notably. For instance, in the year 1984, a total of 4,864 young migrants held an apprenticeship training position. By the year 2003, the number had reduced itself to 2,741 persons. On the other hand, this phenomenon did not occur for the group of German students. Between 1984 and 2003, the number of German students holding an apprenticeship training position increased by approximately 15,000.

Table 10 “Auszubildende” by nationality (German and non-German) 1984 - 2003

Jahr	1984*	1989*	1993	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
deutsch	39.548	31.988	50.127	59.511	59.440	58.742	56.158	54.953
nicht-deutsch	3.341	4.606	4.864	3.393	3.256	3.200	3.025	2.741

* nur Berlin (West)

Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Translation:

Auszubildende – Person holding an apprenticeship training position

deutsch – German

nicht-deutsch – non-German

Source: Ohliger/Raiser, 2005: 32

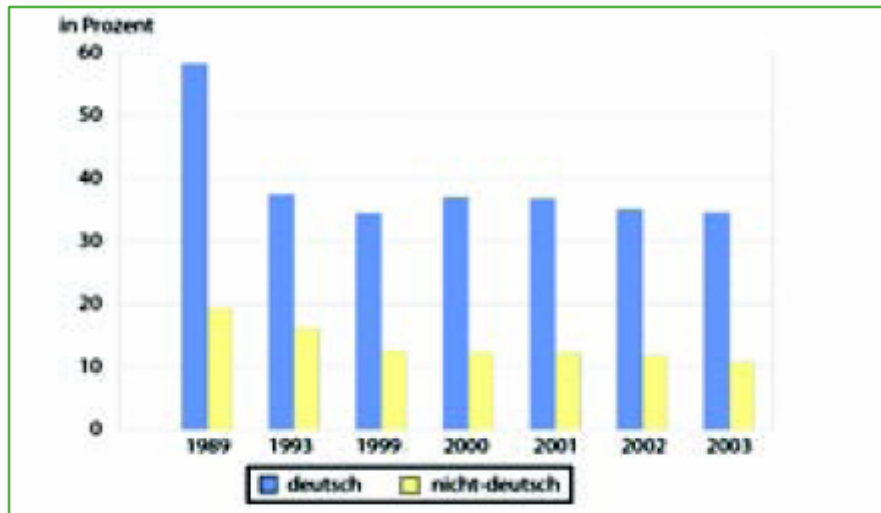
For the year 1993 it can be observed, that while 37.4% of all German adolescents between the age of 16 and 20 had an apprenticeship training position, only 16.1% of all foreign adolescents of the same age group were in possession of this kind position. For the year 2003, the quota decreased for both groups; however for the German adolescents over a third (34.5%) were still able to obtain a training position, while for foreign adolescents only every tenth person was able to attain one.

Table 11/Graphic 7 Participation in an apprenticeship training position of German and non-German adolescents (16 – 20 years) between 1989 and 2003

	1989*	1993	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
16–20 deutsch	86.150	134.039	159.862	161.007	160.132	160.173	159.308
16–20 deutsch in Prozent	37,13	37,40	37,23	36,92	36,68	35,06	34,49
16–20 nicht-deutsch	25.371	30.183	27.139	26.549	26.162	25.652	25.560
16–20 nicht-deutsch in Prozent	18,15	16,12	12,50	12,26	12,23	11,79	10,72

* nur Berlin (West)

Quelle: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin; eigene Berechnungen



Source: Ohliger/Raiser, 2005: 32

A further important indicator is that during the school period 2004/2005 2,148 persons were registered as graduates. Of these, 821 obtained the degree of the Hauptschule, 330 of the Realschule, 287 the Fachhochschulreife (advanced technical college entrance qualification) and 710 the Hochschulreife (baccalaureate or general qualification for university entrance). Of the above mentioned 2,148 graduates, a total of 239 were foreign students. 150 obtained the degree of the Hauptschule, 51 of the Realschule, 11 received the Fachhochschulreife and 27 the Hochschulreife (see Annex 5). These figures indicate that only a very small percentage of foreign students accomplish to complete their studies. This can be understood against the background of a broad context of social discrimination (social, cultural, economic and legislative), which roots can be traced back to the parent generation of young migrants.

This data obtains importance when assessing the information under the following contexts: 1) For instance it was analysed previously in the section on demographic growth and migration that the foreign population in Berlin is increasing while the German population is decreasing. 2) Similar to the national context, the number of persons under the age of 25 makes a share of approximately a quarter of the migrant population in Berlin (see chap. 6). Additionally, the average age of the migrant population in Berlin is lower compared to the average age of the total population. Of every 10 migrants in Berlin, two are younger than 20 years of age (20.3%), and five are younger than 45 years (53.8%). Within the Turkish community, a fifth part is younger than 20 years. 3) The quota of young migrants under 20 years of age is higher (20.3%) than that of the Germans under the age of 20 (18.6%).

The comparison of this data allows us to conclude that although the presence of the young migrant population is significant in Berlin, they experience on the one side less opportunities of access to the education and vocational market, while on the other side they face restrictions concerning their possibilities to graduate in the ranks of higher education in the German education system. This disempowers in a shortage of expectations and orientation towards the possibilities of inclusion into the German labour market, however also in the context of the alignment of their own life project. The information coincides with the facts given by Ms Yolanda Arias during an interview (neighbourhood management Wrangelkiez), who pointed out the difficulties of young migrants of the second and third generation in Kreuzberg in relation to finding an apprenticeship training position or a possibility of further education, resulting in a lack of perspectives for their life.

7 The integration Policy of Berlin

As German capital and a European metropolis, the integration of its immigrant society can be considered a challenge both for the *Land* Berlin as a whole as well as for its municipalities and sub-municipalities. In the following chapter, an insight will be given on the engagement, conditions and principles of the integration policy, followed by a focus on Berlin's integration policy concerning adolescents with a migrant background. In the final part, the deficits of Berlin's integration policy are addressed with a particular focus on the situation of young immigrants and adolescents holding a temporary suspension of deportation. The chapter closes with an outlook on the further developments and perspectives of Berlin's policy on integration matters.

7.1 The responsibilities of the Commissioner for Integration and Migration

The Commissioner for Integration and Migration for the Senate of Berlin perceives integration as a cross-sectional task of integration policy and public administration. Therefore, the office of the Commissioner, which was established in 1981, is a cross-departmental bureau occupied with integration and migration matters. The main responsibility of the Commissioner for Integration and Migration is to monitor and carry out the principles of the integration policy which are devised by the Senate and to safeguard a strong coordination with the other administrative bodies in Berlin. Furthermore, an important duty of the Commissioner is to monitor, analyse and conceptualise on measures dismantling legal, administrative and social hindrances for the processes of integration. The Commissioner states its primary missions as to “foster intercultural opening, to justify the administration and to combat discrimination” (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the State of Berlin, 2006: 38).

In addition, the bureau strives to encourage the co-operation between associations. As a result, the Berlin Senate established the State Advisory Board for Integration and Migration in April 2003 (Landesbeirat für Integrations- und Migrationsfragen), operating under the general supervision of the bureau of the Commissioner. The advisory board embodies representatives from advocacy groups, migrant organisations and Senate administrations and monitors the migration policies of the state. The intention is to enable the stakeholders to combine their competencies and to strengthen their participation concerning decision making processes. The State Advisory Board convenes three to four times annually and consists of 23 members and their representatives. The members include nine state secretaries, the Commissioner for Integration and Migration, the council of mayors (two representatives), the municipal migrant commissioners for Integration (one representative), representatives of the chamber of commerce and industry as well as chamber of trade, the Berlin Federation for Sport (Landessportbund), the Federation of German Trade Unions (DGB), the organisations of non-statutory welfare services, the Berlin Council of Refugees, the National Association of Displaced Persons, and, functioning as the foundation of the council, six elected members and their representatives of migration organisations (Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2006: 15). In their first legislation period (November 2003 to October 2005), four working groups engaged themselves with the following fields of action:

- Perspectives of Berlin as a city of immigration
- Education
- Work and employment and
- Intercultural opening

The results of the four working groups triggered a leitmotif-discussion¹⁰, influencing the realisation of the integration concept of Berlin, which shall be presented further on in the paper. In all fields of activities, the Commissioner attempts to collaborate with municipal migrant commissioners and representations associations, organisations and initiatives (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the State of Berlin, 2006: 38).

7.2 The integration concept of Berlin

With reference to the integration concept, the Senate of Berlin has stressed the significance of intercultural dialog between institutions of the receiving society and migrant organisations. Integration processes are to be embedded in a common understanding on shared integration objectives and values. On the whole, integration is conceived as a multi-dimensional process (Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2006: 7). The various principles of the Senate to enhance integration in Berlin are summed in the following dimensions:

- Social and economic integration: This dimension embraces the need for equal opportunities towards the access to vocational training, occupation and employment.
- Legal integration: This dimension envelops the possibilities of political participation through engagement in political parties, associations and unions. Furthermore, it constitutes the access to a secure and permanent residence permit, acquisition of the German citizenship, and the herewith connected rights and legal claims of social benefits by the State and benefits from the health system.
- The dimension of cultural and social integration encompasses the acquirement of the German language. However, it also considers factors such as the feeling of belonging towards the recipient society and the processes of identification.
- The last dimension is dedicated to the intercultural opening of the recipient society. This includes an open, tolerant and democratic demeanour towards migrants as well as the opening of Berlin's administration, social services and educational institutions.

Further strategic guidelines include the priority of a cross-sectional challenge for the integration policy and public administration as already previously mentioned above, secondly, the focus on target groups, e.g. adolescents with migrant background, and thirdly, the understanding of integration policy as a participative process.

On August 23rd 2005, the Senate of Berlin resolved a concept for integration themed "Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion"¹¹, thus expressing the main objectives of its efforts. This concept can be understood on the one hand as a consequence of the Immigration Act, which came into effect January 1st 2005, on the other hand as a result of an "endangered integration strength", which was expressed by the Senate due to factors such as a growing cleavage of school graduation levels of adolescents with a migrant background compared to the comparison group, as well as an unemployment rate of foreigners (46,1%, June 2005) more than twice the figure than that of the overall population of Berlin (20,8%) (Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2006: 5).

¹⁰ The recommendations presented by the four working groups can be downloaded on the Homepage of the Commissioner for Integration and Migration: http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb-integration-migration/beirat/lb_empfehlungen.pdf (last accessed on 27th April 2007)

¹¹ The Leitmotif of Berlin integration policy: "Vielfalt fördern, Zusammenhalt stärken", (Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2006: 6)

The integration concept consists of the so-called 12 Essentials of the integration policy in Berlin. These 12 Essentials are a comprehensive description of the activities, aims and perspectives of the integration concept. The objective of this concept is to interconnect the manifold steps and to lay down the direction and changes and to render more precisely the targets (Der Beauftragte des Berliner Senats für Integration und Migration, 2006: 8).

The “12 Essentials of Successful Integration Policy” presented by the Senate of Berlin expresses the need of participation, both of the immigrant as well as the recipient society. The access to vocational training, occupation and employment is declared as important for the present generation of migrants and their children as well as to future immigrants. The redefinition of the educational role of day care centres and schools is mentioned as important for integration. In consequence, the Berlin Education Act and the concept “Integration through Education” of the Senate Administration of Education, Youth and Sport have set a course to better the educational achievements of children and youths, with the aim to ensure determined and qualified language courses in day care centres and schools, and improve the quota of attainment for the higher school graduation, among others. The creation of a “new culture of reception and welcoming” is expressed as a further essential, aiming at that new immigrants should be able to mobilise their resources and potentials and develop their abilities as soon as possible. Further, within Berlin’s administration and social services, a new customer service is intended to improve customer orientation and achievement of courteousness towards citizens, especially applying to migrant-specific administrations. Another essential of Berlin’s integration policy is to strengthen urban cohesion. With the implementation of a “socially integrative city program”, the Senate is supporting 33 socially unstable areas of Berlin by providing neighbourhood management, intervention and prevention programs¹². The equal participation of women and girls of ethnic minorities is expressed as an important factor for the integration policy, as well as the equal recognition of religions and protection from religious based discrimination. Also, the protection from other forms of discrimination, e.g. racial or anti-Semitic, is considered significant for Berlin’s integration policy. The enhancement of plurality and diversity is postulated as critical for a successful integration process, also in order to augment the international character of the city. Furthermore, special focus is given towards the situation of asylum-seekers and refugees living in Berlin. The Senate expresses in its integration concept, that it “aims to promote social cohesion in Berlin and acknowledges its commitment and responsibility to human rights” (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the State of Berlin, 2006: 8). Finally, the Senate of Berlin expresses the ample variety and interconnection of governmental and non-governmental players as an important factor for Berlin’s integration policy in order to strengthen co-operation and strategic orientation.

7.3 The legal framework of the migration and integration policy in Berlin

Immigration and integration is regulated both by national and European legislation. At present (March 2007), the Immigration Act is subject to changes by a bill introduced by the Parliament in order to take into account 11 EU Directives¹³. This draft will have imminent

¹² Comprehensive information on this concept can be found on the Webpage of the Senate of Berlin, Department for Urban Development <http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de> (last accessed on 19th April 2007).

¹³ The directives can be viewed on the Homepage of the German Parliament (Deutscher Bundestag): <http://dip.bundestag.de/btd/16/001/1600159.pdf> (last accessed March 28th 2007). Deutscher Bundestag 16. Wahlperiode. Drucksache 16/159 (09.12.2005). Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Ulla Jelpke und der Fraktion DIE LINKE – Drucksache 16/80 – Umsetzung von EU-Richtlinien im Ausländer- und Asylbereich.

consequences on the migration and integration policy of Berlin, especially concerning persons living in Berlin since before November 17th 1998¹⁴ years holding a temporary suspension of deportation and entitled to a right of residence (Bleiberecht)¹⁵.

The legal framework for migration and integration issues for the *Land* Berlin is provided by the federal law, however also by EU legislation. Important instruments, e.g. in order to enhance the legal integration of migrants living in Berlin, therefore do not lie in the hands of the Senate. Nevertheless, the German Government has entrusted the Federal Office for Migration, Refugees and Integration (BAMF) with the conceptualisation and implementation of a federal integration programme, which basically consists of so-called integration courses. In consequence, networking between administrative bodies in Berlin and the Federal Office for Migration has to be considered as crucial.

The Senate of Berlin has authority over the 12 municipalities by act of the constitution of Berlin (Verfassung von Berlin, VvB¹⁶) and the general law on jurisdiction (Allgemeines Zuständigkeitsgesetz, AZG¹⁷). In No. 14 XIV of the general catalogue on jurisdiction (Allgemeiner Zuständigkeitskatalog, ZustKat AZG), the administration for the „integration of ethnic minorities and immigrants” is assigned to the administrative head office of Berlin. However, out of the previously mentioned dimensions of Berlin’s integration policy, arise responsibilities for the municipalities, such as in the field of youth welfare service and medical social work.

7.4 The focus of Berlin’s integration policy concerning adolescents with a migrant background

Regarding the situation of adolescents with a migrant background, the Berlin Senate is focussing on the improvement of access to education for non-German students. This is hardly surprising, as the performance and skills of immigrant youths compared to their German counterparts show strong dissimilarities. For example, the drop-out rate from school without a certificate, which amounted to 9.2 % in 2003/04 of all Berlin students, was significantly higher for non-German students (20.5 %), and only 14 % of Berlin’s students with no German origin and 34.4 % of German origin qualified for the matriculation (Abitur) (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin, 2006: 23). Also in response to the results of the first PISA assessment (Programme for International Student Assessment), the Berlin Senate introduced reforms into its educational system. The key elements consist of the educational programme for day care nurseries and the modification of the regulation on the training of pre-school teachers. In particular, the Senate introduced an agenda called “integration through education” in May 2005, which envelopes three key objectives in Berlin’s educational and integration policy: Firstly, children and youths with a migrant background or ethnic minority are to be encouraged for a more intensive participation in educational and higher achievement rate of school-leaving certificates. Secondly, Parents are to be encouraged for an enhanced occupation in the education of their children and participation in parental councils. Thirdly and finally, students, and preferable also the parents, need to acquire certain information on culture and society.

¹⁴ For families with minors the cut-off date is November 17th 2000.

¹⁵ See also press release of the National Working Group for Refugees PRO ASYL: http://www.proasyl.de/fileadmin/proasyl/fm_redakteure/Archiv/Stellungnahmen/Stellungnahme-AEnderungsgesetz-260207.pdf (last accessed April 14th 2007).

¹⁶ <http://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/verfassung/index.html> (last accessed April 19th)

¹⁷ http://www.transparency.de/fileadmin/pdfs/intern/AG_Berlin_Brandenburg/AZG.pdf (last accessed April 19th)

In the year 2001, one in every six non-German nationals between 16 and 20 years of age participated in some form of vocational training. In comparison, almost every second German of the same age cohort took part in vocational training measures (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin, 2006: 27). Therefore, the Senate is aiming at an employment policy to realise an improved adjustment in meeting the needs of the different focus groups, e.g. through training preparation schemes, additional training and further labour market implementations. In relation to the focus group of “immigrants” or adolescents with a migrant background, this implies identifying potentials, appraising extra qualifications, recognition of certifications, diplomas and other credentials in the countries of origin. Furthermore, it is intended to conjoin vocational training programmes with German language courses, accommodating appropriate provisions handling the technical jargon of the respective trade.

As a final point, it is worth noting that the Berlin Senate has a special focus on increasing the employment rate of persons and adolescents with a migrant background within the authorities, hence concentrating actions on the assignment of new trainees of ethnic minorities for apprenticeships (The Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin, 2006: 27). This practise aims to enhance the opportunities for immigrants in obtaining a vocational training in the civil service sector. The results of these efforts remain to be seen.

7.5 Deficits and potentials of Berlin’s integration policy

7.5.1 The situation of young immigrants holding a temporary suspension of deportation

Due to the Immigration Act, the Senate is able to grant permanent residence permits to refugees, who hitherto have been living in Berlin with a temporary suspension of deportation. The majority of the refugees and their children have been living in Berlin for a longer period of time, and thus have good German language proficiency and visit the local schools. Under the national legal framework, the integration policy in Berlin offers certain groups of people with a temporary suspension of deportation possibilities of integration and a secure and permanent residence permit. However, so far, the little number of persons the Senate has granted with a permanent residence visa is a clear signal that the declared will does not correspond with the implementation: The Conference of the Ministers of the Interior, which passed a law on the right of residence for foreigners required to exit the Federal Republic of Germany (*Bleiberecht*) on 17th November 2006 in Nuremberg, enables the Senate to grant refugees living in Berlin a permanent resident status under certain prerequisites. In remarkable contrast to the postulated essentials of the Berlin Senate, the grants are hardly authorised. By 31st March 2007, 3,108 refugees had applied to the Berlin foreign authority. At time of writing, only 142 grants have been permitted, 302 have been refused.¹⁸ The majority of applications have not yet been processed. The reason for this restrictive practice of the Berlin aliens department is the adjustment with retrospective effect of the cut-off date from 1st October 2007 to 18th Mai 2007 on the one hand; on the other hand the prerequisite of obtaining a passport is often prevented by the responsible foreign embassies. Nevertheless, the aliens department holds the refugees accountable for this

¹⁸ Press release by the Berlin Refugee Counsel, 21st June 2007: http://www.fluechtlingsrat-berlin.de/print_neue_meldungen.php?sid=341 (last accessed 25th June 2007)

deficit. Instead, many of the refugees are confronted with the allegation of having purposely misled their identity in order to obtain a legal permit.

For young immigrants and refugees, integration implies access to education, vocational training and study. However, for many this is impossible because they fall through a promotion breach, due to the fact that by their legal status they are not entitled to a student loan (BaföG & BAB). Though the federal government has become aware of this deficit, plans to change the law accordingly have been postponed till 2008. As a result, the Berlin Senate should consider a transitory solution, until the new law comes into effect.

The aliens department as essential actor of the Berlin's integration policy cannot only focus the creation of a "new culture of reception and welcoming" on newly arrived immigrants, but also on those living with an unsecured legal status for many years within the state of Berlin. Especially with view on asylum seekers and persons holding a temporary suspension of deportation, the aliens department is challenged to dismantle its integration deficits. This principally concerns the manner of interaction with the foreigners who visit the aliens department. In particular, the Berlin Refugee Counsel criticises the attitude of the staff working in the department, which is aimed at preventing integration, instead focussing on the termination of the residence status and deportation. In this context, more political guidelines and basic changes of the structure and personnel of the aliens department is essential.¹⁹

7.5.2 Implementation of a monitoring system for integration

On 22nd June 2007, the Senate of Berlin organised a summit on integration. The aim of the summit was to further develop the integration concept of "encouraging diversity and strengthening cohesion". One of the essential topics discussed on the summit is the implementation of a monitoring system to assess and improve the processes of integration. The objectives of the monitoring system are to obtain reliable assertions on the condition and the development of the integration process. This is seen by the Senate as an important basis to create focussed and precise programmes and actions. The monitoring system will include a "framework for a future and periodic reporting procedure", which will commence from 1st January 2008. This monitoring system will be designed with the support of 45 indicators, including "hard" quantitative indicators in central areas such as the access to the labour market as well as "soft" qualitative indicators of processes such as the political participation of migrants. An additional improvement will be that the statistical differentiation, previously only focussing on the citizenship and by the variation "German" and "foreigner", will be further distinguished by the criteria "migration background"²⁰.

¹⁹ Press release by the Berlin Refugee Counsel, 21st June 2007: http://www.fluechtlingsrat-berlin.de/print_neue_meldungen.php?sid=341 (last accessed 25th June 2007)

²⁰ Newsletter by the Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Senate of Berlin: http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/lb_ads/integrationsgipfel.pdf (last accessed 25th June 2007)

List of Interview partners

The interviews covered the following topics:

- The city of Berlin
 - Youths
 - The debate on integration
 - Migration and integration
 - Problems in the context of Berlin's integration policy with focus on young migrants and adolescents with a migrant background.
1. Mr Tsianos Vassilis, Kanak Attak, red Transitmigration
 2. Mr Volker Ratzmann, Fraktionsvorsitzender, Innenpolitischer Sprecher der Grünen.
 3. Ms Yolanda Arias, Quartiersmanagement- Wrangelkiez
 4. Ms Margarita Arregoces, die Plattform von Flüchtlinge and MigrantInnen
 5. Ms Jutta Müller, European Migration Centre (Berlin)
 6. Mr Serhat Karakayali, Kanak-attak Berlin
 7. Anonymus, Gesellschaft für legalisierung

An interview request with Mr Walid Chahrour of the Counselling Centre for young migrants and refugees (Beratungs- und Betreuungszentrum für junge Flüchtlinge und MigrantInnen) was agreed upon. However, unfortunately the date was cancelled twice by the interview partner on short notice. Therefore, an interview could not be completed.

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Annexes

Annex 1 Registered foreigners in Berlin by nationality (as at 31st December 2005)

Nationality (territorio) ¹⁾	Total number	Variation to the previous year	
		absolut number	in %
Europa	336 448	8 405	2,6
Europäische Union	124 312	9 010	7,8
Belgien	1 203	106	9,7
Dänemark	1 986	203	11,4
Estland	271	49	22,1
Finnland	1 348	105	8,4
Frankreich	11 517	844	7,9
Griechenland	10 134	- 37	- 0,4
Großbritannien u. Nordirl.	9 187	354	4,0
Irland	1 697	73	4,5
Italien	13 804	599	4,5
Lettland ²⁾	1 073	149	16,1
Litauen ²⁾	1 092	194	21,6
Luxemburg	291	24	9,0
Malta	25	4	19,0
Niederlande	3 438	179	5,5
Österreich	8 409	196	2,4
Polen	40 787	4 945	13,8
Portugal	3 174	- 85	- 2,6
Schweden	2 480	248	11,1
Slowakei ²⁾	630	50	8,6
Slowenien ²⁾	1 155	47	4,2
Spanien	5 762	561	10,8
Tschechische Republik ³⁾	2 169	79	3,8
Ungarn	2 554	114	4,7
Zypern	126	9	7,7
Übriges Europa	212 136	- 605	- 0,3
Bosnien u. Herzegowina ²⁾	10 403	28	0,3
Bulgarien	5 198	52	1,0
Kroatien ²⁾	11 517	- 160	- 1,4
Mazedonien ²⁾	4 457	139	3,2
Moldau, Republik ²⁾	628	17	2,8

Norwegen	1 195	111	10,2
Rumänien	2 627	74	2,9
Russische Föderation ²⁾	14 005	431	3,2
Schweiz	3 918	203	5,5
Serbien und Montenegro ⁴⁾	24 757	- 392	- 1,6
Türkei	117 736	- 996	- 0,8
Ukraine ²⁾	8 667	157	1,8
Weißrußland ²⁾	1 402	31	2,3
ehemalige Sowjetunion ²⁾	4 983	- 347	- 6,5
sonstige europäische Länder	643	47	7,9
Amerika	23 460	799	3,5
Argentinien	514	- 17	- 3,2
Brasilien	2 134	131	6,5
Chile	729	16	2,2
Kanada	1 471	87	6,3
Kolumbien	825	65	8,6
Kuba	1 257	3	0,2
Mexiko	777	94	13,8
Peru	1 199	- 11	- 0,9
Vereinigte Staaten	12 556	418	3,4
übrige Staaten	1 998	13	0,7
Asien	66 780	362	0,5
Afghanistan	725	- 65	- 8,2
Armenien ²⁾	532	- 3	- 0,6
Aserbajdschan ²⁾	957	- 26	- 2,6
Bangladesch	816	48	6,3
China ⁵⁾	5 620	61	1,1
Georgien ²⁾	953	16	1,7
Indien	2 143	86	4,2
Indonesien	1 397	- 39	- 2,7
Irak	2 586	- 192	- 6,9
Iran	4 825	- 268	- 5,3
Israel	2 495	18	0,7
Japan	2 436	131	5,7
Jordanien	1 192	- 18	- 1,5
Kasachstan ²⁾	1 665	77	4,8
Korea, Republik	2 502	120	5,0
Libanon	7 915	- 42	- 0,5
Mongolei	1 712	- 30	- 1,7
Pakistan	1 480	31	2,1

Philippinen	949	- 21	- 2,2
Sri Lanka	1 592	- 172	- 9,8
Syrien	2 191	100	4,8
Taiwan	596	- 5	- 0,8
Thailand	5 876	3	0,1
Vietnam	11 298	440	4,1
übrige Staaten	2 327	112	5,1
Australien/Ozeanien	1 426	35	2,5
Australien	1 133	36	3,3
übrige Staaten	293	- 1	- 0,3
Afrika	17 612	169	1,0
Ägypten	1 797	- 13	- 0,7
Äthiopien	695	- 51	- 6,8
Algerien	902	16	1,8
Angola	1 149	- 26	- 2,2
Ghana	1 945	- 48	- 2,4
Kamerun	1 423	52	3,8
Kenia	599	21	3,6
Marokko	1 291	- 12	- 0,9
Mosambik	534	- 15	- 2,7
Nigeria	1 236	25	2,1
Tunesien	1 520	68	4,7
übrige Staaten	4 521	152	3,5
Staatenlos	1 979	- 87	- 4,2
Ungeklärt	12 751	- 71	- 0,6
Ohne Angabe	99	43	76,8
Insgesamt	460 555	9 655	2,1

Last accessed 19.03.07 <http://www.statistik-berlin.de/framesets/berl.htm>

Annex 2 Population in Berlin (2005) by age cohorts, gender and nationality

Age in years	Bevölkerung								
	Total			Germans			Foreigners		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
under 1	28 800	14 843	13 957	26 884	13 826	13 058	1 916	1 017	899
1 - 2	29 063	14 961	14 102	26 926	13 863	13 063	2 137	1 098	1 039
2 - 3	27 734	14 193	13 541	25 400	13 027	12 373	2 334	1 166	1 168
3 - 4	27 523	14 158	13 365	25 088	12 893	12 195	2 435	1 265	1 170
4 - 5	27 156	13 858	13 298	24 222	12 331	11 891	2 934	1 527	1 407
5 - 6	27 766	14 166	13 600	24 659	12 501	12 158	3 107	1 665	1 442
6 - 7	27 079	13 816	13 263	22 305	11 395	10 910	4 774	2 421	2 353
7 - 8	26 558	13 590	12 968	21 789	11 095	10 694	4 769	2 495	2 274
8 - 9	26 813	13 853	12 960	22 067	11 419	10 648	4 746	2 434	2 312
9 - 10	26 111	13 332	12 779	21 334	10 925	10 409	4 777	2 407	2 370
10 - 11	25 122	12 845	12 277	20 401	10 435	9 966	4 721	2 410	2 311
11 - 12	25 152	13 059	12 093	20 119	10 429	9 690	5 033	2 630	2 403
12 - 13	25 397	12 995	12 402	20 545	10 509	10 036	4 852	2 486	2 366
13 - 14	26 675	13 851	12 824	21 654	11 250	10 404	5 021	2 601	2 420
14 - 15	27 718	14 248	13 470	22 605	11 574	11 031	5 113	2 674	2 439
15 - 16	33 685	17 284	16 401	28 604	14 699	13 905	5 081	2 585	2 496
16 - 17	34 857	17 855	17 002	29 674	15 173	14 501	5 183	2 682	2 501
17 - 18	36 382	18 717	17 665	31 028	15 876	15 152	5 354	2 841	2 513
18 - 19	36 851	18 666	18 185	31 774	16 086	15 688	5 077	2 580	2 497
19 - 20	37 519	18 896	18 623	32 280	16 153	16 127	5 239	2 743	2 496
20 - 21	39 248	19 385	19 863	33 415	16 497	16 918	5 833	2 888	2 945
21 - 22	41 530	20 383	21 147	34 873	17 290	17 583	6 657	3 093	3 564
22 - 23	44 223	21 674	22 549	36 653	18 181	18 472	7 570	3 493	4 077
23 - 24	47 921	23 563	24 358	39 050	19 284	19 766	8 871	4 279	4 592
24 - 25	50 359	24 479	25 880	40 131	19 413	20 718	10 228	5 066	5 162
25 - 26	52 583	25 866	26 717	41 611	20 497	21 114	10 972	5 369	5 603
26 - 27	51 094	25 364	25 730	40 139	19 995	20 144	10 955	5 369	5 586
27 - 28	50 758	25 530	25 228	39 492	19 763	19 729	11 266	5 767	5 499
28 - 29	50 198	25 297	24 901	38 777	19 589	19 188	11 421	5 708	5 713
29 - 30	49 110	24 883	24 227	37 570	18 944	18 626	11 540	5 939	5 601
30 - 31	47 678	24 468	23 210	35 696	18 247	17 449	11 982	6 221	5 761
31 - 32	46 525	23 904	22 621	34 425	17 603	16 822	12 100	6 301	5 799

32 - 33	45 780	23 441	22 339	33 853	17 309	16 544	11 927	6 132	5 795
33 - 34	47 808	24 757	23 051	35 927	18 414	17 513	11 881	6 343	5 538
34 - 35	52 694	27 456	25 238	40 821	21 022	19 799	11 873	6 434	5 439
35 - 36	53 868	28 191	25 677	41 931	21 753	20 178	11 937	6 438	5 499
36 - 37	56 227	29 521	26 706	44 644	23 141	21 503	11 583	6 380	5 203
37 - 38	58 732	30 554	28 178	47 804	24 697	23 107	10 928	5 857	5 071
38 - 39	59 381	30 864	28 517	49 641	25 600	24 041	9 740	5 264	4 476
39 - 40	62 426	32 194	30 232	52 260	26 496	25 764	10 166	5 698	4 468
40 - 41	64 633	33 773	30 860	54 407	27 932	26 475	10 226	5 841	4 385
41 - 42	65 712	34 046	31 666	55 980	28 341	27 639	9 732	5 705	4 027
42 - 43	65 207	33 876	31 331	56 192	28 626	27 566	9 015	5 250	3 765
43 - 44	62 157	32 188	29 969	53 876	27 455	26 421	8 281	4 733	3 548
44 - 45	58 884	30 505	28 379	51 427	26 218	25 209	7 457	4 287	3 170
45 - 46	56 037	29 133	26 904	48 776	24 949	23 827	7 261	4 184	3 077
46 - 47	53 651	27 740	25 911	47 056	23 932	23 124	6 595	3 808	2 787
47 - 48	49 178	25 221	23 957	42 848	21 591	21 257	6 330	3 630	2 700
48 - 49	47 447	24 374	23 073	41 568	20 919	20 649	5 879	3 455	2 424
49 - 50	46 622	23 722	22 900	40 571	20 265	20 306	6 051	3 457	2 594
50 - 51	46 305	23 444	22 861	40 474	20 187	20 287	5 831	3 257	2 574
51 - 52	45 540	22 819	22 721	40 271	19 989	20 282	5 269	2 830	2 439
52 - 53	45 127	22 466	22 661	40 276	19 975	20 301	4 851	2 491	2 360
53 - 54	44 495	21 730	22 765	39 466	19 206	20 260	5 029	2 524	2 505
54 - 55	45 149	21 917	23 232	40 651	19 748	20 903	4 498	2 169	2 329
55 - 56	47 414	22 862	24 552	42 245	20 401	21 844	5 169	2 461	2 708
56 - 57	44 353	21 737	22 616	39 276	19 293	19 983	5 077	2 444	2 633
57 - 58	40 972	20 287	20 685	36 124	17 868	18 256	4 848	2 419	2 429
58 - 59	38 299	18 858	19 441	33 601	16 543	17 058	4 698	2 315	2 383
59 - 60	30 345	15 392	14 953	25 941	13 025	12 916	4 404	2 367	2 037
60 - 61	34 014	16 725	17 289	30 164	14 742	15 422	3 850	1 983	1 867
61 - 62	44 512	22 007	22 505	40 903	20 062	20 841	3 609	1 945	1 664
62 - 63	46 430	22 832	23 598	43 091	20 995	22 096	3 339	1 837	1 502
63 - 64	44 284	21 843	22 441	40 905	19 985	20 920	3 379	1 858	1 521
64 - 65	51 005	24 926	26 079	47 928	23 189	24 739	3 077	1 737	1 340
65 - 66	48 982	23 699	25 283	45 658	21 790	23 868	3 324	1 909	1 415
66 - 67	45 419	21 690	23 729	42 592	20 060	22 532	2 827	1 630	1 197
67 - 68	42 002	19 871	22 131	39 258	18 298	20 960	2 744	1 573	1 171
68 - 69	39 596	18 207	21 389	37 098	16 826	20 272	2 498	1 381	1 117
69 - 70	37 672	17 421	20 251	35 543	16 246	19 297	2 129	1 175	954
70 - 71	36 418	16 542	19 876	34 682	15 564	19 118	1 736	978	758
71 - 72	33 432	15 123	18 309	31 722	14 116	17 606	1 710	1 007	703

72 - 73	24 022	10 625	13 397	22 511	9 819	12 692	1 511	806	705
73 - 74	22 080	9 679	12 401	20 791	8 997	11 794	1 289	682	607
74 - 75	22 470	9 750	12 720	21 376	9 167	12 209	1 094	583	511
75 - 76	22 989	9 729	13 260	22 011	9 276	12 735	978	453	525
76 - 77	21 632	8 796	12 836	20 809	8 389	12 420	823	407	416
77 - 78	20 334	8 040	12 294	19 634	7 700	11 934	700	340	360
78 - 79	18 039	6 665	11 374	17 374	6 347	11 027	665	318	347
79 - 80	17 463	5 800	11 663	16 864	5 557	11 307	599	243	356
80 - 81	16 514	5 190	11 324	15 966	4 971	10 995	548	219	329
81 - 82	14 101	3 973	10 128	13 644	3 785	9 859	457	188	269
82 - 83	11 996	3 133	8 863	11 643	3 004	8 639	353	129	224
83 - 84	12 568	3 191	9 377	12 234	3 067	9 167	334	124	210
84 - 85	12 899	3 190	9 709	12 574	3 059	9 515	325	131	194
85 - 86	12 560	3 108	9 452	12 293	3 007	9 286	267	101	166
86 - 87	8 880	2 041	6 839	8 645	1 954	6 691	235	87	148
87 - 88	5 149	1 100	4 049	4 993	1 038	3 955	156	62	94
88 - 89	4 293	939	3 354	4 172	890	3 282	121	49	72
89 - 90	4 303	879	3 424	4 180	823	3 357	123	56	67
90 u. älter	29 500	5 879	23 621	28 316	5 412	22 904	1 184	467	717
Total	3 395 189	1 659 643	1 735 546	2 928 671	1 413 792	1 514 879	466 518	245 851	220 667

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Annex 3 Unemployed persons by municipality in Berlin (as at December 2006)

Municipality	Number of unemployed persons
Mitte	34 881
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	26 325
Pankow	26 116
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	23 377
Spandau	17 598
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	12 744
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	23 209
Neukölln	29 543
Treptow-Köpenick	13 808
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	24 225
Lichtenberg	22 126
Reinickendorf	15 509
Berlin	269 461

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin

Annex 4 Unemployed persons and unemployment rate in Berlin (1991 – 2006)

	Unemployed							
	Absolute number	Quota ¹⁾	Male		Female		Foreigners	
			absolute	Quota	absolute	Quote	absolut number	Quota
1991	179 953	10,6	96 270	10,7	83 682	10,4	18 909	.
1992	207 058	12,4	108 409	12,3	98 650	12,6	26 563	.
1993	203 924	12,8	107 988	12,8	95 936	12,8	30 394	.
1994	210 130	13,2	112 305	13,4	97 825	12,9	31 723	.
1995	213 383	13,6	116 033	14,2	97 351	13,0	34 679	.
1996	235 999	15,3	129 868	16,2	106 131	14,3	38 637	.
1997	265 667	17,3	146 473	18,3	119 193	16,1	43 041	.
1998	273 118	17,9	153 040	19,4	120 078	16,3	45 115	32,8
1999	268 174	17,7	151 918	19,5	116 256	15,8	44 644	33,3
2000	264 819	17,6	151 782	19,5	113 037	15,5	44 600	33,3
2001	272 330	17,9	157 584	20,1	114 746	15,6	45 751	34,9
2002	288 285	18,9	168 668	21,6	119 617	16,2	48 684	37,1
2003	306 556	20,2	179 948	23,1	126 609	17,1	51 278	37,9
2004	298 661	19,9	174 698	22,7	123 963	16,9	50 806	37,4
2005	319 178	21,5	180 825	24,0	138 352	19,0	59 515	44,1
2006	293 497	20,1	166 068	22,5	127 428	17,6	57 943	41,9

Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg

Annex 5 Graduates of the school years from 1991/1992 to 2004/2005 by type of school and gender

Schoolyear	Total number	Male	Female	Hauptschule		Realschule		Advanced technical college entrance qualification		Higher education entrance qualification	
				Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Total number of graduates											
1991/92	2 962	1 398	1 564	1 059	551	287	162	464	226	1 152	625
1992/93	2 367	1 122	1 245	1 136	585	272	143	376	163	583	354
1993/94	2 562	1 196	1 366	1 090	540	233	117	400	212	839	497
1994/95	2 745	1 245	1 500	1 221	640	297	166	423	206	804	488
1995/96	2 581	1 136	1 445	1 132	605	305	170	416	226	728	444
1996/97	2 552	1 151	1 401	1 124	565	307	166	374	210	747	460
1997/98	2 159	990	1 169	933	479	299	161	302	181	625	348
1998/99	2 434	1 192	1 242	1 109	496	399	220	320	174	606	352
1999/00	2 176	1 032	1 144	1 019	464	362	197	271	165	524	318
2000/01	2 345	1 221	1 124	1 080	482	412	198	297	156	556	288
2001/02	2 276	1 130	1 146	1 053	496	339	169	304	171	580	310
2002/03	2 671	1 319	1 352	1 265	580	412	205	307	181	687	386
2003/04	2 389	1 180	1 209	1 026	481	359	170	299	167	705	391
2004/05	2 148	1 052	1 096	821	390	330	142	287	175	710	389
there from Foreigners											
1991/92	471	238	233	371	178	52	31	20	8	28	16
1992/93	522	252	270	433	230	61	28	9	2	19	10
1993/94	526	262	264	414	197	66	33	12	8	34	26
1994/95	568	258	310	451	244	70	40	20	12	27	14
1995/96	571	251	320	447	253	71	45	31	11	22	11
1996/97	514	263	251	411	192	56	29	18	8	29	22
1997/98	464	228	236	374	189	58	33	10	2	22	12
1998/99	524	285	239	379	172	77	34	30	12	38	21
1999/00	459	219	240	343	175	75	37	25	19	16	9
2000/0 ¹	279	150	129	169	77	62	26	19	8	29	18
2001/02	280	128	152	184	100	40	22	33	20	23	10
2002/03	257	113	144	162	87	57	38	19	6	19	13
2003/04	240	120	120	145	70	45	17	29	20	21	13
2004/05	239	113	126	150	85	51	25	11	6	27	10

Source: Statistisches Landesamt Berlin 2006

Annex 6

Unemployed persons by selected criteria in Berlin as at 31st December 2005										
Municipality	Total	Men	Women	German 1)	Foreigner 1)	Up to 19 years of age	20 through 24 years	55 years and older	Persons with more than one year of unemployment	
Kreuzberg	18 998	11 201	7 797	11 845	6 969	402	1 139	1 311	9 491	
Berlin	296 468	168 649	127 819	236 903	57 759	7 257	26 005	31 033	123 535	
1) The sum of Germans and Foreigners does not always present the total number of unemployed persons. In Berlin, 1,806 persons could not be allocated as at 31.12.2005										

Registered population in Berlin by municipality, age cohorts, nationality and gender (Total number)

(as at 31st December 2006; former municipalities)

Bezirk	Insgesamt	Im Alter von . . . bis unter . . . Jahren											
		unter 6	6 - 15	15 - 18	18 - 20	20 - 25	25 - 30	30 - 35	35 - 40	40 - 45	45 - 60	60 - 65	65 und mehr
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total number													
Mitte	79 415	3 830	3 431	1 537	1 250	5 541	8 829	9 215	9 095	7 465	13 487	3 532	12 203
Tiergarten	87 959	4 685	6 221	2 235	1 856	7 301	8 734	7 307	7 500	8 084	18 098	4 343	11 595
Wedding	154 793	10 140	13 373	4 885	3 681	12 119	14 456	12 461	12 445	13 531	28 460	7 269	21 973
Prenzlauer Berg	143 360	8 479	6 409	2 322	2 093	10 401	19 885	20 586	19 589	14 132	19 105	4 482	15 877
Friedrichshain	111 284	5 575	4 713	1 913	1 841	11 893	19 699	14 316	11 395	8 918	14 305	3 470	13 246
Kreuzberg	147 787	9 233	13 025	4 265	2 965	9 988	15 717	14 794	14 425	15 609	28 402	5 675	13 689
Charlottenburg	172 716	7 596	10 617	3 749	2 823	9 665	12 183	12 071	14 155	15 986	39 653	11 888	32 330
Spandau	216 936	10 439	18 005	7 095	4 920	12 333	12 232	11 275	15 195	18 853	45 910	14 489	46 190
Wilmerdorf	136 705	5 456	8 384	2 936	2 084	6 463	8 041	8 233	10 742	12 528	32 151	10 424	29 263
Zehlendorf	96 788	4 519	8 452	2 744	1 910	4 575	3 749	4 057	6 628	8 352	20 879	7 750	23 173
Schöneberg	142 804	7 338	10 163	3 596	2 559	8 133	10 635	10 711	13 352	14 896	33 539	8 132	19 750
Steglitz	189 029	8 874	13 799	4 929	3 359	9 890	10 806	10 803	14 533	17 082	41 144	13 454	40 356
Tempelhof	184 038	8 147	14 144	5 141	3 705	9 609	10 103	10 104	13 470	15 842	39 596	13 087	41 090
Neukölln	301 733	16 513	25 562	9 447	6 682	19 648	22 368	20 598	23 353	26 996	60 896	17 854	51 816
Treptow	116 566	5 454	7 289	3 639	2 889	7 428	8 330	7 072	9 364	11 220	21 738	5 987	26 156
Lichtenberg	117 747	5 160	6 662	3 276	2 751	6 968	7 287	6 139	8 437	10 714	23 396	7 199	29 758
Lichtenberg	151 566	6 890	7 602	3 792	3 394	12 788	14 359	9 779	10 724	11 744	28 678	9 538	32 278
Weißensee	75 893	3 677	5 031	2 499	1 987	5 171	5 581	4 784	6 579	7 757	14 755	3 798	14 274
Pankow	130 804	7 526	9 045	3 785	2 993	7 514	9 520	9 223	12 247	12 848	24 758	6 561	24 784
Reinickendorf	243 276	11 325	20 141	7 624	5 413	12 823	12 212	12 099	16 824	21 140	52 786	17 846	53 043
Marzahn	126 834	5 948	7 240	4 229	3 873	11 165	9 590	6 388	6 755	9 517	35 367	7 286	19 476
Hohenschönhausen	100 476	4 761	5 969	3 564	3 629	8 820	7 199	5 199	6 159	9 363	25 610	5 231	14 972
Hellersdorf	120 296	5 552	8 112	5 885	5 159	10 608	7 551	5 228	8 395	13 784	28 384	5 334	16 304
Berlin	3 348 805	167 117	233 389	95 087	73 816	220 844	259 066	232 442	271 361	306 361	691 097	194 629	603 596
Male													
Mitte	40 298	1 941	1 739	811	678	2 645	4 301	4 932	5 104	4 302	7 123	1 655	5 067
Tiergarten	45 527	2 400	3 208	1 115	903	3 679	4 513	3 927	4 162	4 655	9 714	2 380	4 871
Wedding	79 339	5 146	6 929	2 518	1 885	5 818	7 459	6 778	7 042	7 598	15 407	3 897	8 862
Prenzlauer Berg	72 453	4 397	3 262	1 209	1 033	4 686	9 329	10 495	10 972	8 288	10 615	2 117	6 050
Friedrichshain	56 510	2 891	2 428	947	891	5 346	9 815	8 017	6 657	5 139	7 796	1 591	4 992
Kreuzberg	75 783	4 667	6 689	2 207	1 493	4 670	7 495	7 659	7 654	8 604	15 556	3 079	6 010
Charlottenburg	83 099	3 900	5 414	1 899	1 451	4 675	5 861	5 838	7 127	8 229	19 735	6 075	12 895
Spandau	104 010	5 372	9 411	3 674	2 477	6 202	6 127	5 491	7 619	9 408	22 358	7 196	18 675
Wilmerdorf	63 646	2 814	4 237	1 523	1 046	3 046	3 777	3 867	5 357	6 320	15 357	5 019	11 283
Zehlendorf	44 962	2 301	4 339	1 385	972	2 260	1 845	1 818	3 062	3 902	9 722	3 694	9 262
Schöneberg	70 497	3 821	5 203	1 824	1 275	3 792	5 082	5 353	7 005	7 893	17 125	4 207	7 917
Steglitz	87 416	4 555	6 985	2 552	1 665	4 666	5 155	5 165	6 912	8 311	19 369	6 498	15 583
Tempelhof	86 996	4 185	7 348	2 670	1 874	4 763	4 893	4 957	6 723	7 735	19 082	6 366	16 400
Neukölln	149 791	8 443	13 056	4 806	3 381	9 772	11 212	10 785	12 395	14 387	31 158	9 078	21 318
Treptow	56 647	2 778	3 760	1 912	1 485	3 674	4 154	3 624	4 767	5 806	11 225	2 731	10 731
Köpenick	56 727	2 643	3 433	1 666	1 411	3 448	3 720	3 163	4 394	5 574	11 712	3 224	12 339
Lichtenberg	74 801	3 559	3 864	2 000	1 666	6 060	7 455	5 528	5 925	6 480	14 721	4 329	13 214
Weißensee	37 025	1 920	2 512	1 243	993	2 655	2 805	2 418	3 419	3 992	7 488	1 786	5 794
Pankow	62 876	3 903	4 724	1 941	1 536	3 681	4 427	4 479	6 198	6 566	12 461	3 115	9 845
Reinickendorf	116 612	5 785	10 312	3 932	2 761	6 519	6 090	5 888	8 287	10 607	25 695	8 935	21 801
Marzahn	62 903	3 032	3 680	2 180	1 961	5 840	5 257	3 509	3 519	4 726	17 308	3 750	8 141
Hohenschönhausen	49 066	2 425	3 019	1 830	1 819	4 574	3 759	2 770	3 037	4 405	12 642	2 641	6 145
Hellersdorf	58 864	2 811	4 126	2 982	2 595	5 544	3 982	2 662	3 927	6 493	14 383	2 620	6 739
Berlin	1 635 848	85 689	119 678	48 826	37 251	108 015	128 513	119 123	141 264	159 420	347 752	95 983	244 334
Female													
Mitte	39 117	1 889	1 692	726	572	2 896	4 528	4 283	3 991	3 163	6 364	1 877	7 136
Tiergarten	42 432	2 285	3 013	1 120	953	3 622	4 221	3 380	3 338	3 429	8 384	1 963	6 724
Wedding	75 454	4 994	6 444	2 367	1 796	6 301	6 997	5 683	5 403	5 933	13 053	3 372	13 111
Prenzlauer Berg	70 907	4 082	3 147	1 113	1 060	5 715	10 556	10 091	8 617	5 844	8 490	2 365	9 827
Friedrichshain	54 774	2 684	2 285	966	950	6 547	9 884	6 299	4 738	3 779	6 509	1 879	8 254
Kreuzberg	72 004	4 566	6 336	2 058	1 472	5 318	8 222	7 135	6 771	7 005	12 846	2 596	7 679
Charlottenburg	89 617	3 696	5 203	1 850	1 372	4 990	6 322	6 233	7 028	7 757	19 918	5 813	19 435
Spandau	112 926	5 067	8 594	3 421	2 443	6 131	6 105	5 784	7 576	9 445	23 552	7 293	27 515
Wilmerdorf	73 059	2 642	4 147	1 413	1 038	3 417	4 264	4 366	5 385	6 208	16 794	5 405	17 980
Zehlendorf	51 826	2 218	4 113	1 359	938	2 315	1 904	2 239	3 566	4 450	11 157	4 056	13 511
Schöneberg	72 307	3 517	4 960	1 772	1 284	4 341	5 553	5 358	6 347	7 003	16 414	3 925	11 833
Steglitz	101 613	4 319	6 814	2 377	1 694	5 224	5 651	5 638	7 621	8 771	21 775	6 956	24 773
Tempelhof	97 042	3 962	6 796	2 471	1 831	4 846	5 210	5 147	6 747	8 107	20 514	6 721	24 690
Neukölln	151 942	8 070	12 506	4 641	3 301	9 876	11 156	9 813	10 958	12 609	29 738	8 776	30 498
Treptow	59 919	2 676	3 529	1 727	1 404	3 754	4 176	3 448	4 597	5 414	10 513	3 256	15 425
Köpenick	61 020	2 517	3 229	1 610	1 340	3 520	3 567	2 976	4 043	5 140	11 684	3 975	17 419
Lichtenberg	76 765	3 331	3 738	1 792	1 728	6 728	6 904	4 251	4 799	5 264	13 957	5 209	19 064
Weißensee	38 868	1 757	2 519	1 256	994	2 516	2 776	2 366	3 160	3 765	7 267	2 012	8 480
Pankow	67 928	3 623	4 321	1 844	1 457	3 833	5 093	4 744	6 049	6 282	12 297	3 446	14 939
Reinickendorf	126 664	5 540	9 829	3 692	2 652	6 304	6 122	6 211	8 537	10 533	27 091	8 911	31 242
Marzahn	63 931	2 916	3 560	2 049	1 912	5 325	4 333	2 879	3 236	4 791	18 059	3 536	11 335
Hohenschönhausen	51 410	2 336	2 950	1 734	1 810	4 246	3 440	2 429	3 122	4 958	12 968	2 590	8 827
Hellersdorf	61 432	2 741	3 986	2 903	2 564	5 064	3 569	2 566	4 468	7 291	14 001	2 714	9 565
Berlin	1 712 957	81 428	113 711	46 261	36 565	112 829	130 553	113 319	130 097	146 941	343 345	9	



SCIENTIFIC DELIVERABLE N° 7

Monographic Reports on qualitative/quantitative and comparative national and trans-national analysis on second generation migrated teenagers in local contexts

UTRECHT

WP 3- JUNE 2007

**NATURE: REPORT
DISSEMINATION LEVEL: PUBLIC**

AUTHORS:

Willibrord de Graaf, Robert Maier and Kaj van Zenderen

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]
[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]**

Project Acronym: TRESEGY - Contract n°: 029105 Project Full Title: “*Toward a social construction of an European youth: the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers*”

In this contribution we will describe the local setting in which the further studies of the Dutch team for Tresegy will take place. This setting is the city of Utrecht, one of the big four cities of the Netherlands. Within Utrecht we concentrate on two neighbourhoods, Kanaleneiland and Overvecht. They are both built in the fifties and sixties of the former century, and consist mainly of big blocks of flats. Originally inhabited by middle class families who could later on afford better housing, these neighbourhoods have gradually become populated with migrants because of the cheap (social) housing.

In order to understand the specificities of Utrecht as a multicultural city, we will situate in part A Utrecht in the context of the Dutch integration policy and indicate in what ways Utrecht has steered its own course, and continue in part B with a detailed description of Utrecht and of the two districts to be investigated, followed in part C with references.

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A The relationship between the national and the local level

1. The relationship between national and local integration policies

The balance between national and local levels of integration policies can be analysed on two levels: a. the administrative relation between national and local governmental bodies and b. the relation as regards contents. Both levels are of course co-dependent but it is important to discern them in order to get a clear view on the Dutch situation in an international perspective.

a. The Dutch integration policy has always been characterised by its centralistic nature (Penninx et al., 2005). When national policies started to develop in the 1970s, they were supposed to be implemented at the local level in a top-down manner. Since integration policies aimed at different fields at the same time (housing, education, work, welfare) a strong coordination was seen as necessary. The coordinating point was found at the Ministry of Home Affairs. In the late 1990s within this ministry a special Minister for Big Cities Policy and Integration was appointed, which expresses the need both to pay attention to a more stronger control on the implementation of policies and to the embedding of integration problems in the local settings where they were most predominant. When after 2000 the discussion climate about integration matters became more polarised and politicised, the coordination shifted to the Ministry of Justice, where a special Minister of Immigration Policy and Integration was appointed. This shift to another Ministry was motivated especially by the wish to restrict immigration, and furthermore to pay more attention to obliged citizenship education and to combat forms of segregation. Integration policies became dominated by juridical measures to deal with immigration flows. (The new government will probably combine the matter of integration and housing into one department).

This dominance of centralised policy making found its counterpart in the local level where the implementation should be realised. General policy intentions could be formulated in measures or laws, but the level of application had to be realised in the local level. The local level is in the Dutch context to be understood as the level of the municipality. There are provinces which form a middle administrative layer, but this layer is not directly implicated in the execution of the national integration policies. The municipalities have to deal with the installation of housing plans, the realisation of educational measures, the provision of welfare and the like. The local level has even become more important when the state since the nineties tried to transfer responsibilities in these fields to the municipality: the shift towards decentralisation as a new way of governance. So, even while the integration policy remained centrally defined, the level of execution became more and more localised. This has taken place especially in the fields of education, work, welfare and housing, the most important areas to combat disadvantages. This created tensions, which have been come forward on several occasions, with different positionings of the parties. It suffices to give two examples.

The first is the matter of the expulsion of asylum seekers who did not get their approval. The elected government of 2002 decided to be harsh on this point. A lot of these persons had stayed in the Netherlands for more than 5 years awaiting their verdict and appeals, but were now doomed to be evicted after the promise to be strict with the rules (legally installed in 2000). The municipalities acted against the strict implementation of these rules because they feared to have to deal with illegal and homeless families (supported by citizens who felt the expulsion as a human disgrace), while the government insisted on the cooperation of the municipalities. This conflict has never really been resolved, while municipalities (for instance Utrecht!) evaded the problem by offering housing to out-proceeded asylum seekers. In the end the whole problem of the expulsion of these asylum seekers became a hotly disputed matter,

with as the most likely outcome now a general pardon for this group (as is part of the policy of the new government).

The second example is the question of segregation or concentration (see e.g. Duyvendak & Uitermark, 2006). In the last decades most immigrants settled themselves in the neighbourhoods where cheap housing was available. This development was seen as a problem, but became more acute when the discussion on integration was heading to a more assimilative approach: concentration was regarded as a bad thing, expressing the wish of immigrants to retreat to themselves. So, when the political tide shifted, also in the municipalities, the wish to end concentration became urgent. This led for instance to the initiative of Rotterdam (one of the big four cities) to fight concentration by asking people who wanted to settle in a neighbourhood to show that they earned more than a minimum wage to be allowed to do so. This measure was heavily disputed while possibly in contradiction with laws of equal treatment, but the government picked it up and promised to install new legislation to make these kinds of arrangements possible. At the moment this form of support for exclusionary measures is in question while the new government is heading toward a comprehensive approach of the so called problem neighbourhoods.

These two examples show how a top-down approach has been tackled by the local level, and how a local initiative stimulated the national level to promise support. What is exactly taking place depends heavily on fields of political forces, practical possibilities and even personal investments. Thus, the more centralised Dutch integration policy does not prevent local initiatives or can even be challenged by the local level.

b. The scope of the national integration policy has always been rather broad. It implicated housing, welfare and social security, education, labour market and intercultural contact (see e.g. Entzinger & Fermin, 2006). In the framework of the research into urban integration policies it is not possible to discuss all these fields and their policy developments. We will describe the most important changes in the overall integration policy and give some examples. In general the political climate has changed a lot. When during the eighties and even the nineties the efforts were aimed at a depoliticization of the debate (in the understanding that blatant racism and discrimination were to be avoided), later on, and especially after 2001, the question of integration became heavily polarised. The dominant question was the supposed lack of social-cultural adaptation of immigrants to Dutch norms and values. In this context limitation of immigration was formulated as an explicit aim, and led to stricter measures. Procedures to get asylum have become limited in 2000, and the returning of non approved asylum seekers was more strongly dealt with since 2002. Getting a partner from abroad has become subjected to conditions in 2006. Furthermore, the problems of non-contact between Dutch and immigrant groups were seen as hampering integration and the necessity of a more compelling citizenship education for all immigrants was broadly accepted.

These developments on the national level have translated themselves on the local level in different ways depending on the local situation at stake. While they are agenda setting, they are also interpreted within a local context.

In relation to the local situation the last five years have shown a dominance of three themes: segregation, Islam and radicalism, and citizenship education.

Segregation has become a theme already in the nineties, in relation to the emergence of the so-called concentration neighbourhoods. At first concentration was perceived as the result of the presence of cheap rented housing, and should be combated by diminishing the rate of social renting and enlarging the part of private property. Later on (since 2002) the supposition was that concentration was also the effect of the deliberate wish of immigrants to live together and to avoid contact with Dutch people. Municipalities are at the centre of housing policies to create a more balanced and mixed population in neighbourhoods. Segregation not only

showed itself to be a case in housing and contact but also in the field of education: the increase of the so called black schools (with more than 50% of immigrant children) was seen as a conformation of this unwanted tendency to split up. Municipalities are now responsible to consult schools in order to influence the disproportionate inflow of immigrant children in some schools.

The question of Islam and radicalism has become acute at the foreground since the events of 2001 and after, especially after the murdering of van Goch in 2003, but has its roots in earlier political debates about the feasibility of Islam with western democracy in the nineties. Anyhow, Islamic terrorism, the veil, Islamic schools, the building of mosques, the possibility of radical youth have become a common theme of discussion, and have led to a range of measures. Municipalities are stimulated to develop prevention radicalisation by the intervention of professionals in schools, community centres, sport etc. and by offering sufficient chances for the transition into work.

The matter of citizenship education is now pertaining to all new immigrants and the already established 'old-comers' may follow courses on a voluntary base. Although heavily contested for its juridical correctness, legislation has been developed to make citizenship education less permissive (not getting a certificate may entail loss of social rights or residence) and more obligatory (also for old-comers). Individuals are responsible to take courses and have to pay for them. The municipalities are responsible to inform and control the participants, but loose their task to organise the courses (Fermin, 2006).

2. Utrecht: a small big city

Utrecht is one of the four big cities and of these the smallest: Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague are the bigger ones. Also the proportion of immigrants is lesser than in the other three: about one third while this is for instance Amsterdam around a half (table 1).

table 1. Population Big Four Cities in The Netherlands, 1 januari 2006

	Autocht.		Allocht.				Total
	Abs.	%	western		non western		
			abs.	%	abs.	%	
Amsterdam	382750	51,5	105110	14,1	255170	34,3	743050
Rotterdam	317945	54			50035	8,5	220740
The Hague	261715	55			60855	12,8	153010
Utrecht	191805	68,3	22245	7,9	66960	23,8	281010

(Source: Amsterdam in cijfers, 2006)

From the beginnings in the early sixties in the former century Turkish and Moroccan labourers came to Utrecht. In 1982 already around 22000 immigrants were living in Utrecht, and their number has since been growing.

The percentage of non western allochthonous persons has been rising: from 19% in 1995 to 24% in 2005. The estimates are that this proportion will grow in the years to come (until 2015) with about 35% while the total population of Utrecht will increase with 21%. The biggest groups (in 2005) are formed by the Moroccans (24.160, of whom around 10.000 2e generation), followed by the Turkish (12480, of whom around 6000 2e generation), Surinamese (7200) and Antilleans (2460). All other non western groups amount to 18635, and in total Utrecht knows 155 nationalities. Interestingly of the Moroccans and Turkish people about two third also has the Dutch nationality, acquired by a naturalization procedure. Most of the Surinamese have the Dutch nationality by birth (Surinam was a Dutch colony).

Within Utrecht 10 main neighbourhoods are discerned. The two neighbourhoods chosen for Tresegy are Kanaleneiland and Overvecht. These two have the biggest proportion of non western allochthones, with 74% for Kanaleneiland and 48,3% for Overvecht. Other neighbourhoods have between 16% and 32% (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004). The chosen two neighbourhoods can be characterised as an 'old' multicultural (Kanaleneiland) resp. 'new' multicultural quarter (Overvecht).

3. The integration policy of Utrecht

The municipality of Utrecht started a so called minority policy at the end of the seventies. This policy aimed at activities to support the various immigrant groups from the perspective of their disadvantaged position. Between 1972-1978 a Migrant Council was existing, meant to give immigrants some say in policies and after that, in 1979, an official coordinating committee minorities was installed (Maussen, 2006). When in 1995 the SCP reported that segregation in neighbourhoods had become a dominant phenomenon and that possibly ghettoization was at hand, discussions started about how to deal with this. Also in Utrecht the council initiated a debate and the group Stad en Staat (City and State) of the Utrecht University evaluated the minority policy thus far. In 1996 the report "Citizens as any other" was published. It marked a decisive break with the past by advising to abandon the minority policy and in stead to focus on interculturalisation, on contact, interaction and acceptance of differences (Essed&de Graaff, 2002). This did not exclude measures against disadvantages or discrimination, but ethnic differentiation and paternalization in policies should be avoided. After ample discussions the council agreed with the advise and accepted in 1997 the proposal of the municipal executive "From minority policy to interculturalisation". Importantly, interculturalisation was not just seen as dealing with ethnic differences but with all kinds of differences. This interculturalisation policy aimed at two levels: the first was the municipal organisation itself, which should become more open for diversity, and the second was the neighbourhood where negative images should be changed and positive initiatives developed. This intercultural approach was given the name of 'The Utrecht MIX' and it was given a project management structure within one municipal department (the department of Societal Development).

A contribution to this new policy was expected from migrant self-organisations as partners for the municipality. The existing migrant self-organisations were in 1999 given an administrative foundation (BOEG: Beheers Organisatie Etnische Groepen) which should (financially) support, facilitate and professionalise their activities. These activities should be aimed at societal participation, which implied that from then on migrant organisations as such were no longer subsidised (Saluti, 2006). Another consequence was the abolition of the four Migrant Councils, which were based on the model of representation and the instalment of a City Advice Council for Interculturalisation (Saluti: Stedelijk Adviesorgaan Interculturalisatie) in 2002, consisting of experts.

With the changing tide in the national political discussion on integration, and with the arrival of new political parties who made assimilation in stead of integration their target, also in Utrecht the existing policy of interculturalisation became the object of evaluation. In 2004 an evaluation report on the period 1997-2003 was published: De kracht van de MIX (The power of the MIX (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004)). The main tenor of the report was that the choice for a policy of interculturalisation had been the right one. Results had been booked regarding livability, more positive images of ethnic groups and education in the city, and intercultural openness in the municipal departments. But effectiveness could be improved by giving municipal departments responsibility for their contribution to intercultural policies, by more

explicit goal setting and monitoring and by a better embedding of the project management structure within the municipal organisation. Furthermore the meaning of the concept of interculturalisation should be made more clear. Under this heading different sorts of policy were subsumed, like combat against disadvantage, citizenship education, diversity and or integration policy. The proposal was to use the term multicultural approach for interethnic contact in the city, and the term interculturalisation for the activities within the municipal organisation.

This report was generally accepted, and led already in 2004 to a renewed statement of the Utrecht integration policy: Integration in Utrecht, continuation and improvement. In this document the recommendations of the evaluation report were accepted and formulated as: more univocal policy, more results and more administrative positioning. But on the level of content no change was necessary. The main fields were now summarised as equipment, accessibility and rapprochement. Equipment was meant to offer migrants the means to participate in the Dutch society, and citizenship education is one of the main instruments to realise this. Accessibility refers to two aspects: Dutch organisations should offer products and services which are attuned to migrants, and they should take in migrants in their work force. Rapprochement is what originally was understood by interculturalisation: the realisation of contact, dialogue, meeting between the different cultures. As partners in this policy mention was made of migrant organisations and Saluti with the promise to activate this partnership.

After this confirmation and elaboration of the existing policy, several developments have come to the fore in these fields.

In 2006 the municipality produced a long term perspective on Citizenship Education (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006) in which it laid out the way in which it would interpret the new national plans on citizenship education. The main point is that the new national plans are judged as insufficient because of the reduction of financial contribution, the limitation of possible participants and the low level of language training. Especially the fact that participants have to pay themselves for the courses is seen as an obstacle. The municipality proposes in fact to continue the existing practice in which the municipality is buying courses from educational institutions, asks a small contribution of participants and tries to get as much compensation by national funds as possible. But the municipality invests a large sum of money in this policy. By this measure the municipality aims to offer more courses for 'old-comers' than the national plans and to keep up with the number of 'new comers' (475 yearly).

After the murder of Theo van Gogh the problem of radicalisation of Islamic youngsters became a hot topic. The national government produced a memorandum on the matter, and also the city of Utrecht developed in 2005 an Approach to tackle radicalisation and terrorism. Point of departure is the finding that Utrecht is a possible target of terrorism and a possible place where radicalisation and polarisation could emerge. In order to prevent terrorist attacks, the municipality sets out to prepare itself in the field of public security, and to intensify its efforts to invest in integration and to combat disadvantages as outlined in the fields of equipment, accessibility and rapprochement. In addition the municipality intends to approach the migrant parents in order to support them, and wishes to develop the Utrecht dialogue between cultural groups. Furthermore professionals and volunteers who work with immigrant youngsters should expand their knowledge about the relation between Islam and youngsters. Finally disadvantages and discrimination in the transition from education to work should be tackled by promoting trainee posts for migrant youngsters.

Since the introduction of the interculturalisation policy in 1997 migrant organisations were seen as important partners in its execution. As already mentioned several measures have been

taken to support these organisations in their task. But this proved to be a difficult and troublesome matter. The created structures (like BOEG and Saluti) and their functions were not quite clear, and migrant organisations felt that they were not really taken serious as partners nor really adequately supported. This ended in an Advice on the re-evaluation of migrant organisations by Saluti in 2006. Important recommendations contained the following aspects. There should be a (re)definition of what a migrant organisation should be: an organisation of volunteers aiming at meeting and dialogue with its own members and with others in society. This task of 'binding' can be realised when the municipality accepts that migrant organisations differ in target groups, professionalism and degree of development in participation. The system of granting subsidies should be simplified according to fulfil the tasks of meeting and binding and to facilitate other additional activities like schooling, information etc.. At last the roles of BOEG, Saluti, migrant organisations, municipal officials should be made transparent in order to diminish the mistrust which has been growing over the years.

This short sketch of the developments in the Utrecht integration policy is of course not complete. It offers an overview of policy papers and studies which unfortunately entails that the perspective of immigrant persons and groups is hardly discernable. In some publications (like A MIX of Utrecht inhabitants, 2003) the feelings of migrants about housing or security in the neighbourhood are mentioned but how the migrant groups evaluate the Utrecht policy as such remains outside the picture.

B Specification of the local situation

1. Allochthonous populations in Utrecht

This part contains demographic and social economical data of the allochthonous population in Utrecht. It concentrates on the position of second generational migrants from a local perspective. The various data give information about the structural-economic and the social cultural position of allochthones and in particularly second generation migrants in Utrecht. This text mainly concerns the position of migrants originating from the two largest ethnic groups in Utrecht, Turks and Moroccans. This is because these last groups have our primary interest with regard to the TRESEGY project research.

These groups are mainly concentrated in specific neighbourhoods of the city. Especially Turks and Moroccans live frequently separated of the indigenous population. In these segregated districts an accumulation of social problems can frequently be seen. The inhabitants have a weak socio-economic position; the average income is low, there is a high percentage of (youth) unemployment and many households are welfare benefit dependent. In general it is less favorable to live there. There is more crime and less cohesion and the inhabitants are less satisfied and feel less safe than in other (more indigenous) neighbourhoods. (SCP, WODC, CBS, 2005).

Two of these districts will serve as our survey areas for the TRESEGY project, 'Kanaleneiland' and 'Overvecht'. These two districts are notorious for their social problems with regards to integration and segregation of ethnic minorities. 'Kanaleneiland' is for years known as a problematic neighbourhood and Overvecht is recently becoming problematic.

Besides the more general information of migrants in Utrecht this text focuses in particular on second generation Moroccans and Turkish young people in these two districts of the city of Utrecht.

This part is build up of two parts. First, it gives general data and statistics of the city of Utrecht and in particularly it describes the neighborhoods ‘Kanaleneiland’ and ‘Overvecht. Secondly it treats information of the migrant or allochthonous populations of Utrecht and in particularly the situation of the second generation Moroccans and Turks. It discusses their demographic and social-economical situation. The Turks and Moroccans are the biggest allochthonous groups in Utrecht and they occupy the weakest positions in the city. Some additional information focuses in particular on the Moroccan and Turkish groups in the survey neighbourhoods.

The data are firstly based on the unique Dutch distinctive categorization between allochthonous (persons from which at least one parent born outside the Netherlands) and autochthonous populations (indigenous residents). Secondly, it uses the distinction between western and non-western allochthonous people.

2. Utrecht: data

This section will describe general data and statistics of the city of Utrecht.

Some data and statistics of Utrecht:

The social state of Utrecht: a few figures
Utrecht: fourth city of the Netherlands with 275.000 inhabitants, the upcoming years still strongly growing (to 340.000 people in 2020) due to the construction of the new city district Leidsche Rijn.
Utrecht: city where 235 different ethnicities live together on a area of more than 99 hectare. This means around 2.770 inhabitants per square kilometer.
Utrecht: city with 50.000 children and young people (18-) en 30.000 elderly people (65+).
Utrecht: city with almost 35.000 pupils in primary and en continued school, more than 60.000 students. An employed working population of 126.000 and 13.500 jobseekers.
Utrecht: city with many singles (half of the households) and more than 7.000 single parent households.
Utrecht: city with approximately 48.000 first generation immigrants and 43.000 second generation immigrants.
Utrecht: city with 1.400 homeless persons, 8.300 social isolated people en approximately 74.000 physical disabled people.
Utrecht: city with around 90.000 amateur artists, 150.000 sportsmen en 69.000 volunteers.

Source: de Sociale staat van Utrecht, 2006

3. Utrecht, a young happy city

Most inhabitants of Utrecht are satisfied about their personal and social well-being. They are able to manage themselves financially and they have enough social contacts. 83 percent reports in general to feel healthy (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a). The inhabitants of Utrecht are also satisfied with their city. More than 90% feels that it is a nice place to live and they do not want to move outside of the city. 91 percent is proud or a little bit proud about their city and almost three-quarter of the people have confidence in the future of the city. In particular, they admire the city centre. The old mediaeval town centre, canals, shops and the pleasant cozy atmosphere make the city centre attractive. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d).

The inhabitants are less enthusiastic about safety and cleanness of the city. Respectively 55 percent and 46 percent of the inhabitants think the city is not clean and not safe. Another issue for the Utrecht inhabitants is the traffic problems like parking space problems and accessibility of the car traffic.

Demographic development

Utrecht is the fourth biggest city of the Netherlands. Per 1 January Utrecht counts 281011 inhabitants. The last years the population in Utrecht increases with 5 to 6 thousand persons. The population is expected to grow up to 340000 in the year 2025, 202 percent more than now. This is due to the development of a new part of the city called Leidsche Rijn. More than 80 percent of the growth in population is a result of the extensive construction of new homes in the Leidsche Rijn. That is why Utrecht is and will remain the fourth city of the country. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Utrecht is a young city in terms of population age (27 percent is 15 to 30 years) and will further rejuvenate in the coming years: the amount of elderly people is lower than elsewhere and in contrast to the national development does not know 'greying'. There is no talk of an ageing population in Utrecht. Around 2025 the share of 65-year olds or more of the population of Utrecht will be 10% (Now it is 11%). While this share in the Netherlands will grow to 21% in the same period.

This is due to the construction of houses and the development of the new residential area Leidsche Rijn. These newly build houses attract young couples, called starters. Many families with children live or will be living in this area. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Utrecht economy

In the period 2004 till 2009 the Utrecht economy will grow with an average rate of 2, 3 percent a year. This is explained by an uprising in ICT services and in professional service sector. The latter is the most important sector in the city, providing 24 percent of the jobs.

The Dutch economy is recently flourishing, since 2004 there has been talk of economic recovery (CBS, 2006). This recovery could lead to more positive expectancies for the labour market and reduce unemployment. In 2005 this was not the case in Utrecht, employment even dropped. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

The potential working population from 15 till 65 year at this moment is 206 thousand persons. In 2005, 7.4 percent of the working population was unemployed. Currently 201900 people are employed in Utrecht, 2500 less than in 2004. There is also an increase of unemployed jobseekers. In January 2006 Utrecht counted 13886 unemployed jobseekers.

The number of vacancies for qualified jobseekers is rising but there is talk of a mismatch between the numbers of vacancies for less qualified jobseeker and the numbers of jobseekers in that category. There is little work for the less qualified.

The average income level in the province of Utrecht is very high. It is even the highest level of the Netherlands. The province of Utrecht is tenth on the list of cities and regions with the highest income level of Europe. (Nu.nl, 2007)

Despite the high income level one out of nine households, almost 13500 families live from a minimum income level. This income level ranges from 850 euros for a single household to 1560 euros for a two parent household with two children. The share of low incomes is although lightly decreasing and is expected to further decrease in the upcoming years. This is due to the selective movement of low income groups and the development of more private property in the Leidsche Rijn area. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Education

The inhabitants of Utrecht have a high educational level. Almost 27 percent of the population has a higher education. From an international comparison of 258 (middle) big cities Utrecht scores high, occupying the 12th position. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

In Utrecht 4 out of ten young people at the age of twenty-two years are not in possession of a 'start qualification' when they leave the education system. At the same time the need for low educated professionals in Utrecht is much lower than the supply. In the future, this mismatch will rather increase instead of decreasing.

Housing

In Utrecht the housing market is under a lot of pressure. Utrecht is known for the excessive price rising and house shortage compared to other cities. Especially for first buyers the situation is difficult. Prices are every year rising and there is an housing shortage of 6 percent. In the first nine months of 2005 houses became again more expensive. Prices of multiple occupancy rose 7 percent and single family owner-occupied housing rose by 3.4 percent compared to the previous year.

From 1999 to 2005 every year 1850 houses were built to reduce the house shortage. This isn't sufficient to reduce the housing shortage; so for the next years the plans are to build 3200 homes annually. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Sport and leisure time

The inhabitants of Utrecht appreciate the possibilities for leisure time activities in and around the city. The majority of the inhabitants of Utrecht finds the city centre attractive and enjoys going there. Fun shopping is the most popular leisure time activity (20 percent) followed by sport (16 percent) and going out (12 percent). A quarter of people in Utrecht regularly visit a cultural performance.

For young people in Utrecht the image is a bit different. Half of the 12/13 year old feels sometimes bored and again half of them find there is not much to do and to experience in the neighbourhood. Almost half of them spends an average of 5 hours a day in front of the television or behind the computer. 4 out of 10 hang around on the street on more days in the week. Notable is that Moroccan boys (81%) do find there is a lot to experience in the neighbourhood.

Well over half of the inhabitants of Utrecht (54%) engage in sport activities at least once a month. Almost three quarter of the 12/13 year old boys and half of the girls are members of a sport club or association. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Safety and criminality

The crime and victim rates in Utrecht are decreasing. Compared to 2001 when the crime rates were at the highest level during the last couple of years. In that period the registered crime declined from 114 to 74 offences per 1000 inhabitants. In 2005 the crime rates decreased with

5 percent compared to 2004. The decline in criminality is accompanied by an increase of the amount of arrests. It is also notable that although the crime rates decline the feelings of unsafety increase every year. The actual criminality has a limited influence on these feelings of unsafety. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Problems like problematic neighbours, drugs en youth disturbance play a important role in feelings of unsafety but these problems are decreasing. In 2004, 16 percent of the population of Utrecht experiences youth disturbance. In one of the survey neighbourhoods Kanaleneiland 35% percent reports youth disturbance. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

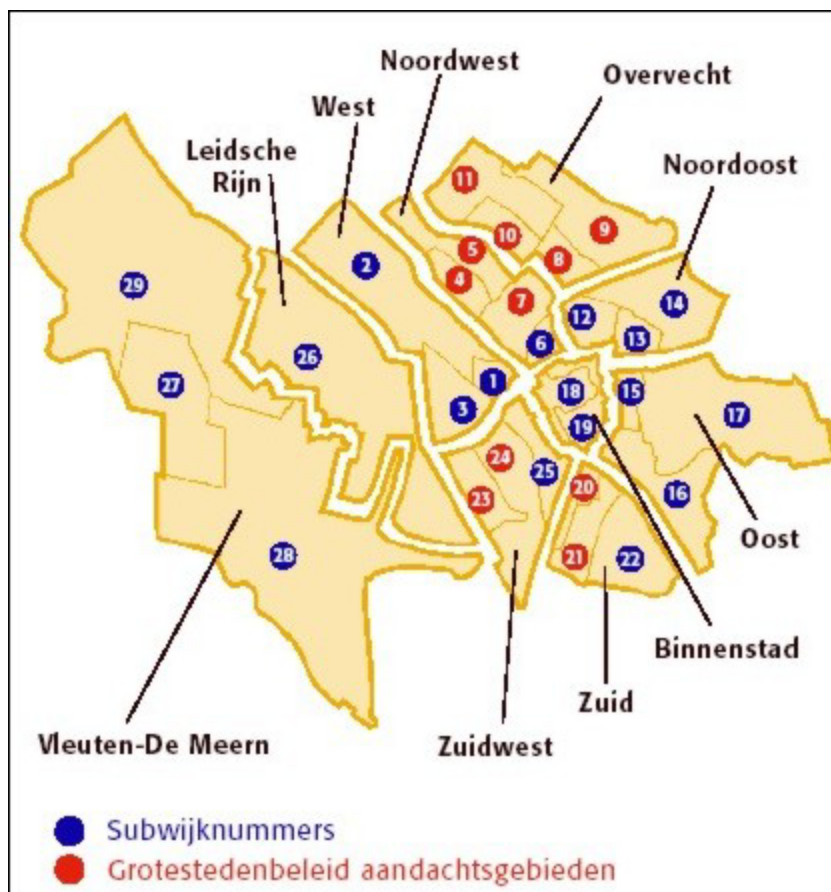
In Utrecht there are relatively many underage offenders who commit a lot of crimes. There are also relatively a lot of minor suspects. In 2004 around 3.7 percent of the young people in Utrecht are suspects of an offence and this rate is increasing every year. About 5 percent of the population experiences severe problems with the education of their children. These are often poorly educated parents, allochthonous parents and single parents. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

4. Survey of two districts

(Based on: Wijkenmonitor 2005, Utrecht monitor 2006)

This section will treat the survey neighbourhood's/ districts for the TRESEGY project Overvecht and Kanaleneiland. Kanaleneiland is a sub neighbourhood of the Southwest district (Zuidwest). This district consists of three quarters Kanaleneiland, Transwijk and Rivierenwijk. The city of Utrecht consist of the following neighbourhoods/districts:

Utrecht neighbourhoods/districts:



District 'Overvecht'

The district Overvecht is the biggest post-war expansion of the city. The district is constructed in the sixties to provide for the need of houses for people with a low income. 70 percent of the houses are social rental houses and are owned by housing corporations. Due to this Overvecht has always played an important role in the offering of affordable housing. The district has 14.376 houses. Three quarter of the houses are flats. No other district in Utrecht has so many flats, social rental houses and houses for people with a low income. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Twelve percent of the total inhabitants, of Utrecht are living in Overvecht. The composition of the population in Overvecht has rapidly changed during the last five years. The share of people with a non western background grew. In particular the Moroccan and Turkish population strongly increased. The share of people with an autochthonous background did considerably decrease, from 61 percent in 2000 to 52 percent in 2005. This is not due to people moving out but is caused by the one-sidedness of the migration and differences in natural growth between the different groups. For instance, Moroccans have a strong positive birth rate. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d). From all the 150 different ethnicities who are living in Overvecht, Moroccans (6.076) and Turkish (2.683) form the biggest ethnic groups (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006c).

The social-economical situation of the district shows a negative development and Overvecht occupies the weakest position in the city. There is a concentration of households who experience personal and social problems. The rapid change of the population results in a negative social perception of the neighbourhood. A lot of inhabitants find that people hardly know each other, do not find the neighbourhood sociable and united and 57 percent say that too many allochthones come to live in Overvecht. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b, Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Because of this rapid change in the composition of the population the district became less familiar for many old inhabitants. The first generation from the sixties, mostly autochthonous makes people are replaced by much younger allochthonous people. Trusted social connections are disappearing. This reveals itself in a low appreciation and less trust in the future of their own neighbourhood. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b, Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

In a recent survey, the situation in the district Overvecht was even called worrying (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d). Overvecht occupies a weak position with regard to safety, public space and social infrastructure and this situation is expected to get worse.

Annoyance of young people, low feelings of safety in the neighbourhood and a lot of car burglary are the main reasons for the relative unsafe situation in Overvecht. The low level of social cohesion, the high share of unemployed and social benefit dependents and the high share of households with a low income level are the main indicators for the weak social infrastructure in Overvecht. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d) People in Overvecht more than average have annoyance of young people, neighbours, garbage on the street and vandalism (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b, Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d).

Inhabitants of Overvecht are also relatively unsatisfied about their personal situation. They are quite negative about their personal and social well-being, their ability to manage for themselves and about the frequency of social contacts (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

The share people with a low incomes and a low education is high in Overvecht and one out of seven households (14%) depends on social benefits (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a).

Overvecht is largely scaled and provides a lot space. This means there is enough parking space, destinations are easily reachable and there are enough parks and playgrounds between the flats. The inhabitants of Overvecht appreciate this but at the same time they feel it is a boring, impersonal flat district where you easily feel lost. A lot of people, 25 percent wish to move out of the neighbourhood as soon as they have the opportunity (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b)

Overvecht district

Population	31.225
average age	39,4
number of households	15.489
number of houses	14.310
number of businesses and companies	1.145
Average disposable household income	€ 24.300
Feel at times unsafe in the own neighbourhood	43%
People with a negative expectation for the future	49%
Experiences annoyance from young people	22%
Judgement social cohesion of environment *	5,0
General judgement of the neighbourhood *	6,1

* judgements are based on a 1 to 10 scale

Sub district Kanaleneiland

Kanaleiland is a typical post-war district. The neighbourhood is characterized by blocks of semi flats levels high with an entrance hall. The sub district has a sober and grey character. The flats are built in the sixties to provide houses for the middle and low incomes. Because of this most houses are social rental. The sub district has a notorious reputation in the city and is for years synonymous with criminality and poverty. The unemployment rate is high, a high concentration of ethnic minorities live there and there are many low incomes.

Because of this bad reputation the sub district gets a lot of attention from policy makers, the media, welfare organizations and researchers. The goal is to redevelop, upgrade the neighbourhood and to create more social cohesion (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b). This has partly success; the situation in Kanaleneiland is slowly improving. The unsafety and annoyance by young people decreased a little bit and general judgment over the neighbourhood (5,4 on a 1 to 10 scale) is lightly increasing. The figure for Kanaleneiland is however still the lowest judgment on a neighbourhood in Utrecht. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2005b)

One measure is to break down social rental homes and replace them by private property. The hope is that this will attract higher income groups who will mix with the lower income groups. Till now this has not been the case, the new houses do not attract people from outside and the different (ethnic and income) groups do not integrate with each other.

The Southwest district contains 14.182 houses, Kanaleneiland has a housing supply/ stock of 5850. The total population of Kanaleneiland is 15270 people. 77 percent is of allochthonous origin. 127 different ethnicities live there, from which Moroccans with a population of 6222 people are by far the biggest group. The Turkish inhabitants form with 2777 people the second biggest ethnic group in Kanaleneiland. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006c) The share of people with the Dutch ethnicity strongly decreased: from 43 percent in 1995 to 25 percent in 2003. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Kanaleiland has a very young population; almost 30 percent of the inhabitants are underage. There is no other district in Utrecht with so many underage young people. Only one quarter of the minor young people in the southwest district have the Dutch nationality. In Kanaleneiland North this percentage is just 5 percent. Moroccans form the largest group of young people. Especially in the age category 4 to 11 years old, 60% of the young people in

this group are of Moroccan origin. This age category is expected to double in the next twenty years (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Notable is that a lot of people who move out of Kanaleneiland with an allochthonous background move to Overvecht. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Kanaleneiland is at this moment the most unsafe (sub) district of Utrecht. For instance, burglary has doubled in the last five years. Annoyance of young people forms a big problem in this district which is causing feelings of unsafety with the inhabitants. Kanaleneiland has the highest share of people that experience this annoyance of young people.

The social infrastructure is also weak in Kanaleneiland. The social cohesion is low, there are a lot of work seekers and there are twice as much benefit dependents compared to the rest of the city. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d) Inhabitants of Kanaleneiland are - like in Overvecht - relatively unsatisfied about their personal situation. They are negative about their personal and social well-being, their ability to manage for themselves and about the frequency of social contacts (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a).

Kanaleneiland plays an important role in employment in the city. The district has many office buildings and two big shopping malls and is due to this responsible for 16 percent of the jobs in Utrecht. Despite of this the social economical position of the district is weak. Kanaleneiland knows the highest share of low incomes in Utrecht: 21 percent of the inhabitants have a low income and 10,3 percent of the households are social benefit dependent (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a) The low income per household is connected with the low average educational level of the inhabitants.

Especially youth employment forms a big problem. In Kanaleneiland North this percentage is 6,7. This is high if we take in consideration that a substantial part of the young people are still in school and are not searching for a job. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2004d)

Southwest district (Kanaleneiland is a sub district of southwest)

Population	32.936
average age	35,6
number of households	16.382
number of houses	13.901
number of businesses and companies	1.516
Average disposable household income	€ 26.600
Feel at times unsafe in the own neighbourhood	44%
People with a negative expectation for the future	28%
Experiences annoyance from young people	24%
Judgement social cohesion of environment *	5,3
General judgement of the neighbourhood *	6,5

* judgements are based on a 1 to 10 scale

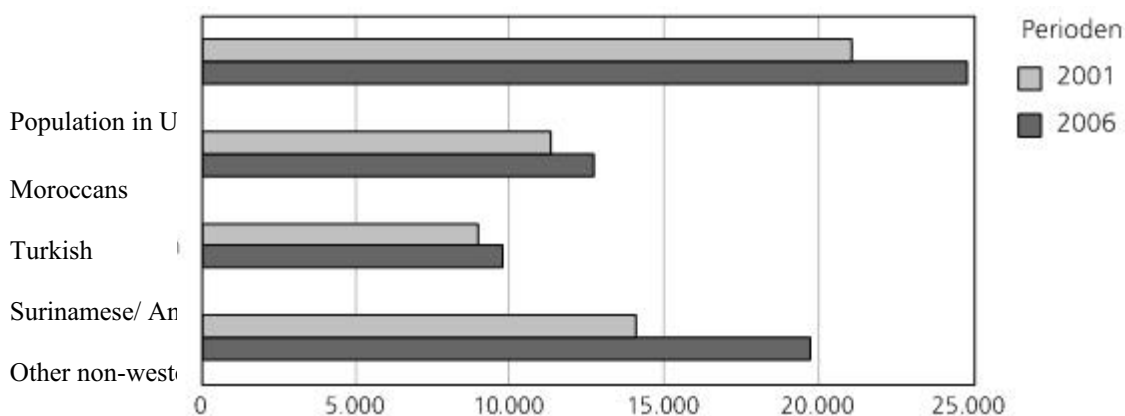
5. Allochthonous groups in Utrecht

This section will treat demographic development and social-economic data of the allochthonous groups in Utrecht which includes the structural economic context and social cultural context. This section will start with the demographic development of the allochthonous groups in Utrecht. It focuses particularly on the Turkish and Moroccan population.

Utrecht gets more and more an image of a divided and segregated city. There is talk of a growing distance between the autochthonous and allochthonous groups in Utrecht. Whereas the average income situation and labour participation of autochthones is relatively high even compared to other large cities in the Netherlands, the situation for allochthonous people in Utrecht is an unfavorable one. In general they have low levels of education, a high number of school drop-outs, high unemployment rates and they occupy less favourable and lower positions on the labour market. Also their living conditions are worse compared to that of their native counterparts. They live concentrated in the less favourable districts. Especially the Turks and Moroccans occupy the weakest positions in the city. Turks and Moroccans are less positive about their social well-being, their ability to cope for themselves, about their health, their social contacts and they have every month financial troubles. A considerable part of them does not feel accepted in society. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

Demographic development

In 2006, nationally one of three inhabitants of the four large cities had a non-western background. The proportion of the second generation allochthonous continues to increase, half of the large urban young are non western immigrants. Utrecht has compared with the other large cities less allochthonous residents. A little under a quarter is of non-western origin. One out of four inhabitants in Utrecht is of non-western origin. Utrecht knows 244 different ethnicities. The share of allochthonous people has increased from 30 percent to 32 percent since 2001. Moroccans form with 25 thousand people the biggest ethnic group in Utrecht (9%), followed by almost 13 thousand Turks (5%). (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006c, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d).



Source: Bevolking van Utrecht per 1 januari 2006

48 thousand first generation allochthonous and 41 thousand of the second generation live in Utrecht. The proportion of the first generation is stable, The second generation is because of birth and development in the newly build Leidsche Rijn district increasing.

Generations in Utrecht

Generations in Utrecht	Number	Percentage %
First generation Moroccans	13382	4.8
Second generation Moroccans	11387	4
First generation Turks	6732	2.4
Second generation Turks	5982	2.1

Source: Bevolking van Utrecht per 1 januari 2006

Autochthonous and allochthonous population absolute and relative on January 1 2006. Period 1995-2006.

	niet-westerse landen	westerse landen	totaal allochtonen	autochtonen	Totaal	niet-westerse landen	westerse landen	totaal allochtonen	autochtonen
	absoluut					in procenten			
1995	45.040	19.834	64.874	170.755	235.629	19	8	28	72
1996	45.770	19.460	65.230	169.624	234.854	19	8	28	72
1997	47.606	19.590	67.196	166.755	233.951	20	8	29	71
1998	49.060	19.582	68.642	164.095	232.737	21	8	29	71
1999	50.486	19.626	70.112	162.790	232.902	22	8	30	70
2000	52.143	19.802	71.945	161.913	233.858	22	8	31	69
2001	55.392	21.000	76.392	180.012	256.404	22	8	30	70
2002	57.973	21.479	79.452	181.187	260.639	22	8	30	70
2003	60.398	21.659	82.057	183.045	265.102	23	8	31	69
2004	62.731	21.786	84.517	185.726	270.243	23	8	31	69
2005	64.925	21.944	86.869	188.493	275.362	24	8	32	68
2006	66.962	22.243	89.205	191.806	281.011	24	8	32	68

Source: Bevolking van Utrecht per 1 januari 2006

Segregation

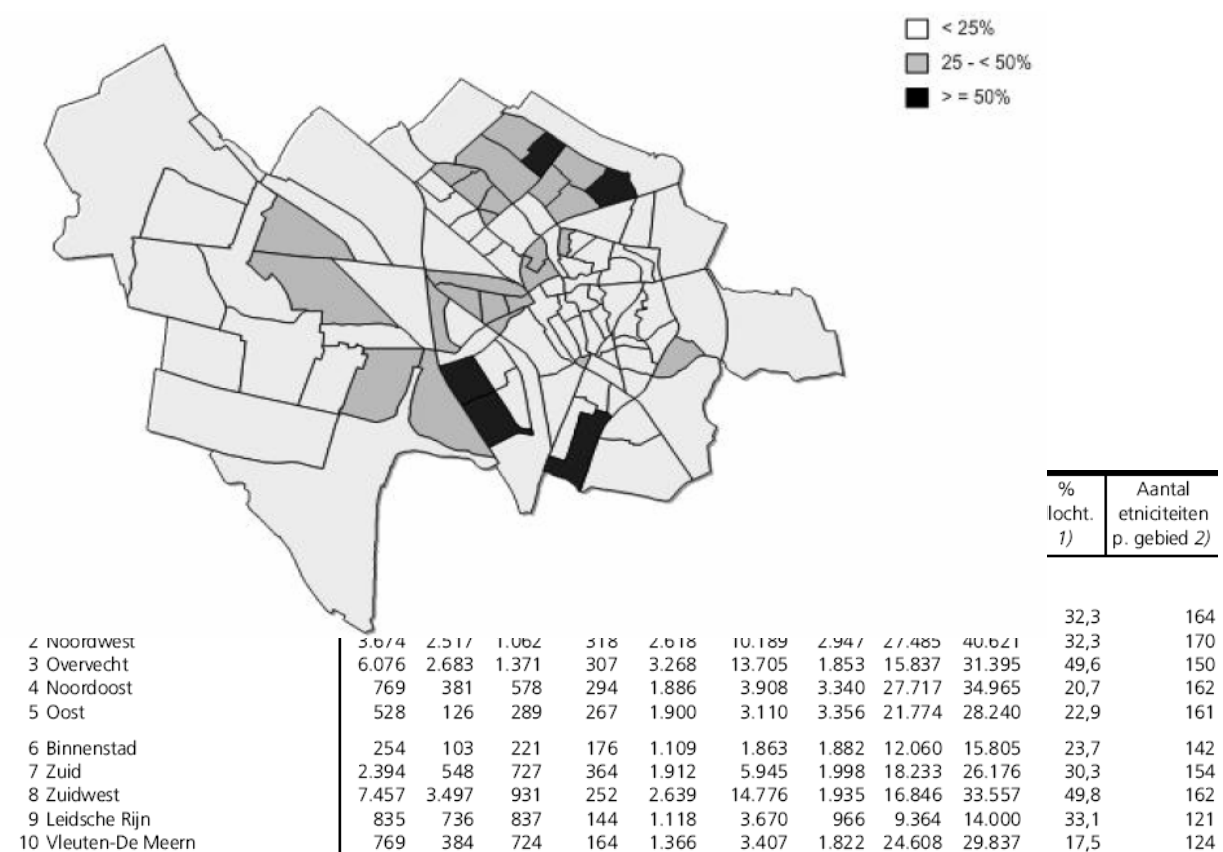
Within the city of Utrecht the allochthonous people are mainly concentrated in specific areas of Utrecht. One can observe a discoloration these specific neighbourhoods of the city. Autochthonous inhabitants and middle class immigrants moved away from these neighbourhoods and segregation within the city has strongly increased. Especially Turks and Moroccans live frequently separated of the indigenous population.

In these segregated districts an accumulation of social problems can frequently be observed. The inhabitants have a weak socio-economic position; the average income is low, there is a high percentage of (youth) unemployment and many households are welfare benefit dependent. In general, it is less favourable to live there. There is more crime and less cohesion and the inhabitants are less satisfied and feel less safe than in other (more indigenous) neighbourhoods. (SCP, WODC, CBS, 2005). The inhabitants feel annoyed about young people gathering on the street. The housing conditions are often poor. The neighbourhoods are characterized by social renting homes and there is hardly any private rental. Many of the inhabitants have a latent wish to move. Young allochthonous people experience less cohesion and give their neighbourhood a relatively low appreciation. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

As said before, the ethnic groups are not equitably divided among the city. Most non-western allochthonous people live in Overvecht and the southwest district. Especially in the (sub)

districts Kanaleneiland, Nieuw Hoograven, Bokkenbuurt live mostly non-western allochthonous people. Moroccans and Turks are overrepresented in these area's. Most Moroccans and Turks live in Kanaleneiland and Overvecht. At this moment 6222 Moroccans and 2777 Turks live in sub district Kanaleneiland and respectively 6076 Moroccans and 2683 Turks live in Overvecht. The smallest number of Moroccans and Turkish people can be found in the city centre. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006c)

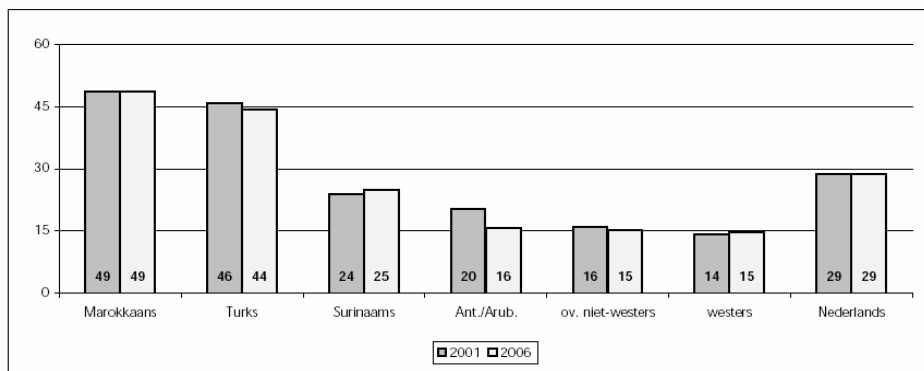
Percentage non-western allochthones in the (sub)districts 2006:



Source: de Bevolking van Utrecht per 1 januari 2006

For the different ethnic groups is calculated how concentrated they live. A higher segregation index implies a higher level of segregation. Turks and Moroccans live the most segregated

Calculated segregation index
Segregation index



Source: de Bevolking van Utrecht per 1 januari 2006

Migration History

Moroccans

Approximately 2/3 of the Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands are originating from the Reef mountain chain in the North of Morocco. In 1912 the Reef area came under protectorate of Spain. Spain has done little for development of this region until the independence in 1956. The area was in a undeveloped economic situation in this northern part of Morocco. This caused – in combination with an active recruitment policy for workers from this area - a big emigration wave to western Europe. The emigration was arranged by recruitment agreements in which all the procedures for recruitment were arranged.

In 1973 the emigration ended due to the oil crisis. From that moment on new migration waves appeared: the primary and secondary family reunification. Primary reunification means that guest workers let their family come over and primary family reunification concerns the import of marriage candidates. At present, the Moroccan population in the Netherlands counts 284.000 persons. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

Turks

The first Turkish migrants came to the Netherlands in 1960. Many Turks came via Germany and Belgium to the Netherlands. In 1964, due to a workmen shortage in the industrial sector, the Dutch government made a recruitment agreement with the Turkish government. From that moment the number of Turkish workers in Holland rapidly increased. The Turkish workmen obtained the title of guest workers. In 1973 because of the petroleum crisis the recruitment stopped. The immigration however continued because of family reunion began.

Furthermore, there is a group of Turks that came to the Netherlands as political refugees. After the military coup in Turkey in 1980, many left oriented refugees came to the Netherlands, and, when in 1984 the battle between the Turkish army and the Labour party of Koerdistan (PKK) broke out, many Kurd refugees asked for asylum in Western-Europe. This group of migrants is however many times smaller the group of economic migrants. Meanwhile the total Turkish population in the Netherlands counts over 330.000 persons and is the biggest migrant group in the Netherlands. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

Remigration

Less and less persons of the first generation Moroccans and Turkish remigrate to their country of origin. Persons that took this step in the past often regret this decision. The income that they enjoyed, appeared insufficient for living in Morocco or in Turkey. Moreover, they adhere strongly to the relations with their children in the Netherlands; and furthermore, the services (for example health care) in the country of origin are limited. Instead of remigration, they choose to spend every year a couple of months in Morocco or Turkey.

Many young people of the second and third generation grew up in the Netherlands and logically do not want to settle in Morocco or Turkey. Another reason is that they want to take care for their parents when they are old. In the Turkish and Moroccan culture it is usual for children to take care of their parents when they grow old. It is quite usual for the second generation to incorporate the parents who are in need of help in their home or to go and live nearby their parents. This way parents and their children are continuously in contact and children can support their parents. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b).

6. Social-economic data

Structural-economic context

School participation, level of education and linguistic skills

The allochthonous people in Utrecht have a lower educational level than their autochthonous counterparts. 60 percent of the Turkish and Moroccan population has only a lower education. The success rates for allochthonous students in Utrecht are low. The rates vary per education type between 72 and 83 percent. For autochthonous students these are respectively 86 and 92 percent. The allochthonous pupils are concentrated in the lower levels of the school systems. In particular, Turks and Moroccans more often than their native counterparts go to the vmbo. (a medium-level professional school) (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a). The migrant students have a high percentage of school drop-outs (CPB, 2006). The measurement for school dropouts is the so called 'start qualification'. This is the minimal educational criterion to enter successfully the job market. Nationally, from the youth in the age category 15-24, 46% of the migrants are in possession of a start qualification compared to 66% of the indigenous group. More than 44% of the not-working school drop outs are of migrant origin.

Special point of interest for the municipality Utrecht is the high level of school dropouts. In Utrecht 4 out of ten young people at the age of twenty-two year are not in possession of a start qualification when they leave the education system. Allochthonous students are overrepresented in this group. At the same time, the demand of lowly educated professionals in Utrecht is much lower than the supply. In the future, this mismatch will rather increase in stead of decreasing. Allochthones are disproportionately represented in the school drop out group. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

The migrant pupils are mainly concentrated in so-called black schools (schools with an allochthonous population of more than 70 per cent). The department of education of the city of Utrecht pursues the goal that at primary schools the pupil population should be a representation of the real district population. With this policy the existence of black and white schools in Utrecht are accepted. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

The amount of concentration schools is increasing. One third of the primary schools are so called concentration schools and for half of them more than half of the students have a non-western nationality. At the same time, many autochthonous pupils go to schools outside the city and allochthonous pupils remain in the city. There is talk of a white flight. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Language deficiency is a big problem for the first and second generation Moroccans and Turks. This is often explained by the poor command of the Dutch Language by their parents; many of them had no schooling at all. A lot of them are 'marriage migrants' (people entering the Netherlands in order to marry an immigrant already living there) often originating from rural area's in Morocco and Turkey where they did not get a sufficient level of education.

For instance, of the first generation Moroccans, 72,6 percent of the males and 80% of the females, have primary school as their maximum educational level. The first generation Turks and Moroccans know a high degree of illiteracy. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Due to this fact, the second generation migrant preschoolers start primary education with a considerable language disadvantage. At the start of primary school they have an average disadvantage of two year . Playgroups can be of help for this problem but only one third of the allochthonous children go there (Gemeente Utrechtse, 2003a). When leaving primary school they are still a long way behind with linguistic skills. (SCP, WODC, CBS, 2005).

Notable is that second generation Moroccans speak exclusively the Dutch Language among themselves. This is because Moroccans speak many different Berber languages and dialects.

That is why they are not always able to communicate with each other. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

From a total of 21500 students, 37% are so called target group pupils. The municipality receives an extra budget from the national state to combat disadvantages for these children. 80 percent of this group, 6450 pupils are of allochthonous origin. More than a quarter of the preschoolers from the target group pupils follow preschool courses. The pre and early school education is meant to prevent learning disadvantages with children at the start of their school career. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

The prospects for the future are possibly more favourable. More and more allochthonous students successfully finish primary school and start higher education. When they reach higher education they have a prevalence for studies with a prosperous future perspective like law or economics. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a) Nationally, the educational disadvantage in comparison to the indigenous population has been reduced over the last 15 years (SCP, WODC, CBS, 2005). This corresponds with the situation in Utrecht.

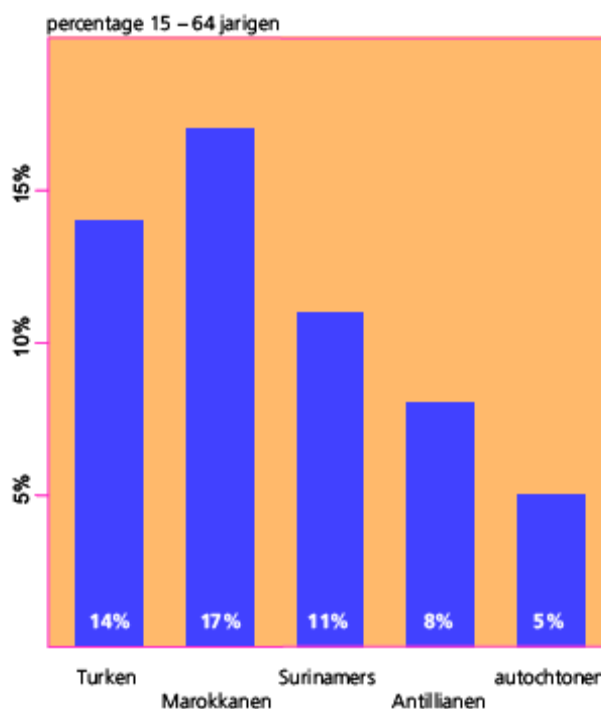
Employment participation, unemployment and income level

Allochthonous inhabitants in Utrecht are in a unfavourable economical position compared to the autochthonous inhabitants. Especially Turks and Moroccans are in a disadvantaged situation, their income and employment level are relatively low compared to that of the indigenous inhabitants of Utrecht (Utrecht monitor). Their gross labour participation in 2004 was 42 percent for Moroccans and 45 percent for Turks compared to 66 percent labour participation in Utrecht (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a). In 2003, the allochthonous labour participation was 51 percent against 64 percent of the indigenous population of Utrecht. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a).

Allochthonous people are more often unemployed and looking for a job than their autochthonous counterparts in Utrecht. Their share under the working population amounts to 16 percent in 2005 and this rate is increasing.

Allochthonous elderly people in Utrecht are often unemployed. They came to the Netherland as guest workers and because of the changing economy - with a less demand for less qualified work - they became unemployable. A considerable part of them are dependent on social benefits. Due to their low educational level, their bad command of Dutch language their prospects for jobs are very low. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Unemployed jobseekers to ethnic group in Utrecht



The low demand for less qualified work in Utrecht together with the low educational level and the bad command of Dutch language reduces the chance to find a job.

Allochthonous people in Utrecht are more dependent on social assistance. In 2002, 11 percent of the Moroccans population versus 3 percent of the autochthonous people in Utrecht were dependent on such benefits. Second generation allochthonous are better off. They are less often unemployed and are dependent on social assistance. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d).

Allochthonous people in Utrecht, especially Moroccans participate very little in voluntary work compared to their native counterparts (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a). They do however give more volunteer aid to their parents. This is common in the Moroccan and Turkish culture. The volunteer aid consists for a big part of help in housekeeping. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Safety and criminality

Moroccans feel safer in their own neighborhood than autochthones. Moroccans and Turkish people are less often the victim of violent offences but more often the victim of crime against their property. Allochthonous young people show three times more delinquent behavior. Moroccan and Antillean young people produce the most 'common' criminality. The least integrated youth are the most delinquent. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

As said earlier, the feelings of unsafety are increasing among the Utrecht population. This rise is for an important part explained by a strong increase in these feeling among Turkish and Moroccan people in Utrecht. In particular, Turkish inhabitants feel unsafe. These feelings are connected with the social tensions caused by the murder of the Dutch film and documentary maker Theo van Gogh by a Moroccan in 2004. Feelings of unsafety are further linked with social cohesion in the neighborhoods. In the survey neighborhoods Overvecht and Kanaleneiland these feelings are at the highest level. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Allochthonous people are more often victims of offences. This is probably because they occupy neighbourhoods with high crime rates (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a).

Housing and living conditions

Allochthonous households mainly occupy social rental houses and hardly any private rental houses. 91 percent of the Moroccan and 77 percent of the Turkish households occupy a social rental house against 37 percent of the Autochthonous inhabitants. Few of these groups own private property. Many Turkish and Moroccan households have - due to their weak social economic situation - to turn to affordable and cheap accommodation. These residences are concentrated in specific neighbourhoods of the city, like Overvecht and Kanaleneiland. The affordability is the main motive for moving to these concentration areas not for instance because members of their own ethnicity are living there. They have a lower appreciation for their neighbourhoods than the autochthonous population. This is logically connected to the fact that they more often occupy less favourable neighbourhoods. Half of the Moroccans and Turks in these neighbourhoods have a latent tendency to move because of the qualities of the houses. Most Moroccans live concentrated in specific neighbourhoods. Turkish inhabitants are less concentrated and are more spread over the City. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Moroccans and Turkish inhabitants of Utrecht feel involved with safety and liveability of their neighbourhood. One third, more than average, does their best for the neighbourhood. This is explained by the high level of dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

7. Social-cultural context

Culture

It is problematic to describe the Turkish and Moroccan culture through fixed cultural characteristics. The image of the Turkish and Moroccan population is quite diverse and nothing is fixed. A lot of subcultures exist and the Native Dutch and non-western culture influence each other. For instance, Moroccans and Turkish people originating from urban areas are more western oriented compared to people from rural areas.

Nevertheless, taking into account this reservation, it is possible to make some statements about the Moroccan and Turkish culture showing differences with the native Dutch culture.

The Turkish and Moroccan culture are both characterized by a high degree of collectivism. This means that the group interest prevails over the individual interest. This group interest is not merely restricted to the family but to all persons who belong to the trusted group. This collectivism expresses itself on several levels. Among the Turks and Moroccans loyalty and obligation to the family is of big importance. There is a high degree of social control among members of the community and the family name should not be desecrated. The element of honour is in both cultures of high importance. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

The average size of Moroccan and Turkish families is bigger than that of their native counterparts. 13.8 percent of the Moroccan families counts six persons and 5.7 percent of the Turkish families. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b).

An example of the collectivistic character is mutual assistance to members of their own group. They find it normal to support their parents when they are in old age and find it pleasant to live longer in family connection. They also help each other with jobs.

Another aspect is child raising. For Moroccan and Turkish children honourable behaviour and respect are key elements. They learn to fear disgrace and the feelings of shame. Adults from these cultures discuss less with their children and children are being thought not to be a disgrace for the family honour.

In the Moroccan and Turkish culture they use implicit communication. This means they have to know the context in which something is said. The focus is on how something is said. Status difference can be derived from the manner on which is being spoken. The addressing of someone with a high status is accompanied by a high degree of politeness. And during the conversation it can be impolite to look the conversation partner directly in the eyes.

In the Turkish and Moroccan culture they use less direct communication than in western cultures. It is common to use an intermediary for more easier communication and to avoid possible painful confrontations. When trying to persuade Moroccans and Turks to a form of behaviour that is not in their direct interest, it can be useful to bring in a trusted person with authority. For instance, the use of neighbourhood fathers to persuade Moroccan boys who are hanging on the street or imams to persuade on their turn the fathers. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

Compared to other ethnic groups Turks form tightly-knit communities and they establish relatively many organisations and associations. These are mostly connected through religious organisations. Moroccans form more and more organisations like different youth- and women centres whereas in the past they concentrated on founding mosques. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

Religious perception

Almost all Turks and Moroccans (94%) in Utrecht declare themselves as believers of the Islam. The religious dedication is stable; the second generation counts itself in the same degree to the Islam. Antilleans also often follow a religion, Christianity or Hinduism.

The Moroccans generally follow the Sunni movement in the Islam. The Moroccan ethnicity is thereby inherent to the Islamic faith. Differently from the Turks, they adhere to one and the same Islamic stream. The Turks adhere to several versions of the Sunni Islam. A small minority (15-35 percent) belong to the liberal and progressive Alevites and Bektasis and a very small group (1 percent) fall apart in Armenians, Greek-orthodox, Syriac-orthodox and Nestorians. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

Despite the fact that most Turks and Moroccan count themselves as Islamic there is a difference in the degree of religious dedication and perception in the Moroccan and Turkish population. Especially between the first and the second generation: the first generation Moroccans and Turks displays active religious behavior, they often pray and regularly visit mosques. The second generation display less active religious behaviour and have also a less internalized perception of their religion. They have, however, a strong religious adherence. Instead of adopting the religion fully from the former generation, they prefer to gather information on the Islam themselves. For instance via the internet or they visit literature and information meetings. Besides this, many mosques preach in the Dutch language, by which these generations feel addressed and visit more frequently a mosque. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b).

Furthermore, religion is conceived by the second generation more as a personal meaning giving, instead of the obedient implementation of religious traditions. The religion perception expresses itself more in religious intentions in everyday things, such as to lead a sober life and to show respect for others.

Mutual representations and the degree of social contact

Utrecht has more and more an image of distance and hardening instead of rapprochement and living pleasant together between the different ethnic groups. The different groups have little contact with each other. This conforms with the national image. Allochthonous and autochthonous people hardly encounter each other and the leisure time contacts decreased over the last 10 years. Two out of three native Dutch hardly have any contact with allochthonous inhabitants. 70 percent of the Turkish and 60 percent mainly spend leisure time with members of their own ethnic group. Especially second generation Moroccans and Turks go about less and less with autochthonous Dutch people (SCP/WODC/CBS, 2005). For instance in Utrecht the friendship network of 12/13 year olds exists mainly of friends with the same ethnic background (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d). Notable is that 15 percent of the Moroccan and Turkish people find that they do not encounter enough friends or family (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a).

Problems with discrimination play a role in Utrecht. Moroccan inhabitants in particular do not feel socially accepted in Utrecht and one out of four allochthonous 12/13 year olds feels discriminated outside the school. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

Because of this social removal one of the policy aims of the DMO Utrecht (service social development) is to stimulate rapprochement and meeting between the different communities. No parallel society is desired but the different communities need to encounter each other. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a)

Compared to other ethnic groups the Turkish people form a relatively closed community. This means that they primarily concentrate on their own ethnic group. This translates itself in the low degree of contacts with other ethnic groups. Moroccans more often than Turkish also go to Dutch places and establishments. They do not rely exclusively on provisions for their own ethnic group. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003b)

The general representation and appraisal of immigrants in Utrecht is positive. Most people are positive about allochthonous and autochthonous people living together. The degree of tolerance however depends on educational level and the neighbourhood where people live.

Notable is that in the neighbourhoods Overvecht and Kananeleiland - with the highest percentage of allochthonous inhabitants, people are the least positive and in the city centre where hardly any allochthones live, people are the most positive about living together. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a).

Leisure time and sport

Allochthonous people in Utrecht do less sport than the autochthones in Utrecht. Turks do the minimum. Allochthonous children in the first year of secondary school, especially Turkish (38% percent) and Moroccan (44%) students are less likely to be members of sport clubs than their native counterparts (78 percent) (Utrecht Monitor, 2006). Especially allochthonous girls are not often connected to sport clubs. Only 20 percent of the Turkish and 25 percent of the Moroccan girls in Utrecht are sport club members. Cultural and religious factors play a role. One out of three allochthonous girls is not allowed to sport when there are boys or men involved. Another more important cause for this is that allochthonous parents are relatively unknown with the possibilities of sport. They do not know what sport implies. This is due to their low educational background. Sport is not of any important value. More important are values like help in the housekeeping and being ready for the family. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006a, Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d)

Allochthonous prefer to exercise sport in groups. The social aspect of sport is for them important. They often do sport together. They also prefer to exercise sport indoor and they only do sport outdoors inside the city. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a).

Turks and Moroccans go out less to bars, cinemas, sport games or community centers compared to the autochthonous people in Utrecht. Those who do go out do this more frequently. Allochthonous people spend more time in front of the television. Turkish and Moroccan prefer to watch channels originating from their country of origin. The cause for this are language deficiency and connection with their country of origin. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Psychical and physical health

The social well-being among Turkish and Moroccan people is very low. They feel themselves put behind as civilians. Psychical and physical health is on the average worse than that of the autochthonous population. Especially Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants are more often overstrained, stressed and depressed and they feel less healthy. Overweight is another problem, a lot of Turkish and Moroccan children have weight problems.

The causes for these problems are social economic factors like living in a less healthy environment and cultural factors like bad feeding habits and less sport activities. A lack of sunlight with older allochthonous woman also plays a role. This leads to a shortage of vitamin D which is related to complaints of the joints. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2006d, Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

Allochthonous people in Utrecht more often visit the family doctor. The doctor gives them less information but more medication. They make less use of specialized care. The causes are communication problems, they are unknown with the supply, they have feelings of shame, other needs and habits and more often receive voluntary aid from family members. (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003a)

8. Interviews and contact persons in Kanaleneiland and Overvecht

Kanaleneiland:

In Kanaleneiland we established contacts with professionals working in the ROC school Middle Holland. This is secondary vocational education (MBO). The school is located in the heart of Kanaleneiland near business and shopping facilities. The school population exists of both allochthonous and autochthonous students. The education consists of four levels. The allochthonous students are more concentrated in the lower levels of the MBO (level one and two) and the autochthonous students attend the higher levels (three and four). Within the school we spoke with several professionals ranging from members of the management to internship coordinators and teachers.

Tonnie Kerkhof (Coordinator Work experience, ROC Midden Nederland - a secondary vocational school) and Marc van Meegeren (Director ROC Midden Nederland - a secondary vocational school)

Both respondents underline the high importance of work experience of young students, and the role these experiences play during the education. The education of this vocational school is organized according to the principles of 'learning of competencies', which means that the students work as project teams, simulating real situations in enterprises or state institutions. Moreover, the students spend almost one third of their studies by working in one of these enterprises or institutions.

The preparation of these work experiences is in principle the responsibility of the students, coached by the teachers (to look for a suitable enterprise or institution which accepts students, to write an application letter, simulation of job interviews, etc.). However, it is quite evident, that many students are rather late with this preparation, and if they really do not find any suitable work experience job, the coordinator will intervene, thanks to her contacts with many enterprises and institutions, and help the students.

At this vocational school, the age of the students varies from 16 to 20 (or more), and, in particular at the lower levels, young migrants form the majority of the students.

Hans Engbers (district account manager, coördinator young people cultural projects, career - and orientation support)

Hans Engbers works at the ROC school Middle Holland in Kanaleneiland. He does a lot of different things for the school. He organizes all the cultural events for and by students in the school. He develops contacts between the community in the district Kanaleneiland and the ROC Middle Holland. For instance the Blend-it project where student have the task to organise an event during an afternoon for a societal target group. In April a group of 4 allochthonous girls planted little trees with children of asylum seekers. He also works for the study advice centre in the school where he gives extra support and guidance to students who face to drop-out or are not sure if they follow the right course in the MBO.

Regarding the learning of competencies he says that he recognizes the street culture the young migrants take into the school. This conflicts with the more occupational attitude that the teachers try to learn the students to successfully prepare them for the labour market.

He further says that the students make a sharp distinction between their lives on school and their lives on training jobs. Some students do not want to go back to school when they finish their training because they feel they learn more on their work than in the school.

He works with students who have learning difficulties and face to drop out. They have to be extra prepared for their traineeship. He instructs them how to apply for a job and how to present themselves during a job interview. This regards basic skills and tips like how to write an application letter and not to wear a baseball cap and to sit straight during the job interview. He also says not to expect too much of the own responsibility of the student in preparation and organizing the learning of competences. The students need a lot of guidance and support. He says allochthonous and autochthonous students are segregated in the school. They mainly go about and hang around with members of their own ethnic group. He advises us during the research not to place allochthones on the foreground because the autochthones would feel neglected.

Eric (teacher ICT)

Teacher Eric teaches at the ROC school Middle Holland. He is teaching at level three and four. Most of his students are males. Teacher Eric originates from the business world. He owned several companies. Last year January he decided to sell his companies and take a sabbatical to look what he wanted to do. He decided he wanted to become a teacher. He has teaching experience with giving diving instructions.

He takes his business experience into the education of the students. He tries to teach them the rules of the angry outside world. They have to become achievement-oriented and not to come too late on their jobs. 75 percent of the time has to be a learning moment and the other 25 percent can be a learning moment. He does this by keeping them tight and by putting down strict rules in the class. He is complaining that everything is getting less strict on the school. They are young adults; you can expect something of them but not everything. You can and have to steer them, they need that because they are in the age that if you let them loose it will become chaos. The problem is that the rules on school do not signify enough for the students, school is without obligations in the eyes of the students.

Regarding the learning of competencies he says he is a supporter of prescriptive teaching, that means to explain what the student does not know and do not explain what they already know. He is experimenting with interim tests. The problem at this moment is that there are not enough tests for the students.

Maikel (teacher ICT)

Teacher Maikel teaches at the ROC school Middle Holland. He is teaching ICT at level two. He used to work in a computer shop, sell and give advice to customers about personal computers. After that he was a developing-aid worker in Eritrea, he taught women about office word processing programs. When he came back he started to work as a teacher at the ROC school.

Regarding the reforms in the education, he is not so positive about the introduction of the learning of competencies. He finds the competences are not clear and remain vague for the students. The competencies education should be more to the point. The level-two students need a lot of structure and clearness. The students have to make projects. These projects contain too much text and they are not suitable for level two students. He tries to shorten the text in the projects and make them more efficient. The learning of competences also requires students to work independent. Teacher Maikel says the students do not have the appropriate background to work independently. They are special boys; some of them have behavioural problems or have autistic characteristics. Outside the official program he teaches them norms and values illustrated with examples of his own life, how to deal with responsibilities,

appointments, respect for other people regardless of colour, descent, religion and sexual disposition.

Beside the ROC contact has been established with a Youth Centre “Chill Island”. This centre has recently been founded for the so called youth at risk (mostly immigrant youngsters between 15-23 years of age), and it is a special project in the sense that the youth workers are brought in from Streetcornerwork Amsterdam, while local activities by Utrecht social workers had failed. In this project the Police is also involved because a lot of these youngsters have difficult relations with the police (and vice versa), but while the police is visiting the youth centre to improve contacts, the centre is a ‘safe haven’ because the police may not arrest youngsters in the centre. At the moment this centre seems the place where the most marginalised young immigrants show up, and where it is very difficult to develop other than leisure activities like football.

Contacts have been made with two local police officers (P. Smelt, F. Fasi) and with the youth workers of the centre (M. Ringringoloe, R. Bousaid). The youth workers feel they have a very problematic group at hand, which causes frequent troubles and forces them to close the building. By visiting the centre some provisional and precarious contacts with youngsters have been made.

Overvecht:

The efforts to get acknowledged in this neighbourhood have concentrated on the activities around the transition between education and work. The range of contacts is quite diverse, varying from a conversation with the “neighbourhood alderman” in the framework of an adoption project in which local and national administrators offer their help (and some money) to the neighbourhood especially regarding the problems of immigrant youth to an employer (a garage owner) who took the initiative to offer ‘training jobs’ for immigrant youth who have been drop outs.

Contacts:

mrs. R. den Besten, neighbourhood alderman for Overvecht

I. Thoenes and S. Wolf, community centre Overvecht, who indicate to find it difficult to grasp the variety of projects aiming at reintegration into work.
W. Peters, coordinator in a social work project aiming at a labour exchange point for drop outs. This is connected to the welfare office, which is offering reintegration trajectories for youngsters in stead of a benefit (work first program).
I. Lodewijk, J. Honhoff, coordinators of Titan, a project for resocialization of drop outs and criminal youngsters. More than half of these youngsters are migrants. The project is aiming at a trajectory of one year with the aim to lead 60% of these youngsters into work/schooling/structured activities. Difficulties with finding jobs because of refusal of employers to hire migrant youth.
G. Houtman, civil servant at the municipality of Utrecht to coordinate activities on the transition from school to work. These activities range from more or less compulsory projects (related to social benefit and criminality like Titan) to voluntary participation in special projects for extra training etc.. The idea is to avoid specific projects for migrant youth because of their stigmatizing character, but in fact these projects are dealing mostly with migrant youth.
A. Reindertsen, who is the garage owning employer offering training jobs especially for youngsters at risk. He is working together with the ROC but is complaining that this institution is getting money for his activities, and he feels that schooling is not the best option for these youngsters: they should learn on the spot.

Furthermore we have contact with a cultural centre in Overvecht (E. van Erven), aiming at community art projects. Some of these projects are aiming explicitly at migrant youth, like theatre projects.

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Rapport français

AROFÉ

Vincent Ferry, Marie Lambert, Marie-Helene Wojcik, Bernard Balzani, Raul Morales La Mura

**SIXTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
PRIORITY [7]
[CITIZEN AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED SOCIETY]**

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Avertissement

Le travail pour le Work Package 3 s'est avéré assez difficile pour l'équipe française, tel que défini ensemble lors du séminaire de Metz-Borny en novembre 2006. En effet, de la même façon que pour le premier rapport TRESEGY, nous nous sommes heurtés à une situation très particulière, où la statistique française présentée à partir du recensement général de la population n'est plus à jour.

Le dernier recensement a été effectué en 1999. L'opération se déroulait sur un mois, le mois de mars, où des recenseurs se devaient d'effectuer la tournée des foyers français, avec une marge d'incertitude liée à la complexité de l'opération, d'environ 5% (chiffre défini par l'institut lui-même) Cette marge d'erreur pouvait même être amplifiée en ce qui concerne le recensement de la population étrangère en France, à cause du biais d'un manque de maîtrise de la langue française de certains recensés, ainsi que du véritable statut, notamment des enfants d'étrangers, méconnu par les parents eux-mêmes quelquefois, comme nous l'avons explicité dans le rapport national du WP2. La marge d'erreur pouvait alors être de 10% (Alain Monnier, *La population de la France*, 1985)

L'autre problème est que l'ampleur du traitement statistique lié au recensement n'offrait en fait des chiffres précis que quatre à cinq ans après le recensement. En procédant à des recensements au quart entre 2003 et 2004, l'INSEE a essayé de corriger cette lourdeur par un changement radical de méthode. Il a été décidé, désormais, que les recensements s'effectueraient par sondage tous les ans, 7 % du territoire étant enquêté. Par la méthode des quotas, et avec un degré de précision allant jusqu'à l'immeuble (l'INSEE travaille désormais par « îlot », base des sondages successifs effectués), l'INSEE, depuis 2005, a donc créé une nouvelle base de données, devant servir à produire des chiffres corrigés plus précis, année par année.

Pour l'instant, avec le temps de latence nécessaire à la mise en œuvre d'une opération de cette ampleur, seuls quelques chiffres ont pu apparaître dans certaines communes, comme celle de Talange ou celle de Metz. Cependant, la plupart des chiffres disponibles restent ceux du recensement dépouillé au quart de 1999.

Nous avons été surpris¹, que, bien que l'INSEE ait pu sur certains points produire des données pour la ville de Metz, elle n'ait pu extraire de ses bases de données plus précises pour le quartier de Metz-Borny. De fait, en travaillant pour le WP3 avec la ville de Metz, qui nous a par ailleurs, nous tenons à le signaler, ouvert toutes ses portes, et fournie toute la statistique à sa disposition sur le quartier de Metz-Borny, nous avons pu produire un certain nombre de données, en compilant différentes sources, mais toujours avec cette certitude que nos informations ne peuvent être prises avec le degré de précision voulu. Ainsi, le fait que la population du quartier ait quasi stagné, alors que plus de 800 logements aient été détruits ces cinq dernières années, nous apparaît bizarre, même si, au démarrage des destructions en 2001, il y avait 500 logements vacants sur le quartier en permanence.

Nous avons donc décidé de travailler avec les données officielles, même si l'exercice n'est pas, surtout en situation de comparaison, complètement satisfaisant. D'autres sources statistiques, celle de la Caisse d'allocation Familiale, celle d'un bailleur social du quartier, celle des offices de l'emploi, ont pu nous permettre de rétablir certaines approximations. Nous ne désespérons pas d'obtenir des statistiques plus précises sur le quartier, dans les prochains mois. Nous nous

¹ Nous nous contenterons, mais de manière dubitative, de l'explication technique qui nous fût donné

permettrons alors de rectifier notre tableau de la situation au fur et à mesure que ces données nous parviendront.

Dans le cas de Talange, nous avons pu bénéficier de certaines données remise à jour à partir du recensement au 7^{ème} effectué en 2005. Malgré cela, la base la plus importante reste celle issue du recensement de 1999. La encore, nous signalons que la mairie nous a ouvert ses portes et fourni l'ensemble des documents (très peu nombreux) à sa disposition.

Nous avons enfin décidé de compenser ces manques, en réalisant de multiples interviews, essayant de balayer ainsi de manière exhaustive tout le spectre des acteurs intervenant auprès des jeunes, quelque soit leur fonction. Nous nous sommes juste heurté au problème des élections, qui ont empêché les autorités de police et de gendarmerie de nous répondre, par devoir de réserve, ce que nous ferons là encore dans les semaines à venir, dès que les élections seront terminées.

Introduction

Nous avons choisi de travailler, à partir du WP3, sur deux secteurs géographiques. Le premier étant un quartier dit « de banlieue » (Metz-Borny), le second étant une ville de forte immigration.

Le quartier de Metz-Borny fait partie de ces quartiers qui sont la cible d'une attention médiatique fort importante, sous-tendue d'intentions politiques, et perçu comme une zone urbaine sensible². La ville de Talange, quant à elle, n'est pas identifiée comme « zone urbaine sensible » même si elle est très proche de Metz-Borny (10 kilomètres), et fait sociologiquement partie du même bassin d'emploi. Cette ville est également représentative de l'immigration en Lorraine. En outre, ces deux lieux ont été sélectionnés au regard de l'intérêt que ces mairies respectives ont manifesté pour notre enquête ; (Accueil officiel à la mairie de Metz pour le séminaire du WP2 en novembre 2006, accueil des collègues du projet TRESEGY au colloque international organisé par la ville de Talange en mai 2007, mise à disposition de documents...).

Parmi les facteurs justifiant le choix de l'unité géographique retenue (le département de la Moselle) il nous semble également important de rappeler que les deux sites retenus s'inscrivent dans une histoire industrielle et urbaine marquée par des vagues successives d'immigration, sans équivalent en Europe³.

Nous avons opté pour une démarche associant des données quantitatives et qualitatives. Ainsi, nous avons procédé à la collecte et l'analyse d'un certain nombre de données statistiques⁴ sur les deux zones retenues, et nous avons entrepris des séries d'entretiens auprès de différents acteurs (responsables et militants des secteurs associatifs, éducatifs, sanitaires, sociaux, ...). L'exploitation des différentes informations recueillies au cours de cette étape de la recherche autorise l'énonciation d'un certain nombre de constats et d'observations. Ce sont à la fois des particularismes et des traits communs qui ont ainsi pu être identifiés.

Dans le document présenté ici nous reviendrons sur les domaines de l'habitat, la démographie, l'économie et les politiques de l'immigration et de la jeunesse. Nous aborderons successivement chacun des territoires : Talange et Metz-Borny. Le choix de cette présentation procède de la volonté d'aborder en premier lieu un cadre territorial « ordinaire » (une commune) avant de nous intéresser plus particulièrement à une autre unité géographique et territoriale (en l'occurrence le quartier de Metz-Borny).

² « Z.U.S », dans le langage technocratique français, à prononcer comme un mot

³ De plus, la Moselle ayant été allemande entre 1871 et 1918 et entre 1940 et 1944, le contexte national de nos deux territoires est très complexe, puisque dans la république française « une et indivisible », l'enseignement religieux est obligatoire à l'école en Moselle (mais pas l'enseignement de l'islam), la loi associative est différente du reste de la France, la cotisation sociale, et donc le coût de l'emploi est supérieur au reste de la France, pour un remboursement des actes de sécurité sociale (accident, maladie, hospitalisation, pharmacie...) de 90% (pour 70% dans le reste de la France), les habitants bénéficient également de deux jours fériés supplémentaires.

⁴ Avec les limites que nous avons évoquées ci-dessus.

Partie 1 - Le champ de l'habitat : une histoire de population

Introduction

Nous présentons ici nos deux territoires, qui se sont constitués différemment dans le temps, marqués soit par le développement des usines pour Talange, soit par le développement urbain pour Metz Borny. De plus, si le territoire de Talange reste assez cohérent dans son action, parce que Talange est une commune relativement autonome, nous trouvons à Metz Borny un territoire difficile à cerner, tellement de politiques publiques territorialisées s'appliquent, sur des aires et des populations qui ne sont pas toujours les mêmes. Il nous semblait important de décrire cela, car nous estimons que de ce fait, les citoyens sont parfois perdus, quant à savoir où se situe le pouvoir d'action sur le territoire. Par ailleurs nos deux zones ont été, de manière diverse, marquée par des concentrations de populations immigrées spectaculaires.

1 - Présentation de la commune de Talange

Pour bien comprendre Talange, il faut la resituer dans son histoire récente (tout au long du XXème siècle) et son organisation administrative, qui remonte à la révolution Française en ce qui concerne les limites territoriales et les compétences dévolues au conseil municipal et au maire. Plus récemment, il faut comprendre que la commune de Talange était en fait un village, jusqu'en 1900, organisé autour principalement des activités agricoles comme la majeure partie des communes françaises de l'époque. Du point de vue de la population, lors du recensement de 1905, celle-ci est de 280 habitants. Elle est déjà de 800 habitants en 1911 et de 1408 en 1921⁵, pour arriver à 7748 aujourd'hui. A partir de 1912, le développement de Talange va s'accélérer, avec la mise en fonctionnement de l'usine Thyssen, sur une partie du territoire de la commune, créant à cette époque l'usine intégrée sidérurgique la plus étendue du monde (3 kilomètres de long d'ateliers). Le fait de s'implanter en milieu rural crée les conditions même de l'immigration de masse (il ne peut pas y avoir assez de main d'œuvre sur place), vers le travail dans une usine qui comprendra jusqu'à 7 000 ouvriers et 600 cadres. Dès 1911, pour le chantier de construction de l'usine, on note la présence de ressortissants de 21 nationalités différentes⁶, dont les plus importants contingents sont les Italiens, les Serbes et les Croates. Il faut rappeler qu'à ce moment et jusqu'en 1918, Talange est en Allemagne, faisant partie de la partie du département de la Moselle intégré au Reich allemand depuis 1871.

1.1 - La place centrale de l'usine

Nous sommes ici dans un territoire, dont une part a appartenu à l'usine, soit pour y construire les installations industrielles, soit pour y construire d'autres infrastructures. En construisant aussi ses propres logements (les cités), l'usine va contribuer à enrichir le patrimoine immobilier de la commune, bâtissant des habitations individuelles et collectives pour les ouvriers et des maisons de maîtres pour les ingénieurs et directeurs. Par delà, l'usine joue aussi un rôle de régulation sociale : elle organise, dans un mouvement que l'on qualifie de « paternaliste », la vie de la cité en dehors du

⁵ In « Talange à travers les âges », Paul Maire, exemplaire dactylographié, déposé à la mairie de Talange.

⁶ In « Talange à travers les âges », op.cit

temps de travail. Elle met en œuvre ou soutient les mouvements associatifs, sportif, culturel, religieux. Elle crée ses propres écoles, hôpitaux, centres d'apprentissage. Elle impose dans ses cités des règles de vie très strictes, comme l'obligation de faire son jardin par exemple.

Bien que le dernier haut fourneau de l'usine (située en fait sur trois communes limitrophes : Talange, Mondelange et Hagondange)⁷ ait fermé en 1979, cet esprit a marqué le territoire, ne serait-ce que par la densité du tissu associatif. A Talange, si au moins 12 associations ont disparu⁸ (principalement issues du milieu industriel), 60 existent encore aujourd'hui par rapport à une population de 7 748 habitants. Cette importance de la vie associative, comme élément de structuration de l'espace social et urbain, s'explique aussi par le développement important du syndicalisme, très puissant dans toute la sidérurgie lorraine et donc aussi autour de l'usine « d'Hagondange ». Ces syndicats ont permis, surtout après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, de développer une politique allant dans le sens de la culture pour tous, du sport pour tous, de la gratuité totale de l'école, grâce notamment aux améliorations des salaires et des avantages sociaux (en termes de protection sociale et des œuvres sociales). Outre les effets de ce mouvement social, il ne faut pas oublier ceux dus au « communisme municipal ». En effet, à partir des années 30, Talange, mais aussi les communes environnantes sont devenues progressivement de gauche, souvent à majorité communiste.

Bref, avant que l'usine ne ferme, la vie des habitants d'une ville comme Talange était plutôt autocentrée, avec une population relativement riche, jouissant de la plupart des avantages du confort moderne. La crise de la fermeture des usines, n'est donc pas uniquement une crise économique, elle est aussi une crise de la perte de repères, de la perte de valeurs, d'un mode de vie, centré autour de la vie à l'usine, dans un monde où le travail principal, celui d'ouvrier, restait dur et dangereux.

1.2 - Talange sans usine

Le paradoxe de ces petites villes industrielles est qu'elles perdurent par delà la disparition de ce qui les a fait naître en tant que telles : l'usine. La reconversion s'est produite en une génération, à la fois par des politiques publiques d'aménagement, mais également par la volonté locale de trouver des solutions, à ce qui fut une crise de l'emploi absolument phénoménale (voir partie 3) En fait, les générations que nous allons étudier, sont les premières qui ne n'ont jamais connu l'usine, même à l'abandon. En effet, dès 1986, le site de l'usine était vendu pour faire un parc de loisir. Il existerait donc un fossé de génération, entre ceux qui ont connu l'usine et/ou y ont travaillé, avec toute la difficulté laborieuse, mais aussi avec tous les avantages inhérents à cette usine. Un éducateur nous confiait que les jeunes n'avaient pas envie de vivre la vie de travail de leurs parents, qui leur semble trop dure. En fait, il semblerait que vivant sur le même lieu, les générations ne l'appréhendent pas de la même façon, car la centralité qu'était l'usine a disparu.

Aujourd'hui, on constate que cette population mixée n'a pas de caractéristiques particulières, ce qui montre une intégration qui s'est passée de façon progressive mais réussie. L'urbanisme est assez équilibré, il n'y a pas à proprement parler de « quartiers » de type banlieue, tels que l'on entend généralement en France. Les immeubles sont intégrés dans l'espace urbain, et si des problèmes se sont posés il y a une dizaine d'années, ceux-ci se sont résorbés et le calme est revenu. Le parc immobilier social est géré de façon satisfaisante (en lien avec les grandes évolutions des lois sur l'habitat). Mais il existe quelques difficultés avec une partie du parc privé dans lequel un certain nombre de propriétaires louent des logements à des personnes en grandes difficultés, appartements

⁷ Dans les discours des habitants, l'usine s'est très rapidement désignée comme l'usine d'Hagondange.

⁸ In Talange au quotidien, histoire de Talange, tome 4, Aldo Saccani, 1992, exemplaire dactylographié, édité au profit de l'église

qui sont dans un état assez lamentable et ces bailleurs privés ne sont pas très loin de ce que l'on appelle « les marchands de sommeil » (ne respectant pas les normes minimales obligatoires de confort pour louer des logements). L'équipe municipale actuelle prend les choses en main et tente de résorber le problème⁹.

2 - Présentation du territoire de Metz-Borny

2.1 - Borny était à l'origine un village, à l'est de la commune de Metz

Ce village, dont nous voyons encore la trace autour de l'ancienne église et d'un reste d'habitat rural, perdu entre les barres et les tours d'habitation collectives, a été absorbé par la commune de Metz. Dans les années 1950, l'Etat a décidé d'utiliser des terrains agricoles, pour implanter une ville nouvelle, ce qui a amené la construction entre 1958 et 1970 de 5 000 logements (dont 3 500 logements sociaux). Ce projet local s'inscrit dans un mouvement national de planification de la construction de logements disposant du confort « moderne », pour rattraper les dégâts monumentaux des bombardements alliés de 1944 et loger une population en croissance significative (en 1936, la France est peuplée de 40 millions d'habitants, en 1970, de 50 millions et aujourd'hui de 63 millions) qui a duré près de 30 ans. Metz-Borny est donc un quartier de la commune de Metz, qualifié aujourd'hui dans le langage commun français de « banlieue ». Il est important de rappeler, qu'à l'origine, ces quartiers ont été très prisés des classes moyennes, parce que justement ils possédaient un confort certain (eau chaude, WC, baignoire,...) que beaucoup d'autres logements urbains ne possédaient pas. Ces classes moyennes ont investi ces espaces urbains, alors que les immigrés sont restés domiciliés dans le centre-ville (à Metz-ville, quartier Pontiffroy ou quartier des Allemands) et dans des bidonvilles à proximité des lieux de travail (grandes usines en Moselle).

Le problème des rapatriés d'Algérie (1,2 millions de personnes (harkis, pieds-noirs) accueillis en France dans l'hiver 1962-63) va casser les plans originaux de la ville nouvelle, en ajoutant des logements construits rapidement (donc qui se sont rapidement avérés vétustes, se dégradant très vite) et des tours d'habitation supplémentaires. Borny va donc devenir un espace urbain d'entassement de population, dans une aire très réduite (insérer photo). De ce fait, le nombre d'équipements collectifs (commerces, jeux loisirs, culture) va tout de suite être trop peu important, puisque l'Etat continuera à construire des logements sans programmer les équipements collectifs supplémentaires (hormis les écoles), jusqu'à ce que la population du quartier refuse de nouvelles constructions (sur un quartier de 20 000 habitants, avec 3 500 logements sociaux, l'Etat voulait encore ajouter plus de 40 tours au début des années 70)¹⁰.

L'arrivée des migrants va se faire en plusieurs vagues sur ce quartier : d'abord, avec les rapatriés d'Algérie qui, bien que Français peuvent être considérés comme migrants, puis l'arrivée massive de contingents de travailleurs recrutés par le patronat (jusqu'en 1974) et qui vont être logés sur le quartier, en proximité des industries qui s'implantent. En particulier, le constructeur automobile Citroën, implanté à côté du quartier d'habitation, fait venir dès 1969 des centaines d'ouvriers turcs recrutés directement en Turquie. Enfin, il est question du relogement des populations immigrés (essentiellement issues du Maroc, d'Algérie, du Portugal, d'Italie et d'Espagne) au fur et à mesure de la destruction des taudis de l'agglomération messine, (quartier Saint Jacques, quartier du

⁹ Lors d'une discussion avec le Maire de Talange, ce dernier émet le commentaire suivant : « Ces propriétaires n'ont pas de conscience et profitent de la faiblesse de ces personnes qui sont en grande difficulté ».

¹⁰ Un responsable associatif alla même jusqu'à faire une grève de la faim pour arrêter ce projet.

Pontiffroy,...). De ce point de vue, le relogement à Borny de ces populations a été pour elles un progrès, puisqu'elles passaient de logements délabrés à des logements disposant de tout le confort. A ces installations successives, il faut ajouter celle des réfugiés du Sud-est asiatique de la fin des années 70 et début des années 80 (Laotiens, Cambodgiens et Vietnamiens de l'ancien empire colonial français). Depuis lors, on assiste à l'arrivée de migrants en nombre plus restreint venant de l'Europe de l'Est, de l'Afrique sub-saharienne francophone et de Chine.

Ces vagues successives de migrations politiques et économiques sont confrontées à la dégradation du marché du travail, à partir des années 70, avec les fermetures d'usines en cascade (dans la seule zone qui nous concerne, la sidérurgie est passée de 70 000 ouvriers à la fin des années 60, à 9 300 aujourd'hui) va appauvrir les populations ouvrières, et donc les immigrés qui, pour les deux tiers d'entre eux, travaillent dans l'industrie. Les immigrés, moins qualifiés, sont toujours depuis les années 1970, deux fois plus au chômage que la moyenne française. Les femmes immigrées sont elles trois fois plus au chômage que la moyenne des femmes françaises. Cette paupérisation va alors « bloquer » les populations pauvres sur le quartier de Metz-Borny, car elles profitent moins que les autres de l'essor de l'accès à la propriété, avec la construction de petits pavillons individuels, dans les quartiers et les villages autour de Borny. En fait, les classes moyennes, encore présentes à Borny dans les années 70, vont toutes partir de ce quartier pour accéder à la propriété (développement des quartiers de Vallière, de la Grange aux bois, de Grigy, autour de Borny).

A ce phénomène, il faut ajouter que les rénovations successives du centre ville de Metz, depuis les années 1970, vont faire là aussi exploser le prix des loyers dans le centre ville, chassant progressivement les populations pauvres vers les quartiers de logements sociaux. Ainsi, les classes moyennes quittant Borny pour accéder à la propriété sont remplacées par des populations pauvres, ne pouvant plus payer les loyers des logements rénovés du centre-ville.

Un dernier phénomène est à observer : l'arrivée d'étudiants à Metz (pas d'université dans les années 60, une université généraliste aujourd'hui accueillant 15 000 étudiants environ) sans construction de logements spécifiques (quelques centaines de chambres étudiantes à Metz pour 15 000 étudiants). Cette situation va attirer les spéculateurs qui vont transformer de grands logements, pour les redistribuer en petits, à destination des étudiants. Le résultat, au bout de trente ans de cette politique, est que les seuls logements de plus de quatre pièces dans le parc locatif messin sont à Metz-Borny. Les grandes familles qui n'ont pas les moyens d'acheter se retrouvent donc concentrées sur le quartier. Ceci explique en grande partie la jeunesse du quartier de Borny.

2.2 - Le découpage territorial, un empilement qui rend fou !

On observe plusieurs découpages sur ce territoire.

Un premier concerne la subdivision du quartier : 13 000 de ses habitants environ vivent dans la partie du quartier classée en ZUS (Zone Urbaine Sensible), sur un total de 20 000 habitants pour l'ensemble du quartier, correspondant au territoire de l'ancienne commune intégrée à la ville de Metz. On peut aussi observer que notre territoire d'enquête est situé dans le cadre du GPV (Grand Projet Ville), outil de la politique de l'Etat négociée avec la ville de Metz, amenant des moyens spécifiques pour la rénovation urbaine (gérée aujourd'hui par l'Agence Nationale de Rénovation Urbaine) et la politique d'insertion sociale, qui ne concerne que la partie ZUS du quartier. Ces outils de politique sont coordonnés par deux niveaux de responsabilité administrative, la ville de

Metz, en tant que collectivité territoriale, et la préfecture de département, plus précisément le sous-préfet à la ville¹¹.

Un second niveau concerne l'intégration du quartier dans le territoire de la ville de Metz. Dans ce contexte, il bénéficie d'une mairie de quartier. Il fait partie, à ce titre, de la Communauté d'agglomération messine (par rapport à la compétence concernant le transport par exemple qui est fondamentale dans un quartier enclavé comme Metz-Borny, avec des populations pauvres).

Un troisième niveau de découpage est le positionnement du quartier hors de sa ville dans le découpage en cantons (territoire de base pour les élections départementales) sur le département de la Moselle. En effet, le quartier de Metz-Borny est rattaché au canton de Metz 3, avec un élu, conseiller général, dans une collectivité territoriale, le département, qui choisit d'organiser ses services (et donc le recours à ses financements) par compétence et non par territoire géographique, comme le canton. Plusieurs exemples permettent d'illustrer cet empilement des territoires et des politiques : le Centre Médico-Social (CMS), historiquement implanté au cœur du quartier, vient de déménager en dehors du quartier, contre l'avis de tous les acteurs de terrain, alors même que plus de 1000 dossiers de Revenu Minimum d'Insertion (compétence du département) concernent des habitants du quartier ; le quartier bénéficie par ailleurs d'un club de prévention spécialisé (financé par le département) ; la collectivité territoriale de la région lorraine, qui scinde comme le département ses services par compétences, apporte une part spécifique de moyens dans le Contrat de plan Etat-Région pour les quartiers et les jeunes en difficulté, caractéristiques du quartier de Metz-Borny. Cette dernière illustration correspond à un découpage classique de l'action publique française et européenne : celui par compétences déconcentrées spécifiques. La dimension « quartier en difficulté » fait que ces politiques se déclinent différemment : ici avec un sous-préfet ville, là avec l'Union Européenne qui, en plus de ses financements structurels, met en place une ligne spécifique au programme européen FEDER pour les quartiers en difficultés, négociée par la collectivité régionale, et de par la position du département de la Moselle, frontalier avec la région de la Sarre et la province du Luxembourg (Belgique) et le Grand Duché du Luxembourg et peut élargir à l'ensemble des programmes INTERREG.

Un quatrième découpage fait d'une partie du quartier une Zone d'Education Prioritaire (ZEP), un Réseau d'Education Prioritaire (REP) pour le reste du quartier, autour de deux collèges qui, pour l'un ne recrute ses élèves que sur le quartier, et pour l'autre qui recrute aussi dans les villages alentours. Le REP est coordonné par la Caisse d'Allocation Familiale (CAF), l'Agence nationale pour la Cohésion Sociale et l'Egalité des chances (ACSE) et le CASNAV-CAREP (Centre Académique pour la Scolarisation des Nouveaux Arrivants et du Voyage - Centre Académique pour les Ressources d'Education Prioritaire) pour les activités périscolaires, avec une cellule de veille éducative, cogérée par la ville et l'Etat. La CAF intervient par ailleurs, en finançant structurellement une partie des postes des Centres sociaux, implantés sur le quartier.

Au plan de la politique de l'emploi, le quartier de Metz-Borny fait partie du bassin d'emploi de Metz, nouveau territoire découpé entre l'Agence Locale pour l'Emploi (ALE, service de l'ANPE) et la Mission Locale. Le quartier bénéficie également du dispositif Zone Franche de Rénovation Urbaine, les entreprises qui s'installent sur la zone profitant d'avantages fiscaux quand elles embauchent des habitants du quartier.

¹¹ A ce titre, le dispositif de la politique de la ville a mis en place un comité de quartier, subdivisé en huit sous-comités (cadre de vie, jeunes, retraités, associations....) qui fonctionnent, mais dont les décisions doivent être validées par le conseil municipal de Metz.

Nous pourrions ainsi multiplier les exemples de superposition des territoires, en évoquant la présence d'un poste de police dont les locaux ont été rénovés dans le cadre de la politique de la ville, mais dont le secteur d'intervention est inclus aussi dans trois autres quartiers en périphérie. Ses actions ne sont pas systématiquement coordonnées avec les autres forces d'intervention de la police, notamment la BAC (Brigade d'intervention Anti-Criminalité) et les CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité). Le commissariat de la ville de Metz prend le relais la nuit et le week-end ; la coordination avec la police municipale n'est pas toujours évidente. Une question comme la santé fait également l'objet d'une gestion particulière, notamment avec le plan hôpital 2007, sans structure hospitalière sur le quartier, mais avec une amélioration du rapport aux hôpitaux publics et cliniques privées en immédiate proximité ; la santé mentale dépend quant à elle de la circonscription n° 4 de la Moselle, avec l'implantation récente d'un Centre Médico-Psychologique (CMP) et d'une association d'aide et d'écoute soutenue par l'hôpital psychiatrique de Jury, « La Clé ». Un dernier exemple illustratif est celui de l'action culturelle qui est gérée en partie par la politique de la ville, mais aussi par la Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles (DRAC), l'ACSE, la fédération des MJC (Maison de la Jeunesse et de la Culture).

3 - Les commentaires et les résultats

Du point de vue micro-sociologique, il est difficile de trouver une cohérence territoriale à notre zone d'investigation, cette entreprise s'avérant particulièrement ardue dans le magma complexe de la stratification politico-administrative. Ainsi, si la cohérence de départ est d'enquêter sur la zone en Grand Projet Ville, il apparaît illusoire de vouloir mesurer réellement l'efficacité de cette politique. La raison essentielle ne vient pas des acteurs qui nous ont tous reçus avec diligence, mais plutôt du fait qu'aucun territoire n'est plus soumis aux mêmes politiques contractuelles de par la structuration actuelle de l'espace français. Ce qui frappe le chercheur, surtout lorsqu'il compare des espaces locaux, c'est un « empilement » absolument hallucinant de mesures, de découpages territoriaux ayant vocation à appliquer une politique ou une autre, le tout en ne modifiant jamais les entités politiques et administratives, dont certaines sont issues de 1789. Personne ne pense jamais à éliminer les entités précédentes lorsque l'on en crée une nouvelle. De plus, on a l'impression que le législateur, et/ou le responsable de l'administration centrale, prend un malin plaisir à ne pas faire appliquer une mesure territorialisée sur un territoire existant, mais oblige chaque collectivité à redéfinir des territoires d'action à chaque fois différents.

Les limites des données auxquelles nous avons accès se trouvent contrebalancées par la connaissance que nous avons de ces territoires. En effet, dans le cadre des relations que nous avons mises en place avec l'Institut Régional des Travailleurs Sociaux de Lorraine (IRTS), nous sommes en lien direct avec les associations de Metz-Borny et nous avons mené un grand nombre d'études et de recherches sur le quartier, et de plus dans une marge plus qualitative que quantitative, voire même dans une relation de connaissance que l'on pourrait qualifier de terrain, nous pouvons avancer un certain nombre de constats liés à la connaissance que nous avons de ce quartier.

En ce qui concerne la ville de Talange, nous travaillons avec elle depuis un certain nombre d'années, participant et co-organisant le festival « hommes et usines », cette activité nous a permis de mieux connaître les participants à la vie associative et culturelle de la ville, et par là-même les associations de « jeunes ».

Si l'on ajoute à cela, qu'en fonction des difficultés cumulées de la population, les personnes habitant le quartier bénéficient des aides en allocation (RMI, Allocation de parents isolés, Contrat d'Insertion dans la Vie Sociale), et/ou en emplois aidés (emplois jeunes, adultes relais, CAE,

Contrat d'avenir...) gérés par des instances différentes (département, mission locale, association, éducation nationale, structures bénéficiant d'un agrément Insertion par l'Activité Economique – Agence Nationale Pour l'Emploi, Direction Départementale du Travail et de la Formation Professionnelle. DDTEFP-), on comprend mieux pourquoi les politiques publiques ne semblent pas forcément efficaces au premier regard.

En réalité, sans parler de la place du citoyen, qui ne peut plus comprendre réellement comment il est gouverné, les structures associatives sont dépendantes d'un tel schéma, et donc sont obligées d'adapter leur professionnalité en fonction de ces données, pour pouvoir répondre à leur mission.

Partie 2 - Le champ démographique et de l'immigration

Introduction

Au recensement de 1999 les étrangers¹² représentent, en Lorraine 5.6% de la population soit, une proportion comparable à celle qui s'observe à l'échelon national. Toutefois, le nombre d'étrangers recensés en Moselle excède celui des autres départements lorrains (7.6%) sachant que c'est ce même département qui accueille plus de la moitié (58.6%) des primo-arrivants¹³ sur le territoire lorrain.

S'agissant de la répartition par nationalité on relèvera qu'en Lorraine les nationalités les plus représentées sont : les Italiens (25 000), les autres ressortissants de la CEE (20 000) puis, par ordre décroissant, les Algériens, les Marocains, les Turcs, les Espagnols.

Les immigrés italiens ont, pour la majeure partie d'entre eux plus de 60 ans, à l'inverse les Algériens sont les plus nombreux en activité sur le territoire lorrain.

Ce sont les départements de la Moselle et de la Meurthe et Moselle qui regroupent le nombre le plus important de résidents étrangers.

S'agissant des caractéristiques sociodémographiques de la population immigrée en Lorraine on relèvera que :

- les femmes sont sensiblement moins représentées que les hommes (46%) sachant toutefois que des variations assez nettes s'observent d'une nationalité à l'autre (ainsi, si l'immigration maghrébine est plutôt masculine, la communauté turque de Lorraine compte quasiment autant de femmes que d'hommes),
- l'indice de fécondité est plus élevé chez les étrangères, toutefois, sur la période récente un phénomène de « rattrapage » s'observe : l'écart entre l'indice de fécondité des femmes étrangères et françaises tend à se réduire considérablement,
- la taille moyenne des ménages reste sensiblement plus élevée du côté des étrangers (3.11 contre 2.49 pour les ménages français) sachant qu'une dispersion importante s'observe selon

¹² Dans le cadre du recensement la population étrangère est composée des individus résidant en France et ayant déclaré une autre nationalité lors de l'enquête – est considérée comme immigrée une personne née à l'étranger, de nationalité étrangère qu'elle ait ou non acquis la nationalité française.

¹³ Sont considérées comme primo-arrivants les personnes arrivées depuis moins de deux ans sur le territoire français.

la nationalité (ainsi elle est de 4.75 chez les Marocains et 2.34 pour les personnes provenant de l'Union Européenne et autres tels qu'Espagnols, Portugais et Italiens).

- ce sont les zones urbaines sensibles qui accueillent les proportions les plus importantes de résidents étrangers et, plus précisément celles de Moselle et Meurthe et Moselle,
- le taux de chômage des immigrés hommes en Lorraine dépasse largement le taux national (plus de 20%) – du côté des femmes, hormis les Portugaises et les Espagnoles, on notera que celles-ci sont fortement touchées par le chômage (avec un taux dépassant 26% et, plus particulièrement encore, sur le département de la Moselle),

1 - Présentation de la commune de Talange

Talange est une agglomération de 7673 habitants (2005) qui se situe sur une superficie de 3.7 km² avec une densité de population de 2 105 habitants par km². Le taux de chômage en 2005 est de 12.8% (celui de la France étant de 9.6%). L'évolution de la population reste stable sur ces dernières années.

Le taux d'activité des personnes entre 20 et 59 ans est de 79%, alors que la moyenne nationale est de 82.2%. Le taux de chômage se situe en 1999 à 14.6% alors que la moyenne nationale est de 12.9% et si l'on actualise en 2005 il se situe à 12.8% pour une moyenne nationale de 9.6%.

1.1 - Populations étrangères

Le choix de la ville de Talange a été notamment lié à son passé d'immigration. Celui-ci peut s'illustrer à travers les chiffres repris dans les tableaux joints en annexe.

Pour aller à l'essentiel on constate qu'il existe un pic de personnes habitant Talange aujourd'hui et nées à l'étranger qui se situe dans les tranches d'âge 40-59ans (36.3%) et 60-74 (36.1%). Ces chiffres mettent en évidence l'arrivée de vagues d'immigration très forte jusqu'au moment où l'usine ferma. De plus l'étude des derniers chiffres montre que le nombre d'étrangers chez les plus jeunes est faible aujourd'hui : 0-14 ans (2.1%), 14-24 ans (2.5%) 25-29 ans (3.3%), ceci s'expliquant à la fois par l'accès à la nationalité française des parents, mais aussi par une immigration moins massive.

De ce fait, si l'on se positionne dans le champ des enfants français nés de parents étrangers, Talange se présente comme une ville où l'on peut considérer que le nombre de personnes étant dans ce cas doit être assez élevé. Nous nous garderons bien cependant de chiffrer le nombre de ces « jeunes issus de l'immigration » ceci pour des raisons d'éthique méthodologique.

Si l'on s'attarde sur la place des étrangers dans les catégories socioprofessionnelles, il ressort de façon très nette que les plus forts taux d'étrangers se retrouvent parmi les ouvriers, retraités et inactifs, ceci ne faisant que conforter l'histoire de l'immigration sur Talange, appel d'immigrés pour le monde industriel qui sont soit encore aujourd'hui en activité soit encore en emploi, quant aux inactifs, ils représentent sans aucun doute la part des femmes ayant rejoint leur mari.

Si l'on se réfère alors au sujet de l'étude, on constate que deux paramètres sont en synergie en ce qui concerne la population ciblée, en effet les jeunes qui nous concernent sont certes des enfants d'immigrés mais également des enfants qui appartiennent essentiellement à une catégorie socioprofessionnelle, celle des immigrés.

Les deux nationalités les plus représentées sont les Italiens et les Algériens.

Structure par âge										
Âges	1999					1990				
	Génération	Hommes		Femmes		Génération	Hommes		Femmes	
		Nombre	%	Nombre	%		Nombre	%	Nombre	%
Ensemble		3 847	100,0 %	3 943	100,0 %		3 916	100,0 %	3 841	100,0 %
0 à 14 ans	De 1985 à 1999	795	20,7 %	768	19,5 %	De 1976 à 1990	748	19,1 %	767	20,0 %
15 à 29 ans	De 1970 à 1984	803	20,9 %	810	20,5 %	De 1961 à 1975	1 189	30,4 %	1 075	28,0 %
30 à 44 ans	De 1955 à 1969	949	24,7 %	944	23,9 %	De 1946 à 1960	776	19,8 %	785	20,4 %
45 à 59 ans	De 1940 à 1954	611	15,9 %	667	16,9 %	De 1931 à 1945	702	17,9 %	649	16,9 %
60 à 74 ans	De 1925 à 1939	571	14,8 %	572	14,5 %	De 1916 à 1930	412	10,5 %	400	10,4 %
75 à 94 ans	De 1905 à 1924	118	3,1 %	179	4,5 %	De 1896 à 1915	89	2,3 %	163	4,2 %
95 ans ou plus	Avant 1904	0	0,0 %	3	0,1 %	Avant 1895	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %

Sources :

INSEE, Recensement de la population de 1990, exploitation exhaustive

1.2 - Origines

âge en 5 tranches	nationalité											
	Français naissance	Français acquisition	Espagnol	Italien	Portugais	Autre Union Européen	Algérien	Marocain	Tunisien	Turc	Autre étranger	Total
0 à 14 ans	93,5%	2,9%	0,1%	0,2%	0,9%	0,4%	0,7%	0,4%	0,0%	0,6%	0,3%	100,0%
15 à 24 ans	84,5%	11,2%	0,1%	1,2%	1,1%	0,2%	0,9%	0,1%	0,0%	0,2%	0,3%	100,0%
25 à 39 ans	76,8%	15,8%	0,4%	1,4%	1,4%	0,2%	2,2%	0,3%	0,0%	0,9%	0,3%	100,0%
40 à 59 ans	68,8%	14,3%	0,6%	6,8%	3,6%	0,1%	4,6%	0,8%	0,1%	0,3%	0,2%	100,0%
60 ans ou plus	53,2%	22,0%	1,7%	14,5%	1,4%	0,3%	5,8%	0,6%	0,0%	0,1%	0,5%	100,0%
Total	74,9%	13,5%	0,6%	4,8%	1,8%	0,2%	2,9%	0,5%	0,0%	0,5%	0,3%	100,0%

Source : Recensement de la population 1999 - Exploitation principale et complémentaire - Copyright INSEE

1.3 - Part de la jeunesse dans l'ensemble

On le constate, la proportion de Français de naissance est de plus en plus importante à mesure que l'on s'intéresse aux fractions les plus jeunes de la population (pour les jeunes de 15 à 24 ans, 4,3% d'étrangers majoritairement italiens et portugais – pour ceux de 0 à 14 ans 3,6% d'étrangers). En fait, chez les jeunes il y a peu d'étrangers sur la commune de Talange.

2 - Présentation du quartier de Metz-Borny

Avec ses 12 031 habitants au recensement 1999, le quartier de Borny représente 10% des habitants de la commune de Metz et 4% de l'unité urbaine. Cependant, alors même que la population messine s'accroît entre 1990 et 1999 de plus de 5%, le quartier en perd près de 9%, cette situation n'a pu que se perpétuer depuis par les modifications urbaines entamées avec le GPV (Grand Projet de Ville).

Nous sommes face à une population jeune avec 75% de moins de 40 ans. Mais la répartition par tranche d'âge suit les mêmes proportions que celle de l'unité urbaine de Metz sauf en ce qui concerne une sous représentation des 60 ans et plus (7,5% pour le quartier contre 22,4% pour l'unité urbaine) couplée à une sur représentation des moins de 20 ans (41,8% pour Borny contre 24,6% pour l'unité urbaine).

Bien que la population de nationalité étrangère soit quatre fois supérieure dans le quartier à celle que l'on trouve dans l'agglomération (28,3% contre 7,5% en 1999), on constate une baisse de 4 points entre 1990 et 1999 laquelle peut trouver une double explication, soit elle est la conséquence directe de la diminution du nombre d'habitants sur le quartier, soit elle est en lien avec l'acquisition de la nationalité. Cette dernière hypothèse semble la plus probable, au regard de la structure démographique de la population, en effet entre 1990 et 1999, s'il est vrai que la population a diminué, il est aussi à constater que les tranches d'âges 15 – 19 ans ont augmenté en présence de 9,7% à 12,3%, sachant que cette tranche est significative quand à l'acquisition de la nationalité, on peut valider la pertinence de la seconde hypothèse.

En ce qui concerne le découpage par nationalité, les données statistiques sur la base du quartier étant considérées comme trop sensibles par les autorités, il nous est impossible de les fournir. A titre d'illustration, nous apporterons ici les données actualisées concernant la commune de Metz.

Commune METZ					
Nationalité	Lieu de naissance				
	Tout lieu	Nés dans la région	Nés en France métro	Nés au DOM-TOM	Nés à l'étranger
Français	113 437	74%	93%	1%	6%
Etrangers	10 267	14%	17%	0%	83%
Total	123 704	69%	87%	0%	13%

Commune METZ										
Nationalité: Français naissance										
Sexe	Lieu de naissance									
	Nais Espagne	Nais Italie	Nais Portugal	Nais aut UE	Nais Algérie	Nais Maroc	Nais Tunisie	Nais Turquie	Nais aut pays	Total
Hommes	0%	2%	0%	28%	29%	9%	5%	0%	26%	1 276

Femmes	0%	3%	0%	33%	28%	9%	4%	0%	23%	1 432
Total	0%	2%	0%	31%	29%	9%	5%	0%	24%	2 708
Nationalité: Français acquisition										
Sexe	Lieu de naissance									
	Nais Espagne	Nais Italie	Nais Portugal	Nais aut UE	Nais Algérie	Nais Maroc	Nais Tunisie	Nais Turquie	Nais aut pays	Total
Hommes	3%	16%	3%	7%	13%	12%	2%	7%	37%	1 955
Femmes	3%	18%	3%	16%	12%	7%	1%	5%	35%	2 444
Total	3%	17%	3%	12%	12%	9%	2%	6%	36%	4 399
Nationalité: Etranger										
Sexe	Lieu de naissance									
	Nais Espagne	Nais Italie	Nais Portugal	Nais aut UE	Nais Algérie	Nais Maroc	Nais Tunisie	Nais Turquie	Nais aut pays	Total
Hommes	4%	12%	7%	5%	24%	11%	2%	16%	18%	4 701
Femmes	6%	13%	8%	7%	16%	10%	1%	18%	21%	3 844
Total	5%	13%	7%	6%	21%	10%	2%	17%	20%	8 545
Nationalité: Ensemble										
Sexe	Lieu de naissance									
	Nais Espagne	Nais Italie	Nais Portugal	Nais aut UE	Nais Algérie	Nais Maroc	Nais Tunisie	Nais Turquie	Nais aut pays	Total
Hommes	3%	11%	5%	9%	22%	11%	2%	11%	24%	7 932
Femmes	4%	13%	5%	14%	17%	9%	2%	11%	26%	7 720
Total	4%	12%	5%	12%	20%	10%	2%	11%	25%	15 652

2.1 - Origines

On peut observer que sur la commune de Metz, les étrangers sont majoritairement Algériens (21%), et Turcs (17%) à l'inverse les Portugais et Tunisiens sont relativement peu présents (7% et 2%)

2.2 - Caractéristiques des collectifs de jeunes, acteurs des territoires

A Borny, de nombreuses associations s'occupent des jeunes notamment à travers l'aide aux devoirs, les activités de loisir. On peut remarquer l'existence d'une structure : l'AJB (Association des Jeunes de Borny) créée en 1992 suite à la mort d'un jeune, cette association visant à proposer des activités et à tenter de structurer et aider les jeunes. De plus le Grand Projet Ville a instauré un conseil des jeunes, désigné pour représenter les jeunes du quartier. Après des débuts difficiles, ce conseil a réussi, avec l'aide d'encadrants professionnels, à réaliser quelques projets, comme un club de boxe thaïlandaise, une section féminine du club de football (150 inscrites aujourd'hui), une nouvelle relation avec les pompiers, suite à de nombreux incidents entre des jeunes et les pompiers, un travail sur la sécurité routière dans le quartier.....

3 - Les commentaires et les résultats

Nous tenons ici à rappeler toutes les limites des chiffres que nous utilisons dans cette partie. En effet, les dernières données statistiques officielles datent de 1999, donc avant le début de la restructuration du quartier de Metz-Borny, avec notamment la destruction d'un nombre important de logements. De plus, toujours en ce qui concerne le quartier de Borny, les données statistiques sont relativement rares, en effet, nous ne pouvons avoir accès qu'aux données concernant la totalité de la ville de Metz et ces données ne peuvent être replacées dans le contexte du quartier de Borny. En ce qui concerne Talange, la base de chiffres que nous possédons est plus facilement utilisable du fait que nous traitons de toute la ville.

Cependant, une autre limite se dresse devant nous, celle qui concerne les « jeunes de deuxième génération ». En France, il n'est pas possible d'obtenir des statistiques concernant l'origine des personnes, de ce fait, pour Borny, il n'existe pas de données disponibles, quant à ce qui concerne Talange, des projections sont possibles du fait que nous sommes en possession des chiffres concernant le nombre d'étrangers en fonction des tranches d'âge. Cependant ces projections restent relativement floues puisque si nous savons combien de personnes possèdent une nationalité ou une autre en fonction de leur âge, nous ne savons pas combien ces personnes ont eu d'enfants, nous ne savons pas si elles se sont mariées avec des personnes françaises ou des personnes étrangères d'un autre pays et de ce fait quelles sont les origines de leurs enfants. Cependant, cela nous permet d'envisager un ordre de grandeur. Ces difficultés techniques justifient l'option retenue en ce qui concerne la méthodologie adoptée pour le WP4, demander aux jeunes qui ils sont, comment ils se perçoivent.

Partie 3 - Le champ socio-économique

1 - Présentation de la commune de Talange¹⁴

1.1 - Population

La ville de Talange est une commune de petite importance : s'étendant sur une superficie de 3.7 km², elle compte, en 2005, près de 7700 habitants. On notera toutefois qu'ici la densité démographique est forte: on dénombre à Talange 2105 habitants au km² (à l'échelon national la densité démographique s'élève à 111 habitants par km²).

La ville garde en outre les marques de son passé industriel : l'examen de la répartition par PCS des résidents de la commune l'atteste : à l'évidente sous-représentation des cadres et professions supérieures parmi les actifs (4% contre 12% à l'échelon national) correspond une surreprésentation des actifs occupés sur des postes d'ouvriers (39% contre 27% au niveau national).

On notera aussi que malgré la reconversion imposée par les évolutions économiques la ville a vu, sur la période 1990-1999 s'accroître sensiblement sa population, toutefois au cours des dernières années c'est une diminution qui s'observe (avec une baisse de 1.5% de la population).

¹⁴ Les données mobilisées ici sont issues du recensement de 1999 et de 2005.

1.2 - Activités économiques et emploi

La commune de Talange s'est reconvertie, comme l'ensemble du secteur, d'abord autour du commerce, en créant dès les années 1970, une zone commerciale. En 2005, sur les 261 entreprises que compte la ville 45% développent des activités commerciales (14% des établissements interviennent sur des activités de construction et 11% sur le service aux personnes). A la disparition de l'industrie succède donc une tertiarisation de l'activité qu'autorise la localisation de la commune (parc d'attractions sur le site de l'usine, parc thermal et de loisirs sur la commune voisine d'Amnéville). En outre, il est à noter que l'ouverture du secteur par différents moyens de communication (réseaux ferroviaire, autoroutier) ainsi que l'immédiate proximité de la navigation sur la Moselle à grand gabarit positionne bien la commune dans le transport inter-nodale, et contribue à faire du secteur une plate forme logistique européenne d'ampleur. Récemment, le développement de l'emploi transfrontalier au Luxembourg bénéficie aussi à des personnes résidant sur la commune.

Si la commune s'inscrit dans un contexte géographique *a priori* favorable, il reste que la ville se démarque, dans la durée, par un taux de chômage excédant assez nettement la moyenne nationale :

Taux de chômage comparés (Talange/France entière)¹⁵

	Talange	National
Taux de chômage en 1999	14.6	12.9
Taux de chômage en 2005	12.8	9.6

On le constate, non seulement des écarts existent, mais ils tendent à s'accroître dans la durée. A ce titre on retiendra également qu'à Talange la proportion d'habitants sans activités et bénéficiant de minima sociaux dépasse elle aussi nettement la tendance nationale (16.6% contre 11.6%).

Ces différents indicateurs l'attestent : si la ville s'est inscrite dans un processus de reconfiguration économique, elle reste marquée par des traits attestant des difficultés d'existence que sont susceptibles de rencontrer les populations.

1.3 - L'école et la formation

La ville de Talange compte trois écoles primaires, un collège ainsi qu'un lycée général et professionnel (celui-ci dispensant des formations supérieures de type BTS). Le lycée de Talange propose une offre de formation spécifique (et, plus précisément autour des formations relatives à l'équipement automobile). Si l'on s'en réfère aux différents indicateurs statistiques disponibles fournis par le collège de Talange on retiendra que :

- L'établissement n'est pas classé en ZEP ou en REP (cet indicateur traduit, à sa manière, de ce qui caractérise la composition sociale de la population locale ainsi que les éventuelles difficultés auxquelles pourraient être confrontés les établissements du secteur) ;
- Les taux de réussite au brevet des collèges dépassent ceux qui s'observent à l'échelon académique mais aussi national (81.7% en 2006 contre 80% au niveau national).

¹⁵ Source Insee, 1999 et 2005.

L'examen du niveau de formation des habitants livre quant à lui des éléments de compréhension supplémentaires. Ainsi, on retiendra que, sur la commune, la proportion d'habitants titulaires du baccalauréat ou d'un diplôme du supérieur est bien inférieure à la moyenne nationale (ainsi, à Talange seul 3% de la population possède un diplôme du supérieur contre 9% à l'échelon national). A l'inverse, ce sont les non-diplômés ainsi que les titulaires d'un diplôme de niveau V (CAP-BEP) qui sont surreprésentés. On peut être tenté de rapprocher ces résultats des analyses portées par Lucie Tanguy dans les années soixante qui se questionnait quant au caractère « endémique de la sous-scolarisation en Moselle »¹⁶, Les observations établies indiquaient à quel point le volume et la nature de l'offre scolaire à l'échelon local participaient au maintien des jeunes issus de familles ouvrières dans leur milieu d'appartenance : la sous-scolarisation était bien à rapprocher des stratégies patronales développées pour s'assurer un volant de main-d'œuvre disponible et peu exigeant. Aujourd'hui, le contexte socioéconomique est différent et l'offre scolaire s'est accrue et diversifiée¹⁷, pour autant, la proportion de non-diplômés tout comme la volonté d'aller vers une adéquation entre offre de formation et attentes des employeurs semblent contribuer à ce que le paysage scolaire prenne ici, une configuration particulière : on observera ainsi que les filières de l'enseignement professionnel proposent une offre qui se veut en adéquation avec les caractéristiques de l'économie locale.

1.4 - Habitat et conditions de vie

Nous l'avons précisé : la commune de Talange reste – malgré la disparition de l'industrie – un territoire où les ouvriers sont majoritairement représentés. Bien que n'étant pas identifiée comme une zone urbaine sensible la commune affiche toutefois un revenu annuel moyen par ménage inférieur à la moyenne nationale (13 688 euros contre 15 027 euros au niveau national) et un taux de pauvreté conséquent (13% si l'on s'en réfère aux indicateurs livrés par la CAF). Pour autant, la commune est marquée par un équilibre dans l'habitat, à la fois entre le nombre de propriétaires et le nombre de locataires, mais aussi entre les logements dits sociaux (logements HLM dans le tableau (Habitation à Loyer Modéré)), et les logements relevant du parc privé locatif classique.

De plus, la situation de la ville, fait qu'elle ne possède pas en son sein, de quartier classé Z.U.S. (Zone Urbaine Sensible), bien que quelques endroits de la ville concentrent les quartiers HLM. Selon les acteurs locaux, les problèmes de logement restent marginaux.

Si la commune n'est pas immédiatement identifiée comme un secteur d'habitation cumulant les difficultés (économiques, sociales) il convient toutefois d'avoir à l'esprit qu'au-delà de cette représentation initiale sont susceptibles de se donner à voir des réalités qui traduisent des difficultés d'existence des populations et, plus particulièrement des jeunes.

1.5 - Santé

En ce qui concerne la santé, Talange dispose d'un cabinet de radiologie, d'un cabinet d'orthophoniste, d'un laboratoire d'analyses médicales, de 3 cabinets d'infirmières, de 2 dentistes,

¹⁶ L.Tanguy « Le capital, les travailleurs et l'école ».

¹⁷ La ville de Talange compte un collège ainsi qu'un lycée d'enseignement général et technologique (qui prépare aux formations de niveaux V à III ce, plus particulièrement dans les domaines du bâtiment et de l'industrie automobile).

de 5 cabinets médicaux (comprenant 8 médecins), de 2 cabinets de kinésithérapie, de 2 pharmacies et d'un centre de médecine du travail (médecine du bâtiment).

On constate que pour les chiffres auxquels on a accès, cet encadrement est inférieur à la moyenne nationale : les dentistes correspondent à 25 pour 100 000 alors que la moyenne est de 68 pour 10 000, les pharmaciens 25 pour 10 000 pour une moyenne de 114 pour 10 000, les kinésithérapeutes 25 pour 100 000 pour une moyenne de 102 pour 10 000 et les orthophonistes 12.5 pour 100 000 pour une moyenne de 27 pour 10 000.

L'existence d'un tel écart n'est pas le propre de la commune : la question des inégalités en matière d'accès aux soins n'est pas nouvelle et, comme l'attestent certains indicateurs la Lorraine se distingue par une offre moins importante mais aussi par une espérance de vie plus réduite que d'autres régions française (en 2004, la Lorraine se place au 17^{ème} rang des régions françaises). Pour autant, il est à noter que le secteur de Talange compte parmi les secteurs lorrains les moins fortement marqués par les déficits observés en matière d'offre de soins¹⁸.

Tout comme précédemment on ne manquera également pas de noter que si la question de la santé peut être envisagée sous l'angle médical elle est aussi à concevoir dans ses dimensions et implications sociales (différents indicateurs l'attestent : l'appartenance sociale reste un critère fortement discriminant s'agissant de l'usage du système de soins et du rapport entretenu à la santé).

1.6 - Sécurité

Par droit de réserve en période électorale, nous n'avons pas pu disposer d'informations émanant de la gendarmerie nationale à ce jour. Les seules données statistiques disponibles à sont aujourd'hui celles émanant du Ministère de l'intérieur : elles s'appliquent à l'ensemble du département de la Moselle et tendraient à confirmer une tendance à la baisse de la criminalité sur la période récente même si celle-ci est moins affirmée sur le département (moins 1.30% à l'échelon national contre moins 0.25% s'agissant de la Moselle). Il s'agit bien là d'une tendance étant entendu que ces données supposent d'être examinées en regard de ce que sont les conditions sociales de leur production.

Du point de vue des acteurs locaux rencontrés il semblerait, que les problèmes de trafic de drogue aient disparu du territoire du territoire communal depuis une dizaine d'années, en revanche, suite au décès de trois jeunes en voiture, il y a quatre ans, la municipalité en collaboration avec les gendarmes, les enseignants et les éducateurs de prévention spécialisée, ont mis en place une politique intensive de prévention avec les jeunes ayant pour objectif de faire respecter l'ensemble du code de la route.

1.7 - Environnement, transports et équipements sociaux

La ville de Talange présente une activité culturelle importante notamment en direction de la jeunesse. Dans les faits, elle se traduit par de nombreuses manifestations et actions : « le festival hommes et usines », la télévision locale, le festival « dérive rock ». En outre, Talange possède un centre social particulièrement actif, il existe un atelier en lien avec la mission locale menant des activités de tutorat individuel et des activités pour les enfants, les adolescents. Les entretiens menés avec les intervenants du centre nous ont permis de voir comment ils qualifiaient ces jeunes. Selon

¹⁸ Soins de proximité : une analyse cantonale de démographie des professions de santé » DRASS infos, novembre 2004.

leurs propos, « ces jeunes sont éduqués », on les aide à vivre des expériences de vie collective, à être acteurs de leur projet. En ce qui concerne l'illettrisme, une enquête a été réalisée sur ces difficultés par le centre social : orthographe, problème de la difficulté de dissocier le langage par rapport aux autres (copains, adultes). Les résultats montrent que les jeunes demandent du respect de la part des autres, alors qu'eux respectent peu ... ou qu'ils ne distinguent pas des niveaux de langage pour communiquer avec les autres ... On a l'impression qu'ils exigent beaucoup, sans penser qu'ils peuvent « payer ».

Le directeur a le sentiment que ce n'est pas vraiment la même chose que dans des quartiers dits sensibles, ici il y a la mixité sociale de l'habitat, des professions des parents. Par rapport à l'accès à la citoyenneté, on en parle, notamment sur Sarkozy et les élections présidentielles. Ces thèmes ont été évoqués notamment pendant la campagne anti-discrimination, en réaction aux médias et aux attitudes des adultes. Dans la tête des jeunes, il y a un amalgame sur des mots comme racisme, autorité, ... Le mot-clé est le racisme ... La plupart des « 18 ans et plus », peu nombreux au CLETP (Centre Laïc Talangeois d'Education Populaire), sont allés s'inscrire pour les élections présidentielles et législatives.

Le responsable du secteur sportif de la mairie de Talange nous a proposé sa vision des choses, pour lui, il n'y a pas de regard spécifique sur les jeunes de « seconde génération », il est même mal venu de les étiqueter ainsi. Mais, en dehors de leurs groupes, ils sentent que cette catégorisation existe et les stigmatise d'une certaine façon. Même si entre eux ils se disent « sale rituel » cela ne renvoie pas aux mêmes considérations de racisme et de ségrégation. De fait, il n'existe pas de politique spécifique par rapport aux différentes nationalités ou aux origines, on parle d'intégration des populations, en général.

Mais cela ne réduit pas le problème de l'insécurité, du racisme dans la population en général ... Les problèmes sont les suivants : un certain nombre de personnes stigmatisent les jeunes, en parlant d'une génération qui ne respecte plus rien, d'une génération dorée à qui l'on devrait tout. Nous sommes ici confrontés à une ville où le travail ouvrier norme dominante pendant longtemps, reste une valeur étalon pour ce qui est de l'effort.

D'un autre côté, un éducateur nous disait que les jeunes eux, ne souhaiteraient pour rien au monde vivre la vie de leurs parents, l'usine leur paraissant un endroit très dur.

1.8 - Les loisirs

La question des loisirs a été traitée sous l'angle le plus habituel et le plus en lien avec la thématique des jeunes, à savoir le sport et les activités de médiation culturelle que sa pratique entraîne. La municipalité de Talange a décidé voilà 5 ans d'investir cette question avec force et volonté (en l'associant à la culture, en termes de service et d'organisation territoriale).

La mission « sport » peut être résumée comme suit : s'occuper de tout ce qui touche au sport sur la commune de Talange. Mais, si l'on souhaite être plus précis, quand on interroge son responsable, celui-ci nous précise les actions suivantes :

- Relation avec associations sportives ;
- Représenter l'Office Municipal des Sports (OMS)¹⁹;

¹⁹ Outre les élus, les techniciens du sport, on y trouve également les enseignants d'Education Physique et Sportive (EPS) de l'Education nationale au Conseil d'Administration de l'OMS.

- Fédérer les associations sportives (au nombre d'environ 15) depuis 2 à 3 ans ;
- Mettre en place des animations et des manifestations qui réunissent toutes les associations ;
- Travail de contact, aller sur le terrain des sports auprès des pratiquants et des encadrants ;
- Gérer les équipements sportifs, les demandes et les problèmes de logistique.

On notera au passage qu'il n'y a pas de mandat spécifique sur la catégorie des jeunes dans ce qui vient d'être présenté.

La part d'accroissement des inscriptions dans les structures sportives était située à + 1% en moyenne chaque année. Depuis la mise en oeuvre concrète d'actions en direction des habitants sur le thème du sport, le taux de croissance des inscriptions est passé à plus de 20% par an. Le principal vecteur de ce changement est dû à la mise en place d'une opération pilote sur la commune : Macadam Sport²⁰. Cet événement sportif et « festif » est devenu l'emblème de l'investissement de la municipalité et des acteurs associatifs du territoire. L'action est bien évidemment l'aboutissement d'un travail de concertation, de dialogue entre les professionnels, les élus, les institutionnels (la collectivité territoriale du Conseil Général) et les populations, notamment, en lien avec la journée annuelle du sport du mois de septembre²¹. L'idée maîtresse est celle de la mixité, de « mélanger » les populations, ce qui semble être la finalité de la commune de Talange. L'action est aussi un travail conséquent en amont, auprès des écoles élémentaires et du secondaire. Il est question de découverte de nouvelles activités sportives mais aussi d'animation autour des sujets de préoccupation de la vie de chacun, avec l'animation de stands par des acteurs comme les Sapeurs-pompiers, les associations de lutte contre le SIDA, de lutte contre les discriminations. Sans oublier la partie festive, avec des animations musicales (DJ et groupes locaux), l'idée étant de faire se croiser jeunes et plus anciens, de les faire se rencontrer, que les présents sur le terrain du Breuil restent le plus longtemps possible sur les animations et les activités sportives proposées. Changer le regard est finalement le seul vrai projet ...

Les acteurs principaux avec qui la commune travaille sont les suivants :

- Les associations,
- Le Conseil Général,
- La Direction Départementale de la Jeunesse et des Sports (en lien avec la participation du C.G.) du ministère de la jeunesse, des sports et de la vie associative.

Notons que les acteurs institutionnels de la région et de l'union européenne sont absents.

2 - Présentation du territoire de Metz-Borny

2.1 - Caractéristiques socio-économiques du quartier

Si le quartier de Borny fait partie de la ville de Metz il s'en distingue à différents égards : ainsi la prospérité et au dynamisme économique qu'affiche le centre-ville de Metz s'opposent les difficultés

²⁰ « Macadam sport » est une animation sportive et festive pour les 11 - 17 ans, 1 fois par an sur deux semaines, avec le soutien du Conseil Général de Moselle. Les activités sont toutes ouvertes à tous et pas nécessairement aux adolescents.

²¹ Pour illustrer ce travail en commun, il est utile de rappeler que la participation aux animations permet aux jeunes participants d'accumuler des points, ce qui leur permettra d'obtenir des contremarques qui valent droit d'inscription dans les clubs sportifs de la ville.

et la précarité sur le secteur de Borny (taux de chômage élevé (plus de 30%), précarité professionnelle, fortes inégalités entre les sexes).

Un certain nombre de commerces et services sont présents sur le quartier de Borny. Toutefois, comparativement à la densité de la population, on pouvait légitimement s'attendre à une offre plus importante et plus diversifiée.

Comme l'attestent différentes observations, le secteur souffre d'une image peu valorisée et peu attractive. Le quartier classé en ZUS (Zone Urbaine Sensible) couvre de véritables poches de pauvreté (à Borny, le taux de pauvreté s'élève à plus de 51% en 2004) : sur le secteur c'est donc plus d'un habitant sur deux dont le revenu mensuel ne dépasse pas 734 euros. Dans ce contexte, ce sont les femmes et en particulier les jeunes femmes qui comptent parmi les premières victimes de la précarité.

2.1.1 - Diplôme, travail, emploi, chômage

La possession d'un diplôme reste, on le sait, un critère fortement discriminant s'agissant de l'obtention et du maintien dans l'emploi. Le premier constat qui peut être établi ici concerne l'importante proportion de non-diplômés sur le secteur : parmi les jeunes de 15 ans et plus, près de la moitié (47.8%) n'ont pas de diplôme (si l'on considère la commune de Metz, ils ne sont que 20% dans ce cas). Cet important déficit de diplômés vaut, quel soit le niveau de formation considérée (du CAP au baccalauréat et plus, il apparaît que les résidents du secteur de Borny sont systématiquement positionnés en deçà des moyennes régionales et nationale). Il semblerait donc que la population du quartier soit, jusqu'à un certain point, restée en marge des processus d'allongement des durées et de développement des niveaux de formation engagés au cours des années 1980 au niveau national.

S'agissant du taux d'activité des jeunes, il s'avère que celui-ci se réduit sur la période 1990-1999 passant de 42% à 33%, tempérant la remarque précédente, puisque ceci est dû à l'allongement des études.

Les jeunes rencontrent toujours cependant des difficultés d'insertion de plus en plus marquées sachant, en outre, que ce sont les emplois précaires (CDD) ou aidés qui contribuent à leur inscription dans la vie professionnelle (entre 1990 et 1999 le nombre de jeunes concernés par ces formules s'est accru de 10 points passant de 18 à 27%).

L'examen de l'évolution des taux de chômage vient confirmer la prégnance des situations de précarité professionnelle auxquelles sont confrontés les habitants du secteur :

Evolution des taux de chômage entre 1990 et 1999 (en %)²²

	Secteur de Borny	Commune de Metz	Région lorraine	France
Taux de chômage total en 1990	30.3	13.4	8.7	9.5
Taux de chômage des 15-24 ans en 1990	37.6	22.6	10.7	11.6
Taux de chômage	34.3	14.3	11.9	10.2

²² Sources : recensement INSEE, France portrait social 1999-2000, Géographie de l'école 1999.

total en 1999				
Taux de chômage des 15-24 ans en 1999	47.0	20.6	21.7	26.6

On constate que, sur le secteur de Borny c'est près d'un jeune sur deux qui est au chômage à la fin des années 1990 sachant que sur le quartier le taux de chômage global se démarque par son niveau nettement plus élevé. En outre, on peut relever que sur ce secteur l'ancienneté au chômage se distingue par son niveau plus élevé comparativement à ce qui s'observe au niveau de l'agglomération messine (plus d'un chômeur sur deux l'est depuis plus d'un an). Parmi les autres indicateurs on retiendra que les femmes et les étrangers sont plus particulièrement concernés par les situations de chômage.

Sur l'ensemble des indicateurs retenus (intensité, fréquence, durée) il apparaît clairement que la vulnérabilité au chômage s'avère ici bien plus prégnante qu'ailleurs. La jeunesse, l'absence de formation pourraient constituer, jusqu'à un certain point, des facteurs explicatifs ; pour autant, reste posée la question de savoir ce qui participe à un tel état de fait :

- faut-il envisager que s'exerce, à l'encontre des résidents du quartier, des formes de discrimination qui les éloigneraient durablement du marché du travail (le lieu d'habitation agissant comme un « signe défavorable » ?)
- dans quelle mesure le fait de résider sur le quartier agirait défavorablement sur le rapport aux possibles scolaires et professionnels (conviendrait-il d'évoquer ici l'existence d'un phénomène d'auto-sélection voire de résignation qui participerait à ce que les possibles autorisés voient leur champ particulièrement restreint ?).

Il semble a priori envisageable que ces deux dimensions agissent conjointement toutefois, seule une investigation plus approfondie auprès des publics concernés autorisera l'énonciation de constats et d'observations plus systématiques.

2.1.2 - Les jeunes et l'insertion

Nous l'avons souligné : la population du quartier de Metz-Borny est une population jeune. A cette première caractéristique s'ajoute, le plus souvent un déficit en termes de formation et de qualification. Les constats établis par la mission locale²³ du quartier confirment la réalité des difficultés rencontrées par les plus jeunes. Dans les faits cette situation se traduit par :

- l'absence de ressources (c'est le cas pour 83% des jeunes suivis par la mission locale),
- l'absence d'expérience professionnelle et de diplôme,
- une faible mobilité géographique induite par l'absence de moyens financiers (parmi les jeunes suivis par la mission locale 81% ne disposent pas de moyen de locomotion et 86% estiment ne pas pouvoir se déplacer au-delà d'une limite cantonale)

On le constate, c'est bien le cumul des difficultés qui semble participer à rendre d'autant plus problématique la question de l'insertion professionnelle des jeunes. Si les tendances que donnent à voir ces résultats sont peu encourageantes il est toutefois important de retenir que, parmi par les jeunes suivis par la mission locale la proportion de ceux engagés dans un dispositif de formation sur le quartier dépasse celle qui s'observe à l'échelon de la commune (64% contre 55%). En

²³ Source : Observatoire des quartiers, février 2004.

conséquence, il convient donc de souligner qu'aux difficultés objectivement rencontrées correspond une volonté de s'engager vers d'autres perspectives, constat qui permet de dépasser une approche fataliste et strictement déficitariste de la jeunesse.

2.1.3 - Taux et secteurs d'activité

Si l'on s'intéresse à présent aux actifs occupés, on relève que c'est encore la précarité qui prévaut : le nombre de salariés sous CDD (Contrat à Durée Déterminée), en intérim ou encore en contrat aidé excède nettement ce qui s'observe à l'échelon local et au niveau national. A l'inverse, les salariés occupés sur des emplois stables (comme ce peut être le cas des salariés de la fonction publique) restent largement sous-représentés (7% contre plus de 24% au niveau de l'agglomération messine). Les femmes se distinguent plus particulièrement par la faiblesse du taux d'activité enregistré : 47% contre 63% pour la commune de Metz (or, comme l'indiquent différentes observations, le fait que la mère exerce une activité professionnelle agit plus que favorablement sur la réussite scolaire et professionnelle).

Si la précarité prévaut, la répartition par catégorie socioprofessionnelle des résidents livre d'autres informations. Ainsi, il apparaît que les ouvriers sont surreprésentés comparativement à ce que pourrait laisser attendre la structure par catégorie socioprofessionnelle au niveau local et à l'échelon national (à Borny plus de 40% des actifs occupés sont ouvriers alors qu'ils ne sont que 20% au niveau de la commune de Metz). A l'inverse, s'observe une sous-représentation des fractions supérieures et moyennes (professions libérales, cadres, professions intermédiaires). A ce titre, la population qui réside sur le secteur est peu représentative de ce qui s'observe tant à l'échelon local que national. En outre, si les ouvriers ont vu leur nombre se réduire de manière très significative au cours des dernières décennies au niveau régional et national, leur proportion reste stable sur le secteur de Metz-Borny.

On le constate, sur le quartier, il n'existe pas de véritable mixité sociale : si une ligne de démarcation s'observe, elle distingue avant tout les inactifs et chômeurs de la population occupée sur des fonctions d'exécution (ouvriers en l'occurrence).

2.2 - Conditions d'existence, prestations et couvertures sociales

Si l'accès à l'emploi demeure, dans la durée, problématique, on comprend mieux que, pour toute une partie de la population, les prestations sociales constituent la principale ressource (plus de 65% de la population du quartier bénéficie de prestations sociales : allocataires de la CAF (Caisse d'Allocations Familiales), bénéficiaires du Revenu Minimum d'Insertion²⁴, de l'Allocation Parent Isolé, de l'Allocation Adulte Handicapé, prestations familiales). Il est également à noter que ces mêmes allocataires sont, pour plus de la moitié d'entre eux (56%) dans la tranche de population à bas revenus - en outre, pour 24% d'entre eux, ces prestations constituent la seule ressource financière.

La mise en perspective des bénéficiaires des différentes prestations laisse apparaître l'existence d'écarts conséquents entre le quartier de Borny et la ville ce, plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne les populations les plus âgées (60 ans et plus). A ce sujet, les enquêtes portant sur cette

²⁴ C'est le cas d'un allocataire sur 5 sur le secteur de Borny.

fraction de la population relèvent que « 38% de la population des plus de soixante ans vivant sur Borny est en situation de pauvreté-précarité »²⁵.

Il semblerait donc que c'est tant du côté des plus jeunes que de celui des plus âgés que se pose avec plus d'acuité encore les situations de pauvreté.

Pour conclure

La répartition par catégories socioprofessionnelles des habitants de Borny donne donc à voir un secteur dont on pourrait considérer qu'il est en quelque sorte resté « en marge » des évolutions contemporaines tant en termes de formation que d'emploi.

Aux évolutions observées en termes d'élévation des niveaux de formation, de déplacement concernant la répartition par catégorie socioprofessionnelle, s'affronte une réalité marquée par la précarité, la faiblesse et l'absence de formation tout comme si ce secteur d'habitation ne disposait pas des moyens de se saisir des transformations en cours.

L'hypothèse d'un désengagement ou d'un désintérêt des publics concernés est de fait irrecevable, en conséquence comment s'expliquer que le secteur concentre de telles proportions de résidents en difficulté tant au regard de la formation que de l'accès à l'emploi ?

Si le secteur de Metz-Borny peut s'avérer attractif pour les populations les plus démunies, reste toutefois posée la question de savoir dans quelle mesure ce même secteur peut, à terme, agir défavorablement sur la structuration du rapport aux possibles scolaires et professionnels. Il semble acquis que c'est bien le cumul et l'articulation de différents facteurs qui tendent à rendre particulièrement problématique l'inscription dans l'emploi des jeunes du quartier. Ce dernier constat souligne toute l'attention qu'il conviendra d'accorder au rapport entretenu à l'égard des possibles existants et autorisés.

2.3 - La question scolaire

2.3.1 - La détermination d'une unité d'analyse

Les évolutions observées en matière de scolarisation au niveau national livrent des tendances. Au-delà de celles-ci se dessinent des variations qu'éclaire une analyse par le local (Thélot, 1993). S'intéresser aux particularismes locaux suppose la détermination d'une unité d'analyse et le choix de cadres d'investigation - un choix qui, par nature, n'est jamais neutre (Tanguy, Segré-Brun, 1967). L'unité qui sera retenue en première approche sera l'Académie dans l'intention de livrer des tendances générales et pour apporter, par la suite, un éclairage sur ce qui caractérise le cadre local, en l'occurrence le quartier de Metz-Borny.

Les caractéristiques de l'Académie de Nancy-Metz

Jusqu'en 1980, Nancy-Metz fait partie des Académies où les taux de redoublement en fin de cinquième sont les plus élevés (14% contre 12% au niveau national) et l'orientation en quatrième générale moins fréquente (60% contre 68% au niveau national). L'orientation vers l'enseignement professionnel est plus fréquente (en 1980, au niveau national elle concerne 7% des élèves - à

²⁵ Observatoire des quartiers, février 2004.

Nancy-Metz ce sont 14% d'entre eux qui vont entrer en CAP et 10% en classes préparatoires à l'apprentissage). Ces tendances s'inverseront à partir des années 1980 où l'on assistera à une hausse des orientations en quatrième générale et une baisse des redoublements. La chute des orientations vers la quatrième préparatoire se confirme en 1985-1986 (sur la période les effectifs se réduiront de 84%). L'examen des flux en fin de troisième atteste de la place qu'a occupé l'enseignement professionnel jusqu'aux années 1980 ; période à partir de laquelle elle se réduira de façon progressive.

Au recul de l'enseignement professionnel en fin de troisième correspond une croissance des demandes d'orientation en seconde (65% des élèves en 1996). A partir du milieu des années 1980 on assiste à :

- une réduction des entrées en BEP (21% sur la période 1985-1996),
- une diminution des taux de redoublement en fin de troisième correspondant à celle observée au niveau national (10%),
- une croissance rapide de l'orientation en seconde générale (61% en 1996).

L'Académie s'inscrit totalement dans les transformations qui s'amorcent à partir de 1985 avec un développement de l'accès à l'enseignement général. Les évolutions observées en matière de scolarisation au niveau national livrent des tendances. Les années 2000 viennent confirmer les tendances engagées au cours des décennies précédentes. Toutefois, l'Académie de Nancy-Metz se démarque par un certain nombre de caractéristiques, et, plus particulièrement, celles concernant :

- L'espérance de scolarisation (celle-ci reste sensiblement inférieure à ce qui s'observe à l'échelon national) ;
- L'orientation en fin de classe de troisième : ici plus qu'ailleurs l'orientation vers l'enseignement professionnel reste présente puisqu'elle concerne 45% des élèves en 2005 (contre 55% qui se dirigeront vers la filière générale)²⁶ ;
- Un taux d'accès au baccalauréat comparable à celui qui s'observe à l'échelon national (avec 68%) sachant que le baccalauréat professionnel est fortement contributif du mouvement observé ;
- Une moindre proportion d'élèves concernés par la scolarisation dans les zones d'éducation prioritaire (14.9% contre 20.5% des élèves concernés à l'échelon national).

On le constate, si différentes évolutions s'observent, certains particularismes demeurent (on soulignera à cet égard la place que continue d'occuper l'enseignement professionnel dans le cadre des procédures d'orientation en fin de classe de troisième). Les travaux menés sur la question scolaire l'indiquent : les particularismes et les variations locales en matière de scolarisation ne sont pas nouvelles : d'un espace géographique à l'autre les différences s'observent - au sein d'un même territoire aussi (« effet établissement ») - au-delà même au sein d'un même établissement des différences se donnent à voir (on évoquera alors « l'effet classe »).

De l'Académie au quartier

L'investigation engagée sur le secteur de Borny s'inscrit dans un contexte marqué par le réengagement de l'Etat en direction des quartiers en difficulté. En effet, consécutivement au constat de la faible réussite de la politique des Zones d'Education Prioritaires engagée au début des années 1980 le choix a été fait de relancer son engagement dans le domaine. Dans cette perspective, trois niveaux d'enseignement prioritaires ont été identifiés qui distinguent entre eux des secteurs d'ores

²⁶ A l'échelon national l'orientation vers l'enseignement professionnel concerne 41% des élèves en fin de troisième (DEP, Géographie de l'école, 2006).

et déjà avérés comme présentant un profil spécifique. Les critères de classification retenus proposent de prendre en compte conjointement la situation scolaire et sociale des élèves²⁷.

On soulignera à ce sujet que sur les 5 établissements engagés dans le dispositif « Ambition réussite » au niveau de l'Académie, quatre sont situés dans le département de la Moselle.

Cette dernière observation nous rappelle donc que si des variations s'observent à l'échelon académique, des différenciations sont aussi susceptibles d'exister sur une même académie selon le département considéré et, au-delà sur un même département.

Etablissements et publics scolaires sur le quartier de Metz-Borny

Sur le quartier de Borny 2311 élèves sont scolarisés dans des établissements publics (aucun établissement privé n'est présent sur le secteur). Un collège et douze écoles sont dans la ZEP et un lycée professionnel et quatre écoles sont en REP. A la rentrée 2006 ce sont les deux collèges du secteur qui regroupent les effectifs les plus importants réunissant plus de 48% de la population scolaire²⁸.

2.3.2 - Les collèges du quartier

Les deux collèges présents sur le secteur se distinguent par un certain nombre de caractéristiques. Au premier rang d'entre elles figure la composition sociale du public accueilli : ainsi, le premier établissement (que nous désignerons comme le collège PV pour des raisons de commodité) se démarque par la composition sociale de son public avec une mixité sociale plus importante. En effet, l'implantation de cet établissement coïncide avec une aire de recrutement qui dépasse les « frontières » du quartier de sorte qu'on retrouve représentés des élèves issus des classes moyennes, voire supérieures et résidant dans les communes limitrophes de Borny. Le scénario qui se donne à voir dans le second établissement (que nous désignerons comme le collège HB) est tout à fait différent : ici tous les élèves proviennent du quartier et ont été scolarisés en primaire dans l'école qui jouxte le collège (ici l'ensemble des élèves est boursier : critère qui renvoie à la composition sociale du public accueilli). Outre ce premier élément, on relèvera également que :

- Le collège PV accueille un public scolaire plus important (64% des collégiens) et propose une offre de formation plus étendue (enseignement adapté, SEGPA, section Européenne) ;
- Les établissements se distinguent également par des taux d'encadrement différents (plus élevés pour le collège HB) et les caractéristiques du public enseignants (on dénombre 5 professeurs agrégés au collège HB et aucun au collège PV) ;
- Le collège HB est inscrit dans le dispositif ZEP mais également REP – le collège PV est quant à lui uniquement concerné par le dispositif ZEP ;
- Des taux de réussite au brevet différenciés : 73% pour le collège HB contre 64.6% pour le collège PV lors de la session 2006.

²⁷ La part d'enfants issus de familles appartenant à des catégories socioprofessionnelles défavorisées (66%) La part d'élèves ayant des résultats faibles aux évaluations en 6è (20 points au-dessous de la moyenne). La part d'élèves ayant un retard scolaire de deux ans en 6è. La part des parents bénéficiaires du RMI, la part des enfants ayant des parents non-francophones.

²⁸ On notera que 20.5% des élèves sont scolarisés dans le préélémentaire et répartis sur 5 écoles maternelles et 31% dans l'élémentaire (répartis sur 4 écoles primaires).

Les différents indicateurs cités supposeront, il est clair, d'être appréciés dans une temporalité plus étendue, pour autant, ils laissent d'ores et déjà entrevoir l'existence de profils sensiblement différenciés s'agissant des publics et des usages faits de l'institution scolaire. En outre, pour affiner certaines des observations engagées, nous reprendrons ici certains des éléments issus des entretiens menés auprès des responsables de chacun des établissements concernés.

Le collège HB : de l'école du quartier à l'école dans le quartier

Un des éléments marquant du discours tenu par la principale du collège réside dans le constat de la forte intrication de l'établissement et du quartier : au-delà même, on pourrait être tenté de considérer que les limites symboliques qui marquent le « territoire scolaire » se sont progressivement estompées de sorte que, la vie du quartier traverse et influe largement la vie scolaire. A cet égard, la responsable de l'établissement évoque les « tensions » perceptibles au sein de l'établissement. Par tension, il est fait référence à des situations concrètes de la vie scolaire mais aussi extrascolaire : lorsqu'un incident (de quelque nature qu'il soit) survient dans le quartier l'information se diffuse et provoque dans l'établissement des réactions immédiates. A ce sujet, la principale évoquera l'importante « réactivité » des élèves : si la communauté scolaire est particulièrement diversifiée (si l'on retient comme critère l'origine culturelle des familles) il semble exister au sein de l'établissement ce qu'on pourrait être tenté de qualifier comme étant une « communauté de destins ».

La manière dont la responsable de l'établissement évoque la façon dont les élèves abordent l'usage et les possibles scolaire semble confirmer une telle proposition. Ainsi, on trouve au sein de cette communauté scolaire :

- Des pratiques communes (une des plus marquante, aux yeux de la responsable résidant dans le retard qu'accusent systématiquement les élèves : si les intéressés connaissent et identifient bien l'exigence qui veut que l'on arrive à l'heure en cours ce principe n'est que très marginalement respecté, de la même manière l'absentéisme reste particulièrement important) - cette distance à l'égard des règles serait l'élément le plus visible du rapport aux exigences scolaires et sociales.
- Des modes de réactions qui supposent l'instauration d'un mode de communication fondé non pas tant sur la sanction que sur l'échange (à ce sujet la principale évoquera la nécessité de maintenir la communication et de ne pas s'engager dans le conflit lorsque des difficultés surgissent).
- Des familles très peu présentes dans la vie scolaire : cet état de fait ne saurait être perçu comme traduisant du désintérêt des familles mais plutôt comme un facteur traduisant de la distance sociale qui sépare les familles et l'école (la barrière de langue, la méconnaissance du système d'enseignement, les obstacles symboliques).
- L'écart entre les attentes et exigences de la vie scolaire et le quotidien de la vie du quartier : si l'école est celle du quartier, elle ne se confond toutefois pas avec celui-ci : des zones de « non recouvrement » existent de sorte que ce que propose et ce qu'attend l'école de ses élèves peut parfois être en totale contradiction avec les possibles offerts et existants en dehors de l'institution scolaire.
- Un public scolaire qui s'auto sélectionne et a une vision déficitariste de ses aptitudes scolaires (la principale reprendra ainsi l'exemple d'un élève brillant scolairement mais qui n'envisage pas son devenir autrement qu'en étant « dealer » dans le quartier).

La responsable de l'établissement s'engage dans une démarche volontariste pour tenter d'enrayer - à sa mesure - les processus à l'œuvre. Dans les faits, des dispositifs destinés à favoriser la

connaissance des possibles scolaires sont engagés (la question de l'orientation sera ainsi abordée dès la classe de 6^{ème}), de la même manière, la responsable porte une attention particulière aux familles en mettant en œuvre des modalités destinées à favoriser le rapprochement entre les familles et l'école. Dans cette même perspective l'établissement s'est, depuis plusieurs années déjà, engagé dans des relations de partenariat avec les associations du quartier de manière à « désenclaver » l'espace de la vie scolaire et établir des liens avec les différents protagonistes engagés dans le secteur de la jeunesse.

La question de la nationalité, des origines, se pose ici en termes singuliers puisque comme l'évoque la principale « *ce sont les blancs, ceux qu'on appelle les fromages blancs qui se disent ici victimes de discrimination, pas les autres jeunes* ».

Le collège PV de Borny

On l'a vu, le second collège présent sur le secteur de Borny se distingue par un certain nombre de caractéristiques identifiables quantitativement. Au-delà, les rencontres avec les responsables de l'établissement participent à mettre à jour l'existence d'un certain nombre de particularismes. Ainsi on relèvera que l'établissement, depuis quatre années a vu son aire de recrutement modifiée : ainsi on trouve scolarisés dans l'établissement des élèves qui se recrutent sur :

- le quartier de Borny (mais dont la proportion s'est réduite considérablement),
- le secteur de la Grange aux Bois (s'agissant ici d'anciens habitants de Borny ayant connu une mobilité résidentielle au cours des dernières années – et si l'on s'en réfère aux propos du responsable de l'établissement d'un public moins concernés par les difficultés sociales et économiques),
- les villages avoisinants (où l'on retrouve des élèves de familles appartenant aux catégories moyennes voire supérieures).

Cette diversité sociale est « répercutée » au niveau des classes puisque celles-ci sont constituées sur le principe de la mixité culturelle et sociale. On relèvera également que le public scolaire couvre 15 origines culturelles différentes (les élèves provenant de familles turques étant ici plus représentés). Cette mixité sociale et culturelle est présentée comme un atout pour l'établissement, une « richesse ». Elle n'induirait pas de difficulté particulière s'agissant du fonctionnement « au quotidien » de l'établissement : en effet, selon les propos du responsable le collège ne démarque pas des autres collèges : tout à l'inverse depuis quelques années « *l'ambiance et l'image de l'établissement se sont nettement améliorés, on n'a pas plus de bagarres qu'ailleurs, pas plus de conseils de discipline, on est tout à fait dans la norme d'un collège lambda* »²⁹. Si le collège PV s'apparente sur ces aspects à un « collège ordinaire », force est toutefois de constater que certaines caractéristiques l'en distinguent. Ainsi on peut relever que l'établissement se démarque nettement par des performances scolaires moindres : si à l'entrée en 6^{ème} les évaluations indiquent que le niveau scolaire des élèves coïncide avec la moyenne nationale il en va tout autrement en fin de troisième où les taux de redoublement, la moindre réussite au brevet des collèges et le taux nettement plus faible d'orientation en seconde générale traduisent l'existence d'un « retard » comparativement à ce qui s'observe dans la moyenne des établissements. Pour le responsable de l'établissement, cet état de fait trouverait son origine dans le cumul de différents facteurs au rang desquels figurent :

²⁹ Propos tenus par le proviseur-adjoint du collège.

- L'absence de travail des élèves au quotidien et le manque d'investissement familial dans le suivi de la scolarité (le responsable n'évoque pas le désengagement des familles mais soulignent avant tout la méconnaissance que les parents peuvent avoir des attentes et exigences du système scolaire).
- La difficulté à identifier l'importance de l'enjeu scolaire concernant le devenir futur et, plus largement l'impossibilité de se projeter sur le long et le moyen terme en termes de perspectives scolaires et professionnelles.
- L'existence d'un « effet établissement » et d'un « effet classe » : il existerait au sein de l'établissement un état d'esprit qui valoriserait le non-investissement, le non-travail de sorte que des élèves en situation de réussite scolaire finissent, à terme, par se désengager scolairement ; de manière comparable, il semblerait que les enseignants s'inscrivent dans cette même logique et finissent par se montrer moins exigeants (consolidant ainsi la représentation ordinaire qui voudrait que les élèves aient, a priori, moins « d'aptitudes scolaires » que leurs homologues scolarisés dans d'autres établissements).

Les principaux facteurs explicatifs déclinés laisseraient donc à penser qu'il existerait une « culture anti-école » qui se traduirait par une distanciation à l'égard de la vie scolaire mais aussi, plus largement à l'égard de la vie sociale.

Contrairement au collège précédent, la vie du quartier ne perturberait pas le fonctionnement quotidien et la vie scolaire : ici c'est bien au sein même de l'établissement que se constitue et se consolide un rapport au monde et au devenir qui se traduirait par le désinvestissement, l'auto sélection (les élèves s'interdisent de fait certains possibles scolaires et professionnels). L'école n'est pas mise en cause en tant que telle : tout à l'inverse elle s'impose comme un lieu de sociabilité, de socialisation mais n'est pas identifiée par ses usagers comme un lieu de travail et d'apprentissages destiné à autoriser des perspectives scolaires et professionnelles. La « culture anti-école » qui se donne donc à voir ici n'est pas celle des enfants de familles ouvrières que pouvait donner à voir O. Willis, elle se distingue de la contestation et de la remise en cause de l'institution – tout à l'inverse le collège semble s'imposer comme constituant un espace de sociabilité distinct de la vie du quartier, il s'imposerait aussi, jusqu'à un certain point, comme un « sas » précédant l'engagement dans la vie adulte et la vie sociale (on relèvera à ce sujet que le responsable n'hésite pas à évoquer le fait que « *les élèves se sentent bien au collège, ils n'ont pas envie de le quitter, je suis convaincu que certains redoublent la troisième juste pour rester* »).

2.3.3 - Les familles et l'école

On l'a vu, les deux établissements de Borny se distinguent à différents égards : si le premier est totalement inscrit dans la vie du quartier, le second s'en démarque plus nettement et occupe une position qu'on pourrait qualifier de périphérique (la vie scolaire est moins nettement traversée par la vie du quartier, les associations du secteur ont une position bien moins affirmée).

On pourrait être tenté de dire que le premier établissement est « le collège de Borny » tandis que le second serait plutôt « un collège dans Borny ». Si des points de différenciations apparaissent on trouve toutefois un trait commun entre les deux établissements : à savoir la distance des familles à l'égard de l'école. Il ne saurait être question ici d'évoquer le désintérêt ou le détachement des familles à l'égard de l'école : c'est plus la méconnaissance des attendus de l'institution scolaire et la distance sociale qui nous semble contribuer à éclairer ce qui caractérise la situation actuelle des jeunes et des familles par rapport à l'école.

Ce scénario s'apparente à ce qui pouvait se donner à voir en France avant l'explosion scolaire des années 1960 où les familles ouvrières ne disposaient pas des moyens nécessaires pour se saisir de la question scolaire (distance sociale, manque d'information, logique patronale qui privilégiait la mise au travail rapide) à cette différence fondamentale que le marché du travail n'offre pas de perspectives d'insertion stable et durable pour les jeunes qui quittent précocement le système de formation.

2.4 - Habitat

A l'échelon local, le quartier de Metz-Borny fait l'objet d'un certain nombre de représentations : à la dégradation de l'habitat correspondrait celle des conditions d'existence participant à ce que le quartier soit identifié comme symbolisant les difficultés sociales voire, pour certains, l'insécurité. Cependant cette approche n'est pas celle des habitants du quartier. On retrouve dans le cas de Metz-Borny, l'approche générale des médias vis-à-vis des villes de banlieue, regard extérieur considérant que l'on ne peut aimer vivre dans des « barres ». En réalité, les habitants de ce quartier l'apprécient, c'est leur lieu de vie, il y a un attachement affectif, on connaît ses voisins, ce n'est pas un lieu déshumanisé.

Parler de quartier peut laisser entendre qu'il serait fait référence à un secteur d'habitation inscrit en tant que tel dans une agglomération. S'agissant de Borny³⁰ il convient de préciser qu'il s'agit là d'une zone d'habitation particulièrement dense et étendue située en périphérie (4 kilomètres) du centre ville de Metz. La répartition spatiale des immeubles est telle (deux grandes barres parallèles de 600 mètres entre lesquelles s'ordonnent cinq îlots rectangulaires et cinq tours) qu'elle tend à laisser, un sentiment si ce n'est d'enfermement, pour le moins de cloisonnement, d'enclavement.

Le quartier de Borny est constitué de trois secteurs qui correspondent à trois étapes du processus d'urbanisation à savoir :

- le « village » de Borny qui regroupe des habitations individuelles dont les résidents sont, le plus souvent propriétaires,
- le secteur des hauts de Blémont construit dans les années 1960
- la zone industrielle située à l'est du quartier.

Sur les 6000 logements existants en 2002, 4000 sont des logements sociaux construits pour leur grande majorité entre 1968 et 1974 (65,9% de l'ensemble de logements). La structure des logements est plutôt de 4 pièces et plus (61% des résidences principales) avec tout confort. Il n'y a que 13,4% de propriétaires alors que pour l'unité urbaine de Metz ceux ci représentent 44,8%. Le manque de logements de petite taille, plus en accord avec une demande jeune, est une question récurrente pour l'ensemble de l'agglomération messine (4,5% des logements 1 pièce à Borny contre 6,7% pour l'unité urbaine) alors même que la démographie du quartier fait apparaître un besoin flagrant, c'est ce qui explique le paradoxe d'une demande croissante et d'une vacance toute aussi croissante de logement, cette dernière passant de 5% à 10% entre 1990 et 1999 alors qu'elle se maintient constante dans le reste de l'agglomération. Le fait que dans cette zone, on trouve un grand nombre de logements de 4 pièces et plus a une incidence sur la population qui y habite, en effet dans le reste de l'agglomération messine, ce type de logement est relativement rare et les prix des loyers très élevés. De ce fait, les familles ayant plusieurs enfants se retrouvent relativement

³⁰ Sources : Données des recensements de la population de 1990 et 1999, INSEE et 2^{ème} Rencontres du GPV, « Une nouvelle école pour un nouveaux quartier », La Ville de Metz, 29 janvier 2002.

« contraintes » de se loger à Metz-Borny. Ceci est un des facteurs explicatifs de la jeunesse de ce quartier.

Depuis plus de 20 ans, le quartier a fait l'objet de différents plans d'urbanisme : H.V.S. (Habitat et Vie Sociale), D.S.Q (Développement Social des Quartiers)) et dispositifs destinés à favoriser le désenclavement du secteur (le quartier est classé en Zone Franche Urbaine).

Depuis 2000, le quartier s'inscrit dans un processus de rénovation et de réhabilitation de l'habitat dans le cadre du GPV (Grand Projet Ville) ayant comme volonté affichée de modifier l'image négative du quartier. Ce projet a pour objectif de transformer le quartier et, en s'appuyant d'un volet social, de le sortir de son enclavement économique et humain. Aujourd'hui, selon le bilan des acteurs sociaux du quartier, on peut constater le nombre conséquent d'actions développées et aidées par les pouvoirs publics sur ce territoire, mais, dans le même temps, on peut constater avec regret le manque de cohérence structurante de ces actions, lesquelles ont fini par entretenir la population dans les mécanismes d'exclusion qu'elles prétendaient contrecarrer.

Trois étapes ont été prévues selon un calendrier échelonné sur dix années avec des modalités allant de la construction sur les réserves foncières existantes de nouveaux logements, à la rénovation d'ensembles de logements, en passant par la démolition partielle des plus dégradés. C'est à cette étape que sont confrontés les habitants aujourd'hui. Le quartier est engagé dans un vaste processus de rénovation qui induit de fait d'importants déplacements de populations.

Les destructions de logements dans le cadre du GPV peuvent être abordées comme une victoire sur un habitat dégradé et insalubre, pour autant, se contenter de cette approche équivaut à ignorer « les émotions, craintes et angoisses des populations à déplacer »³¹.

A terme, on vise un habitat aux proportions plus humaines qui s'inscrira dans un « plan vert » offrant au quartier de larges respirations. Nous pouvons nous questionner quant à la structure de la population qui profitera de ce nouvel habitat, sachant que dans le même temps beaucoup des familles, dont les appartements ont déjà été démolis, se sont vu offrir de nouveaux logements sur Behren-Lès-Forbach, dans une cité non rénovée du même type que celle de Borny.

Une première plate-forme accueillera un marché couvert, le grand marché et diverses constructions légères et évolutives. Une plateforme « écologique » réunira autour d'un complexe sportif les jardins familiaux qui jouent un rôle essentiel dans l'économie du quartier. Le projet sera complété par une plate-forme de formation par le sport.

Au-delà du projet urbanistique, le Grand Projet de ville prévoit le transfert à Borny de plusieurs administrations : l'Inspection Académique, deux divisions de l'Équipement, la direction de Jeunesse et Sports, ainsi que les moyens affectés par l'État et par la municipalité à la « politique de la ville ». Une restructuration du réseau des établissements scolaires est également envisagée avec la volonté clairement affichée de redonner une véritable attractivité aux écoles du quartier en créant un véritable pôle d'excellence pédagogique, un groupe scolaire devenant « école d'application » où exerceront des maîtres formateurs. On peut toutefois se demander si ce classement en « école d'application » est nécessairement une action « positive ». En effet, le choix de ce groupe scolaire peut relever d'une toute autre logique : considérer que ce quartier est « difficile » donc permettant de présenter aux élèves professeurs des écoles un lieu d'enseignement dit « difficile », par ce fait même, cela constituerait une stigmatisation supplémentaire. Cependant, on ne peut se cantonner dans une vision pessimiste, dans les faits, on peut espérer que cette implantation va permettre de

³¹ Source : rapport d'activité de l'APSSIS, 2005

mettre à disposition de ces élèves une approche innovante en termes de pédagogie. La réflexion engagée à propos du Grand Projet de Ville de Borny a mobilisé les acteurs politiques, associatifs et administratifs ainsi que des habitants depuis septembre 2001.

2.5 - Santé

La santé sur le quartier de Borny peut difficilement s'appréhender en termes quantitatifs, en effet, il n'existe pas de données spécifiques, les seuls chiffres dont nous disposons étant ceux de la région. De ce fait, nous avons opté pour une description qualitative regroupant des données acquises auprès de professionnels de la santé travaillant sur le quartier.

Ce quartier ayant vu sa construction au début des années 1960, les populations qui se sont succédées ont des caractéristiques différentes et donc une approche en termes de santé différente. On peut considérer une première génération, celle des années 62-63 essentiellement composée de jeunes couples de 23-25 ans relativement aisés (salariés, militaires, enseignants, aviateurs...) qui sont venus s'installer dans des appartements neufs qui à cette époque relevaient d'un niveau de confort important par rapport aux conditions générales de l'habitat français dans ces années (salle de bain, confort, balcons, logements de type F4 F5). A cette période en termes de pathologies, rien ne différencie Borny des pathologies classiques en France. On peut simplement noter quelques cas de tuberculose, mais cela était encore une réalité dans toutes les régions françaises.

Le premier choc pétrolier et la crise de la sidérurgie en 1974 ont joué un rôle important dans le changement de population de Borny. A ce moment-là, les jeunes couples qui avaient investi les appartements ont pour une grande part déménagé, leurs revenus leur permettant d'accéder à la propriété. Ces deux crises ont apporté une part importante de chômage et une première chute de revenus chez une part de la population. Est alors arrivée une population constituée d'ouvriers des banlieues qui ont choisi Borny pour le coût inférieur de ses logements HLM. La population s'est donc avérée plus pauvre que celle de la première vague. A cette même période, des usines se sont installées dans le secteur notamment une usine Citroën. Ces nouvelles usines sont allées chercher leurs ouvriers à l'étranger, c'est ainsi qu'environ 4 000 ouvriers sont arrivés sur Borny, venant du Maghreb, (Maroc, Tunisie, Algérie) et de Turquie. Le regroupement familial ayant eu lieu, cette population étrangère était donc nombreuse. La politique des HLM ainsi que les demandes des personnes ont fait que les nationalités se sont regroupées par quartier, il y a donc eu de plus un problème de langue. Dans ces mêmes périodes et au cours des années qui ont suivi, d'autres nationalités sont arrivées sur le quartier, notamment des réfugiés politiques venant d'Asie du Sud Est, puis des Roumains, des Serbes, des Croates... En termes de santé, cela n'a pas eu un réel impact, cependant on a pu observer des pathologies propres aux origines géographiques (fréquence plus importante de pathologies gastriques pour les personnes venant du Maghreb et de l'Asie du Sud Est ainsi que tuberculose, diabète pour les personnes du sud est asiatique). Nous pouvons noter que ces pathologies ont été d'autant plus importantes car aggravées par des facteurs psychologiques de stress.

Les enfants de ces familles quant à eux, ont ressenti des difficultés à s'adapter (notamment ceux nés à l'étranger) car ils se sont retrouvés face à des modes de consommation qu'ils ne connaissaient pas, de ce fait un de leur but a été d'atteindre ce niveau de consommation soit en se donnant tous les atouts pour réussir et accéder au marché du travail et c'est la cas pour une grande majorité, soit pour une très faible part en s'inscrivant dans les marchés parallèles ou souterrains (drogue, vol...). Notons que cette attitude n'est pas spécifique des enfants étrangers ou nés de parents étrangers, mais reflète aujourd'hui une des conséquences de la pauvreté du quartier.

Ces circonstances permettent de mettre en avant des pathologies propres à ces adolescents (pathologies que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs dans toutes les populations adolescentes mais sans doute un peu plus fréquentes à Borny). Ce sont des pathologies courantes classiques avec de plus les pathologies inhérentes aux différentes addictions (drogues, alcool) On constate, que le phénomène d'alcoolisation tend à prendre de l'importance chez des adolescents jeunes en effet, l'alcool est en vente libre et coûte moins cher que les drogues, de même les drogues dites « dures » sont plus utilisées par les adolescents les plus âgés et les jeunes adultes du fait de leur coût.

Les médecins retrouvent ici les difficultés classiques des adolescents : difficultés de communication, ces jeunes ne se confient pas, ni à leurs parents, ni à leurs enseignants ou éducateurs, ni même à leurs amis. Les poids du stress, et des souffrances psychologiques propres à l'adolescence semblent plus marquée ici du fait des difficultés économiques, du chômage et de ce fait de la difficulté de se projeter positivement dans le futur. Alors ils somatisent : migraines, eczéma, douleurs abdominales, agressivité. ...

Le généraliste reçoit donc ces jeunes pour ces somatisations, il reçoit aussi des demandes de parents sous formes de questionnement, les enfants sont agressifs, ils ne réussissent pas à l'école... Autant de signes qui pour les professionnels de santé sont des signaux qui ne doivent pas être négligés car évocateurs d'addiction ou de tendances suicidaires.

Sur le quartier, un Comité Local de Promotion de la Santé a été créé en 1982, il comprend : des travailleurs sociaux, des éducateurs, des enseignants, des médecins scolaires, des infirmiers, des pédiatres, des sages-femmes, des généralistes des psychologues et des usagers. Ce comité se réunit tous les mois et a pour objectifs :

- d'identifier les difficultés de santé sur le quartier
- de mettre en œuvre des actions pour corriger, si possible les perturbations de santé.

Chacun fournit ses constats et des actions découlent de ceux-ci. Pour exemple, quelques actions menées :

- L'« armoire à pharmacie », pendant 1 an, les différents acteurs sont intervenus auprès des particuliers pour discuter du bon usage des médicaments, un bus a proposé une exposition volante, des actions ont été également menées sur la contraception.
- La réalisation de tracts distribués aux familles partant en vacances dans leur pays d'origine (notamment les Turcs qui partent en voiture, plusieurs jours de trajet), ces tracts visant à donner des conseils en matière de prévention de la déshydratation)

On retrouve également de façon plus spécifique chez les femmes, des problèmes de troubles du sommeil, d'anxiété, de tabagisme, de mal-être, autant de symptômes de dépression. En ceci, Borny ne se distingue pas du reste de la population, cependant, la difficulté à laquelle se trouvent confrontés les personnels soignants est le plus souvent celui du niveau d'éducation. En effet, prescrire des antidépresseurs ne pose pas problème, mais il est difficile de faire accepter l'utilité de psychothérapies qui sont le plus souvent considérées comme inutiles (voire coûteuses si elles ne sont pas du fait d'un psychiatre). L'association psychiatrie-folie est toujours vive et prégnante. De ce fait, les personnes en dépression pour la plupart soignent leurs symptômes mais ne résolvent pas leurs problèmes à la base. Des solutions sont proposées mais ont du mal à se mettre en place : travailler sur la relaxation, les activités de « relooking » afin que les femmes se sentent déjà mieux dans leur corps...

Le dernier point évoqué par les acteurs de santé relève du problème de la langue. En réalité, ces problèmes sont résolus par différents moyens :

- réalisation de cahiers « lexiques » avec les phrases médicales+- traduction par les jeunes filles bilingues ;
- recours à des traducteurs (notamment d'ISMEST) ;
- utilisation de pictogrammes.

Une institution originale : l'Association LA CLÉ

Née en 1996, suite aux travaux de la commission Santé, plus précisément de la sous-commission « Santé mentale », l'association La Clé a effectivement débuté son intervention en 1999 (en janvier). Les 3 ans qui séparent la déclaration de l'association et le début effectif de son travail s'expliquent par la recherche de locaux : c'est l'Education Nationale qui débloquent le problème en mettant à disposition les locaux actuels, même si un peu excentré par rapport au cœur du quartier. A l'expérience, c'est plutôt positif... Le diagnostic sur le quartier était que les habitants étaient démunis d'une intervention d'ordre psychiatrique ou psychologique, entraînant des déplacements vers le centre-ville. Une démarche jamais aisée, d'autant plus sur le quartier de Metz-Borny, où certaines populations avaient des difficultés d'accès, des difficultés à sortir du quartier.

Le centre hospitalier spécialisé, le CMP Winnicott et l'inter-secteur psychiatrique ont analysé un questionnaire destiné aux habitants du quartier (avec un retour analysable établi à environ 60%) qui a affirmé le besoin d'un lieu d'écoute, d'où la création de la Clé, c'est-à-dire la Commission Locale d'Ecoute.

Les missions renvoient à la mise en place d'un lieu de prévention en santé mentale, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec un lieu de soin. En fait, il s'agit de créer un lieu d'accompagnement psychosocial. Le besoin est situé au niveau de l'écoute et de l'accueil pour les habitants mais aussi pour les professionnels du quartier.

La Clé sert de marche intermédiaire. Elle a notamment permis la présence du CMP (par l'existence d'une antenne sur le quartier), mais aussi d'un CMMP (de l'Education Nationale). La Clé, comme on le constate, est une structure associative gérée par les acteurs du quartier. A l'origine, l'acteur CG devait contribuer au lancement du projet mais il a fait marche arrière. Aujourd'hui, le dispositif s'appuie principalement sur deux piliers : le CHS (qui met à disposition un infirmier psy, un éducateur spécialisé et une psychologue) et l'Education nationale (avec mise à disposition de médecin scolaire, assistance scolaire et un lieu de travail).

Le principe d'intervention est de proposer une double lecture des problèmes évoqués par les personnes (psychologue/psychiatre) et travailleurs sociaux... Les pratiques professionnelles ont dû évoluer du fait de l'absence de demande de soin de la part des usagers.

L'activité en 2006 s'est établie à 3077 entretiens (dont 533 avec des professionnels) soit 2544 entretiens avec des usagers. Concernant les habitants, cela représente 424 personnes (ou familles) dont 226 adultes, 112 jeunes de moins de 14 ans et 86 ados. Cette dernière tranche n'est pas très visible à la CLE. Ils viennent car ils connaissent...

Aujourd'hui, les entretiens ne se font plus en dyade mais seuls, car les problèmes de planning notamment au CMP sont trop longs entraînant des changements de professionnels, ce qui est dommageable pour la poursuite du travail.

L'activité n'a pas cessé d'augmenter... Des projets de développement existent sur Solgnes, des accueils des RMI avec 2 infirmiers psy du CMP. Il y a des pics dans l'activité : à la rentrée scolaire, des vagues d'action : par exemple sur les dépendances, des injonctions au soin,

Le poste du salarié payé par l'association, est construit sur des subventions, de la politique de la ville principalement : elle est licenciée à la fin du mois de mars, faute de ne pas avoir le budget pour poursuivre. Or, l'évaluation en 2005 du Conseil Régional était plus que favorable, relevant l'utilité sociale et professionnelle. Avec des développements du côté de l'Education Nationale (collèges et Lycées) et des structures d'insertion comme l'AEIM. Cette situation de « crise » se retrouve dans la vie institutionnelle avec l'absence de président, de permanents de l'association : on retrouve les mêmes dans l'action et la représentation. La salariée a effectué des travaux de coordinatrice de l'association, a tenu la permanence téléphonique. (De 1999 à 2002, elle a tenu à jour un tableau des activités, est partie en formation pour se qualifier (à l'IRTS de Lorraine). Elle a débuté en emploi-jeune.

L'outil est la relation (pendant l'entretien, essai de médiatiser la relation) mais le point central est qu'ils n'ont pas d'outils de prise de note, ... Une réunion, le lundi matin, réunit tous les permanents pour une supervision d'une heure. Alors qu'au début deux réunions étaient programmées, sur l'organisation et la reprise des situations d'entretiens.

Concernant les jeunes, les informations disponibles indiquent que les difficultés sont d'ordre des troubles du comportement avec des difficultés scolaires. Les jeunes sont moins expressifs que les adultes. Le travail consiste à effectuer de la médiation, dans une acception large, signifiant un mal-être important. Si on précise quelque peu : les troubles sont d'ordre alimentaire, psychologiques, liés à des dépendances (drogues, alcool, ...), de l'ordre aussi de l'inhibition. Le travail est alors de les faire s'exprimer pour faire tomber leur agressivité... Globalement, le travail consiste à les écouter et les accompagner dans leur action.

Le problème est l'espacement des rendez-vous, dû à un manque de moyens humains pour intervenir. Contrairement à une image de violence, jamais La Clé n'a été l'objet d'attaque, d'agressions physiques. En de très rares occasions, c'est la difficulté de s'organiser qui provoque des tensions et des moments tendus.

La Clé a une longue tradition orale. Très peu d'écrits, pas de dossiers. La mémoire est orale. Parfois, l'association est le lieu de dépôt de papiers officiels, administratifs.

La force de la structure c'est son originalité : un cadre « simple », le principe d'une action longue, de lente maturation, des entretiens à deux avec des profils de compétences différents, sans filet... « *Il n'y a pas de vacances des difficultés* ». La Clé est un premier palier dans l'action auprès des populations en difficulté du quartier.

2.6 - La sécurité

Pour les raisons qui sont celles du devoir de réserve électorale, nous n'avons pas pu rencontrer les autorités compétentes (Police nationale) sur le territoire. L'autorisation nous a été donnée pour le 18 juin, lendemain du deuxième tour du scrutin législatif. Sans avoir de statistiques, nous savons par les acteurs de terrains, que le problème essentiel du quartier reste le trafic de drogue. En effet, le quartier reste fréquenté par des trafiquants, et est malheureusement réputé pour être un quartier où

l'on trouve tout type de stupéfiants. Incontestablement, des réseaux maffieux tirent les ficelles de ce trafic, avec régulièrement des opérations de police et/ou des douanes, qui démantèlent des bouts de réseau, emmenant des jeunes vers la justice et la prison. Cette situation se retrouve aussi dans l'organisation des réseaux sur le quartier, qui impose un certain nombre d'attitudes, notamment de règlements de compte très violents, parfois mortels³².

Au vu et su des différents acteurs du quartier, cette ambiance reste la plaie numéro un de la sécurité.

2.7 - Environnement, transports et équipements sociaux

Si l'environnement à l'extérieur du quartier est plutôt agréable (promenades bordées d'arbres notamment), le quartier a longtemps souffert d'un environnement dégradé, avec des tas d'immondices à l'extérieur, et notamment des rats en nombre. La campagne de réhabilitation du quartier, a mis en avant le ramassage systématique des ordures, créant une régie de quartier, qui, à l'aide d'emplois aidés permet un nettoyage quotidien de celui-ci.

En ce qui concerne les transports, longtemps le quartier a été un cul-de-sac. La rénovation a permis dans un premier temps d'améliorer le fonctionnement des bus, avec notamment une opération qui consista à amener des jeunes à décorer les bus. De plus, le quartier aujourd'hui bénéficie d'une ouverture en voie de réalisation, qui le situera directement à l'interconnexion des autoroutes A31 et A4, nœud routier de la Moselle.

En ce qui concerne les équipements sociaux, le quartier est doté de plusieurs lieux (centres sociaux, centre pluri-associatif du Bon Pasteur...) où peuvent s'exercer diverses activités, festives, de réunions, culturelles...). La politique du GPV a aussi permis de reloger les associations dans les rez-de-chaussée rénovés, amenant ainsi pour chaque association une amélioration de la qualité de travail et d'accueil des publics. En revanche, le quartier reste pauvre en structures d'accueil de la petite enfance, ainsi qu'en équipements culturels spécialisés (cinéma, théâtre, salle de concerts.).

2.8 - Loisirs

Malgré un accompagnement important, il semblerait que les loisirs encadrés ne touchent pas la majorité des jeunes du quartier, tant du point de vue des activités de sport que de la culture. Les équipements culturels et sportifs sont peu nombreux, au regard de la population. Les annonces faites des futures aménagements du GPV, devraient corriger en partie cela.

3 - Une première série de commentaires

Incontestablement, la question des revenus des familles pèse énormément dans la manière dont est perçu l'environnement social et économique. Dans nos deux secteurs, même si tout n'est pas comparable, il y a incontestablement des efforts effectués par les acteurs locaux, pour améliorer le cadre de vie des habitants. La misère cependant reste prégnante, et l'on sait qu'elle est aussi

³² Lors du séminaire européen TRESEGY sur ce quartier, le 8 novembre 2006 au soir, un jeune s'est fait assassiné, par un autre jeune, apparemment pour des raisons sordides de dettes de jeu non réglées (sous réserve de ce que montrera le procès après l'arrestation et la mise en examen du meurtrier présumé). Depuis, un autre acte de grave violence a encore eu lieu, avec un jeune en coma dépassé, apparemment tabassé par des dealers.

synonyme d'une plus grande difficulté des jeunes à l'école. Cette difficulté fait qu'un nombre de jeunes sortent du système sans diplôme, frein incontestable à l'embauche ensuite.

C'est un cercle vicieux. C'est en partie le niveau de l'emploi, et sa stabilité, qui permet, ou permettra d'améliorer la situation globale des populations. Ce niveau de l'emploi n'est que marginalement décidé par l'échelon local.

Partie 4 - Jeunesse et immigration, deux territoires, deux modalités d'intervention

Introduction

En France, l'ensemble de l'action politique s'inscrit dans le principe d'égalité de traitement sur le territoire national. Ceci ne signifie pas pour autant que les actions soient les mêmes sur tous les territoires. L'Etat se contente de donner un cadre aux collectivités territoriales³³, selon leurs compétences et leurs priorités politiques et de s'inscrire entre un minima et un maxima dans ce qui est préconisé par le décideur central.

Alors qu'il existe en France un Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports, il concentre ses actions autour d'une image des loisirs. C'est lui qui coordonne et agit comme contrôleur des actions envers la jeunesse menées par les communes et associations hors temps scolaire ; il délivre les accréditations aux établissements de vacances et aux clubs sportifs pour accueillir des jeunes ; il délivre les diplômes d'accompagnement des jeunes et ceux professionnels d'animation culturelle ou sportive ; il dispose enfin de certains programmes, servant à initier et aider des actions de jeunes, dans tous les domaines. La catégorie des jeunes peut aller pour ce ministère jusqu'à 30 ans pour certains programmes. Budgétairement il est le plus pauvre.

Il n'y avait pas d'équivalent pour l'immigration. Ce manque est un véritable choix politique plus qu'une simple question d'efficacité d'action. Ce choix a été jusqu'aujourd'hui guidé par les dérives historiques des années 1940, et reste un sujet épineux qui divise idéologiquement la population, ce qui est en cours d'être démenti depuis les nouvelles élections de 2007³⁴.

Ainsi, les politiques de jeunesse et d'immigration sont pour la plupart déclinées de façon transversale par les différentes compétences des services déconcentrés de l'Etat comme par ceux des collectivités décentralisées. Parler de jeunesse ou d'immigration, c'est aussi parler de la politique de travail, de formation, de transport, de l'habitat ou encore de santé, sans que l'on puisse délier les questionnements de façon stricto sensu concernant les notions de « jeunes » et d'« immigration ».

C'est ainsi que la question de la « jeunesse d'immigration » est fragile si nous nous bornons à vouloir la cloisonner entre les guillemets qui signalent l'item. Comme nous le verrons avec la

³³ Régions, Départements et Communes. Avec des compétences différenciées, notamment en matière : pour les premières d'aménagement du territoire, de transports, de formation professionnelles et des lycées ; pour les deuxièmes du social et médicosocial, de logement et des collèges ; pour les dernières du cadre urbain, de police et des écoles.

³⁴ Depuis les nouvelles orientations politiques de la France avec l'existence d'un Ministère de l'immigration, l'intégration, l'identité nationale et le co-développement, une nouvelle perspective est ouverte qui ne laisse pas indifférent le débat public en le cristallisant.

description des politiques conduites sur les deux territoires investis par cette recherche, le système institutionnel français s'accroît en complexité, non seulement par son intrication territoriale, mais en plus par la large liberté d'action et d'application laissée aux acteurs politiques locaux, ce qui ne garantit pas toujours une efficacité des dispositifs même s'ils sont cadrés au niveau national.

1 - Talange : un pari sur la culture

La population de Talange comporte un pourcentage de jeunes assez remarquable. Les différents établissements scolaires de la ville accueillent 2000 jeunes issus du bassin d'éducation qui couvre l'ensemble des villages d'alentour, pour une population de 8 000 habitants.

Même s'il s'agit d'une petite commune, Talange est très proche de l'agglomération urbaine de Metz, étant à 10 kilomètre de cette dernière, de ce fait, elle n'échappe pas aux difficultés propres aux grands ensembles urbains. Ainsi, des problèmes liés à la drogue se sont révélés il y a une dizaine d'année. Aux dires des représentants locaux, cette période fut difficile, et il a fallu un an et demi pour voir les résultats d'une politique locale qui s'y est attachée.

En ce qui concerne plus spécifiquement les politiques de jeunesse et d'immigration, et sans mentionner la déclinaison des politiques ministérielles, régionales ou départementales, la commune s'est engagée, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé précédemment, dans des actions d'aide, d'accompagnement et de sensibilisation autour de la culture. Nous trouvons alors un ensemble de dispositifs logistiques qui facilitent l'offre d'activités associatives à caractère ou expression culturelle. Des groupes de Hip Hop, de musique, de cinématographie, mais aussi des manifestations qui ont pour but de dimensionner et valoriser l'identité sociale de la ville comme le fait par exemple le Festival Homme et Usine en partenariat avec l'Université de Metz qui s'attarde longuement sur les thématiques de l'immigration de l'intégration et de la citoyenneté.

Ce volontarisme politique vise à former l'esprit citoyen en canalisant les énergies d'une population jeune sans distinction d'origine ou de nationalité. En effet, bien que cette population soit marquée par d'importantes vagues d'immigration successives, les entretiens réalisés avec les partenaires sociaux et institutionnels ne font pas ressortir de questions liées à des difficultés inhérentes à la diversité culturelle. Ceux-ci sont plutôt exprimés sur le désœuvrement propre et inhérent aux quartiers dits « défavorisés » ou à celui que l'on peut rencontrer dans n'importe quelle agglomération urbaine française. Ainsi, ce n'est pas sur le « jeune d'immigration » que l'action communale porte, mais sur le « jeune », ce jeune considéré comme étant confronté à l'ensemble des problématiques de l'intégration sociale plus que d'intégration nationale.

2 - Metz-Borny : un pari sur une approche sociale

L'immigration n'a pas une pertinence opérationnelle pour les acteurs sociaux de Borny. Leurs interventions se réalisent de manière globale et sans distinction ni d'origine, ni d'âge, ni de sexe. Parmi les différentes approches possibles nous reviendrons plus particulièrement ici sur les constats et observations établis par les équipes de prévention spécialisée intervenant sur le secteur. En effet, les rapports d'activité établis annuellement donnent à voir certaines caractéristiques et tendances que des données statistiques ne sauraient livrer aussi explicitement. Ainsi, on retiendra que les

problématiques des jeunes distinguent assez clairement des groupes d'âges (mineurs, jeunes majeurs (18-21 ans) et jeunes adultes (21-25 ans environ)³⁵.)

Parmi les difficultés identifiées par les équipes de prévention spécialisée intervenant sur le secteur de Metz-Borny au cours de la période 2003-2006 on constate qu'il n'existe pas des tendances spécifiques au quartier dans sa globalité, mais des tendances installées sur des zones d'habitation.

Ainsi, selon le secteur de résidence considéré on verra se développer plus particulièrement certaines pratiques illicites (trafic de stupéfiants, économie parallèle) ou, plus particulièrement la structuration des jeunes en bandes s'opposant plus ou moins directement aux habitants du secteur. Sur la délinquance, le constat établi par les travailleurs sociaux du quartier est celui du rajeunissement des populations concernées en même temps qu'une féminisation croissante. Mais au-delà, de ce constat démographique, ce serait la nature même des faits qui aurait changé : on serait passé d'une situation de petite délinquance à une situation marquée par le développement d'une délinquance plus organisée, construite en réseau et sur laquelle l'intervention éducative et sociale aurait moins de prise.

L'étendue du quartier, tout comme la densité de la population qui y réside, participe à rendre compte de ce phénomène où l'on voit se développer et se cristalliser des secteurs traversés par des pratiques et des comportements spécifiques. Ce constat rappelle une fois de plus, la nécessité de dépasser une approche globalisante du quartier pour accorder une attention plus particulière aux tendances et processus qui traversent le territoire.

Si la diversité prévaut il reste que les travailleurs sociaux directement impliqués auprès des jeunes identifient certaines caractéristiques qui les distinguent. Ainsi, les jeunes seraient plus particulièrement concernés par des difficultés liées à :

- l'identité culturelle et sociale,
- l'échec scolaire, la déscolarisation,
- l'absence de projection dans l'avenir,
- un manque de communication et la difficulté à se saisir des possibles existants.

Plus largement, cette fraction de la jeunesse du quartier qui a investie la rue, se distinguerait par son désœuvrement et sa difficulté à dépasser la situation présente.

Les autorités publiques articulent leur politique de jeunesse et d'immigration autour du Gand Projet de Ville en réinventant (restructurant) l'espace urbain et social du quartier. Pour ce faire elles s'appuient sur le tissu associatif local mais en établissant une distinction entre les associations identifiées comme « reconnues » et celles constituées sur la base d'une appartenance communautaire qui seraient seulement « tolérées ». Ce sont les activités des associations « reconnues » qui mènent le travail de médiation sociale nécessaire à l'accomplissement de la volonté politique du GPV. Cependant, l'ensemble des acteurs de ce tissu associatif regrette le manque de congruence des actions jusqu'à présent menées. En somme, sous les auspices d'une efficacité réactive, on est arrivé à une spécialisation qui stratifie la problématique du quartier. Chacun s'attaque à un secteur de la population ou à une spécificité sociale, pour finalement perdre une vision globale y compris des effets de sa propre action. L'activité, comme partout ailleurs, est financée selon le projet par l'un ou l'autre, voire plusieurs des partenaires publics qui tissent le maillage complexe de l'intervention sociale en France.

³⁵ Source : rapport d'activité de l'équipe de correspondants de nuit sur le quartier de Metz-Borny, juin 2002 à juin 2003.

3 - Les commentaires

La question primordiale, tant pour les jeunes que pour l'immigration, reste celle de l'intégration pour que l'ensemble de la société profite des toutes ses potentialités dans leurs singularités. C'est pourquoi, par exemple, l'action du Ministère du travail est significative dans les problématiques qui nous incombent dans ce rapport. Ce Ministère met en place depuis trente ans des politiques spécifiques pour les jeunes sans autre considération que celle d'être qualifiée de « public en difficulté d'emploi ou de formation ». L'ensemble des dispositifs est aujourd'hui piloté au niveau régional, par le binôme Conseil Régional et Direction Régionale du travail (DRTEFP, ou ministère en région). Un relais existe aussi : les missions locales³⁶, qui sont mises en place par les collectivités territoriales, et ont pour vocation d'aider les jeunes de 16 à 25 ans en difficulté d'emploi, pour les amener, avec suivi individuel, vers une insertion durable. Les missions locales sont coordonnées à l'échelon de la Lorraine. Enfin, le plan de cohésion sociale, ou plan Borloo, reprend les objectifs de la SEE (Stratégie Européenne de l'Emploi), pour les décliner au niveau national sur chaque territoire, avec pour ambition de faire que chaque jeune ait une formation qualifiante et/ou un emploi pérenne, à horizon 2009.

Par cet exemple, comme par l'intervention des autorités publiques locales ou encore celle des acteurs associatifs, nous constatons que parler de la politique de la jeunesse et/ou d'immigration ramène à un problème épistémologique de base, celui de l'altérité. Définir la jeunesse d'une part et l'immigré de l'autre. Comme nous l'avons remarqué, les acteurs institutionnels et de la société civile, ne déclarent pas avoir une spécialisation sur ces deux items dans leurs interventions, bien qu'ils agissent de façon transverse sur ces problématiques.

Dans un cadre purement théorique et face à ces différents constats se trouve posée la question de savoir comment nous définissons l'adolescence, les jeunes, l'origine de ceux-ci, puisqu'il s'agit bien ici de traiter des adolescents de seconde génération. Selon les critères que l'on choisit, on peut se référer pour le début de l'adolescence à la puberté, ce qui ne pose pas de gros problèmes, mais en ce qui concerne la limite supérieure, la limite est plus difficile à fixer, est ce le moment où la personne devient autonome ? En ce cas, selon les pays nous ne sommes pas dans les mêmes conditions, est-ce une vision psychologique ? Ici les théories ne sont pas toutes en accord, le problème reste posé.

Dans le registre de l'origine, les représentations généralement partagées tentent à présupposer que ces enfants sont marqués par de forts référents culturels. Toutefois, au vu d'une étude que nous avons menée sur les enfants turcs ou d'origine turque dans le quartier de Metz-Borny, nous avons mis en évidence qu'ils ont les mêmes centres d'intérêt, les mêmes référents culturels que les enfants autochtones. Les idées préconçues qui consistent à penser par exemple que les nouveaux moyens de communication faciliteraient la prégnance de la culture dite d'origine a été battue en brèche, certes, ils utilisent la télévision par satellite, mais pour regarder les chaînes de clips musicaux comme la majorité des jeunes de ce pays. Il nous apparaît qu'il faut être très attentif aux clichés véhiculés par les médias mais aussi par ce qu'en psychologie l'on appelle « le sens commun », celui là même qui est à la base de toutes les heuristiques décrites par les différents auteurs de psychologie sociale.

³⁶ Institutions de type associatif dont le président est le Maire de la localité

DEUXIEME PARTIE
RAPPORT DE SYNTHÈSE ET OBSERVATIONS TRANSVERSALES

I. DELIMITATION DES UNITES D'ANALYSE

Ce chapitre décrit les unités locales proposées par les partenaires pour la mise en œuvre du Programme TRESEGY dans leur contexte socio-spatial et administratif, en fournissant les éléments suivants :

- Proportion de population migrante/étrangère/allochtone par rapport à la population autochtone et principaux groupes non-nationaux.
- Brève description socio-historique de l'unité, avec des indications concernant la dynamique de croissance ou de chute de la population et des ressources.
- Tableau présentant :
 - a) le type d'unité retenue du point de vue spatial et administratif ; b) le choix de nationalités ou de groupes TRESEGY ; c) une estimation de la population retenue pour la tranche 16-24 ans.

1. ITALIE

1.1 Gênes :

Région de LIGURIE, 966.000 HABITANTS ; 62.800 immigrés (6,5%)

AIRE METROPOLITAINE DE GÊNES :

Nombre d'habitants à Gênes : 638.000 (65,9% de la population de Ligurie). 34.500 immigrés, soit 5,4% de la population de la ville et 55% de population immigrée de la Région.

Ville en cours de restructuration sur le plan de la production, évoluant vers une ville de services et de tourisme ; économie informelle importante. A perdu 6,1% de sa population entre 1991 et 2001, les tranches d'âge laborieuses ayant diminué et les tranches d'âge au-dessus de 65 ans ayant augmenté. Etant donné le processus de transformation socio-économique en cours, il y a une demande de main-d'œuvre pour les nouveaux postes de travail. Cette main d'œuvre habite les logements délaissés par les classes moyennes dans le centre ville dégradé (situation semblable à celles de Kreuzberg à Berlin, de Kanaleneiland et Overvecht à Utrecht, de Borny à Metz, du District Rioni Esquilino à Rome et du Quartier Universidad à Madrid).

Les groupes d'immigrés les plus nombreux viennent d'Equateur, d'Albanie, du Maroc, du Pérou et de Roumanie. Par grandes zones géographiques, 43% viennent d'Amérique Centrale et du Sud, 21% d'Europe de l'Est et 10% d'Asie. Les jeunes Equatoriens et Marocains ont été retenus à la fois parce qu'ils sont les plus nombreux et parce qu'ils diffèrent entre eux sur le plan socio-culturel, religieux et historique. Les Marocains sont regroupés dans le centre historique, tandis que les Equatoriens sont dispersés dans différents districts.

On constate un processus récent de stigmatisation des jeunes *latinos*, surtout équatoriens, « adolescents de la rue » et jeunes ayant bénéficié du regroupement familial. Les jeunes Marocains sont concernés depuis plus longtemps par ce processus (« déviance sociale »), même s'ils présentent une plus forte mobilité résidentielle.

- a) *Type d'unité couvrant un large espace et sans uniformité administrative*
- b) *Choix de groupes TRESEGY : Equatoriens et Marocains*
- c) *Estimation de la population de 16 à 24 ans :*
1.000 à 1.500 Equatoriens et 300 à 450 Marocains.

1.2.Rome :

Région LATIUM.

ROME, Commune ou Municipalité : 2.817.000 habitants ; 235.000 immigrants (8,4%).
Sous-municipalités :19.

1.2.1 Submunicipalité I (plusieurs districts) : 178.000 habitants ; 38.342 immigrants (21,5%)

- District : RIONI ESQUILINO :

Partie du centre ville historique qui attire beaucoup de touristes, dotée de services et de commerces. Le district a un cachet « commerce ethnique » ; les communautés les plus stables sont les Italiens de classe moyenne, les étudiants et les immigrants de l'Union Européenne et d'autres pays développés (28% des immigrants) ; les immigrants extra-communautaires viennent surtout d'Asie et d'Afrique. Ce secteur de la ville a connu des transformations sur le plan de l'urbanisme, ce qui a fait fuir la population italienne (phénomène dit du « white flight », mentionné dans le rapport sur Utrecht), remplacée par une population immigrée plutôt aisée.

1.2.2. Submunicipalité VI : 277.000 habitants ; 26.342 immigrants (9,4% de la population)

- Districts : PIGNETO, TOR PIGNATORA ET CENTOCELLE :

Ils sont étiquetés *ethniques-multiculturels*, ce qui attire une partie de la population italienne (phénomène de « gentrification » ou apport de population de classe moyenne), et favorise l'implantation de coopératives et de groupes alternatifs qui prennent en charge des activités culturelles et sociales. Auparavant, ce secteur était très défavorisé mais actuellement il passe par un processus de recomposition, ce qui donne lieu à des conflits entre groupes d'habitants et contribue à la stigmatisation de certains groupes d'immigrants. Une majorité d'immigrants extra-communautaires (92%), principalement originaires d'Asie (45,5%) et d'Afrique (19,4%).

- a) *Type d'unités : correspondant à une délimitation administrative et très connotée socialement.*
- b) *Choix de groupes TRESEGY : immigrants non-communautaires (Asiatiques et Africains)*
- c) *Estimation de la population immigrée non communautaire de 16 à 24 ans :*
Submunicipalité I : 1.550 à 2.500 ; Submunicipalité VI : 1.000 à 1.550.

3. PORTUGAL

2.1 LISBONNE

AIRE METROPOLITAINE DE LISBONNE (LAM)

2.661.000 habitants ; 125.000 immigrés (4,6% de la population et 55% de la population immigrée au Portugal). Les données sont tirées du recensement de 2001.

La LAM comprend deux districts : LISBOA et SETUBAL.

Le District de Lisbonne compte 18 municipalités (Lisbonne, Moita, Amadora, etc.)

A) Municipalité de **AMADORA** (11 *freguesias* ou sous-municipalités : communes) : 175.000 habitants ; 12.500 immigrés (7,1%), dont 82% sont des immigrés en provenance des PALOPS (pays africains de langue officielle portugaise), bien que n'ayant pas la nationalité portugaise.

A.1. FREGUESIA Venda Nova : 11.334 habitants, de 25 à 14% (Actuellement en diminution par suite de saturation).

a.1.1. *Bairros* (Quartiers) « 6 de maio », « Novas Fontainhas », « Estrela de Africa ».

Le Quartier « 6 de maio » compte 1.600 habitants (en 2001), dont 89% d'Africains PALOPS.

Ce sont des quartiers d'auto-construction (illégaux) construits par les habitants du lieu et les immigrés, selon un urbanisme spontané, en fonction des besoins (quartiers de tôle ou de zinc, appelés aussi bidonvilles, zone, shantytowns, etc.). Les conditions de vie y sont très précaires et ces secteurs sont stigmatisés par les habitants du centre ville, associés à la déviance sociale et au danger.

Les communautés fondées sur le voisinage de Portugais et d'immigrés sont bien ancrées sur place et présentent une forte identité sociale (leur langue propre est le « creolo »). Elles font preuve d'une socialité élargie à l'extérieur de la maison (on vit et on fait son apprentissage dans la rue), qui va à l'encontre de l'uniformité officielle. On note un taux élevé de natalité très précoce et de familles monoparentales.

Ces quartiers archi-saturés commencent à perdre une partie de leur population au profit de quartiers voisins. On peut supposer qu'ils se trouvent à la charnière de deux cycles démographiques.

B. Municipalité de **MOITIA** (6 *freguesias*) :

A.2. FREGUESIA Vale da Amoreira : 12.538 habitants, 45% PALOPS (5.561), le reste constitué de Portugais immigrants de l'intérieur et rapatriés d'Afrique.

Beaucoup n'ont pas la nationalité portugaise. Il y a des communautés ethniques en voie de constitution. Il s'agit d'une population très jeune mais qui tend à décliner tandis que le nombre d'adultes augmente : on approche de la normalisation démographique.

a) *Type d'unité très atomisée socialement et très stigmatisée. On peut la qualifier de « black Neighbourhood » (d'après la terminologie du rapport d'UTRECHT sur l'école : plus de 50 % d'immigrés)*

b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY : Africains PALOPS*

c) *Estimation de la population de 16 à 24ans :*

- Quartier « 6 de maio » : 250 à 300

- Freguesia Vale da Amoreira : 600 à 1.200

2.2 Porto

GRANDE AIRE METROPOLITAINE DE PORTO (PGAM)

1.522.000 habitants ; 2% de non nationaux (environ 30.000), selon le dernier recensement de 2001.

Municipalités : 14 : Porto, Vila Nova de Gaia, Santa Maria da Feira, etc.

Populations immigrées précarisées : la première vague d'immigration en provenance du Brésil et des pays de l'Est (l'Ukraine en particulier) présente un niveau de formation supérieur à celui des autochtones, mais avec des handicaps sociaux dans l'accès à l'emploi et au logement. La communauté chinoise est assez bien pourvue en capital humain et économique, mais pauvre en capital relationnel en général. Par contre, sa cohésion interne est forte. Ce secteur a commencé à être étiqueté « ethnique » sur le plan du commerce (Porto's Chinatown) quoique les commerçants portugais y aient été très présents. Par la suite, certains commerçants chinois se sont déplacés vers d'autres secteurs (Via do Conde Chinatown), tandis que venaient s'installer des commerçants pakistanais.

-Dans la municipalité de Porto, par rapport à Lisbonne, les immigrés sont relativement peu présents. Les plus nombreux sont les Ukrainiens (32%), les Brésiliens (32%) et les Chinois (8%).

-La municipalité de Vila Nova de Gaia représente 18% des Portugais de la PGMA (environ 30.000) et 24% du total des immigrés (environ 7.200). On constate un double usage comme lieu de résidence ou lieu de travail, ce qui valide le choix de l'unité métropolitaine dans son ensemble comme unité d'analyse.

- La municipalité de Santa Maria da Feira est également prise en compte.

a) *Type d'unité générale étendue ; les subdivisions municipales sont délimitées formellement et significatives socialement.*

b) *choix des groupes TRESEGY : Ukrainiens et asiatiques (Chinois)*

c) *Estimation de la population de 16 à 24 ans :*

Sur toute l'aire métropolitaine, on estime qu'il y a 2.500 jeunes immigrés, dont 100 Ukrainiens et 250 Chinois.

3. ESPAGNE

Population totale : 44.708.000 ; étrangers 4.144.000, 9,3% de la population

3.1. CATALOGNE

Communauté Autonome (il y en a 17 en Espagne), comptant quatre provinces (Barcelone, Lleida, Tarragone, et Gérone), soit 7.150.000 habitants, dont 66% dans l'Aire Métropolitaine de Barcelone et 1.605.000 sur la commune de Barcelone.

La Catalogne compte 939.000 étrangers, soit 13,3% de la population ; 209.000 Africains et 200.000 personnes originaires d'Amérique du Sud et d'Amérique Centrale.

AIRE METROPOLITAINE DE BARCELONE (AMB)

Il est proposé de centrer l'étude sur le groupe des jeunes latino-américains à un moment où se produisent deux mouvements inverses : d'un côté, la forte stigmatisation sociale du groupe « latino », ce qui renforce son unité vis-à-vis de l'extérieur, et de l'autre, en réaction, l'affirmation de cette identité chez des jeunes de diverses origines (pas seulement *latinos*) identifiés sous cette étiquette. Parmi eux, un sous-groupe est passé par un processus d'institutionnalisation formelle de bandes de rues, en lien avec certaines

personnes de l'administration municipale. Le processus de stigmatisation des *latinos*, en particulier équatoriens, présente certains traits analogues au cas de Gênes.

« Latino » est un étiquetage produit par les autochtones, qui indique à la fois une différence et un lien. L'identité d'appartenance à la « latinité » se constitue par rapport à la « catalanité », mais l'hispanité, l'euroanéité et plus largement la transnationalité apparaissent. On peut y voir l'émergence de multiples jeux de relations.

Municipalité de Barcelone : 260 000 étrangers, 15,9 % de la population ; 127 000 latino-américains (Amérique du Sud et Centrale). Une ville croît en surface et en population.

- a) *Type d'unité étendue dynamique sociale et stigmatisante/intégratrice..*
- b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY : jeunes « latino-américains ».*
- c) *Estimation de la population de 16 à 24 ans :*
 - Latino-américains en Catalogne : 50 000 jeunes de 16 à 24 ans qui font des études et/ou qui travaillent..

3.2 MADRID

Communauté Autonome constituée d'une seule province : 6.008.000 habitants ; étrangers : 800.000, 13,9% de la population.

Municipalité de Madrid (18 districts) : 3.128.000 habitants ; étrangers : 439.000 (14,1%).

DISTRICT CENTRE (6 quartiers) : 149.000 habitants ; 42 000 immigrants (28,6%).

Les quartiers EMBAJADORES, SOL ET UNIVERSIDAD comptent plus d'un tiers d'immigrés chacun.

On constate une assez grande diversité interne parmi les quartiers du District : il se situe à 97% de la moyenne du revenu familial par tête de la ville, mais le quartier Embajadores est situé à 21 points en dessous de cette moyenne, tandis que Palacio, Justicia et Cortes se situent à 10 et 15 points au dessus. La composition ethnique est variée, avec une prépondérance de gens originaires d'Amérique du Sud et Centrale (48%), puis de l'U.E (17%), d'Asie (17%) et d'Afrique (10%).

L'image du District dans la ville n'est pas toujours associée à la présence d'immigrés. En revanche, le quartier Embajadores et, à l'intérieur de celui-ci, le secteur de Lavapiés sont bel et bien considérés comme le Chinatown commercial (commerces de gros) ou comme l'aire ethnico-culturelle la plus typique de la ville. Ils constituent un attrait touristique et attirent aussi des Espagnols qui veulent vivre dans une atmosphère de diversité ethnique au cœur d'une grande ville. En même temps, il offre des conditions sociales précaires et des processus de recomposition urbaine accentués (comme à Pigneto et Esquilino à Rome, et un peu comme à Kreuzberg 36 à Berlin) : il s'agit d'un secteur en pleine restructuration.

D'autres quartiers présentent des traits différents : le secteur de Chueca (Quartier Justicia) est connu pour l'influence de la communauté gay, tandis que le secteur de Malasaña (Quartier Universidad) est connu pour la « movida » madrilène depuis les années 70. En somme, le District CENTRE ne forme pas un tout homogène sur le plan social ni un espace isolé du reste de la ville.

On ne saurait dire qu'il existe une ségrégation résidentielle ethnique, ni que ces unités résidentielles soient repliées sur elles-mêmes, ce qui vient à l'appui du constat réalisé à Porto (Vila Nova de Gaia) à propos du double usage comme lieu de résidence et lieu de travail, avec une dimension relationnelle supplémentaire liée aux loisirs et au temps libre, aux achats, etc.

- a) *type d'unité délimitée sur le plan administratif mais diversifiée sur le plan social.*
b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY : tous les étrangers (résidents et usagers de l'espace social).*
c) *Estimation de la population des 16-24 ans : 5.600 étrangers et 6000 nationaux.*

4 .ALLEMAGNE

8,8% de population de nationalité non- allemande.

BERLIN (12 districts) : 13,8% de population non- allemande.

Ville en déclin démographique et socio-économique : les espoirs d'en faire une mégalopole, capitale de la nation réunifiée, n'ont pas été comblés. Depuis 1993 Berlin perd de la population. Le chômage y atteint 17,5%, et 41,9% parmi les immigrés (contre une moyenne nationale de 20,4% de chômeurs parmi les immigrés).

District Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg : 259.000 habitants, 23% de non allemands.

Le subdistrict de Kreuzberg appartenait à Berlin-Ouest et le sous-district de Friedrichshain à Berlin-Est.

KREUZBERG Compte 147.000 habitants et 31,4% d'étrangers (46.000).

La plupart des données correspondent à ce sous-district, où 12,2% des habitants vivent de l'aide sociale (soit quatre points de plus que la moyenne de la ville).

KREUZBERG 36 est un arrondissement postal à l'intérieur de Kreuzberg (arrondissements postaux 36 et 61). Par conséquent il ne s'agit pas d'une unité administrative mais d'un espace social doté d'une identité propre : diversité sociale et culturelle, forte présence d'immigrés (40% à Mariannplatz). L'image de ce secteur, vu de l'extérieur, est celui d'une aire multiethnique et multiculturelle, mais fortement précarisée et dont les habitants souffrent de graves handicaps sociaux et de marginalisation résidentielle. La communauté la plus présente est la communauté turque (presque la moitié), suivie des ex Yougoslaves et des Polonais (les trois communautés les plus présentes à Berlin). L'immense majorité des non-allemands (81%) ne sont pas non plus européens. Les Polonais ont ceci de particulier qu'il s'agit d'une immigration de travail, mais non pas résidentielle ou relationnelle, car ils vivent à Berlin cinq jours par semaine et retournent passer le week-end en Pologne.

- a) *Type d'unité très délimitée sur le plan spatial et diversifiée sur le plan social, mais sans existence administrative.*
b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY : non-communautaires (Turcs et ressortissants de l'Europe de l'Est)*
c) *Estimation de la population des 16-24 ans :*
- Kreuzberg : 7.834 jeunes non-allemands, dont 5.500 d'origine turque.

5. PAYS-BAS

Le pays compte au total 330.000 Turcs et 284.000 Marocains. Cependant, sur la commune d'Utrecht il y a plus de Marocains que de Turcs. Ce sont des berbérophones originaires du Rif (tandis que les Marocains de Gênes sont arabophones).

UTRECHT (municipalité) : 281.000 habitants ; 89.000 allochtones (31,7%), dont 2/3 de non-occidentaux. Une ville qui enregistre une forte croissance sur le plan démographique

et économique. On la considère comme une ville jeune et « heureuse » (ses habitants font preuve d'autosatisfaction). Elle jouit d'un revenu moyen très élevé (le 10^e d'Europe) mais 1 habitant sur 9 se trouve en situation de précarité. On la considère aussi comme une ville de ségrégation, où les autochtones sont séparés des allochtones : l'indice de ségrégation (la valeur la plus élevée signale la situation la plus grave) est de 29 pour les autochtones et de 15 pour les allochtones occidentaux et non-occidentaux. Quant aux Marocains et aux Turcs, leur indice de ségrégation est de 49 et de 44 points respectivement. Les deux groupes majoritaires d'allochtones non-occidentaux sont les Marocains, au nombre de 24.000 (13.500 de première génération et 11.500 de deuxième génération) et les Turcs, au nombre de 12.600 (6.700 de première génération et 5.900 de deuxième génération).

Ville d'UTRECHT (10 districts ou arrondissements)

a) *District de ZUID-WEST* (3 sous-districts) : 31.200 habitants ; 49,8% d'allochtones (15.500). Une personne sur dix dépend des prestations sociales.

A.1. Subdistrict KANALENEILAND. Secteur considéré traditionnellement comme problématique ; très précarisé et fortement stigmatisé dans la ville. La population non-occidentale est de 74%. Les Marocains sont au nombre de 6.222 et les Turcs au nombre de 2.772.

b) **District OVERVECHT** (4 sous-districts) : 26.600 habitants dont 49,6% d'allochtones (13.300). 1,5 personne sur dix dépend des prestations sociales.

C'est un secteur en voie de stigmatisation sociale, assez précarisé.

Marocains, 6.070 et Turcs, 2.683. En somme, la population totale de ce district atteint à peine celle du sous-district de Kanaleneiland.

a) *Type d'unité bien délimitée sur le plan administratif et social.*

On peut la considérer comme « black area », à l'instar du quartier « 6 de maio » à Venda Nova, Lisbonne.

b) *Choix de groupes TRESEGY* : Marocains et Turcs de deuxième génération.

c) *Estimation de la population des 16-24 ans dans les deux unités :*

- 5.600 Marocains allochtones de deuxième génération, dont 550 à 1.200 de 16-24 ans (entre 10% et 20% du total).

- Dans le cas des Turcs, on estime à 2.600 la deuxième génération, dont 260 à 550 personnes dans la tranche d'âge 16-24 ans.

Soit un total de 850 à 1.1750 jeunes de 16 à 24 ans.

6. FRANCE

Région de LORRAINE, 5,6% d'immigrés, proche de la moyenne française. Département de la Moselle, 7,6% d'immigrés, accueille la moitié des primo-arrivants de Lorraine (moins de deux ans d'ancienneté sur le territoire).

6.1 TALANGE (municipalité) : 7.700 habitants. D'après le recensement de 1.999, 74,9% étaient Français de naissance et 13,5% par acquisition de la nationalité française. Il y avait alors 11,6% d'étrangers. Les deux groupes majoritaires étaient les Algériens et les Italiens.

Il s'agit d'une commune désindustrialisée à la fin des années 70, avec une forte tradition syndicale, gérée par les communistes. Elle a connu une immigration

importante durant tout le xx^e siècle, jusqu'aux années 70. L'usine sidérurgique employait jusqu'à sept mille personnes entre les travailleurs et les cadres. De nos jours la population est mélangée et ne présente pas de traits singuliers. Les jeunes d'aujourd'hui sont les premiers à ne pas connaître le travail en usine.

Actuellement, Talange se relève de la crise, grâce à l'implantation d'usines de vêtements « griffés » et à l'industrie automobile. Cependant, le taux de chômage est nettement supérieur à la moyenne française (12,8% contre 9,6%). La population reste stable. Les logements sont intégrés à la localité et la cohésion sociale est réelle, sauf dans un secteur réduit de logements locatifs précaires.

Les multiples interventions de l'Administration à ses différents échelons et des institutions départementales et régionales font constamment varier les critères de référence (un phénomène constaté aussi à Kreuzberg 36 et dans le District Centre de Madrid). Le faible poids de l'immigration récente, l'absence de problématique sociale et de groupes stigmatisés permettent de qualifier cette unité locale de « normalisée ».

- a) *Type d'unité correspondant à plusieurs délimitations administratives.*
- b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY : tous les jeunes (issus de l'immigration?)*
- c) *Estimation de la population de 16 à 24 ans :*

Il pourrait y avoir 6,5% de jeunes nés avant 1993 (2,9% parmi les étrangers et 3,6% parmi les naturalisés), soit environ 100 individus. Si l'on tient compte des Français nés de parents immigrés, le nombre peut être plus élevé (!)

6.2 Quartier/Sous-arrondissement de BORN-Y-METZ : 12.000 habitants, 28,3% d'étrangers. A perdu 9% de sa population dans les années 90. Secteur considéré comme une banlieue, soumise à des processus importants de recomposition urbaine (Grand Projet de Ville) et à une grande précarité sociale (30% de chômage, et 47% parmi les 15-24 ans). Pour 65% des personnes, le revenu principal est tiré des prestations sociales. La population est jeune (41,8% de moins de 20 ans).

Situation de ségrégation urbaine et sociale par rapport à la commune de Metz et forte stigmatisation (déviance et dangerosité sociale). Dans les années 60, c'était un quartier avec de bons équipements pour les classes moyennes, tandis que les immigrés habitaient des bidonvilles à proximité des usines, mais les besoins criants de logements destinés à diverses populations (rapatriés d'Algérie, travailleurs recrutés en Turquie, etc.) ont amené à construire 3.500 logements sociaux dans un quartier de 20.000 habitants. Les classes moyennes ont refusé cette évolution et ont commencé à désertir le quartier, qui est devenu un secteur de réclusion pour immigrés à faibles ressources. La crise du marché du travail des années quatre-vingt (fermeture d'usines) a appauvri les ouvriers et les immigrés et les a bloqués sur Borny. Les équipements urbains se sont détériorés, tandis que les opérations de rénovation se poursuivent.

Contrairement à Talange, Borny compte une forte population immigrée (28,3%), même si elle a baissé de 4 points entre 1990 et 1999 (on peut faire l'hypothèse d'une baisse due à l'accès à la nationalité française à l'âge de 18 ans, c'est-à-dire d'un effet administratif sur les statistiques). Sur les 3.500 à 4.000 étrangers, la majorité sont Algériens (21%) et Turcs (17%).

- a) *Type d'unité bien délimitée sur le plan spatial et stigmatisée sur le plan social, multidimensionnelle sur le plan des interventions institutionnelles.*

- b) *Choix des groupes TRESEGY* : population se définissant comme étrangère.
- c) *Estimation de la population d'origine immigrée de 16 à 24 ans* : 500 (sur la base d'un taux de 15%) ou 750 (sur la base d'un taux de 20%).

PROGRAMME TRESEGY, WP3 « LE CONTEXTE LOCAL ».

II. REMARQUES SUR LES UNITES LOCALES PROPOSEES.

Tout classement d'éléments hétérogènes se fonde sur des critères implicites. Nous proposons ici une approche descriptive globale des unités locales retenues pour le programme TRESEGY, tout d'abord selon un critère combiné, à la fois spatial et administratif, puis selon un critère de population. Ensuite, nous faisons référence à la diversité qu'introduisent ces classements au sein des unités retenues, tout en fournissant des possibilités de comparaison, soit partielles soit globales. Enfin, nous mettons en valeur certains constats transversaux, communs aux différentes unités retenues.

1. ELEMENTS DE DESCRIPTION GLOBALE DES UNITES LOCALES

1.1 Classement par niveau administratif et par découpage spatial.

La diversité des niveaux administratifs qui caractérisent chaque unité dans le contexte local est très apparente, tant en raison de la complexité de la structure administrative dans chaque pays qu'en raison du découpage spatial effectué par chaque équipe pour l'unité locale étudiée. Parfois, l'unité retenue pour l'enquête TRESEGY est plus petite que les autres (c'est le cas de Kreuzberg 36, dans le subdistrict de Kreuzberg, du Quartier « 6 de maio » dans la *freguesia* de Venda Nova, et du Distrito Rioni Esquilino dans la Submunicipalité I à Rome, etc.). Il s'agit d'unités qui ne correspondent pas à un échelon administratif. En dépit de ces décalages et de la différence d'appellation selon les pays, nous pouvons établir le classement suivant, en situant l'unité locale à l'intérieur de ce classement (en caractères gras). Non sans mentionner d'autres niveaux, considérés comme « niveaux de référence ». Nous partons de l'échelon spatial/administratif le plus vaste ou le plus élevé, pour descendre jusqu'à l'échelon le plus détaillé :

A) *Aire métropolitaine* :

- **Porto** (PGMA)
- **Gênes et Barcelone** : unité socio-spatiale précise mais pas toujours délimitée au niveau administratif.
- Cet échelon constitue aussi une référence pour Lisbonne.

B) *Municipalité/Ville* :

- **Talange**
- Comme référence, Amadora et Moitia, à Lisbonne. Il est aussi question de cet échelon à Porto : Porto, « Vila Nova de Gaia » (l'unité la plus précisément définie pour le Programme TRESEGY) et Sta Maria da Feira. A Barcelone et à Gênes, la ville est considérée comme une unité en soi.

C) *Submunicipalité/District (comme subdivision de la ville)/Freguesia* :

- District : **Overvecht** à Utrecht et le District Centre à Madrid
- Subdivision : Borny, à Metz.

- *Freguesias* : **Venda Nova**, sur la commune de Amadora et Vale da Amoreira sur la commune de Moitia, toutes deux situées à Lisbonne.
- **Submunicipalité I et Submunicipalité VI** à Rome.

D) Subdistrict

- **Kanaleneiland** (Utrecht)
- A Rome, mais sous l'appellation de District : Rioni Esquilino (Sous-municipalité I) et Pigneto, Tor Pignatara et Centocelle (Sous-municipalité VI). Sous forme de référence : Kreuzberg, à l'intérieur du District Kreuzberg-Friedrich (Berlin). Il est également question de ce niveau à Madrid, lorsqu'on parle des Quartiers du District Centre Embajadores, Universidad, Cortes, Justicia, Sol et Palacio.

E) Derniers échelons de référence :

- **Kreuzberg 36**, dans le Subdistrict de Kreuzberg, à Berlin.
- comme espace de référence pour les enquêtes à suivre : quartiers « 6 de maio », « Novas Fontainhas » et « Estrela de Africa » dans la *freguesia* de Venda Nova. Il est aussi question de différentes « unités de voisinage » à l'intérieur des unités retenues.

Signalons d'abord que l'on a défini 13 unités locales diversifiées (en caractères gras) à l'intérieur des 9 aires de recherche des équipes, ce qui veut dire qu'Utrecht, Lisbonne, Rome et Arofe ont proposé chacune deux espaces locaux : dans les cas d'Utrecht, Rome et Lisbonne, ces espaces sont presque équivalents, mais dans le cas d'Arofe il s'agit d'espaces très dissemblables sur le plan social, spatial et administratif. Cet état de fait peut avoir des conséquences lors des étapes ultérieures du Programme TRESEGY, mais les possibilités de comparaison s'en trouvent enrichies.

Signalons ensuite que 9 des 13 unités se situent au-dessous du niveau municipal et que 7 d'entre elles se situent à un niveau immédiatement inférieur, le plus représenté dans l'échantillon TRESEGY. Seules 3 unités se situent à un niveau supérieur à la municipalité (aire métropolitaine). Enfin, 2 autres unités correspondent à deux niveaux encore inférieurs (subdistrict et subdivision d'un subdistrict).

De manière générale, on peut considérer que plus l'unité retenue est petite, plus l'information recueillie est précise, ce qui rendra plus faciles les enquêtes de terrain lors du WP4 et du WP5, grâce au contact établi avec les institutions et la population résidant sur place. Cet échelon peut également permettre une meilleure contextualisation pour interpréter les résultats obtenus.

1.2. Classement selon la taille de la population autochtone et de la population étrangère/allochtone.

Comme on a pu l'observer dans le classement précédent, certaines équipes locales prennent en compte plusieurs sous-unités principales pour le Programme TRESEGY. On observera aussi que chaque unité ou sous-unité locale se situe de préférence par rapport à un seul échelon spatial-administratif, tout en faisant référence à d'autres échelons. Par conséquent, les 13 unités signalées par des caractères gras ne sont pas isolées. D'ailleurs, bien qu'elles aient été retenues, il arrive que l'on ne dispose pas des éléments d'information essentiels sur telle ou telle unité.

Les tableaux suivants présentent 13 unités aussi, mais avec certaines variantes en ce qui concerne les unités situées à l'échelon de l'Aire Métropolitaine : Gênes et Barcelone sont considérées comme municipalités, alors que dans le cas de Porto, on met en valeur la commune de Vila Nova de Gaia, pour laquelle les données disponibles sont les plus précises. On peut classer les 13 unités en fonction de la proportion d'immigrés/étrangers/allochtones par rapport à l'ensemble de la population, et en fonction du nombre absolu d'habitants (voir Tableau 1).

Le tableau 1 montre que 8 des 13 unités définies présentent une forte proportion d'immigrés/étrangers/allochtones (de 20 à 49%), tandis que trois autres se situent au-dessus de 10% et deux autres au-dessous de 10%. Les secteurs à haute densité migratoire sont donc sur-représentés, ce qui semble présupposer que de telles densités peuvent déboucher sur des situations d'exclusion résidentielle, ou du moins qu'elles ont un effet sur le processus d'inclusion-exclusion des populations migrantes. Or, comme le montrent les rapports de Madrid et de Berlin, il n'y a pas toujours corrélation entre les secteurs où les migrants sont très nombreux et les indicateurs de précarité sociale ou résidentielle. Mais le fait de sélectionner des secteurs en situation de précarité socio-économique qui sont en même temps des secteurs à forte densité migratoire revient à établir d'avance cette corrélation.

Tableau 1.
Unités locales TRESEGY. Population étrangère/allochtone
par rapport à l'ensemble de la population (en valeur relative et absolue).

Unité locale	% Etrangers/ allochtones	Etrangers/ allochtones	Population totale
1. Kanaleneiland /Subdistrict de Zuid-W, Utrecht	49,9	15.600	31.200
2. Overvecht (District, Utrecht)	49,6	13.600	26.600
3. Vale da Amoreira (Freguesía de Moitia)	45,0	5.560	12.358
4. Kreuzberg (Subdistrict, Berlin)	31,0	46.000	147.000
5. District Centre (District, Madrid)	28,6	42.000	149.000
6. Borny (submunicipalité, Metz)	28,3	3.400	12.000
7. Vila Nova de Gaia (Municipalité, Porto GAM)	25,2	7.500	30.000
8. Submunicipalité I, Rome	21,5	38.000	178.000
9. Barcelone (Municipalité)	15,9	260.000	1.605.000
10. Venda Nova (Freguesía de Amadora)	14,0	1.500	11.300
11. Talange (Municipalité)	11,6	800	7.700
12. Submunicipalité VI, Rome	9,5	26.300	277.000
13. Gênes	5,4	34.500	638.000

Le tableau 1 fait également apparaître que les unités locales qui comptent respectivement le plus et le moins de population autochtone (Barcelone : 1.605.000 et Talange : 7.700) sont en même temps celles qui comptent le plus grand nombre et le plus petit nombre d'étrangers/allochtones (260.000 contre 800). Mais elles présentent toutes les deux des niveaux faibles de densité migratoire relative (11,6% et 15,9%). En somme, on ne peut expliquer le choix des unités ni par le nombre absolu d'immigrés ni par la taille de la population totale, mais plutôt par le lien significatif entre les deux valeurs. Mais est-ce bien le cas ? La densité migratoire ne reflèterait-elle pas plutôt le résultat de différents processus d'inclusion/exclusion qui ont des répercussions d'une part sur *certaines zones*

résidentielles (au point de constituer des « black areas » par analogie avec les « black schools », selon la terminologie de l'équipe d'Utrecht) et d'autre part sur les conditions sociales de *certaines populations*, qui sont forcées de se réfugier dans ces zones-là ? Le processus de concentration résidentielle a pu être interprété, comme le mentionnent les rapports de Berlin et de l'Université d'Utrecht, en termes de décisions personnelles et collectives de la part des immigrés : ceux-ci décideraient de rester ensemble, et par conséquent de rester délibérément en marge de la société majoritaire, ce qui ferait grimper les indices de ségrégation. Mais ce n'est pas la seule lecture possible, ni celle que retiennent les rapports locaux. Disons que les processus d'inclusion/exclusion ne sont pas simples et que les résultats admettent plusieurs lectures.

1.3. Groupes de population cible pour le Programme TRESEGY

Le Tableau 1 fait aussi apparaître que le nombre des étrangers/allochtones au sein des unités retenues reflète des situations très différentes, étant donné qu'on ne saurait comparer la situation d'une unité locale de 800 étrangers avec une autre de 260.000. Cependant, il faut signaler que la complexité sociale des relations entre les immigrés et les autochtones existe dans les deux cas. Aussi les deux cas peuvent-ils servir à observer les expériences d'exclusion/inclusion sociale des jeunes étrangers/allochtones, mais toujours en lien avec le contexte local.

Le tableau 2 nous montre lui aussi que le choix des populations cible au sein de chaque unité pour le Programme TRESEGY est sans doute celui qui reflète la plus grande disparité. Le rapport de l'Université d'Utrecht précise que la population désignée est la « seconde génération d'allochtones », c'est-à-dire qu'il ne s'agit pas de jeunes étrangers ni de jeunes d'origine immigrée naturalisés. Quant au rapport Arofe, il attire l'attention sur la difficulté à utiliser les catégories « d'origine immigrée » et « deuxième génération », de sorte qu'il propose de les laisser à l'appréciation des personnes interviewées. Cette proposition revient à faire définir les catégories par les sujets eux-mêmes au lieu de les imposer de l'extérieur. Toutes les autres équipes se situent à mi-chemin entre ces deux positions. Mais tandis que dans certains cas on exclut telle ou telle nationalité (par exemple les ressortissant de l'UE), ou l'on retient seulement certaines d'entre elles (Marocains, Turcs, Latino-américains, PALOPS, etc.), le rapport de Madrid prend en compte comme échantillon tous les étrangers qui résident dans le secteur concerné ou qui y travaillent. En extrayant l'information que fournissent les rapports locaux (voir Tableau 2), nous pouvons présenter les groupes de population-cible retenus et leur taille.

Dans cette perspective, nous pouvons tirer deux conclusions : d'une part la taille de la communauté-cible a bel et bien de l'importance ; d'autre part cette communauté est directement concernée par le nombre total d'étrangers/allochtones dans l'espace considéré, par la façon dont on définit telle ou telle communauté, et par les caractéristiques migratoires (flux récents ou bien implantés, majorité d'hommes ou de femmes, etc.). Sur un plan plus général, on peut conclure que les groupes cible sont relativement réduits dans plusieurs sous-unités locales, ce qui pourrait entraîner des complications au moment de réaliser l'enquête prévue au WP4.

Tableau 2. Groupes de population TRESEGY et estimation de leur nombre.

Unité locale	Groupes TRESEGY	Nombre estimé des 16-24 ans
<i>Gênes</i>	Equatoriens Marocains	1.000 – 1.500 300 – 450
<i>Rome</i> Submunicipalité I Submunicipalité VI	(Non-communautaires) Asiatiques et Africains Asiatiques et Africains	1.500 – 2.500 1.000 – 1.550
<i>Lisbonne</i> Freguesía Venda Nova Freguesía Vale da Amoreira		220 – 350 600 – 1.200
<i>Porto</i> Grande Aire Métropolitaine (Vila Nova de Gaia)	PALOPS PALOPS	100 100
<i>Barcelone</i>	Latino-américains	19.000
<i>Madrid</i> District Centre	Autochtones Etrangers	6.000 5.600
<i>Berlin</i> Kreuzberg	(Non-communautaires) Turcs, Europeens de l'Est	5.500
<i>Utrecht</i> Kanaleneiland Overvecht	(Allochtones de 2° génération) - Marocains - Turcs - Marocains - Turcs	620 – 1.250 275 – 550 600 – 1.200 260 - 525
<i>AROFÉ</i> Talange Borny-Metz	Autodéfinition: (D'origine immigrée et de 2° génération)	100 – 200 500 - 750

2. OBSERVATIONS TRANSVERSALES ET POSSIBILITES DE COMPARAISON

2.1. Observations transversales aux unités locales et aux groupes cible TRESEGY

A) De façon générale et en dépit des apparences, toutes les unités locales sont traversées par différentes complexités administratives et sociales : il s'agit d'unités socialement construites. Le rapport de Berlin met bien cet aspect en valeur, en qualifiant l'unité retenue de « lieu social ».

B) La référence aux différents niveaux administratifs qui forment le cadre de chaque unité, ainsi que le rapport de dépendance des unités locales retenues aux interventions institutionnelles mettent en lumière la multiplicité des délimitations : sociales,

administratives et spatiales. Le cas le plus exemplaire et le plus explicite est la sous-unité de Metz-Borny.

Cette complexité se retrouve dans toutes les unités retenues, étant donné le modèle de hiérarchisation en cascade des différents niveaux de compétence administrative. En général, plus le niveau local exerce de compétences, plus il y a de possibilités de coordonner les interventions, ou, au contraire, de négliger complètement les populations étrangères/allochtones. Exemples : la décentralisation dans le land de Berlin, et les municipalités d'Utrecht, Rome et Barcelone.

C) Il n'existe pas d'unité locale autonome ou isolée, même si on peut établir un « indice de ségrégation », appliqué soit aux populations résidentes, soit au type de pratiques résidentielles. De ce fait, les modalités d'intervention sur les unités retenues auront des résultats divers sur l'inclusion/exclusion des populations résidentes.

1) Il semblerait que plus l'isolement et la ségrégation résidentielle ou spatiale sont forts, plus les habitants sont stigmatisés et défavorisés socialement.

Les cas les plus nets à cet égard sont Borny-Metz et le Quartier « 6 de maio » dans la freguesia de Venda Nova, sur la commune d'Amadora (Lisbonne). Mais ce constat peut être fait sur d'autres unités : l'espace social de Kreuzberg 36, le subdistrict de Kanaleneiland et le secteur de Lavapiés dans le quartier Embajadores de Madrid. Dans tous les cas cités, on peut parler de la constitution de « black areas ».

2) Toutefois, on constate également que la ségrégation a une dimension symbolique et qu'elle agit efficacement sans que son effet soit prédéterminé.

C'est un processus d'étiquetage qui se joue, et celui-ci peut revêtir une dimension « stigmatisante » de certaines aires résidentielles (cas de Borny-Metz, Overvecht, Kreuzberg 36, etc.) ou de leurs habitants, en raison des activités commerciales qu'on leur prête (Porto's Chinatown) ou d'activités délictueuses (Quartier « 6 de maio », Kanaleneiland, etc.). Ils peuvent même être stigmatisés pour leur seule présence dans l'espace social (cas des jeunes *latinos* à Gênes et Barcelone). Mais cet étiquetage peut aller dans le sens de l'attribution d'excellence à ces mêmes éléments (cas de l'image des quartiers de commerces ethniques, multiculturels, interculturels, etc.)

Il n'est pas rare non plus de trouver des situations intermédiaires, où la dimension ethnique est un facteur de rejet de la part d'une partie de la population et d'attraction pour une autre partie (y compris pour les touristes étrangers). On le voit bien à Kreuzberg 36, dans les districts de Pigneto et Tor Pignataro de Rome, dans le secteur de Lavapiés à Embajadores (Madrid). Dans tous les cas cités, l'étiquetage positif n'empêche pas que les conditions sociales soient précaires.

- Dans le premier cas on assiste à un mouvement de « retrait » des espaces concernés parmi certaines couches de la population aisées, généralement autochtones, ce que le rapport de l'Université d'Utrecht appelle le « White flight ».
- Dans le second cas, on constate une tendance à s'introduire dans ces espaces, soit parmi certaines couches de population autochtone – classes moyennes à la recherche de la nouveauté et de la diversification sociale et spatiale, selon l'effet dit de « gentrification »- soit parmi d'autres couches de population : migrants (pour

des raisons commerciales, résidentielles et associatives) et touristes étrangers attirés par les « aires ethniques singulières » dans la ville.

D) Sur un plan plus général, l'impossibilité d'isoler les unités locales tient à la diversification des espaces de la vie quotidienne : lieu de résidence, lieu de travail, lieu d'approvisionnement, espace relationnel, ainsi de suite. On peut dire que l'unité qui rassemble tous ces aspects est une unité globale.

Parmi les populations immigrées étrangères, on naît dans un pays et on vit dans un autre. Les migrations sont donc à rapporter à la mondialisation. Sans avoir recours à la notion de mondialisation, certaines unités retenues montrent bien la fragmentation des « lieux sociaux ». Ainsi, dans la Grande Aire Métropolitaine de Porto, les immigrés vivent sur une commune et travaillent sur une autre. Il en va de même dans le district Centre de Madrid, ce qui amène à prendre en compte les étrangers qui y résident et ceux qui y habitent. Cette fragmentation est particulièrement nette pour le flux de Polonais à Berlin, qui illustrent le phénomène de la « migration cinq jours par semaine », mais aussi à Gênes, parmi les groupes de Marocains qui ne demandent le regroupement familial que pour leurs fils, scindant l'unité familiale entre le pays d'origine et le pays de destination en fonction du genre.

2.2 Première approche des possibilités de comparaison

Les diversités de toutes sortes entre les unités retenues par les équipes, telles que nous venons de les exposer, se trouvent contrebalancées par les possibilités de comparaison, attendues lors du WP6. Voici quelques possibilités explicites de comparaison :

A) Comparaison rendue possible par la dimension nationale des partenaires :

- Pays présentant deux contextes locaux de recherche : Italie, Portugal, Espagne.

1) Pour ces trois pays, le cadre national-étatique uniforme en matière de gestion de l'immigration, de la jeunesse et de l'intégration pourrait offrir des lignes de comparaison. Cependant, la tendance centralisatrice et uniformisatrice (Portugal) ne semble pas avoir d'équivalent en Italie ni en Espagne, qui reconnaissent des unités territoriales autonomes sur le plan administratif et présentent des tendances fédéralistes (dans une moindre mesure en Italie), et où cette uniformité n'est pas constatée.

2) L'Espagne et l'Italie sont deux cas singuliers : étant donné les propositions de recherche, la comparaison paraît plus plausible entre Gênes et Barcelone qu'entre Rome et Madrid, ce qui ouvre des possibilités de comparaison transnationale.

3) Dans le cas du Portugal, la proposition de groupes de population à étudier n'est pas la même à Porto qu'à Lisbonne (PALOPS et immigration traditionnelle bien implantée à Lisbonne, immigration récente et communautés non traditionnelles d'Ukrainiens et de Chinois à Porto). Cependant, le découpage socio-spatial peut les rapprocher l'une de l'autre.

B) Propositions d'unités locales multiples :

4) Unités qui prennent en compte *plusieurs territoires* en un : Rome (Submunicipalités I et VI), Utrecht (District Zuid-West et Overvecht), Lisbonne (Freguesias de Venda Nova et de Vale da Almoreira), Porto (municipalités de Vila Nova de Gaia, Porto et Sta Maria da Feira), Arofe (Talange et Borny-Metz). Dans une certaine mesure, le District Centre de Madrid (six quartiers différents).

Le cas le plus singulier est celui de la dualité Talange-Borny, par la différence des résultats concernant l'inclusion/exclusion des populations étrangères, les sous-unités considérées se trouvant sur des territoires différents, et correspondant à des échelons administratifs différents.

Les districts d'Utrecht et les *freguesias* de Lisbonne pourraient permettre de croiser les comparaisons entre sous-ensembles à l'intérieur de chaque unité (Kanaleiland et Venda Nova d'une part, Overvecht et Vale da Amoreira d'autre part), en fonction du degré de stigmatisation.

Madrid et Porto présentent des sous-unités purement formelles (municipalités ou quartiers), étant donné qu'ils proposent de prendre en compte l'unité retenue comme un tout.

5) Unités qui prennent en compte deux communautés distinctes dans le même espace : Utrecht (Marocains et Turcs) ; Gênes (Marocains et Equatoriens) ; Porto (Ukrainiens et Chinois). Lisbonne (PALOPS).

Dans le cas d'Utrecht, la recherche s'applique à deux communautés nationales dans deux sous-unités spatiales. De ce fait, les possibilités de comparaisons internes sont nombreuses. Gênes et Porto présentent deux groupes d'étrangers que l'on peut considérer respectivement comme « établis » (Marocains et Chinois et comme « flux récents » (Equatoriens et Ukrainiens), ce qui permet de comparer des dynamiques.

C) Proposition d'analyse d'une communauté nationale ou d'un ensemble de communautés :

6) Une même communauté dans plusieurs unités locales :

a. Marocains : à Gênes et à Utrecht (Kanaleneiland et Overvecht), et pour une part à Borny-Metz et Madrid.

Dans le cas de Gênes il s'agit de Marocains originaires de l'aire arabophone tandis qu'à Utrecht ils viennent de l'aire berbérophone.

b. Turcs : à Kreuzberg 36 et Utrecht (Kanaleneiland et Overvecht) et pour une part à Borny-Metz.

c. Equatoriens : à Gênes et Barcelone.

On se propose d'étudier des situations semblables, en portant l'attention sur la dynamique associative informelle et sur le processus d'étiquetage en tant que « latinos ».

7) Prise en compte de plusieurs groupes « généraux » d'étrangers/immigrés : Africains et Asiatiques à Rome, Européens de l'Est à Kreuzberg 36, Latino-américains ou « latinos » à Barcelone et Gênes, PALOPS à Lisbonne, Asiatiques à Porto.

Dans ce cas de figure, le choix de groupes de population s'est fait après élimination des communautaires (nombreux dans la Submunicipalité I à Rome) et après désignation des secteurs les plus précarisés sur le plan social et économique, sauf dans le cas de Porto.

- a) Asiatiques (surtout des Chinois) : dans les Submunicipalités I et VI, à Rome, et dans l'Aire Métropolitaine de Porto.
- b) Européens de l'Est non-communautaires : à Porto (Ukrainiens) et Berlin (ex Yougoslaves).

Dans ce cas de figure, l'uniformité extérieure est trop générale pour prévoir des mécanismes de comparaison.

c) Africains : Submunicipalité VI, Rome.

d) PALOPS. Le cas de Lisbonne est singulier, étant donné que la proposition d'analyse porte sur les Pays Africains de Langue Officielle Portugaise dans les deux sous-unités (PALOPS). Il s'agit d'une immigration assez bien implantée et très traditionnelle au Portugal, par opposition aux communautés choisies à Porto.

D) Tous les étrangers comme unité de référence

8) Tous les étrangers (District Centre, Madrid) et toute la population d'origine immigrée (Talange et Borny-Metz).

Dans le cas de Madrid l'unité de référence comprend tous les étrangers vivant ou travaillant sur place ; dans le cas de Talange et Borny il est envisagé de s'adresser à toute la population afin qu'elle s'auto-définisse dans un sens ou un autre.

E) Les nationaux comme groupe de comparaison

9) Comparaison entre nationaux/autochtones et étrangers/allochtones :

Ce cas figure de façon explicite dans le rapport d'Arofe, dans la mesure où le processus d'auto-définition des groupes de jeunes l'impose, ainsi que dans le rapport de Madrid, afin de mettre en perspective les résultats fournis par l'échantillon d'étrangers.

Cette comparaison sera effectuée dans tous les pays en vertu de l'obligation de travailler sur deux échantillons, l'un composé de nationaux et l'autre d'étrangers/allochtones.

F) Echantillon TRESEGY

L'échantillonnage de groupes TRESEGY à interviewer successivement au cours du WP4 et du WP5 apparaît au Tableau 2 dans sa diversité : diversité des origines nationales, mais aussi souplesse par rapport aux tranches d'âge retenues (de 16 à 24 ans) et diversité des conditions socio-économiques dans chaque unité. Toutefois, pour des raisons pragmatiques une possibilité émerge : constituer un échantillon TRESEGY diversifié dans chaque contexte local mais offrant simultanément au moins dix possibilités de comparaison, les neuf mentionnées ci-dessus et la comparaison entre les résultats globaux de toutes les unités.

**III.DYNAMIQUES D'INCLUSION/EXCLUSION ET GESTION DE LA
DIVERSITE DANS LA POPULATION JEUNE ET IMMIGREE.**

Analyser les expériences ou les situations d'inclusion/exclusion dans la sphère publique parmi les jeunes immigrés/étrangers/allochtones, tel est l'axe qui sous-tend le Programme TRESEGY, à des fins de construction sociale de la jeunesse en Europe. Le résultat, du point de vue des acteurs migrants eux-mêmes, sera le fruit du travail de l'*Enquête* TRESEGY au cours du WP4 et des *histoires de vie* au cours du WP5, si bien que nous ne pouvons pas anticiper sur ce résultat. En revanche, nous pouvons mettre à profit l'information recueillie dans les rapports locaux pour présenter, tout d'abord les dynamiques d'inclusion/exclusion, et en second les modèles de gestion de la diversité appliqués aux jeunes et aux migrants.

1. DYNAMIQUES D'INCLUSION/EXCLUSION ET IMMIGRATION.

1. 1. Observations sur l'ensemble des unités locales.

Nous pouvons situer l'information recueillie dans les rapports sur la situation d'inclusion/exclusion au sein des unités locales retenues dans un continuum, sur un axe, qui nous permettra de visualiser de façon imagée la position de chaque unité. Précisons qu'il s'agit d'un classement formel et non pas taxatif. Dans ce chapitre nous ne prenons pas en compte les processus qui constituent des dynamiques complexes au sein de chaque unité, mais nous nous intéressons à la description finale des unités locales présentée dans les rapports.

Voici, brièvement décrites, les trois positions qui se dégagent (voir Tableau 3), puis la répartition des différentes unités entre ces trois positions. Le but recherché est de situer de façon dynamique les différents éléments (acteurs et conditions sociales) qui figurent dans la description des unités locales. Aussi chaque unité se place-t-elle de façon ouverte sur une ligne continue entre le pôle de l'exclusion et le pôle de l'inclusion.

A) Le tableau des positions comme outil descriptif

Le tableau 3 propose d'articuler trois positions-type, qui peuvent contribuer à décrire des moments distincts dans le processus complexe d'inclusion/exclusion : les points extrêmes de l'inclusion et de l'exclusion sont décrits dans les rapports comme position positive et position négative. Aucun rapport ne qualifie de positive une situation d'exclusion. Pour imprimer une dynamique à cette dichotomie, nous pouvons intercaler entre le positif et le négatif une troisième position « neutre » ou, pour retenir le terme utilisé par Arofe à Talange, une position de *normalisation* ou d'absence de problématique de la position standard comme renvoyant à la normalité. Aucune position « idéale » ne correspond à la réalité des unités locales, même si certaines s'en rapprochent davantage. Aussi attirons-nous l'attention du lecteur afin qu'il n'effectue pas une lecture figée : il convient de considérer que dans chaque unité sont impliqués des acteurs et des institutions, et que les stratégies qu'ils adoptent peuvent se rapprocher d'une ou plusieurs positions-type, ce qui produit de la diversité à l'intérieur de chaque unité locale. Par exemple, on

peut placer du côté de l'inclusion les résultats scolaires des jeunes (lorsqu'ils sont semblables ou supérieurs à ceux de la moyenne de la population), et du côté de l'exclusion les discours et attitudes de l'institution scolaire sur les étrangers ou sur les familles face à l'école, etc. De plus, chaque résultat correspond à un moment historique donné dans chaque unité locale, et peut évoluer dans tel ou tel sens selon les circonstances, de sorte qu'il peut se colorer de plus ou moins d'intensité selon les moments, y compris à l'intérieur d'une position-type.

1) La colonne de gauche polarise une appréciation négative quelles que soient les critères examinés. On peut par conséquent la qualifier de ségrégation sur le plan des liens ou des échanges avec d'autres groupes sociaux et d'autres aires résidentielles, ainsi que sur le plan des conditions de vie des habitants.

Le regard porté sur l'unité considérée par le reste de la population majoritaire, qui vit en général à l'extérieur, équivaut à un rejet et se cristallise en phénomène de *stigmatisation négative* (zone dangereuse, sentiment d'insécurité, etc.). Ce rejet entraîne souvent la fuite de la population autochtone qui en a les moyens vers d'autres secteurs non porteurs de stigmates (phénomène connu sous le nom de « white flight »).

2) La colonne centrale représente un *point intermédiaire* entre les extrêmes sur la ligne inclusion/exclusion. Elle se caractérise par l'absence de conflit en cours, ce qui peut aussi bien indiquer une attitude indifférente que la possibilité de contacts interethniques favorisant la tolérance. En somme, on assume la possibilité de reconnaître les autres groupes dans leur diversité, mais on ne sait pas comment évoluera la situation.

3) La troisième colonne, celle de droite, représente le point maximal d'acceptation de l'autre, pris individuellement et collectivement. On voit se dégager des images positives de l'immigration et de son apport à la société d'accueil (cotisations sociales, versement d'impôts, diversité culturelle, etc.). On insiste sur la volonté d'intégration des autres et on renforce la coopération entre les autochtones et les allochtones, comme entre leurs institutions respectives. Ce processus trouve son aboutissement dans l'intégration et l'échange interculturel, dans le cadre de politiques affirmées de promotion de la diversité.

Néanmoins le fait qu'une position soit considérée de l'intérieur comme positive ne dit rien sur son évolution, étant donné qu'elle peut basculer de la volonté d'assimilation vers l'interculturalité. En outre, il faut tenir compte de la distance entre les discours mis en avant et les politiques mises en œuvre, comme y insiste le rapport de l'Université de Lleida.

B) Positionnement descriptif des unités locales sur l'axe inclusion/exclusion.

Nous classerons ainsi les *treize unités décrites* dans les rapports, en fonction du schéma proposé :

1. Unités placées dans la colonne « exclusion ».

a) Unités locales paradigmatiques ou constitution de « black areas »

- freguesia de Venda Nova (Lisbonne), surtout les quartiers « 6de maio », « Novas Fontainhas et « Estrela de Africa » ;
- subdistrict de Kanaleneiland, à Utrecht (74% de population non-occidentale)

- Borny-Metz, surtout la zone en cours de réaménagement
- Kreuzberg 36, en tant que lieu social précarisé plutôt qu'en tant que division administrative.
- Le secteur de Lavapiés dans le Quartier Embajadores, à Madrid, étiqueté comme Chinatown et ghetto de Marocains.

Populations impliquées :

Le processus de stigmatisation ne touche pas que les zones résidentielles. Il concerne aussi les populations situées dans un secteur particulier ou sur toute la commune.

- Le premier cas correspond à la situation des PALOPS à Venda Nova, des Marocains et des Turcs à Utrecht, des Turcs et Européens de l'Est à Kreuzberg 36.
- Le deuxième cas concerne les «latinos» à Gênes et à Barcelone et les Marocains à Gênes, deux groupes mal considérés de par leur identité ethnique plus que par leur qualité de résidents.

b) Parmi les unités incluses dans cet ensemble mais qui présentent *un niveau de ségrégation plus modéré*, citons :

- La Submunicipalité I et la VI à Rome : une partie des districts de Rioni, Pigneto, Tor Pignatora et Centocello ;
- Le District d'Overvecht et la freguesía Vale de Amoreira ont certains traits communs, mais atténués, avec le subdistrict de Kanaleneiland et la *freguesía* Venda Nova dans leurs contextes respectifs. Leur situation peut se maintenir en l'état ou évoluer vers un stade plus critique.

Les groupes de populations qui se trouvent dans cette situation sont :

- PALOPS à Vale de Amoreira ; Turcs et Marocains à Overvecht ; Asiatiques et Africains dans la Submunicipalité VI de Rome.
- Les Chinois et les Ukrainiens de Vila Nova de GAMP réagissent en réaffirmant leur identité ethnique communautaire : les Chinois en créant une école en chinois et une station de radio, en subventionnant des voyages et séjours en Chine pour que les jeunes apprennent la langue ; les Ukrainiens en créant une école en langue nationale et en mettant en avant leur héritage culturel à travers diverses activités.

2. *Unités placées dans la position neutre, sans conflit en cours :*

a) unités locales situées dans la position non-problématique ou sans conflit en cours :

- Talange : la ville représente la situation de normalité, sans crispation apparente, bien que certains groupes de population étrangère et d'origine immigrée soient désavantagés sur le plan social.
- De façon moins nette, les Ukrainiens de Porto (PGAM) se trouvent eux aussi dans cette position. Ils ont un niveau de formation plus élevé que les Portugais mais ils sont moins bien placés socialement pour l'accès à l'emploi et au logement, ce sorte que certains, par réaction, émigrent en Espagne.
- Le District Centre de Madrid, dans la mesure où l'on considère l'ensemble des étrangers comme base d'échantillonnage, serait à placer dans cette catégorie en attendant les résultats de l'enquête.

3. Interventions et acteurs placés dans la position d'inclusion :

Aucune unité locale retenue ne correspond à la position d'excellence. Cependant, nous pouvons placer plusieurs positions différenciées dans cette catégorie, dans la mesure où elles favorisent le contact et la coopération entre communautés ethniques et groupes sociaux. Mais comme il a été dit plus haut, il s'agit de positions partielles qui ne concernent qu'une partie de l'unité en question, alors que d'autres parties se trouvent dans les situations décrites précédemment (entre le rejet et l'indifférence, à divers degrés).

- a) positions qui ont comme point de contact et de coopération la *diversité ethnique commerciale* : on apprécie l'existence d'aires commerciales multiculturelles qui offrent de l'ethnicité, élargissant ainsi l'offre de consommation et de loisirs, ce qui attire les touristes et les habitants en tant que consommateurs.
- b) position de certaines *administrations locales* qui mettent en œuvre la recomposition urbaine et sociale de ces quartiers ethniques commerciaux, et qui favorisent les contacts multiculturels comme échanges porteurs de cohésion entre les diverses populations. Il s'agit là de politiques de changement interculturel qui émergent au sein même de l'administration (Berlin, Utrecht, Catalogne, Rome...).
- c) *propositions de contact entre communautés ethniques* en tant qu'expression de la diversité et source d'enrichissement, entre personnes ou entre sous-groupes, ce qui constitue un attrait aux yeux de certaines couches des classes moyennes à la recherche d'exotisme urbain (« gentrification »), de groupes sociaux alternatifs appartenant à la contre-culture, voire de certains immigrés.

Nous repérons certains de ces traits dans les unités de Kreuzberg 36, dans les Districts de la Submunicipalité I et VI de Rome (Rioni Esquilino Pigneto, Tor Pignatora et Centocello), dans les interventions municipales à Kanaleneiland et à Overvecht (Utrecht) et à Lavapiés (Madrid). De même, dans le processus de consensus sous forme de dialogue parmi les jeunes latinos à Barcelone et Gênes. Les nationalités concernées offrent un aspect exotique pour le regard occidental : Turcs et Marocains (musulmans), latinos, Africains et Asiatiques (Chinois et Hindous).

TABLEAU. PLACEMENT DES UNITES LOCALES SUR L'AXE EXCLUSION/INCLUSION

EXCLUSION		NEUTRALITE (Standard)	INCLUSION	
Haute intensité	Intensité moyenne-basse		Ethnique/Commercial	Comunitarisme ethnique
- Kanaleneiland (Marocains et Turcs)				Utrecht Administration locale, Politiques d'immigration
	- Overvecht (Marocains et Turcs)			Idem
- Borny-Metz (Turcs et Algériens)				Interventions administratives et associations de migrants
- Kreuzberg 36 (Turcs et Européens de l'Est)			Administration de Berlin	Culturel, vivre ensemble Politiques d'immigration
- Gênes (Latinos et Marocains)				Processus de reconnaissance des associations informelles latinos
- District Centre Embajadores (Asiatiques et Marocains)	Quartiers Sol et Universidad	District Centre Justicia, Cortes, Palacio (todos los extranjeros)	Embajadores et Sol touristique reconfiguration urbaine	' Lavapiés' intervention de la Société civile autochtone immigrée
- Barcelone (Latino-américains)				Processus entre administration et jeunes latinos ; politique de l'immigration et de la jeunesse
- Venda Nova (PALOPS)				Interventions d'organismes locaux et nationaux
	- Vale da Amoreira (PALOPS)			Administrations et organismes sociaux Menant des projets à court terme
	- Submunicipalité I (Esquilino: Asiatiques)		Administration de Rome	Politique locale d'immigration
	- Submunicipalité VI (Asiatiques et Africains)		Idem	Société civile autochtone/immigrée Politique locale d'immigration
	- Porto (Porto's Chinatown)	- Portoo (Ukrainiens) TALANGE (Population autodéfinie)		
<i>Catégories négatives:</i> Stigmatisation Xénophobie		<i>Catégories ambivalentes</i> Etiquetage Tolérance	<i>Catégories positives:</i> Excellence Assimilation-Interculturalité	

1.2. Observations transversales.

1°. Les informations élaborées reprennent surtout la version officielle et institutionnelle et dans une moindre mesure celle des acteurs impliqués, qui constituent l'objectif du WP4 et du WP5. D'ailleurs, comme le signale l'Université de Lleida, il y a une grande différence entre les discours politiquement corrects des versions officielles et les actes concrets.

2°. Ce que le Tableau 3 montre le plus clairement, c'est que l'on n'a trouvé aucune unité locale correspondant à la position d'inclusion maximale. Toutes les autres, sauf Talange, se placent à des degrés différents en position d'exclusion. Ce constat, qui montre l'effet des conditions socio-économiques et institutionnelles sur les unités retenues, infléchira dans une large mesure les constats des phases ultérieures du Programme TRESEGY, qui permettront d'en donner une interprétation.

3°. Dans la première position de stigmatisation des espaces urbains et des populations, on voit apparaître des situations différenciées qui sont difficiles à expliquer en recourant aux arguments habituels. Par exemple, on insiste généralement sur le fait que des populations étrangères/allochtones de différentes origines culturelles, religieuses, etc., ne disposant pas de compétences linguistiques, courent le risque du handicap social et du cercle vicieux chronique : manque de formation professionnelle, mauvais résultats scolaires, taux de chômage plus élevé, emplois moins qualifiés et moins bien payés, plus grande dépendance par rapport aux prestations sociales, difficultés accrues d'accès au logement, lieu de résidence stigmatisé, plus fort taux de criminalité et indice de ségrégation élevé par manque de contact avec d'autres groupes sociaux. On considère qu'il est difficile de sortir de ce cercle vicieux, étant donné que ces facteurs se renforcent les uns les autres et que certaines interventions institutionnelles peuvent même les renforcer par des effets contreproductifs. Mais on considère surtout que les acteurs impliqués sont responsables individuellement de leur enfermement dans des situations négatives, ou qu'ils se trouvent dans ces situations en raison de carences personnelles ou ethniques.

Cette description pourrait correspondre aux conditions de vie des communautés de Turcs et de Marocains à Utrecht, Kreuzberg, Borny, mais elle ne correspond pas à la situation des PALOPS, comme hypothèse centrale, sur le point de la différence culturelle par rapport à la société d'accueil, et encore moins sur le point de la compétence linguistique. Elle ne semble pas non plus correspondre à la situation des Algériens de Borny, qui sont en fait des Français de familles algériennes, et ne correspond qu'en partie à celle des Latino-américains de Barcelone, étant donné que ce territoire possède deux langues officielles, dont l'espagnol, leur langue maternelle.

4°. Nous attirons l'attention sur les références récurrentes à la langue en tant que facteur culturel et politique, comme l'a abordé le WP2, dans son rapport à la cohésion sociale et à la gestion des migrations par l'Etat. On observe par exemple, dans le rapport de Porto, que le classement des populations migrantes/étrangères repose sur la langue maternelle, soit dans le sens de l'inclusion (Pays Africains de Langue Officielle Portugaise, PALOPS), soit dans le sens de l'exclusion (élèves qui n'ont pas le Portugais comme langue maternelle, PNMT).

Cependant, le stigmate qui pèse sur les PALOPS à Vandanova et Vale de Amoreira, et sur les *latinos* à Barcelone semble davantage lié à des formes différentes de sociabilité (la rue étant l'espace de vie privilégié), ainsi qu'aux conditions de vie précaires qui est leur lot. C'est-à-dire aux tentatives d'homogénéisation de la diversité de la part de la société majoritaire, plutôt qu'à la promotion de l'égalité des chances pour les minorités. Ce constat indique que certaines populations et certains espaces sociaux sont stigmatisés en tant que tels et remet en question certains discours d'inclusion au sens d'uniformisation et d'assimilation. Le cas des Chinois illustre bien ce paradoxe : les jeunes dominant parfaitement le portugais. C'est avec leur propre langue « d'origine » qu'ils ont des difficultés. Du coup, ils ont eu recours à différentes solutions comme les séjours en Chine financés officiellement par la communauté chinoise elle-même. Dans ce cas, l'effort supplémentaire des jeunes de cette communauté chinoise ne semble pas payé de retour par une bonne acceptation de la part de la société majoritaire.

Les programmes d'apprentissage de la langue et de la culture du pays d'accueil, mis en place par la Hollande et l'Allemagne ont un équivalent plus doux dans les politiques locales d'Utrecht et de Berlin. Dans le premier cas la Municipalité subventionne les cours obligatoires et les élargit aux résidents ayant une certaine ancienneté ; dans le second cas le Sénat de Berlin considère que l'effort fourni pour apprendre la langue doit trouver sa contrepartie dans l'ouverture de l'administration et de la société allemandes à l'interculturalité. Néanmoins, les rapports locaux laissent entrevoir que la maîtrise de la langue officielle du pays d'accueil, comprise comme symptôme d'intégration ou d'appartenance à une communauté culturelle, voire comme signe du caractère politique et national de cette appartenance, ne joue pas ce rôle de façon automatique. Ceci nous amène à nous interroger sur l'usage social que l'on attribue à la langue dans la dynamique d'inclusion/exclusion sociale des minorités ou des étrangers.

5°. Qu'en est-il des Turcs et des Marocains à Utrecht, Berlin et Borny, qui sont considérés comme porteurs de la plus grande différence culturelle, car ils sont identifiés à l'islam, réputé inassimilable par les démocraties occidentales ?

Sur ce point le débat se déplace sur le terrain politique et les positions sont très tranchées. Les résultats de l'enquête du WP4 et les histoires de vie du WP5 devront apporter des éléments de clarification. Pour le moment, comme le signale le rapport d'Arofe, les recherches menées à Borny n'ont pas révélé de différences entre les valeurs et les attentes des jeunes étrangers turcs et celles des Français.

6°. D'autres motifs de mise à part ou de classement des populations se fondent sur la différence d'origine (ethnique, culturelle, c'est-à-dire non-occidentale), en fonction du lieu de naissance, de l'origine du groupe familial (allochtones) ou encore en fonction de la nationalité. A l'opposé, les rapports font maintes fois référence aux ressortissants de pays de l'Union Européenne afin de les exclure des politiques d'immigration, c'est-à-dire en fait de les exclure des groupes TRESEGY, sans tenir compte du fait que le Programme TRESEGY prend comme objet l'émergence d'une « jeunesse européenne ». Ce biais peut se trouver en partie corrigé par la constitution d'un deuxième échantillon de jeunes autochtones à des fins de comparaison.

7°. Aucune unité retenue ne se place dans la position idéale de coopération maximale entre communautés, populations, administration, etc., de façon globale. Lorsque les

rapports locaux rendent compte de tel ou tel programme d'intervention dans ce sens, il nous semble que celui-ci ne concerne pas une proportion importante de la population ou de l'aire concernées.

Le fait qu'une position soit considérée de l'intérieur comme positive ne dit presque rien sur ses effets à long terme, car il peut se produire un basculement de la position assimilationniste vers la position interculturelle. Revenons aussi sur le constat de l'Université de Lleida quant à la différence entre les discours et les politiques mises en place.

8°. Enfin, les rapports locaux n'ont recueilli que peu d'informations sur le point de vue des acteurs impliqués dans le programme TRESEGY, c'est-à-dire les jeunes étrangers/allochtones et les autochtones. L'information se réfère en général aux communautés immigrées ou aux aires retenues prises dans leur ensemble. Il reviendra au programme TRESEGY de combler cette lacune.

Par ailleurs, si les informations ne rendent presque pas compte du regard que portent les immigrés sur leur propre situation, elles ne font pas non plus état de la façon dont ils perçoivent la société majoritaire ou certains groupes sociaux, ni des effets de cette perception. Prenons l'exemple révélateur du terme de « fromages blancs » que les élèves étrangers/immigrés de Borny appliquent à leurs camarades français, dont il faudrait faire une lecture en termes de culture et de classe sociale. Il faut mentionner aussi une autre contribution à venir : les opinions des jeunes autochtones sur eux-mêmes et sur les étrangers/allochtones, afin de mettre au jour une éventuelle identité jeune en Europe.

2. GESTION DE LA DIVERSITE DANS LA POPULATION JEUNE ET IMMIGREE

Ce chapitre aborde deux sujets importants pour le Programme TRESEGY : l'orientation des politiques de la jeunesse et de l'immigration dans les contextes locaux, et les domaines d'intégration pris en compte dans les rapports locaux.

2.1. Remarques communes sur les domaines d'inclusion concernant les populations TRESEGY.

Les rapports des pays partenaires sont plutôt d'accord sur les domaines considérés comme importants, qui favorisent ou entravent l'inclusion des populations étrangères/immigrées/allochtones. En général, ces domaines constituent un cercle vertueux, par opposition au cercle vicieux de l'exclusion dont nous avons déjà parlé : la formation professionnelle, un enseignement primaire de qualité, une bonne insertion sur le plan de l'habitat, un emploi stable et qualifié, de nombreux liens au sein de la communauté ethnique et à l'extérieur, la participation sociale, culturelle, religieuse, le système de santé et l'accès aux prestations sociales en cas de besoin, le sentiment de sécurité et les équipements collectifs adéquats dans le quartier (transports, ect.).Le rapport de Lisbonne synthétise ce cercle vertueux en cinq catégories reliées entre elles, parmi lesquelles nous retenons celle de « cohésion et insertion sociale », qui n'existe pas lorsque les populations et les aires résidentielles sont exclues par la société majoritaire. De façon complémentaire, d'autres domaines sont mentionnés dans les

rapports locaux, comme la qualité de l'environnement et du cadre de vie, la pratique sportive et les bonnes habitudes alimentaires, la maîtrise de la langue et la connaissance de la culture du pays d'accueil, et ainsi de suite. D'autres facteurs semblent plus ambivalents, comme l'apport démographique des jeunes à l'unité locale et ses projections prévisibles, ou l'apport économique, ainsi que l'apport des entreprises ethniques en termes de revitalisation des quartiers. L'impression générale qui se dégage des rapports est celle de communautés plutôt cibles de politiques institutionnelles que sujets de participation sociale et communautaire. On peut y voir une conséquence de la forte précarité qui pèse sur la plupart des aires et des populations retenues.

Les domaines d'inclusion considérés pourront éventuellement figurer dans le questionnaire du WP4, ou servir de canevas pour l'approche qualitative par le biais des histoires de vie lors du WP5.

a) Pour ce qui est du *questionnaire d'enquête* pour le WP4, chaque unité locale pourrait utiliser les éléments déjà connus pour affiner les questions.

- Pour aborder la question de la *santé*, les rapports de Borny et d'Utrecht font référence à différents symptômes affectant certaines communautés (troubles gastriques chez les Marocains et les Turcs ; douleurs abdominales, incidence de la tuberculose, facteur aggravant du stress...), ou certains groupes d'adolescents qui somatisent sous forme de migraines et d'eczémas des situations d'isolement et de pauvreté. Il est question aussi d'initiatives intéressantes en ce domaine. A Borny, il est fait mention de la CLE (écoute et accueil de la personne sur un mode oral), que l'on pourrait présenter pour savoir ce qu'en pensent les habitants, s'ils y ont recours.

- Le domaine des *rencontres entre jeunes* dans le cadre sportif, par la musique, lors de journées de rencontres entre établissements scolaires est celui que les rapports citent le plus souvent. Chaque unité locale pourrait rendre compte des initiatives découvertes (*Macadam spot*, à Talange ; *Cros-cultural futbol* à Rome et *Mundialito convivie* à Madrid). On pourrait parler aussi de l'expérience directe des jeunes à travers le réseau virtuel *ReteG2* ou *Asso.China* à Gênes et Rome, afin de savoir si elles sont connues et si le niveau de participation est réel.

- Par rapport aux *interventions publiques* et aux services destinés aux jeunes migrants, le rapport de Rome parle de la figure du « médiateur linguistique en milieu scolaire » et celui de Madrid du « médiateur social interculturel ». Ces deux figures pourraient elles aussi illustrer des situations locales.

- Arofe fait mention du *plan Borloo*, fondé sur la Stratégie Européenne pour l'Emploi, qui propose que chaque jeune acquière une formation qualifiée et accède à un emploi stable d'ici 2009. Cette ambition permet de recueillir les opinions et les attitudes des jeunes autochtones et immigrés à propos des objectifs avancés.

b) Certains apports pourront être mis à profit pour le WP5. Les rapports désignent des situations spécifiques qui pourraient faire l'objet de recherches, selon le modèle adopté pour les « histoires de vie ».

- A Rome, Gênes, Barcelone et Madrid, les mineurs isolés, surtout Marocains, constituent des cas à part.
- Les jeunes Chinois de l'aire métropolitaine de Porto, qui voient la nécessité de compléter leur formation dans la langue d'origine et se déplacent en Chine pour le faire, constituent un autre cas à part.

- Les rapports de Lisbonne, Rome, Gênes et Barcelone mentionnent la sociabilité élargie dans des espaces informels – la rue, par exemple-, peu contrôlés par les institutions formelles.

A tous égards, la préparation du WP4 et du WP5 doivent prendre en compte les résultats obtenus localement au cours du WP3.

2.2. Modèles de gestion de la diversité dans la population jeune et immigrée.

Le programme TRESEGY prend en compte les populations jeunes et immigrées dans le cadre de la construction sociale de la jeunesse européenne. Nous extrayons des rapports locaux certaines spécificités en rapport avec ce sujet : d'abord sur les modèles d'intégration de l'immigration et ensuite sur la notion de jeunesse et sur les rapports entre jeunesse et immigration dans le cadre du programme TRESEGY : « jeunesse immigrée et jeunesse européenne ».

A) Les modèles de l'intégration de l'immigration

Dans ce chapitre on s'attachera en particulier à trois propositions : le concept d'intégration de Berlin ; la dynamique des politiques d'intégration à Utrecht ; la « voie catalane » pour l'intégration. Ces trois unités locales ont affiché publiquement ces propositions et en ont débattu, même s'il en existe d'autres ailleurs.

- Le concept d'intégration du Sénat de Berlin.

Berlin est l'un des lander allemands. En tant que tel le land exerce des compétences étendues en matière d'immigration, qui vont au-delà des compétences exercées dans les autres unités locales TRESEGY. Par exemple, il décide d'attribuer ou de refuser la nationalité allemande aux étrangers.

Depuis les années 80, le Sénat de Berlin a impulsé une politique d'intégration en coordonnant toutes les actions et les politiques des administrations, dans une perspective interculturelle, afin de lutter contre la discrimination, et en soutenant l'action des associations. En 2003 Berlin a été proclamée « *Ville de l'immigration* » et le *concept d'intégration de Berlin* a été lancé. Cela passe par le dialogue interculturel entre les institutions de la société d'accueil et les organisations d'immigrés. La dynamique d'intégration repose sur la participation active et le partage d'objectifs et de valeurs communs. Toutes les dimensions sont prises en compte : sociale, économique, légale, citoyenne, culturelle, (maîtrise de la langue et sentiment d'appartenance) ; ouverture de la société allemande à l'interculturalité ; changements dans l'administration locale).

Dès lors, plusieurs mots d'ordre significatifs ont été lancés : en 2005, à l'occasion de la nouvelle Loi sur l'immigration et face au risque de rupture de la cohésion sociale en raison des processus d'exclusion. « *Faire vivre la diversité, renforcer la cohésion* ». De même, pour mettre en œuvre les réformes proposées par le rapport PISA sur les résultats scolaires, on a proposé le mot d'ordre suivant : « *Intégration par l'éducation* », afin que les écoliers immigrés obtiennent leur certificat de scolarité, que les parents s'impliquent dans la scolarisation de leurs enfants, et que les élèves et leurs parents s'informent sur la culture et la société allemandes.

- Politique d'intégration à la hollandaise :

Au cours des années 70, la politique d'intégration a ciblé les *minorités* d'origine immigrée, par un soutien aux activités collectives des migrants, en partant du constat qu'ils étaient socialement défavorisés. On a mis sur pied des Conseils de l'immigration, des comités de minorités, etc. Mais au milieu des années 90 le constat sur la ségrégation des minorités et la possibilité qu'elles constituent des ghettos a entraîné une réorientation de cette politique : désormais, on a placé l'accent sur *l'interculturalisme, le contact et l'acceptation des différences*, sans exclure des mesures spécifiques pour réduire les handicaps sociaux et les situations de discrimination.

A Utrecht on a appelé cette dynamique UTECHT MIX, en accordant la priorité au changement dans la gestion municipale et dans les quartiers porteurs d'images négatives, à travers la mise en place de différentes initiatives. Les conseils de l'immigration, comme support de la politique ciblant les minorités, ont été abolis. Ils ont été remplacés en 2002 par le Conseil de la Ville à l'Interculturalité (un terme qui a été repris par différentes institutions locales, entre autres la Ville de Madrid.) Par la suite, plusieurs événements sont venus infléchir la politique d'intégration :

a) un tournant dans la politique nationale dans le sens d'une position assimilationniste, dont la mise en œuvre a été confiée à la structure municipale. On a tenté de clarifier l'emploi des termes, en réservant le terme d'*approche culturelle* aux contacts ethniques et le terme *action interculturelle* aux activités prises en charge par la municipalité. Les domaines d'intervention sont les suivants :

- les *équipements* : il s'agit de donner aux immigrés le sens de la participation à la société hollandaise, par l'éducation à la citoyenneté.

- *l'accessibilité*, sur deux points : les organismes doivent offrir des produits et des services qui apportent une qualification aux migrants, et ceux-ci doivent en faire leur capital humain.

- l'adoption de la *catégorie relationnelle* et lieu et place de la catégorie interculturelle : contacts entre cultures différentes, dont les organisations d'immigrés sont partie prenante.

b) La mort de Theo van Gogh et le problème de la radicalisation des jeunes musulmans. Utrecht a adopté un plan de sécurité publique face au danger terroriste ; la Ville a renforcé les investissements destinés à réduire les inégalités (équipements, accessibilité et dimension relationnelle). Elle développe les contacts avec les parents de jeunes immigrés afin d'approfondir le dialogue entre cultures. Elle propose aussi la formation des formateurs qui travaillent auprès de jeunes migrants en matière de rapports entre l'islam et la jeunesse.

c) Le *Plan National d'Education à la Citoyenneté*, 2006. Ce nouveau Plan rend obligatoires les cours de langue néerlandaise pour les nouveaux arrivants, payés par les immigrés eux-mêmes. La Ville d'Utrecht propose de payer les cours obligatoires pour les nouveaux migrants et de les ouvrir aux immigrés déjà présents, en les améliorant.

De leur côté, les associations de migrants ont été invités à participer à tout ce processus, mais elles disent qu'elles n'ont pas été écoutées ni prises au sérieux. Aussi le rapport Salhti (2006) recommande-t-il de redéfinir ce qu'est une organisation immigrée ouverte à la communauté et à la société, jouant un rôle de pont. Il propose aussi de

reconnaître la diversité et le contenu des activités associatives et de simplifier les dossiers de subventions, dans un esprit de transparence. Bref, il y a une différence sensible entre les propositions politiques et les réalisations (voir rapport de l'Université de Lleida).

- La « voie catalane pour l'intégration ».

Le rapport de l'Université de Lleida présente un historique de la politique migratoire en Catalogne. La voie catalane pour l'intégration est à replacer dans un contexte de revendications politiques dans le cadre de l'Etat espagnol, mais elle pose aussi des jalons en matière de liens entre jeunesse et immigration.

Le nouveau *Statut de la Catalogne* (2006) prévoit des mesures d'intégration sociale et économique des immigrés, ainsi que leur participation sociale. Cependant, politiquement, ces mesures sont subordonnées à la politique d'immigration nationale. Le *II Plan pour l'Immigration* (2001-2004) reconnaissait déjà à la Catalogne la capacité à intégrer des personnes d'autres cultures tout en préservant la sienne. C'est ce positionnement qui est connu sous le terme de « voie catalane pour l'intégration ». La Catalogne revendique donc un rôle comme acteur politique dans la politique espagnole d'immigration tout en se réclamant de l'identité culturelle catalane (dotée d'une langue et d'institutions propres), dans le cadre de l'Etat espagnol. Elle accepte de s'ouvrir à d'autres cultures. Elle avance une image positive de l'immigration dans la mesure où celle-ci contribue à la construction de la Catalogne, propose des politiques d'immigration intégrales (non-sectorielles), et adopte le principe de transversalité.

Le *III Plan pour la Citoyenneté et l'Immigration* (2005-2008) et *La Loi sur les conditions d'accueil* (2007) posent deux jalons intéressants : a) un concept de *citoyenneté de résidence* non lié à la nationalité ; b) l'intégration des jeunes d'origine immigrée dans les dispositifs de politique de la jeunesse. Ce plan propose d'établir des contacts entre les groupes de jeunes catalans et immigrés, afin qu'ils participent à des activités communes et créent des réseaux relationnels. Les jeunes migrants sont reconnus comme une nouvelle composante de la jeunesse catalane. Désormais, toutes les politiques de la jeunesse seront considérées comme des politiques interculturelles concernant tous les jeunes. Cette dernière formulation est le fruit d'une coordination entre le Secrétariat Général à la Jeunesse et le Secrétariat Général à l'Immigration. Il jette les fondements d'un modèle intégré, à l'opposé du modèle en vigueur dans la Communauté de Madrid, qui dissocie jeunesse et immigration.

Pour nous résumer, les trois approches retenues permettent d'affirmer, comme le fait le rapport de Rome, que « le modèle interculturel d'intégration sociale des immigrants repose sur le contact entre les communautés autochtones et immigrées ».

B) La construction sociale de la jeunesse et de la jeunesse immigrée

Comme le fait remarquer Arofe, les politiques de la jeunesse et les politiques d'immigration renvoient directement au problème de l'altérité, c'est dire aux processus de construction sociale qui opèrent un découpage parmi les populations. La question qui vient à l'esprit est la suivante : que signifie « être jeune » et comment différencier les jeunes immigrés des jeunes autochtones ? Presque tous les rapports constatent que la gestion sociale de la jeunesse est en définitive une façon de traiter les problèmes de

formation qualifiante, d'insertion professionnelle, de santé, de transports et d'accès au logement. En somme, les piliers sur lesquels repose l'autonomie personnelle, auxquels il faut ajouter la question de la participation sociale et de la construction d'une citoyenneté active.

Si les jeunes ont des besoins fondamentaux dans tous ces domaines, tel est aussi le cas du reste de la population. Par conséquent, il n'y a pas de raison pour que les politiques d'emploi concernent les jeunes en tant que tels : en France, on applique le principe fondamental de l'égalité de traitement sur tout le territoire et pour tous les citoyens. Cependant, le rapport d'Arofe signale que le Ministère du Travail vient de mettre en place des mesures spécifiques pour les jeunes, au bout de trente ans, car ils sont considérés comme un groupe à risque du point de vue de l'emploi et la formation. De même, le Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports, qui exerce des compétences en matière de temps libre, fixe la fin de la jeunesse à trente ans, ce que ne font pas les autres administrations. Mais il n'existe rien de semblable en direction des immigrés, en raison des choix politiques de la France : qu'il s'agisse de programmes sociaux ou culturels, on ne distingue pas entre les individus en fonction de leurs origines, et on ne se réfère pas à la diversité culturelle des minorités. Les interventions sont conçues de façon globale pour pouvoir s'adresser à tous, sans distinction d'origine, de sexe ou d'âge. En somme, les politiques de la jeunesse et de l'immigration répondent au principe de transversalité.

Ce modèle d'intervention homogénéisant et intégral se retrouve dans presque tous les rapports sur le contexte local. Mais dans le cas de la Communauté de Madrid on constate une série de distinctions à l'intérieur du groupe « jeunes », et l'affirmation du principe selon lequel les politiques de la jeunesse doivent aider ces sous-groupes à affronter diverses situations :

- a) les *jeunes d'âge scolaire*, dont les intérêts en-dehors de l'école sont les loisirs et le temps libre ;
- b) les *jeunes qui mènent de front travail et études*, qui passent par une phase essentielle d'expérimentation et d'affirmation de leur identité, tout en se souciant de leur avenir. Il faut leur proposer des espaces de participation effective dans la cité ;
- c) les jeunes qui affrontent *l'intégration au monde du travail et les défis de l'émancipation* : accès au logement, constitution d'une famille, etc. Toutes questions conditionnées par l'obtention d'un emploi stable.

Nous avons déjà fait allusion à la reconnaissance de la jeunesse immigrée en Catalogne, en tant que réalité nouvelle à prendre en compte au même titre que la jeunesse catalane. Cette reconnaissance explicite revient à considérer que chaque groupe de jeunes présente des caractéristiques et des besoins spécifiques auxquels les institutions publiques sont tenues de répondre, afin qu'ils puissent bâtir leur projet de vie, participer à des projets collectifs et atteindre la citoyenneté. Les jeunes deviendraient peu à peu citoyens à travers leurs projets. Cependant, dans ce cas on perçoit un effet normatif par excès, étant donné que la définition de la jeunesse et la conception des politiques de la jeunesse sont renvoyées à la future *Loi sur les Politiques de la Jeunesse de Catalogne*. Dans un autre contexte, celui de Gênes, le choix de deux groupes différenciés sur le plan socio-culturel –Equatoriens et Marocains-, tel qu'il est justifié, présuppose que les différences dans le pays d'origine et dans le pays d'accueil, la répartition sur le territoire et la gestion de la seconde génération sont tributaires de la

distinction entre les deux groupes. C'est là un nouveau constat portant sur la non-uniformité de la jeunesse immigrée. On trouve des références de ce type dans les rapports de Lisbonne (concernant les PALOPS et les flux récents en provenance d'Europe de l'Est) et de Porto (concernant les Européens de l'Est et les Chinois par rapport aux Brésiliens). En revanche, les deux groupes retenus à Utrecht, Turcs et Marocains, seraient indifférenciés en raison de leur appartenance culturelle et religieuse à l'islam, ou de par la catégorie statistique qui leur est appliquée : allochtones « non-occidentaux ».

Les rapports s'accordent à souligner qu'en dépit des inégalités dues à l'origine ou à la situation légale, les jeunes immigrés ressemblent aux autres jeunes. L'équipe Arofe insiste sur les résultats de l'étude concernant les jeunes Turcs de Borny, qui démontrent la pertinence de la perspective égalitaire entre jeunes issus de l'immigration et jeunes Français. Telle est l'orientation la plus fréquente en matière de modèle de gestion de la diversité : adopter les principes d'égalité de traitement et de non-différenciation. Dans cet esprit, certains pays (la France et l'Italie) ne prévoient pas de politiques distinctes pour les migrants ni de services administratifs spécialisés. Malgré tout, ils traitent les problématiques de l'inégalité et utilisent l'interculturalité comme levier pour éviter la création d'associations sur des bases ethniques (citons l'exemple du programme de prévention contre les « bandes ethniques » de la Mairie de Rome). D'autres pays (l'Allemagne, les Pays-Bas, Portugal et l'Espagne), tout en restant attachés au principe de l'égalité de traitement, créent des services ou des organismes spécialisés dans la prise en charge des jeunes immigrés. Il peut arriver que la politique d'immigration et la politique de la jeunesse soient dissociées, comme à Madrid, sans que l'on n'observe pour l'instant aucune tentative de rapprochement.

C) Existe-t-il une jeunesse européenne ?

Le point qui a suscité le moins d'informations est celui d'une éventuelle identité de la jeunesse européenne. Les rapports locaux, s'ils ont bien inclus ce point dans leur sondage, n'ont recueilli que très peu d'informations. Le rapport de Madrid fait le constat que l'identité européenne en puissance est perçue par les agents sociaux par contraste avec l'identité locale ou, en sens inverse, que ce qu'il ya de « plus européen », c'est de résoudre les problèmes au plus près des habitants. Ce modèle de citoyenneté jeune trouverait son inspiration dans le Livre Blanc sur la Jeunesse de la Commission Européenne (2001). Interrogées sur ce point, les organisations de jeunes répondent que cette perspective européenne est excessivement culturaliste et qu'elle néglige l'insertion réelle des jeunes dans la vie économique, sociale et politique, sans reconnaître pleinement le rôle des associations de jeunes.

L'équipe de l'Université de Lleida a voulu connaître l'importance du référent « européen » dans l'entrecroisement des politiques de la jeunesse et de l'immigration. Le rapport conclut que ce référent n'a qu'une faible existence sociale, en dépit de l'expérience concrète de mobilité vécue par nombre d'étudiants des Universités de Catalogne et d'autres pays communautaires (à travers des programmes comme Erasmus). En l'absence de référent européen parmi la jeunesse, les jeunes Latino-américains de Barcelone en sont réduits à négocier leur identité entre « catalanité » et « latinité », encore que certains préfèrent ouvrir d'autres espaces reliés à des propositions plus mondialisées. Telle est la situation des étudiants originaires de pays latino-américains, qui ont plus de contacts avec les jeunes étudiants catalans qu'avec

leurs compatriotes travailleurs immigrés, non sans comprendre qu'on les étiquette comme « latinos », par rapprochement. De nouvelles propositions surgissent dans cet espace, qui permettent de sortir d'une confrontation binaire, en se frayant un chemin vers une dimension globale, transnationale, qui dépasse les limites locales et européennes. C'est dans cet espace élargi qu'ils construisent leur vie.

2.3. Observations transversales.

La première observation portera sur un changement de terminologie par rapport au chapitre précédent sur l'inclusion/exclusion des migrants en général, lorsqu'il s'agit de parler de la jeunesse et de l'immigration. Dans le domaine de la jeunesse, on préfère parler de *politique d'intégration* plutôt que de politique d'inclusion. Les raisons de ce choix ne sont pas explicitées, mais il semble que le traitement d'un secteur de population spécifique, la jeunesse, demande plus de précision dans l'approche et les contenus que lorsqu'on traite de l'immigration en général.

Qu'il s'agisse d'inclusion/exclusion de l'immigration ou d'intégration de la jeunesse issue de l'immigration, ce type de préoccupations est relativement récent dans les pays partenaires du programme TRESEGY, à tel point que certains pays en sont au stade de l'ébauche (Italie, Portugal et Espagne). Quant aux pays qui ont une tradition plus ancienne en la matière, remontant aux années 70-80 (La France, les Pays-Bas et l'Allemagne), ce sont des pays où l'immigration est ancienne, qui comptent beaucoup de jeunes issus de l'immigration, alors que les pays d'immigration récente continuent à accueillir des flux importants et diversifiés. Les jeunes appartenant à ces flux migratoires récents peuvent difficilement être qualifiés de migrants de « deuxième génération ».

Dans les pays d'immigration ancienne, l'histoire des politiques d'immigration n'a pas de caractère linéaire ni convergent. Tandis que les Pays-Bas ont évolué vers une orientation assimilationniste, l'Allemagne tend à reconnaître son statut de pays d'immigration et à accepter l'interculturalité. Dans le cas de la France on observe également un infléchissement des politiques générales et des politiques d'immigration, dans la mesure où celles-ci commencent à cibler des segments de population spécifiques, notamment les jeunes. Quoiqu'il en soit, la mise en œuvre de ces politiques au niveau local fait preuve d'une plus grande proximité avec les populations migrantes et tend à favoriser leur inclusion, de sorte que l'orientation officielle se teinte de préoccupations communautaristes. Par exemple, la Mairie d'Utrecht aide les nouveaux arrivants à s'acquitter de leur devoir d'apprendre la langue en leur offrant des cours gratuits, tout en adoptant un plan de sécurité face au risque de terrorisme. A Berlin, le Sénat essaie de compenser l'effort d'adaptation à la langue et à la culture allemandes en faisant évoluer le comportement des services administratifs locaux dans le sens de l'interculturalité. Par ailleurs, comme le constate le rapport de l'Université de Lleida, les intentions affichées par les institutions et les professionnels sont une chose, les réalisations concrètes en sont une autre, même si les déclarations les plus officielles tendent à identifier le temps migratoire au temps social et à les parer d'optimisme.

Tous les rapports sur le contexte local font état d'une tendance de plus en plus marquée à imposer des « normes » sur les dynamiques d'inclusion/exclusion admissibles, comme sur la construction de la jeunesse, de l'immigration et des politiques publiques en ce domaine. Ce phénomène donne la prééminence au regard des

institutions et des experts par rapport au rôle des acteurs concernés au premier chef. Un constat très présent dans les doléances des associations d'immigrés, invitées à participer à la mise en place de politiques d'inclusion au plan local, dont la voix n'est pas suffisamment écoutée (voir les rapports d'Utrecht et Berlin). Il en va de même en ce qui concerne les directives de l'Union Européenne sur la jeunesse, dans lesquelles les organisations de jeunesse se reconnaissent assez mal. Dans les deux cas, les acteurs sociaux sentent que leur contribution est dévalorisée car on les considère comme des acteurs de deuxième classe.

Etant donné la diversité des situations au plan national et locale en matière de dynamiques d'inclusion/exclusion, la diversité dans les appréciations qu'elles suscitent, les différentes conceptions de la jeunesse et de l'immigration, les différentes conceptions en matière de politiques publiques, le contexte local revêt une importance cruciale pour les phases ultérieures de la recherche (protocoles du WP4 et du WP5). Il permettra d'en interpréter les résultats en les replaçant dans leur contexte.