

Migrant labour:  
Contested integration,  
prospects for  
citizenship

COLLECTION OF ABSTRACTS

MIGRANT LABOUR: CONTESTED INTEGRATION, PROSPECTS FOR CITIZENSHIP  
COLLECTION OF ABSTRACTS

EDITED BY MOJCA PAJNIK AND FLOYA ANTHIAS

DESIGN: IRENA WÖLLE

PRINT: STANE PEKLAJ

PRINT RUN: 130 COPIES

© MIROVNI INŠTITUT, 2011

THE PUBLISHING OF THIS COLLECTION WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS AND  
SLOVENIAN RESEARCH AGENCY



SLOVENIAN RESEARCH AGENCY

PUBLISHER: PEACE INSTITUTE  
INSTITUTE FOR CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STUDIES  
METELKOVA 6  
1000 LJUBLJANA  
SI-1000 LJUBLJANA  
E: INFO@MIROVNI-INSTITUT.SI  
WWW.MIROVNI-INSTITUT.SI

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

314.15(4)(082)

MIGRANT labour : contested integration, prospects for  
citizenship : collection of abstracts / [edited by Mojca Pajnik and  
Floya Anthias]. - Ljubljana : The Peace Institute, Institute for  
Contemporary Social and Political Studies, 2011

ISBN 978-961-6455-65-7

1. Pajnik, Mojca, 1974-

257487360

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

5	INTRODUCTION
7	CONFERENCE PROGRAMME
13	ABSTRACTS
45	INDEX OF AUTHORS



International conference

# Migrant labour: Contested integration, prospects for citizenship

Sustainable economies across Europe are largely possible through the use of migrant labour that responds to demographic and labour market shortages by filling in positions that are unattractive to domestic workers and which are characterized by poor working conditions, low pay and limited human rights. Migrants' lives are strongly conditioned by a skills and status based migration and integration management system which issues various permits to migrant populations. In these post-fordist times of welfare cuts, migrant workers are the first to lose jobs and permits that relate to employment contracts. This makes them vulnerable to precarious conditions within informal labour markets and puts them at risk of illegality. The conference aims to explore how various mechanisms of "nationalizing citizenship" are reproduced within migration and integration policies and what is their influence on migrants' lives.

Replaced now by a problematic assimilationism, "integration" was seen as providing a way forward by stimulating debates and policies aimed at the equalization of migrants. Increasingly, however, integration has become a contested concept lacking the power to truly attend to the transnational practices of migrants which cut across the borders of nation states. Unable to provide the basis for a truly dialogical communication, integration has increasingly become a concept that underpins various processes of nationalization, such as those protecting national labour markets from migrants. Rather than viewing

labour migration as a purely economic process of labour reallocation, the conference grasps migration in its complexity, i.e. as a human process that affects migrants and their families. Furthermore, the conference aims at addressing an expanded notion of citizenship which can inform a more coherent and sustainable approach to understanding the various forms of civic engagement that relate to migrants.

The conference provides an international and cross-disciplinary space to explore these questions. Particular focuses address the following: theoretical and/or empirical considerations of migrants' integration in Europe; citizenship and migration; precarious migrant labour in a cross-country comparative perspective; gender and migrant labour; migrants transnationalism; intersectionalities in migration; migrants' strategies of coping with nationally embedded protectionism.

Conference organisers:

Assist. Prof. Mojca Pajnik  
Peace Institute, Ljubljana, and  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
University of Ljubljana

Prof. Floya Anthias  
City University, London

## PROGRAMME

# Migrant labour: Contested integration, prospects for citizenship

Ljubljana, September 15–16, 2011  
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Metelkova 2

Organized by the Peace Institute (Ljubljana) and City University (London)

With the support of the East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program (Open Society Foundations) and the Slovenian Research Agency



## September 15

8.30–9.00 Registration

9.00–9.15 Welcome address, **Lev Kreft**, director of the Peace Institute

9.15–11.15 **Plenary: Citizenship and integration: Theory and practice**

**Christian Joppke**, Re-nationalizing citizenship in Europe

**Floya Anthias**, Moving beyond integration and diversity discourses and practices: Intersectional issues of social solidarity and social hierarchy

**Dora Kostakopoulou**, The anatomy of civic integration

Chair: **Mojca Pajnik**

11.15–11.45 Coffee break

**11.45–13.00 Session 1: Boundaries and prospects of citizenship**

**Mojca Pajnik**, Citizenship: A devalued concept

**Natasha King**, Contesting citizenship at the borders and borderlands of Slovenia and Greece

**Karin Krifors**, Labour migration as a manageable resource – Notions of work and citizenship in the Swedish debate

Chair: **Nicos Trimikliniots**

**13.00–14.15** Lunch

**14.15–15.45 Session 2: Questioning integration: homogenizing migrants, instrumentalizing migration**

**Nicos Trimikliniots**, The instrumentalisation of EU integration policy: A critique and reconstruction

**Moritz Jesse**, The illusion of enforcing an integrated society – European and national laws on immigration, integration, and employment

**Karmen Medica**, Circular migration concept: Increasing chances of exploitation and lessening chances of integration

**Noémi Kakucs, Dóra Dezsö**, "A feeling of 'one of us'" – Migrants' perceptions on "integration"

Chair: **Ron Ayres**

**15.45–16.15** Coffee break

**16.15–17.45 Session 3: Framing and perceiving migrant integration**

**Laura Block**, On parallel worlds and preventive integration – Political framings of integration and spousal migration in Germany

**Sari Pöyhönen, Anu Hirsiaho, David Hoffman, Tatjana Rynkänen, Mirja Tarnanen, Sonya Sahradyan**, Interpretations of integration: Shifting stakeholder perspectives to Finnish integration policies?

**Jadranka Čačić-Kumpes, Snježana Gregurović, Josip Kumpes**, Questioning migration and integration: Croatian citizens' attitudes towards immigrants

**Olga Tkach**, From guest to migrant: Self-integrating strategies of Russian-speaking au pairs in Norway

Chair: **Paul Scheibelhofer**

**18.00** Metelkova city tour

**19.00** Dinner



## September 16

### 9.00–10.30 Plenary: Categories of difference and integration: Gender, skill and diversity

**Mirjana Morokvasic**, Gender at the core

**Pragna Patel**, Moral panics and social evils: A discussion of the state's use of forced marriage in gender-related violence in immigration law and policy in the UK

Chair: **Floya Anthias**

### 10.30–10.45 Coffee break

### 10.45–12.15 Session 4: Gender, masculinity, integration

**Giovanna Campani**, Migrant women and gender gap: Experiences in Southern Europe

**Ganna Gerasymenko**, Gender analysis of labour migrations from Ukraine

**Paul Scheibelhofer**, "Turkish macho culture hinders integration!" Policing migrant masculinity in times of managing migration and integration

**Tatjana Perić**, Challenging the stereotypes: The case of educated Romani women migrants

Chair: **Ksenija Vidmar Horvat**

### 12.15–13.30 Lunch

### 13.30–15.00 Session 5: Imagining transnationalism

**Ksenija Vidmar Horvat, Tjaša Učakar**, Migrant workers in post-Yugoslav Slovenia: Between memory, solidarity and denial

**Anil Al-Rehholz**, Social mobility strategies and identity constructions in transnational space: The case of Kurdish and Turkish migrants in Germany

**Mastoureh Fathi**, The doctor or the "other": Narratives of profession and translocational belonging

**Aino Saarinen, Maija Jäppinen**, Political inclusion of migrants in Finland – The five policy phases in 1990s-2010s

Chair: **Giovanna Campani**

### 15.00–16.30 Session 6: Exploring migrants' agency as self-integration

**Maria Kontos**, Restrictive integration policies and the construction of the migrant as "unwilling to integrate": The case of Germany

**Miroslava Rákoczyová**, Immigrants on the segmented labour market in the Czech Republic: Overcoming disadvantages?

**Claudio Morrison, Devi Sacchetto**, Labour migration between the former Soviet Union and EU: Labour market in competition?

**Eva Janska**, Integration of the second generation of Vietnamese in Prague

Chair: **Aino Saarinen**

**16.30–17.00** Coffee break

**17.00–18.30** **Session 7: Ethnicization and commodification of migrant labour**

**Barbara Samaluk**, Commodification of migrant labour from post-socialist Europe

**Nonna Kushnirovich, Rebeca Rajman**, Labour migration recruitment practices and social rights of migrant workers in Israel

**Roxana Maurizio**, Migration and labour market precariousness in Latin America: A cross country comparative analysis

**Rossana Cillo**, Migrant workers in the underground economy in Europe

Chair: **Maria Kontos**

**18.30–19.15** **Closing session**

Chairs: **Mojca Pajnik, Floya Anthias**

**20.00** Dinner

# Abstracts



CHRISTIAN JOPPKE

Institute of Sociology, University of Bern

# Re-nationalizing citizenship in Europe

A few years ago I argued that citizenship in Europe was in the cross-fire between de- and re-ethnicizing forces. In this presentation, I reconsider this argument in light of a re-nationalization of citizenship that has become a dominant trend in the past decade. The main conflict today is between an inevitable lightening of citizenship, partially through the help of “Europe“, and – eventually futile – attempts by states to lend more weight and significance to citizenship by way of more exclusive rights, citizenship tests, and ceremonies.

FLOYA ANTHIAS  
City University, London

# Moving beyond integration and diversity discourses and practices: Intersectional issues of social solidarity and social hierarchy

This paper proposes that we need to move beyond integration and diversity discourses and practices towards a new framework for addressing issues of social solidarity, on the one hand and difference and division on the other. It argues that whilst purportedly aiming to attack social divisions, existing discourses and practices on both integration and diversity, albeit in different ways, are underpinned by binary and essentialised constructions of these very divisions. Drawing on a range of examples, the paper argues that these thereby reinforce notions of “us” and “them”. The paper aims to retain some of their more progressive concerns with heterogeneity, complexity, social inclusion, participation and social sustainability, whilst moving away from their polarising and reifying effects. In order to do this it brings into focus an intersectional approach that considers social boundaries and hierarchies, and their complex articulations, within a time and space framework. This disrupts the binary formulation of social identities found within existing formulations of integration and diversity, and re-focuses attention on the complex and irreducible nature of belonging and social hierarchy. It argues that a new approach is needed, therefore, in tackling some of the social issues involved relating to solidarity, belonging, inclusion and multiculturalism. A greater focus on political economy is also required thereby linking issues of solidarity with issues of social hierarchy and inequality.

DORA KOSTAKOPOULOU  
School of Law, University of Manchester

# The anatomy of civic integration<sup>1</sup>

Recent legislation on migration and citizenship in Europe and the EU framework on integration require migrants to meet integration requirements in order to enter, reside, reunite with their families and naturalise in the host country. Mandatory language course attendance and examination tests are viewed as means of enhancing integration, which is now framed as a “two way” process or a contractual agreement between migrants and the host society. Despite the deployment of the notion of a contract, integration is, in reality, a one way process aimed at procuring conformity, discipline and migration control. Civic integration rests on an artificial homogenisation and displays the same elements of paternalism and ethnocentricity that characterised past initiatives. The civic integration paradigm is a crucial feature of a renewed, albeit old-fashioned, nation politics used by political elites to provide answers to a wide range of issues and to elicit support for a controlling state in the first decade of the 21st century.

---

<sup>1</sup> This abstract was originally published in *The Modern Law Review*, 2010, 73(6), p. 933.

MOJCA PAJNIK

Peace Institute and Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

## Citizenship: A devalued concept

Globalization theorists speak of the transformation of national states, of the denationalization processes that change national states in a global perspective, and trends of migration are a good proof of these processes. While globalization does affect national states and ideologies, migration highlights their persistence. The rigidly ethnic conceptions of nationality deflated the potential of the concept of citizenship to tackle realities of cross-border living and public activity of migrating subjects; by far the largest attention in citizenship debates is still devoted to citizenship as legal status. A relevant question in globalizing societies is how to rethink citizenship so as to encompass the variety of belongings of multiple displaced subjects who are on the move. This paper contributes to debates on citizenship by drawing attention to the processes of depoliticization of citizenship that downplayed some of the original ideas of the concept. Four manners of depoliticizing citizenship are debated, and these are citizenship as 1) nationalization by naturalization, 2) assimilation, 3) contractualization (the concept of “market citizenship”), and 4) subordination through integration. Some of these trends have resulted in the invention of modified or new citizenship conceptualizations such as that of transnational or postnational citizenship, differentiated or multilayered citizenship etc. These are examined in the paper that also provides argument for a restoration of political dimensions of the concept of citizenship.



NATASHA KING

School of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham

# Contesting citizenship at the borders and borderlands of Slovenia and Greece

What effect does EU border control have on citizenship? In this paper I offer a comparison between the border regimes of Slovenia and Greece in understanding firstly, the role and nature of Frontex as a governance regime, and secondly, the effects this regime is having on the nature of citizenship in those countries. I draw upon fieldwork in Slovenia and Croatia (including time spent with the Slovene border guard on a joint operation), and ongoing participant observation in Greece to explore these issues.

Slovenia and Greece are both responsible for external border control according to sovereign and EU laws. I argue that the relative depoliticisation of the Slovenian border in comparison with the Greek case – and the differing responses of the state and the Union to border control in these cases – has created different forms of internalised illegality. Furthermore, those defined as illegal have responded in their claim for rights in different ways.

Drawing on the social ecology literature, I conclude by asking whether what we witness in cases of internalised illegality can be sufficiently defined by the notion of citizenship as rights conferred by the state. Using the example of the protest of 300 hunger strikers in Athens, I ask whether such acts that request citizenship rights, also contest it by opening up the possibility for new spaces of active citizenship in the process.

KARIN KRIFORS

REMESO, Institute for Research on Ethnicity, Migration and Society,  
Department of Social and Welfare Studies, Linköping University

# Labour migration as a manageable resource – Notions of work and citizenship in the Swedish debate

In this conference paper I examine how constructions of nation and ethnicity can be found in Swedish politics and debate regarding labour migration. New regulations from 2008 make it easier for Swedish companies to recruit workers from countries outside the EU. Labour migration is argued to create a more flexible labour market and is said to help development in countries of origin, to be important for Swedish companies in the short run and a demographic necessity in the long run, since Sweden along with many other European countries have an aging population.

I am interested in investigating the governmental practices and discourses on the needs and resources of labour migrants. Are labour migrants expected to be included in Swedish welfare society? How is flexible migration (or circular migration) understood and in relation to whose needs? How does work/employment grant legitimacy in relation to racialised exclusion when political rhetoric is highly focused on workfare? How are these notions of labour migrants gendered and how do they relate to class based inequalities and a segmented labour market?

The study will be based on interviews and observations at the Swedish Migration Board, the agency handling the applications for work permits in Sweden, together with documents and political debates. I furthermore hope that this paper will provide the context for a future study based on ethnographic research among labour migrants in Sweden.

NICOS TRIMIKLINIOTIS  
PRIO Cyprus Centre and University of Nicosia

# The instrumentalisation of EU integration policy: A critique and reconstruction

The paper will critically evaluate the instruments of EU integration policy by examining their contradictions at conceptual and implementation levels. The very notion of “integration” needs to be contextualised and critically reviewed in practice, both at the level of “high policy-making” in Brussels, as well as the way it is being understood and implemented in member states. The notion of integration must be interpreted as an evolving, highly fluid and contested concept, which reflects the balance of forces between federalist and intergovernmental structures and processes in the EU, as well as ideological, historical and political understandings of integration in different member states. Moreover, it needs to be contextualised across the variable geometry and unevenly integrated member states.

# The illusion of enforcing an integrated society – European and national laws on immigration, integration, and employment

The EU and its member states apply different legal rules to third-country nationals and union citizens in various fields creating negative consequences for the prospect of their inclusion into the receiving societies. This paper analyses Directives 2003/86 on family reunification, 2003/109 for long-term residents, 2005/71 for researchers, 2004/114 for students and unremunerated trainees, 2009/50 on the European Blue Card for highly qualified employees, but also 2004/38 for EU citizens and national law. The focus is on rights to family reunification, employment and occupation, as well as “integration”. It will demonstrate: 1) There is a blunt separation between wanted, e.g. highly skilled individuals, and not-wanted immigrants, e.g. family members of migrants. Legislation is sharply tailored to encourage or discourage immigration accordingly. Privileges for “wanted” immigrants are nothing more than exemptions from requirements which are fully applicable for “normal” immigrants. 2) In sharp contrast with political rhetoric integration measures especially for family members are primarily used to prevent (legal) immigration of not-wanted immigrants. This discredits them as measures fostering inclusion. In the eyes of immigrants, they merely represent elements giving rise to unnecessary distress, uncertainty and yet another legal barrier to their inclusion into the receiving society. In such atmosphere where vital rights for integration (e.g. secure residence or family life) are dependent on factors beyond control of the individual, the objectives of “civic citizenship”, inclusion and fair treatment for third-country nationals through an approximation of rights with union citizens, as put forward in documents such as the EU Stockholm Programme or the Treaties are illusions and not reflected in any legislative measures in force. Policy makers should re-evaluate their strategies for inclusion of newcomers if they really seek an “integrated” society.

# Circular migration concept: Increasing chances of exploitation and lessening chances of integration

Circular migration concept appears to be the rage in international policy circles and this concept is becoming an increasingly mentioned form of migration. In the opinion of the European Commission it could, if well managed, facilitate a balance between international supply and demand of workforce and thus contribute to the economic growth. In this respect, the European Commission points to the fact that, in the event of improper design or mismanagement, circular migration could develop into a permanent one, thus preventing the realization of its objectives. Its principal aim is to fill the gaps in the labor market, particularly that of the EU, to facilitate the development of migrants countries of origin, and to prevent circular migration from turning into permanent.

In theory, the rotational concept of circular migration has proved to be contradictory; in practice, it has proved to be inapplicable in the long run and unacceptable from the ethical point of view. Fixed-term employment of workers based on the presumption of their return to their country of origin is only a short-term solution. Circular migration further adds to the dehumanization and marginalization of migrant workers – on top of non-functional control, inability to alert to the extremely poor working and living conditions and limited protection, particularly in the construction sector. Since circular or other temporary migrants will be required to leave after short stays, will this preclude any kind of “integration” strategies for them? A final question arises when considering the current popularity of integration and circular migration in policy circles. Haven’t such schemes, such as the America *bracero* programme and the German *Gastarbeiter* system, all been tried – and dropped – a long time ago?

NOÉMI KAKUCS, DÓRA DEZSÖ  
Central European University, Budapest

## “A feeling of ‘one of us’” – Migrants’ perceptions on “integration”

The phenomenon of international migration, an inevitable consequence of globalization and regionalization, has been challenging the Westphalian order of the world and has great implications for democratic politics and civic participation.

Current EU integration policies, and specifically the Common Agenda for Integration (COM (2005) 389 final), declare that “integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.” However, these policies often remain at the descriptive level, lacking mechanisms that would enable and accelerate integration. At the same time, researchers point to the inherent ambiguity of the term and suggest a more “transnational” perspective (e.g. Bauböck 2001). Additionally, from a human rights position Cholewinski (2005) calls attention to the fact that “integration” is only pronounced in the EU migration policy field referring to third-country nationals, whereas the minority protection principle is completely lacking in this arena. Contrasting the EU’s normative level promoting migrants’ integration, actual national “integration practices” suggest a tendency toward assimilationism, which implies a clear one-way process (Kostakopoulou 2010, Pajnik 2007, Vlasta 2007) for example, in the Netherlands, France and the U.K.

Based on research findings of the PRIMTS project – which explored low-sector labour market positions of third-country women and men, who were involved as partners in communication –, the paper aims at exploring third-country nationals’ interpretations on “integration”. Based on these perceptions we present along what issues these migrants, in their diverse realities, frame “integration” while we further problematize the concept.

# On parallel worlds and preventive integration – Political framings of integration and spousal migration in Germany

Worries about integration deficits of ethnic minorities and an alleged “failure of multiculturalism” have dominated political and public discussions in various European states in the last decade and also strongly influenced policy reforms in the fields of migration and integration. One group that has been a particular focus of discussion and according policy initiatives are spousal migrants, leading to a restriction of family reunification provisions in various countries such as the Netherlands, France, Denmark and Germany. In all of these states, spousal migrants are increasingly subject to integration requirements as part of their initial admission procedure – the nexus between migration control and integration requirements is thus particularly pronounced in the context of this immigrant group.

The paper zooms in on the recent policy novelties in the field of spousal migration in the German case and examines the way in which the restrictive changes, especially the new German language requirement, criticised the opposition as unconstitutional, were strongly defended from official side with the lacking integration of especially female spousal migrants. More specifically, within a policy frame analysis as developed by Mieke Verloo and others, it explores the discursive frames employed by politicians and federal and regional policy-makers in parliamentary discussions and in-depth interviews on the issue of spousal migration. A particular focus is laid on the way the relevant stakeholders in the field connect the issues of spousal migration and integration. Furthermore, it contrasts these frames with those referring to high-skilled migrants.

SARI PÖYHÖNEN, ANU HIRSLAHO, DAVID HOFFMAN,  
TATJANA RYNKÄNEN, MIRJA TARNANEN, SONYA SAHRADYAN  
University of Jyväskylä

# Interpretations of integration: Shifting stakeholder perspectives to Finnish integration policies?

17 of April 2011 Finland changed. Or did it? Finnish Parliamentary Elections catapulted a populist, anti-EU and migrant backlash party to prominence. This critical moment offers a unique opportunity to critically re-examine perspectives that appeared to be the basis for integration policies in Finland which now rest on shifting political ground.

The purpose of our presentation is to review and re-examine the interpretations of integration by key stakeholders during the past two decades when Finland tipped from a country of net emigration to a country of net migration.

What has escaped attention, in countries like Finland, is the fact that integration actually occurs in a series of ephemeral moments, most of which pass unnoticed. These moments are even harder to capture in times of political transformation. Theoretically, the way in which we illuminate the nature of contemporary integration in Finland is via a fresh conceptualization of settings delimited by logics of *aspiration*, *achievement* and *abandonment*. By aspiration we mean the settings in which migrants are preparing to participate in employment and professional communities. The settings characterized by achievement contain migrants who have established themselves more directly in their professional community or indirectly via integration training. The settings characterized by the logic of abandonment are defined by marginal or minimal participation in the employment and professional communities of one's choice and qualifications.

Our approach is empirically grounded in several sources of data: ethnographies among working-age migrants, interviews with key officials, and analysis of political documents and media texts collected during the period.



JADRANKA ČAČIĆ-KUMPES

University of Zadar, Department of Sociology

SNJEŽANA GREGUROVIĆ

Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb

JOSIP KUMPES

Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb

# Questioning migration and integration: Croatian citizens' attitudes towards immigrants

The paper proceeds from the assumption that experiences, both, of the old and the new European immigration countries, in spite of the socio-historical specificity of each of them, could have a paradigmatic potential for the creation of immigration strategies based on the idea of integration of immigrants in the countries that are yet to become countries of immigration. If the starting point is one of understanding integration as a two-way process in which immigrants and the receiving society are equal actors, it is important to know how the members of the potential receiving society view the possibility of transforming their society into an immigration society. Therefore, the structure of this work is based upon the results of the survey conducted in 2009, on a random and representative sample of Croatian adult citizens (N = 1300). Examined are the attitudes of Croatian citizens towards migrant workers, their possible entrance on the local labour market and their potential influence upon the culture and values of the Croatian society. Through the analysis of these attitudes, in relation to specific socio-demographic characteristics of the population, attempt has been made to examine the willingness of Croatian citizens to accept migrant workers. With the application of factor analysis under the component model using GK criterion for stopping factor extraction, two latent dimensions have been extracted: socio-cultural exclusion and the perception of immigration as an economic threat. On both these latent dimensions statistically significant differences have been found for most of the socio-demographic characteristics. The results obtained do not demonstrate only the starting point for creating migration strategies in Croatia, but also confirm the view about the importance of understanding integration as a two-way process in which both, the migrants and the receiving society, through interaction undergo changes.

OLGA TKACH

Centre for Independent Social Research, St. Petersburg

# From guest to migrant: Self-integrating strategies of Russian-speaking au pairs in Norway

This presentation is based on the research on Russian-speaking au pairs arriving to Norway. My empirical data include in-depth interviews with current and former au pairs from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova; members of the host families living in Norway; and experts working at the au pair agencies and Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. In the growing international demand for private domestic services Norway is positioned as keeping an advanced welfare system, particularly in relation of childcare, and the normative political and public consensus towards gender and social equality (Sollund 2010). However, a number of au pair permits granted by Norway is being increased during the last 5–7 years. Though the majority of au pairs coming to Norway are Philippines, a number of au pairs from Eastern European post-Soviet states is also noticeable and increasing. Contemporary Norwegian scholars tend to consider the au pairs scheme that originally meant to promote cultural exchange between countries, as a way of coping with economic difficulties of so welcomed care workers. My research demonstrates that being a paid domestic cleaner or nanny is not a target of a well-educated au pair coming from the mentioned countries. For them au pairing can become an individual biographical project of improving one's life chances through a temporal downshifting. Performing a role of “guest”, “employee”, or “exchange student” in the host family, an au pair accumulates valuable resources to convert them into a reasonable position and be integrated into Norwegian society.

## Gender at the core

Migration patterns, migration discourse, migrants' experiences, obligations and duties as well as the expectations relative to their migration are gendered. Women and men not only engage in migrations and mobility differently, inducing differential impact on those who remain non-migrants, but their movements are also linked to each other. At the same time gender identities are constitutive elements of other identities, cross-cutting other social relations and gender processes cannot be understood independently of class, race, immigrant status, sexuality, generation with which they intersect. The gender perspective in migration should not be reduced to focusing on the experiences of women only, but refers to women in relation to men. And yet, there are still very few studies which empirically examine men's and women's experiences within a comparative frame. Even fewer are studies that develop a gender analysis having men and masculinities in migration as a starting point. In this presentation I wish to address again the issue of centrality of gender in different stages of migration process. In the pioneering studies by feminist scholars of the 1970s and 1980s focusing on women was necessary to redress the balance, question the male bias in the mainstream literature, as well as make women visible otherwise than as stereotypical adjuncts in migration process, dependents and victims. This was also an important stage towards acknowledging a need for a gendered perspective. One can argue today that the in the meantime abundant literature focusing on women "does not stop there" (as Donna Gabaccia pointed out), but examines gender power hierarchies and uncovers the ways in which they are intertwined with other social relations of power. The question remains open to debate: why is this focus on "women" still omnipresent and is it necessary/or most appropriate in order to lead to sustainable policies?

PRAGNA PATEL  
Southall Black Sisters

# Moral panics and social evils: A discussion of the state’s use of forced marriage in gender-related violence in immigration law and policy in the UK

Drawing on the daily experiences of Southall Black Sisters, an NGO working with abused (largely South Asian) migrant women, this paper examines the intersection of racism, gender-based violence and the discourse of “integration” and “cohesion” in the UK’s recent immigration policies. Using case studies and examples of struggles waged by migrant women to live free from gender-based violence, I seek to show how the British State’s immigration policies are creating a “moral panic” about the “social evil” of gender-related violence, especially forced marriage, to justify and reproduce systems of exclusion and discrimination as well as reinforce patriarchal oppression. I argue that the question of gender-related violence and gender equality within migrant communities needs to be de-linked from immigration law and policies if migrant women are to realise their substantive citizenship and human rights.

# Migrant women and gender gap: Experiences in Southern Europe

Considered as an international trend, the “feminisation” of migration is not only referred to the quantitative dimension (the number of migrant women at world level was 47 percent in 1960 and 49 percent in 2006), but to the variety of the trajectories migrant women realize between the sending and receiving countries. Women’s migration for work purpose – leaving the family behind – which has always be a migratory component, appears in a new form, because it shapes new female migratory chains that are predominant in some national groups. These migratory chains have been and are especially important in Southern European countries where gender, ethnicity and labour market position are clearly linked. The Philippines, Ukraine, Moldova, Peru and Ecuador are the countries of origin of predominantly female migration. The link between predominantly female migratory groups and domestic work is clearly established in Southern European countries. Processes of disqualification are also taking place – the professional situation is “blocked”.

The paper considers, on one side, how do female migratory chains organize their lives over the years (succeeding in family reunification or coping with transnational families). On the other side, it points out the causes of the “blocked situation” experienced by migrants in domestic work, focusing on the labour market, the welfare system and the gender relations. An attempt is done to link the position of immigrant women with the Gender Gap Index of the receiving society.

GANNA GERASYMENKO

Institute for Demography and Social Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

# Gender analysis of labour migrations from Ukraine

Current labour migrations are increasingly shaped by demand for domestic work, care-related labour and sex work, which are traditionally represented by women. Thus, a new feminization trend can be observed in international migration, resulting from modern changes in employment structure and labour-market segregation based on nation and gender. Migrant women are usually involved in marginal labour niches in receiving countries, including domestic work and the sex trade.

Ukraine is currently among the largest “suppliers” of labour migrants in Europe. Various estimates put the total number of Ukrainians working abroad at over two millions, most of them are employed illegally. The number of female labour migrants from Ukraine has been steadily increasing recently. Facing difficult socio-economic conditions and prevalence of gender discrimination at the labour market, women seek unskilled, low wage employment abroad such as domestic work, caring service, entertaining business and sex-services. As the last employment pattern widely uses illegal channels of international labour supply, female irregular migration is particularly criminalized and is closely related to trafficking in human beings.

The proposed paper is devoted to the gender analysis of labour migrations from Ukraine. It will reveal socio-demographic features of migrants, types of economic activity practiced by migrants abroad as well as their working conditions, seasonal specificities of migration flows, and problems faced by migrants working abroad. A particular attention will be paid to problems of trafficking in human beings. The paper is based on data of a special survey of the external labour migrations in Ukraine and Ukraine Health and Demography Survey, realized in 2007.

PAUL SCHEIBELHOFER

Gender Studies Department, Central European University, Budapest

# “Turkish macho culture hinders integration!” Policing migrant masculinity in times of managing migration and integration

In several countries, integration policies have been introduced that specifically target patriarchal migrant traditions and measures were developed to support migrant women’s emancipation. This paper questions such supposedly emancipatory integration policies by critically analysing the notions of migrant masculinity they build on and evoke. Analysing Austrian migration policies, I want to show that specific images of “foreign masculinity” are used to legitimate restrictive policies which have disciplining effects on migrant men and women alike.

Dominant constructs of “foreign masculinity” have recently shifted. Whereas bodily health and strength were important selection criteria for earlier “guest workers”, contemporary testing and selection procedures go deeper “under the skin” of migrants to generate knowledge about their capabilities and qualifications, values and norms, virtues and vice. Migrants’ gender relations have become an important field of inquiry and migrant men’s *masculinity* became an object of interest and scrutiny. And it is especially images of problematic *Muslim* masculinity that are evoked to argue for tests, pedagogic measures and legal restrictions of migration.

Taking up theoretical approaches from critical migration studies and feminist postcolonial theory, the paper shows the entanglements of dominant images of migrant masculinity and the political economy of governing migration. Based on this analysis, the paper argues that many of the so called emancipatory integration measures predominantly follow the interest of restricting migration and reproduce exclusion and disfranchisement of migrants. This observation calls for reconsidering both the politics of integration and of the role that social science plays in reproducing dominant notions of foreign masculinity.

TATJANA PERIĆ

Centre for Gender Studies, University of Novi Sad

# Challenging the stereotypes: The case of educated Romani women migrants

This paper presents a case study describing the political, social and economic participation of a specific group of Romani migrants: young and highly educated women who are international professionals working in several Budapest-based non-profit institutions. Whereas the discourse of Romani migration in Europe is mainly developed from the angle of poverty and discrimination, and is largely perceived and described as genderless, the situation of educated Romani women migrants remains out of the limelight of most research. Based on in-depth interviews, the paper explores the Romani women's views on their own as well as communal histories of migration, old and new communities, the contested sense of belonging and citizenship in stateless diasporas, and the delicate balance of personal, professional and political they strive to achieve in a complex context marked by the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity and migration.



KSENIJA VIDMAR HORVAT, TJAŠA UČAKAR  
Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

# Migrant workers in post-Yugoslav Slovenia: Between memory, solidarity and denial

The paper addresses the question of the social conditions of migrant workers from ex-Yugoslav countries in present day Slovenia. The analysis approaches the question from a comparative historical perspective in which public discourses on migrants from the region of (former) Yugoslav states are examined in a pre- and post-1991 contexts. The central focus is on the changing political and cultural perceptions of the migrant worker in the two historical periods and the shifting narratives in which the image of the “foreign” labor force is thematized. A close discourse analysis of public depictions of massive lay-offs of the immigrant workers in Slovenia, due to collapse of the national construction companies, and their status of international (non)protection is used to examine the implications of migrant labour in contemporary Europe. This issue is illuminated in relation to current theories of European model of society, European citizenship, regional solidarity and cross-national justice. In conclusion, the authors challenge the idea of “we, the Europeans” discourse by pointing to the need to overturn its exclusionary logic in daily and regional settings of various “Europes”.

ANIL AL-REBHOLZ

Faculty of Social Sciences, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main

# Social mobility strategies and identity constructions in transnational space: The case of Kurdish and Turkish migrants in Germany

Combining the theoretical insights of the research on transnationalization and transnational migration (Basch and Glick-Schiller 1997, Pessar and Mahler 2003, Vertovec 2006, Faist 2001, Morokvasic 2007, Kofman 2008, Pries 2010 etc.) with biographical perspectives (Apitzsch 2009, Lutz 2009, 2010) this paper aims to discuss the intersectional constructions of gender, ethnicity, class and religion in migration processes. Through a comparison between the migrants with Kurdish and Turkish background (first, second and third generations), I will focus, in this paper, on upward mobility strategies (through work or education) and transnational practises of my interview partners which are closely related to migrants' production of senses of belonging /non-belonging. In this vein, my analysis contributes also to the discussions on citizenship regimes and integration policies which are taken up, modified or redefined by migrant citizens. The paper is based on the evaluation of the first results of the research project "Family orientations and gender differences in intergenerational transnational migration processes" conducted in the cities of Frankfurt and Offenbach in Germany.

MASTOUREH FATHI  
University of East London

## The doctor or the “other”: Narratives of profession and translocational belonging

The issue of belonging has become a heated issue recently. In this paper, I use the concept of belonging on its three levels as proposed by Yuval-Davis (2006) to show the different ways of understanding belonging in the narratives of 14 Iranian women doctors and dentists who work in Britain. I argue that belonging is not a one-dimensional, fixed and permanent feeling towards a homeland, a city or a geographical space. Rather, it is a process narrated to express feelings of safety and security. I discuss about a form of belonging that I call “professional belonging”.

I will explain and demonstrate through examples from interview extracts that profession and social class has a strong role in these women’s feelings of belonging and unbelonging in British society. It will be revealed how the categories of “the other” or the “outsider” are constructed in the lives of these women as “skilled migrants” not only in relation to race but in terms of occupational groupings. This switch to “professional belonging” is significant in a context where racial and ethnic differences seem to have become more prominent for Iranians in Britain at the time of propaganda in Western countries concerning Iran’s nuclear problem, the 2009 post-election unrest and the sanctions imposed on the country since 2008. The paper uses the notion of “translocational belonging” (Anthias 2009) to address the complexities of these women’s lives. The concept is used to underline the complexities of these women’s lives and to analyse how their classed identities change when they migrate from Iran to Britain and also the ways in which their understanding of class is racialised and how this is overlapped by their “foreignness” in Britain.

AINO SAARINEN

Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki

MAIJA JÄPPINEN

Department of Social Research, University of Helsinki

# Political inclusion of migrants in Finland – The five policy phases in 1990s-2010s

In the 2010s, it is relevant to explore prospects for a “migrant-friendly” Finland. The PRIMTS analyses confirm that the policies have been constantly transforming: respect of humanitarian values and rights of ethnic returnees (early-mid 1990s) was sidelined by EU inspired managed immigration (late 1990s-early 2000s). Today, seeing immigration as a resource (late 2000s) has been challenged by “contested immigration” (mid-late 2000s-early 2010s), and “critical” debates have indeed been intensified toward the parliamentary election in April 2011.

To take steps forward, to deliberate on proper agreements and disagreements, it is necessary to problematise a few concepts, such as “multicultural”, “intercultural” and “transcultural” – also in view of political inclusion: instead of separation and one-way communication, migrants and the local majority must sustain two-way dialogue and relations of collaboration. Interestingly, the Mipex index (2011) scores Finland best in the area of political participation but it brings up also hindrances in regard to migrants in the consultation and implementation phases. Most alarming is, at the same time, that in spite of extensive formal rights, real participation and representation rates are low and migrants’ inclusion to the first phases of policy-making is close to minimal.

In sum, we can identify formal pro-migrants elements in the political process, but trans-cultural state of affairs – migrants being integrated in agenda-setting, preparation, decision-making and implementation – is a vision only; the norms and policies are outlined *for* the migrants, not *with* them. This violates the principles of democracy; democracy is failed if some groups are permanently excluded. Feminist scholars speak even of a gender paradox: in a global scale, Nordic women are best represented in power institutions but migrant women are absent irrespective of feminisation of migration. This has real policy consequences: Finland is not as “women-friendly” as we want to believe, and “contestations” will be one-sided without bringing migrants in policy making.

MARIA KONTOS

Institute of Social Research at J.W. Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main

# Restrictive integration policies and the construction of the migrant as “unwilling to integrate”: The case of Germany

Only after the turn of the century, integration of migrants became for German governments an issue and, with the new Immigration Act (2005) that foresees obligatory Integration courses for new comers, it has been ratified as a policy goal. At the same time, the understanding of integration took a shift as the “unwillingness of migrants to integrate” became a central assumption in the public debates, pointing to “migrants’ parallel societies”. Policy has now to combat “unwillingness to integrate” by increasing the sanctions for those who do not attend – at all or successfully – the obligatory language and integration courses by granting shorter residence termed residence permits than foreseen by the law. Furthermore, an integration contract between individual migrants and the state is expected to enforce the integration efforts of migrants.

In my presentation I discuss: 1) The understanding of integration entailed in the concept of “unwillingness to integrate”: What assumptions about the migrant as actor underlie this concept? Can we assume that social integration is an interest of migrants? Is integration a right of migrants or an imposition on migrants? Is integration possible when the right of residence is revocable? 2) The socioeconomic background for the emergence of the concept: Does it rely on the failure of the main mechanisms of integration, i.e. the welfare state that has been downsized, the deregulated labour market that lost its integrating power? And the increase, instead, of the role of ethnic communities and ethnic networks for integrating in waged work, even in the low wage segments?

MIROSLAVA RÁKOCZYOVÁ

Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, Brno

# Immigrants on the segmented labour market in the Czech Republic: Overcoming disadvantages?

Two types of positions are opened to migrants in the labour markets of destination countries: “upper-end” professional positions, in which employers offer high-quality working conditions in order to attract brains in a global competition, and “low-end” jobs serving them to achieve flexibility and minimalization of labour costs. Despite the development of high-skilled migration (Skeldon 2008), vast majority of third-country citizens fill the “low-end” jobs, i.e. jobs with high level of precariousness, difficult working conditions and sometimes also irregular (e.g. Eurofound 2009, Rákoczyová 2007). How is the marginalized position on the labour market perceived by immigrants themselves? Are these jobs a take-off platform for upward mobility, or do they rather lead to closure in the marginalized segment of the labour market? What strategies do the migrant choose when coping with their disadvantaged positions?

Building on 43 qualitative interviews with migrants, who have been living in the Czech Republic for 5–10 years, we will show that at the initial phase of immigration, migrants are very vulnerable and their job-search strategies are channelling them to marginal positions on the labour market. As they advance in the process of social integration, their chances to escape the most precarious job conditions increase and their overall situation improves. However, the disadvantageous characteristics of their jobs form a barrier for a move to a job corresponding to their qualification, which is also due to psychological effects of the marginal positions, i.e. lowered self-confidence and lowered job-aspirations. Nonetheless, a strategy leading towards “upper-end” jobs was also identified.

CLAUDIO MORRISON  
Middlesex University Business School

DEVI SACCHETTO  
Department of Sociology, University of Padua

# Labour migration between the former Soviet Union and EU: Labour market in competition?

This paper presents early findings from a comparative research on labour migration. The research focuses on migrants from Moldova and Ukraine working in the Russian and EU construction sector. The aim of this paper is to focus on Russia side, identifying and analysing migratory procedures and recruitment mechanisms in order to understand their impact on employment systems. On the basis of interviews with migrant workers and analysts in both sending and host countries the research unveils actual opportunities and constraints faced by migrants in the labour market and the workplace, and their individual and collective strategies to overcome them.

Russia allows free entry to CIS citizens but access to the right to work and fruition of social security, especially in sought after cities, are dependent on gaining residency and full job contracts. A crucial role in deciding migrants' employment is played by intermediaries: gang leaders and site managers. Labour relations in Russia and the FSU are governed by informal, individualised practices. The existence of labour contracts and even the presence of trade unions are no guarantee that even basic rights will be observed. Workers though cannot be viewed as helpless victims. They display a wide range of responses including individual and collective actions and a growing degree of awareness. Turnover is the preferred form of resistance displayed by workers in the current crisis while collective action remains a last resort. Yet accounts of workers' experiences reveal how migrant work has broadened both their skills and their expectations.

EVA JANSKA

Faculty of Science, Charles University, Prague

# Integration of the second generation of Vietnamese in Prague

The main aim of the paper is a characterisation of 1,5 and the second generation of Vietnamese children and their integration to the Czech society by the example of primary schooling in Prague. Children of foreigners usually face many changes as a result of their integration process. Therefore, this paper does not focus on integration and its mechanisms only, but also on its factors (economic activity of parents, the proximity of the Vietnamese community, education or language) as well as the related effects, such as health of Vietnamese children. There is used qualitative method such as questionnaire survey and interviews. The paper is focused on the example of district of Prague 4 (and its representative basic school) where the majority of Vietnamese living in Prague is concentrated.



BARBARA SAMALUK

Centre for Research in Equality and Diversity, School of Business and Management  
Queen Mary, University of London

# Commodification of migrant labour from post-socialist EUrope

Research that explores economic migration from post-socialist EUrope to the UK too often takes only the receiving society as the frame of reference. This void misses deeper understanding of migrants' habitus that is defined through transnational fields. Hence not enough is known about the origins and reasons behind specific commodification of migrant workers from post-socialist EUrope, which are crucial in understanding the processes of class formation. This paper addresses this void by providing a multi-level perspective. Using historical and macro socio-economic context as a point of departure it aims to uncover how postcolonial narrative that was surrounding "Eastern enlargement" produced not just legal second-class EU citizenship but also a subordinate cultural one. Further it explores how this narrative has been appropriated on the UK labour market with regard to workers from Accession 8 (A8) countries that have joined the EU in 2004 by examining web-based employment agencies' marketization strategies. In order to achieve that it critically adapts Bourdieu's general theory of field, habitus and capital in combination with critical realists' approaches to critical discourse analysis. Based on qualitative discourse analysis of 39 employment agencies' websites the paper provides evidence of distinctive commodification of A8 labour and contributes by unmasking various intersections and multiple power relations that commodify A8 labour through (self) colonising practices. As such the paper also points to multiple and often covered constrains for A8 workers' agentic power and "choice" on the UK labour market.

NONNA KUSHNIROVICH

Institute for Immigration and Integration, Ruppin Academic Center, Emek Hefer

REBECA RAIJMAN

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Haifa

# Labor migration recruitment practices and social rights of migrant workers in Israel

The present paper focuses on recruitment practices and social rights of labor migrants in Israel. Labor migrants comprise 10 percent of the total labor force in Israel, half of them residing in the country without work permits. According to Israeli legislation, the maximum recruitment fee which may be legally charged to foreign workers is about 900\$. Foreign workers are entitled to the same working conditions as an Israeli employee. In addition to these basic rights, employers must give foreign workers a written employment contract, private health insurance and proper housing. In practice temporary migrant workers encounter many abuses of their rights during their work in the country.

The purpose of this study is to map the recruitment practices and rights abuses of temporary labor migrants arriving in Israel. To do so we conducted semi-structured interviews with migrant workers from Philippines, Thailand, China, Nepal and Sri Lanka who work in nursing, agriculture and construction (with and without work permits).

Preliminary results show that migrants paid recruitment fees are much higher than allowed by law. Migrant workers from China paid the largest fee, about 20,000\$, workers from Nepal, Sri Lanka and Philippine paid 6,500\$, and workers from Thailand paid 10,000\$. Furthermore, many workers reported abuses of their social rights, and many workers had no clue, to what rights they are entitled to. These findings suggest the lack of sufficient state control over the conditions of recruitment and employment of labor migrants in all sectors.

# Migration and labour market precariousness in Latin America: A cross country comparative analysis

The persistent economic development gap among countries in Latin America has led to structural conditions that explain, at least in part, the continuing inflow of regional migrants to countries such as Argentina, Chile and Costa Rica. However, the insertion of regional migrants in these labour markets is significantly more precarious than that of the natives, a situation that is expressed through a very high percentage of workers not covered by social security system, unprotected by human rights and obtaining very low wages. Additionally, migrants usually take jobs that are not attractive for native workers, such as domestic services or construction.

The informality of these jobs also implies the lack of access to health care and pension benefits when they retire, with a negative impact on the social vulnerability of these workers and their families. Also, in times of crisis, migrant workers are the first to lose jobs. On top of that, they do not have social protection mechanisms to mitigate the impacts on their family income.

The aim of this study is to analyse in depth the working conditions of regional migrants living in Argentina, Chile and Costa Rica – which are among the most important recipient countries in Latin America –, compared to the insertion of native workers in these labour markets. The degree of informality, labour and family incomes, income inequality and the access to different social protection mechanisms will be studied from a comparative perspective among these countries.

ROSSANA CILLO  
University of Venice

# Migrant workers in the underground economy in Europe

This paper takes in consideration the working conditions of migrants, with or without permit of stay, employed in the underground economy, particularly in construction and agricultural sector.

After the framing on the processes of informalization of economy and on their effects on the introduction of migrants into the labour market, I will present the results of a research conducted in seven European countries – Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Italy, United Kingdom, Spain – in the field of UWT – Undocumented Workers Transitions project.<sup>1</sup> According to the data emerged from the research, I will show how the increasing informalization of the economy and the consequent expansion of the underground economy in the last three decades are tightly connected to the process of total compression towards the bottom of occupational conditions and life of workers. Besides I will take in consideration the processes of hierarchization and racial segregation present in the underground economy to show how these processes – in combination with the condition of undocumented/semidocumented migrant workers – have consolidated a phenomenon of segregation in the segregation and of hierarchization in the hierarchization, since on the one hand they have led to the constitution of ultra-precarious and ultra-flexible workers group, in the field of the underground economy (that is already characterized for worse working conditions and for missed recognition of the rights), while on the other hand they have transformed the “clandestinity” into a specific form of discrimination and racial exclusion.

---

<sup>1</sup> The UWT project, with participation of Laboratorio di Ricerca sull'Immigrazione e le Trasformazioni Sociali di Ca'Foscari University of Venice, was coordinated by Working Lives Research Institute of the London Metropolitan University and it was realized within the VI Framework Programme between 2007 and 2009.

# Index of authors

- Al-Rebholz, Anil 34  
Anthias, Floya 14  
Block, Laura 23  
Campani, Giovanna 29  
Cillo, Rossana 44  
Čačić-Kumpes, Jadranka 25  
Dezső, Dóra 22  
Fathi, Mastoureh 35  
Gerasymenko, Ganna 30  
Gregurović, Snježana 25  
Hirsiaho, Anu 24  
Hoffman, David 24  
Janska, Eva 40  
Jäppinen, Maija 36  
Jesse, Moritz 20  
Joppke, Christian 13  
Kakucs, Noémi 22  
King, Natasha 17  
Kontos, Maria 37  
Kostakopoulou, Dora 15  
Krifors, Karin 18  
Kumpes, Josip 25  
Kushnirovich, Nonna 42  
Maurizio, Roxana 43  
Medica, Karmen 21  
Morokvasic, Mirjana 27  
Morrison, Claudio 39  
Pajnik, Mojca 16  
Patel, Pragna 28  
Perić, Tatjana 32  
Pöyhönen, Sari 24  
Raijman, Rebeca 42  
Rákoczyová, Miroslava 38  
Rynkänen, Tatjana 24  
Saarinen, Aino 36  
Sacchetto, Devi 39  
Sahradyan, Sonya 24  
Samaluk, Barbara 41  
Scheibelhofer, Paul 31  
Tarnanen, Mirja 24  
Tkach, Olga 26  
Trimikliniotis, Nicos 19  
Učakar, Tjaša 33  
Vidmar Horvat, Ksenija 33

## NOTES

## NOTES

## NOTES