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A Baseline Study on the Participation of Migrant Women in Political and Democratic Life in Europe



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Introduction

The WE-EMPOWER project is a transnational collaboration of seven migrant women-led and women-led organisations in Europe. The project aims to encourage and empower migrant women to participate in political and democratic life, with the overarching goal of protecting migrant women's rights. The project partners are - Women in Development Europe+, Belgium (WIDE+); NGO Atina, Serbia; Romanian Women's Lobby, Romania and Italy (RoWL); KULU - Women AND Development, Denmark (KULU); Gender and Development in Practice, Sweden (GADIP); Red Latinas (Spain); and Alianza por La Solidaridad (Spain). The project also carries out activities with associate partners like Gabriela Germany, Germany; Associazione Donne Romene in Italia, Italy (ADRI); Wo-Mi Women Migrants, Denmark (WO-MI); Babaylan Denmark, Denmark; and other migrant women-led organisations in Europe.

This set of five study papers aim to shed light on the state of migrant women's participation in political and democratic life in Europe. There are four papers covering this topic at a national level in Denmark, Germany, Serbia, and Italy, and one paper looking at the EU level. The research is based on desktop analysis (including national/Eurostat data) and surveys with specific stakeholders, including migrant women, experts, and decision-makers (the survey questions can be read in the Annex section of this paper).

Within the framework of the WE-EMPOWER project, participation in political and democratic life refers to having the right to vote, stand as candidates, join political parties, and having the right, opportunity, and space to influence public decision-making processes that contribute to the development of a society. The project also takes an inclusive approach to the term 'migrant women', referring to all women, including gender non-conforming persons, who have been displaced between countries, trafficked, have moved from a third or European country to a destination in Europe, or women who are second-generation migrants.

The active participation of migrant women is not only a crucial aspect of integration, but also essential for gender parity and democracy. Therefore, for these papers, we looked at indicators that demonstrate or encourage participation, such as migrant women's electoral rights (the right to vote and to stand as elected candidates), representation of migrant women in elected bodies such as national parliaments, and migrant women's leadership and involvement in activism. We also studied the barriers to participation for migrant

women and looked at examples of measures to improve participation. Overall, based on these papers, we find that there is still a lack of representation of migrant women in elected bodies at the local, national, and European levels, and the lack of engagement with migrant women associations in decision-making processes.

The papers are intended to provide the project partners a clearer picture of the extent to which migrant women are represented in decision-making at different levels and develop strategies to overcome some of the challenges to participation. They can also be used to inform civil society representatives and decision-makers who are interested to enhance the participation of migrant women.

Europe study by Women in Development Europe+ (WIDE+)

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Participation of Migrant Women in Political and Democratic Life in Europe

The aim of this paper is to examine the participation of migrant women in political and democratic life¹ in Europe. Within the framework of the WE-EMPOWER project², participation in political and democratic life refers to having the right to vote, stand as candidates, join political parties, and having the right, opportunity, and space to influence public decision-making processes that contribute to the development of a society.

Participation in political and democratic life is an important aspect to the integration of all migrants, especially for migrant women who still lack visibility in society. Effective participation of migrant women is necessary so they can contribute their ideas and proposals to the development of the societies they live in. However, there remain many barriers to migrant women's visibility and voices in public and political spaces, and this is why it is important to have a deeper understanding of the context around migration, migrant women, and their participation in Europe.

Overall, there is a lack of research into migrant women's participation at the EU level, with limited cross-national data to give a clearer picture on this issue. Nevertheless, this paper fills in some of the knowledge gaps around the topic of migrant women's participation in political and democratic life.

I. Migrant Women in Europe

The WE-EMPOWER project adopts an inclusive definition of migrant women – for us, the term **'migrant women' refers to ALL women, including gender non-conforming persons, who have been displaced between countries, trafficked, have moved from a third or European country to a destination in Europe, or women who are second-generation**

¹ Democratic life involves being actively engaged in community and social life, expressing active citizenship, such as participating in non-governmental associations and organisations that are concerned with the public and political life of the country.

² The WE-EMPOWER project is an EU-funded ERASMUS+ project, which aims to enhance the participation of migrant women in political and democratic life. It is a transnational collaboration of seven migrant women and women-led organisations based in Europe.

migrants. Therefore, this definition includes women, or gender non-conforming persons, who are third-country nationals, asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented migrant women, women with migrant parents and mobile EU citizens. While we take an inclusive approach to the definition of migrant, we recognise that migrant women differ in experience, resources, and vulnerabilities.

In the EU context, the definition of migrants differs from the one our project uses, as the EU's definitions are mainly based on migration management policies. While it is not within the scope of this paper to have an in-depth normative discussion on the use of the term 'migrant'³, it remains useful to understand the different terms used to describe people who undertake migration, whether by choice or by circumstance. A **third-country national** refers to anyone who is not a citizen of the EU, and who is not a person enjoying the EU right to free movement, as defined in Article 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code. A **migrant** is a person who has established their residence within the EU for a period of at least 12 months, having previously resided in another EU Member State or a third country⁴. An **asylum seeker** refers to a third-country national or stateless person, who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Refugee Convention and Protocol, where a final decision has not yet been taken (European Commission, 2022). A **refugee** is someone whose asylum-seeking application has been approved and has therefore been granted refugee status.

Migrants constitute a significant proportion of the population in Europe. Looking at EU-level data, based on Eurostat data from 2021, there are 447.2 million people living in the EU (Eurostat, 2023). Third-country nationals, or non-EU citizens, make up around 5% of the population of the EU, or 23.7 million. If we include mobile EU citizens, this figure will increase to almost 10%. In 2021, 2.3 million people immigrated to the EU from third countries, with a slightly higher percentage of men than women, with **55% for men and 45% for women**⁵.

In the last five years, several key trends around migration have been observed in Europe. Notably, Russia's invasion of Ukraine has affected the picture of migration in Europe and reshaped the debate around the migration and asylum policies of the EU. The EU has

³ To read more about the debate on an inclusivist versus residualist approach on the term 'migrant', you can visit: <https://meaningofmigrants.org/the-case-for-being-inclusive/>

⁴ See the full glossary of migration terms, *Migration and home affairs*, by the European Commission, 2022 (https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/migrant_en)

⁵ Note that data collected from Eurostat only counts immigrants who have been residing in a Member State for at least 12 months. In addition, only some Member States include asylum seeker or refugees who are residents of at least 12 months, in the data on migration.

invoked the **Temporary Protection Directive**⁶ for the first time in history, to create a proper and coordinated migration response to Ukrainians fleeing the war. The wake of the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan has also led to an increase of Afghans fleeing the country and seeking protection in European countries. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic had increased risks and challenges for migrants and refugees, with specific impacts on migrant women. For example, during the pandemic, migrant women faced increased risks of gender-based violence, carried heavier caregiving burdens and lacked access to information and integration resources (like online language classes) (EMN, 2022).

Based on the diversity of countries that migrants come from, the different migratory pathways and the varied reasons for migrating, it is important to underline that migrant women are not homogeneous. Women migrate to the EU for many different reasons. They migrate as spouses, students, labour migrants, or as asylum seekers. Gender is a significant factor that influences migration decisions. While migration is often framed as a choice that can advance gender equality, it also exposes women and girls to higher risks of violence and vulnerability, especially for migrant women who are undocumented. The challenges that migrant women face in Europe are often a direct result of their resident status or push factors to migrate. Therefore, it is essential that migrant women are provided with the opportunities to participate, to highlight these issues and to influence the process of finding solutions.

II. Barriers to Participation for Migrant Women

Several international frameworks such as the CEDAW convention and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) outline that all women, including migrant women, should not be discriminated against in all spheres of life, and should have the right to participate in policymaking and hold public office (Article 7, CEDAW)⁷. Despite this, migrant women face a range of obstacles when it comes to participation in decision-making processes.

The lack of electoral rights is one barrier to political participation in Europe. When it comes to participation in terms of electoral rights, it depends on whether migrant women

⁶ Temporary protection is an exceptional measure to provide immediate and temporary protection in the event of a mass influx or imminent mass influx of displaced persons from non-EU countries who are unable to return to their country of origin. It was adopted following the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, in 2001. (https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/temporary-protection_en)

⁷ See “The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)” of 18 December 1979: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm#article7>

are EU citizens or third-country nationals. Evidently, mobile EU citizens have more rights in this respect – in European elections, they can vote in their home country or in the host country; they can also vote in municipal elections and in some Member States they can stand as candidates in the host countries. On the other hand, migrant women who are third-country nationals are generally not allowed to cast ballots in municipal, national, or European elections. However, there are some exceptions such as in Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, where third-country nationals can vote in municipal and regional elections if they have a certain number of years of residence. In France, Austria, Germany and Italy, the right of third-country nationals to vote is being debated and requires constitutional change (ECIT Foundation, 2020).

Currently, there is no cross-national disaggregated data available to show whether migrant women exercise their electoral rights (if they have any) and generally, there is a lack of information about their voting patterns or motivations to vote. However, within the WE-EMPOWER project, one of the partner associations, Red Latinas has conducted a nationwide study in Spain⁸ on the political participation of migrants in the country. The data was collected through the application of a self-administered survey completed by 1,351 migrants. Three categories of migrants were surveyed – migrants who have been naturalised, migrants with the right to vote, and migrants without the right to vote. The study found that there is a lack of political education (for instance, knowledge of electoral system) among migrants, more so for migrant women. However, more migrant women are active in citizen participation, such as joining cultural groups and education-related entities.

According to a report by the Council of Europe (2020), there is a **severe lack of participation of women in political and public decision-making from under-represented groups that include migrant women, Roma women, LGBTQI women, and women of colour**. The report assessed the participation of women in regional assemblies and local governments in European countries. In this report, participation refers to “more than voting or standing for election...Participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engage in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society” (p.5). The goal of participation is to be able to influence decision-making in a community, and this can be done either “through tools of public influence and participation, or as community representatives elected to a local council” (p.24).

The report highlights some barriers that migrant women experience when it comes to participation. These include **experiencing high levels of discrimination, an unequal share**

⁸ [Red Latinas](#) is a Latin American and Caribbean women’s network based in Spain and is a member of WIDE+. The survey that Red Latinas conducted will be published sometime in 2023 and will be available on WIDE+ and Red Latinas websites.

of caregiving responsibilities, barriers within political parties, lack of targeted measures for inclusion and participation, and lack of accessibility to participation mechanisms (COE, 2021). It also highlights how women from under-represented groups face major difficulties in progressing in political parties or being placed on electoral lists (Ibid.).

Similarly, a report by the European Parliament in 2021 on “Intersectional discrimination in the EU: Socio-economic situation of women of African, Middle-Eastern, Latin American and Asian descent”⁹, highlights the notion of **intersectional discrimination faced by women in the EU, based on the notion that people experience several forms of discrimination, including gender identity, race, ethnicity, and migrant background**. In this document, intersectional discrimination is understood as being different from the mere sum of multiple discrimination. In the case of intersectional discrimination, “the grounds of discrimination are intertwined, which creates a unique type of discrimination” (p.4). This intersectional discrimination contributes to migrant women’s experiences of poverty, trafficking, gender-based violence, barriers to healthcare, and social exclusion.

For example, migrant domestic workers, primarily women, are often made vulnerable due to poor working conditions, low salaries and violence and harassment at work. Another example is that many migrant women who are third-country nationals, often have residence permits tied to those of their spouses/partners, which deters them from reporting abuse/violence or even being active in political and democratic life. **The alarming rate of hate speech and online violence** that women politicians and public figures face in Europe¹⁰ is also a big deterrent for migrant women to be politically and publicly active.

Migrant women also lack visibility in the media. In general, migrants are not only under-represented in the media, but when covered, migration is often portrayed in negative and conflict-centred terms (Eberl et al., 2018). A report by the Churches’ Commission for Migrants in Europe (2017) found that only 21% of stories covered by European media¹¹ on asylum and integration featured an individual migrant or refugee. The report also found that migrant women are even more invisible – only 27% of the 21% stories that mentioned

⁹ To read the full report, *Intersectional discrimination in the EU: socio-economic situation of women of African, Middle-Eastern, Latin American and Asian descent*, European Parliament, 2021
(https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-9-2022-0190_EN.html)

¹⁰ The study, *Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Europe* by IPU-PACE, 2021, shows an overwhelming percentage of female MPs in the European Parliament suffered various forms of abuse and online violence.
(<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/issue-briefs/2018-10/sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliaments-in-europe>)

¹¹ To read the full report, *Changing the Narrative: Media representation of refugees and migrants in Europe*, by Churches Commission For Migrant in Europe (CCME) and Communication For All (WACC) Europe, 2017
(<https://www.imap-migration.org/narrative/publications/changing-narrative-media-representation-refugees-and-migrants-europe>)

migrants was about migrant women. When migrant women do feature in the media, representations are often limited and stereotypical. (Lünenborg and Bach, 2009).

In Europe, media representation of migrant women is often reduced to essentialist binaries (Lünenborg & Bach, 2009). For example, oversimplified categories are constantly used in the media to create stereotypical representations of Muslim women, with veiled Muslim women depicted as being “un-European”. In 2021, the Council of Europe had to remove images from a social media campaign¹² that aimed to promote diversity and included an image of a woman in a hijab. Ultimately, the over-representation of a particular religious group of migrant women, limited to a few stereotypes, contributes to the stigmatisation of all migrant women.

Overall, the lack of electoral rights, intersectional discrimination, and lack of positive media representation can potentially result in further exclusion of migrant women and alienate them from participation in society.

III. Participation of Migrant Women in Political Life

When it comes to assessing the participation of migrant women in elected or political bodies, there is very little data. However, what is clear is that there is a **visible lack of representation of women, migrants, and ethnic minorities in political positions**. At European level in the last five years, the two countries with the highest female representation in their national parliaments were Belgium and Denmark (see Figure 1), yet gender parity has not been achieved (EIGE, 2022).

To give another example at the national level, Germany which has one of the most diverse national parliaments in Europe in terms of migrant, female and LGBTQIA+ representation (Stowers, 2022), still lacks presence of migrant women in the parliament. Based on desktop analysis conducted by Gabriela Germany as part of this series of study papers, it was found that the representation of women with migrant backgrounds remained marginal in the last two federal elections, in 2017 and 2021. Female MPs with migrant background represent only 5% of MPs in the German Parliament while they make up around 13% of German population (see page 66 of this report).

At the European Parliament, while the proportion of women in the European Parliament increased to 39.3% in the current term (2019-2024) from 36.4% (2014-2019) (European

¹² To read the full article, *Council of Europe removes hijab diversity campaign tweets amid backlash*, by Euronews, 2021 (<https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2021/11/03/council-of-europe-removes-hijab-diversity-campaign-tweets-amid-backlash>)

Parliament, 2019), further steps must be taken to achieve gender parity.

Figure 1: Representation of females at national parliaments in Belgium and Denmark, 2019-2022¹³

Country	Representation rate of female politicians in national parliaments by years			
	2019	2020	2021	2022
Belgium	42.4%	43.3%	43.8%	43.8%
Denmark	39.7%	39.7%	41.3%	43.4%

In addition to the lack of gender parity at the European Parliament, the racial/ethnic¹⁴ representation rate remains low (ENAR, 2019). While racial/ethnic minorities make up around 10% of the population in the EU according to ENAR, they represent only 5% of Members of the European Parliament (MEP), or 36 MEPs. In the current term, of 36 MEPs from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds, 17 are women. Given the lack of information and data on the representation of migrants in the European Parliament, ENAR's study acts as a proxy for us to understand migrant women's representation in this elected body. It is likely that there is a strong correlation between women who belong to these ethnic communities and the fact that they are migrant women, according to our definition of migrant women. **Thus, it is safe to say that the equal representation of migrant women is severely lacking in the European Parliament.**

Based on national surveys conducted in 2016 in six EU countries (European Website on Integration, 2016), there is a divide in terms of migrant representation between northern and southern Europe: the further south, the fewer members of parliament (MPs) of immigrant origin. This data is not gender-disaggregated. In Italy, 2% of MPs are migrants; in Greece, 1% are migrants; and in Spain, fewer than 1% of Congress members are migrants.

There are a few examples of female politicians with migrant backgrounds who have achieved success in terms of reaching high-level positions in public office. For example, Dilan Yeşilgöz-Zegerius, a Kurdish-born Justice Minister in the Netherlands, is in Mark Rutte's current cabinet. In Spain, Rita Bosaho, who was born in Equatorial Guinea, became

¹³ Source: European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), 2022. Representation rate of females at national parliaments in Belgium and Denmark.
https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/indicator/wmidm_pol_parl_wmid_natparl/datatable

¹⁴ Racial or ethnic minority refers to a person whose race/ethnicity is non-dominant within society. In ENAR's analysis of the 2019 Elections, the report accounted for MEPs of African, North African, South Asian, East Asian, Middle Eastern, Roma, national minorities (eg: Hungarian in Romanian, Russian in Lithuania) and others.

the very first black member of the Spanish Senate in 2016¹⁵. Currently, she is the director of Director- General for Equality of Treatment and Ethnic-racial Diversity at Spain's equality ministry.

In France, Lebanese-born Rima Abdul Malak was appointed as Minister of Culture in France by President Emmanuel Macron in 2022¹⁶. In Norway, one of the most prominent politicians is Hadia Tajik, who is of Pakistani origin. She was the Labour Party's deputy leader for seven years, and she was the first woman of a minority background to be named the most powerful woman in Norway by Kapital magazine. In Italy, Cécile Kyenge, who was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, became Italy's first black cabinet minister in 2013. From 2014 until 2019, she was a Member of the European Parliament. She mainly worked on issues related to migration to Europe.

IV. Participation of Migrant Women in Democratic Life

There has been greater visibility of migrant women in democratic life, compared to their direct political participation. Often, community-based, migrant women-led groups are the first responders during crises (as evident from the COVID-19 pandemic), they have expertise in a range of issues such as gender-based violence, and/or building support systems for migrant women. Still, much work is needed for migrant women to be included in decision-making on issues that affect their communities.

According to data from the European Website on Integration (2021)¹⁷, **women-led migrant organisations represent just 12% of migrant-led organisations at the national level. This percentage increases at regional and local level, where 19% of migrant organisations are led by women.** Migrant women's organisations are also more active in Northern and Western Europe, where they also started organising earlier than in the Southern, Central, Eastern, and Baltic regions (ibid.). Their work often focuses on combating sexual and gender-based violence, lobbying and advocacy. Many of them include intersectional approaches in their work, combining support services with political activism for different

¹⁵ To read the full article, Podemos' Rita Bosaho becomes Spain's first female black MP, The Guardian, 2015 (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/21/podemos-rita-bosaho-becomes-spains-first-female-black-mp>)

¹⁶ To read the full article, President Macron appoints Rima Abdul Malak as France's new minister of culture, The Art Newspaper, 2022 (<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/05/23/president-macron-appoints-rima-abdul-malak-as-frances-new-minister-of-culture>)

¹⁷ See the full article, Mapping key migrant-led organisations across the EU, by the European Commission, 2021 (https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/special-feature/mapping-key-migrant-led-organisations-across-eu_en)

communities of migrant women. Access to core, long-term, and flexible funding to migrant women's organisations remains a big issue for them (WIDE+, 2022).

Examples of migrant women-led organisations that are part of WIDE+ migration and gender working group

Red Latinas, Spain - <https://redlatinas.es/>

Red Latinas is a network of associations of Latin American and Caribbean women living in Spain. They aim to make migrant women's contributions to society visible as subjects of rights, and to exercise their active citizenship.

International Women Space, Germany - www.iwspace.de

IWS is a feminist, anti-racist political group based in Germany formed by migrant, refugee, and non-migrant women.

Voice of All Women, Netherlands – <https://voiceofallwomen.org/>

Voice of All Women is a grassroots organisation that is committed to women's rights and that seeks to enhance the resilience, autonomy, and agency of women from marginalised communities.

Currently, there are only three migrant women-led or women-led organisations that work at the EU level to promote the rights of migrant women. They are, European Network of Migrant Women (ENOMW)¹⁸, New Women Connectors¹⁹, and WIDE+ (the coordinator of the WE-EMPOWER project). In 2016, WIDE+ convened a Migration and Gender working group that comprises migrant women-led organisations and feminist organisations working throughout Europe to promote the rights of migrant women. The working group remains very active and works on advocacy, movement-building, and capacity-building for migrant women.

¹⁸ The European Network of Migrant Women is a migrant women-led feminist, secular, non-partisan platform that advocates for the rights, freedoms and dignity of migrant, refugee and ethnic minority women and girls in Europe. (<https://www.migrantwomennetwork.org/>)

¹⁹ New Women Connectors is a migrant women-led Pan-European platform working to promote the engagement of migrant and refugee women in policy-making processes. (www.newwomenconnectors.com)

V. Measures to Promote and Improve the Participation of Migrant Women

As mentioned earlier, there is a lack of cross-national data to fully assess migrant women's participation in Europe. Moreover, there is no explicit strategy by the EU to promote the participation of migrants or migrant women.

In 2020, after the launch of the **New Pact on Migration and Asylum**²⁰, the European Commission also launched an **Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027**²¹ that recognises the contribution of migrants to the EU and it aims to address barriers that migrants, both newcomers and citizens, face in different areas of integration, including education, employment, access to healthcare and housing. In the Action Plan, the term **'migrant' is defined inclusively to also include EU citizens with migrant backgrounds, citizens who are naturalised and/or have foreign-born parents.**

Importantly, this strategic document has a strong gender dimension, where it **proposes concrete actions around integration for migrant women**, a stark contrast to the New Pact on Migration and Asylum. The document states that "migrant women and girls face additional obstacles to integration compared to migrant men and boys, often having to overcome structural barriers linked to their being both a migrant and female, including facing stereotypes" (p. 7). Recommendations related to migrant women include having more migrant women participate in the labour market, better access to healthcare services, and equal participation in society.

Member States are primarily responsible for implementing social policies and actions around integration of migrants, while the EU shares a limited competency that cannot overrule national regulations. Therefore, the Action Plan proposes support for Member States through mobilising EU funding, best policy practice guidance and fostering

Other relevant EU policy documents

- **The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025:** It sets as key objectives, among others, achieving gender balance in decision-making and in politics, and combating gender-based violence.
- **The EU Anti-Racism Action Plan 2020-2025:** It outlines how racism can be combined with discrimination and hatred on other grounds, like gender and migration status.

²⁰ The New Pact outlines the EU's agenda on migration in the coming years. The Pact includes five legislative proposals, which will be binding EU law, if accepted by the Parliament and Council, and four non-binding recommendations that have been adopted by the European Commission. To read the full document, *New Pact on Migration and Asylum*, by the European Commission, 2020 (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020DC0609>)

²¹ To read the full document, *Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion*, by the European Commission, 2020 (https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-11/action_plan_on_integration_and_inclusion_2021-2027.pdf)

partnerships. With regard to the participation of migrants, the Commission set up an **Expert Group on the views of migration, asylum and integration** and encourages Member States to involve migrants and migrant organisations in the design, implementation, and evaluation of integration policies (p.22). Overall, **the Action Plan does not outline specific recommendations to increase migrant women’s participation in political and democratic life.**

Within the Expert Group that has been formed after the launch of the plan, there are 12 individuals, eight of whom are women, and 11 migrant/refugee-led organisations, of which at least three are migrant women-led²². Anila Noor, founder of the Pan-European migrant women-led organisation New Women Connectors, and a member of the Expert Group, says that migration policies are often designed without a feminist or gender lens, and ignore the realities that migrant women face in Europe²³. While she applauds efforts to increase migrant women’s participation, she observes that there is still a distanced relationship between migrant women and policymakers. She argues that migrant women should be included in all steps of decision-making and not simply called on for (short-term) consultations. Additionally, consultations as a form of participation have a very limited impact on legislative proposals (Desille and Tommasi, 2023).

There are initiatives to include migrants in local policymaking at the city and national levels in Europe, through the development of migrant councils or consultative bodies. For example, 47 cities signed the “Integrating Cities Charter”, a set of commitments initiated by Eurocities²⁴, “to provide equal opportunities for all residents, to integrate migrants, and to embrace the diversity of their populations that is a reality in cities across Europe”. While this is a non-binding action, it signals a commitment by policymakers at the city level to include migrants in local decision-making processes.

Alexandra Weerts, Senior Project Coordinator at Eurocities explained²⁵ that developing migrant councils is a useful way of including migrants in decision-making. Cities like Leipzig in Germany ensure gender parity in its migrants’ council. The council is made up

²² More about the Expert group can be viewed here: <https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/expert-groups-register/screen/expert-groups/consult?lang=en&do=groupDetail.groupDetail&groupID=3734>

²³ This intervention by Anila Noor was taken from a panel discussion on the “Political Participation of Migrant Women in the EU”, organised by WIDE+, within the framework of the WE-EMPOWER project, on 22 March 2023 in Brussels.

²⁴ EUROCITIES is a network of more than 200 cities in 38 countries, and provides a platform to share knowledge and ideas, to exchange experiences, to analyse common problems and develop innovative solutions. (www.eurocities.eu)

²⁵ This intervention by Alexandra Weerts was taken from a panel discussion on the “Political Participation of Migrant Women in the EU”, organised by WIDE+, within the framework of the WE-EMPOWER project, on 22 March 2023 in Brussels.

of 22 members (16 are migrants, and six are representatives of political parties). Since 2021, members of the council have been elected by the migrants living in the city.

Still, the effectiveness of migrant councils or consultative bodies as a participatory mechanism that influences policymaking depends on multiple factors such as political will, resources (funding and knowledge), and regular follow-up after consultations (Eurocities, 2022). There is also largely an absence of any legal obligation on public authorities to consider including the recommendations of such consultative bodies into integration policies (Golubeva, 2012).

In terms of increasing the representation of migrant women in politics, there are no known actions at the EU level. There are, however, different measures being recommended to increase the number of women in politics, including mandating gender quotas, and providing training, mentoring, funding, and other assistance to female candidates, particularly young women, and women from under-represented minority groups (European Parliament, 2021)²⁶. The Council of Europe (2021), which brings together much more countries than the Council of the EU, also recommends collecting disaggregated data and supporting research into women from under-represented groups in political life and analysing representation of women and men at national and regional level with an intersectional perspective. The Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination of the Council of Europe underlines some measures to promote women's participation from under-represented groups, such as setting up and funding some leadership and mentorship programmes, strengthening women's rights organisations by providing financial support and promoting the creation of women's networks or caucuses in national parliaments.

Conclusion

Enhancing the participation of migrant women in political and democratic life is a necessary step to building inclusive and democratic societies. The participation of migrant women as an under-represented group can positively contribute to public governance, transparency and accountability (Desille and Tommasi, 2023). While this can be done through different participatory mechanisms, like ensuring gender parity in migrant councils and consultative bodies and having quotas to ensure women from migrant backgrounds are represented in elected bodies, it is also crucial that migrant women can develop and lead spaces where they can share their expertise and knowledge and be engaged in decision-making processes.

²⁶ To read the full brief, *Women in politics in the EU: State of play*, European Parliamentary Research Service, 2021 ([https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI\(2023\)739383](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI(2023)739383))

To this end, it is therefore just as crucial that migrant women-led organisations have access to core, sustainable and flexible funding from governments, donors, and the EU (WIDE+, 2022).

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Denmark study by KULU – Women and Development (KULU)

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Political and Democratic Participation of Migrant Women in Denmark

Introduction

A significant number of migrant women reside in Denmark. This paper summarises various barriers faced by migrant women in terms of participating in political and democratic life in Denmark. It also stresses the need to overcome such barriers and provides suggestions as to how this can be achieved.

The term ‘democratic life’ describes the ability of an individual to interact with governmental and non-governmental democratic procedures. A democratic society is one in which all individuals can participate and are engaged in the decision-making procedures, as well as in community and social life, for example through participating in non-governmental associations.

In particular, participation in political and democratic life refers to having the right to vote, stand as candidates, join political parties, and having the right, opportunity, and space to influence public decision-making procedures that contribute to the development of a society.

For this paper, KULU-Women and Development (KULU), the lead association authoring this paper, also conducted survey interviews with experts, migrant women, and decision-makers in Denmark²⁷.

Executive Summary

- As of 2021, 300,000 migrant women resided in Denmark
- Migrant women in Denmark continue to face issues such as barriers to political participation, discrimination, complicated paths to citizenship, insufficient media representation, and insufficient political representation. Measures to better support migrant women need to be taken such as: education and reform surrounding the obtaining of Danish citizenship, increased grassroots engagement, more positive media coverage, advocacy of migrant women in political positions, support for migrant women’s organisations, education against discrimination, and affirmative action.

²⁷ The survey was sent to 13 decision-makers (12 women with migrant background and 1 man), representing 7 political parties. The group comprised members of the Danish Parliament as well as members of 5 city councils. 4 decision makers answered representing 3 political parties. The group comprised 1 member of the Danish Parliament and 3 city council members representing 3 municipalities, including 2 municipalities with large migrant populations. It was also sent to 7 experts (5 researchers and students at the Danish Institute for International Studies and Copenhagen University, 1 former politician with migrant background and experience on migrants in

I. Migrant Women in Denmark

A migrant refers to an individual who resides within the country in question for a minimum of 12 months. A third-country national in terms of the EU refers to an individual who is not an EU citizen and thus, does not have access to the EU right to free movement per Article 2(5) of the Schengen Borders Code. An asylum seeker is defined as an individual who is a third-country national or who is stateless and who, via the Geneva Refugee Convention and Protocol, has applied for protection with a decision still pending (European Commission, 2022). Once this application is approved, the individual is granted refugee status.

In 2021, roughly 5.8 million people lived in Denmark, of whom over 2.5 million were women of Danish origin. This same year **300,000 migrant women reportedly resided in Denmark, of whom 80,000 had Danish citizenship**. Regardless of the large percentage of migrants in Denmark, voting rights remain a democratic issue, in that while they can vote in local elections, migrants without a Danish passport cannot vote in general elections²⁸.

Table 1: Female population in Denmark²⁹

Year	Ancestry	Citizenship	
		Denmark	Foreign
2021	Person of Danish origin	2 524 001	2 695
2021	Immigrants	80 278	230 833
2021	Descendants*	63 778	336 603

*Descendants of migrants are born in Denmark, but the parents were not born in Denmark nor did they have Danish citizenship

In the last five years, **most migrant women have migrated from Romania, Poland and Germany**. In 2022, Denmark gave asylum to many refugees from Ukraine. In addition, statistics show that many migrants came from the USA, India, Philippines, and China³⁰. Migrants in Denmark usually stay in big cities, specifically Copenhagen. Statistics from February 2022 show that Polish immigrants are the largest group in Denmark, at around 44,000. Syrian and Romanian immigrants follow closely with 35,000 and 34,000 respectively.

politics, and 1 head of integration institution for migrant and refugee women, *Integrationshuset Kringlebakken*. 3 experts answered (2 researchers and 1 head of the integration institution). In addition, 8 migrant women also responded to the survey – they were born in the Philippines, India, Ghana, Russia and Lithuania. The respondents had been living in Denmark from 1 to more than 20 years.

²⁸ Statistics Denmark, 2022. Figures show number of migrants including all genders.

²⁹ Ibid. Statistics refer to immigrant women.

³⁰ Statistics Denmark, 07.09.2022, <https://www.statbank.dk/>

As of January 2022, the following groups were also a large part of the Danish population: Turks (33,500), Germans (32,500), Iraqis (22,000), and Iranians (18,000) (Statista Research Department, 2023).

With regard to **Denmark's legislative framework**, in 1999 Denmark launched the Integration Act intended to help integrate migrants at the municipal level (European Commission, 2023). Since then, immigration policies and packages have focused on integrating migrants into the labour force (European Commission, 2023). Current migrant integration is based around an integration policy introduced in 2015, focusing on jobs, including aspects such as language requirements and civic education³¹. Such policies are overseen by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, however municipalities oversee a large portion of integration projects (European Commission, 2023).

Migration to Denmark is instigated for various reasons. One important reason is employment, as Denmark offers the following residence permits for individuals employed by Danish companies: Denmark Positive List, Pay Limit Scheme, Green Card Scheme or Corporate Scheme (Make Visas, n.d.). Furthermore, a young foreign national wishing to learn the Danish language and culture can also apply for a residence permit as an au pair (The Danish Immigration Service, n.d.-b). Individuals may also migrate to access education, as Denmark offers study permits for individuals enrolled in eligible institutions (The Danish Immigration Service, n.d.-b). A third major reason is family reunification, where foreign nationals may move to Denmark to reunite with a family member who studies, works or has permanent residence in Denmark (The Danish Immigration Service, n.d.-b). Migrants who wish to stay in Denmark for longer periods of time have various visa or residence permit options. Below are some migrant categories relevant in the context of Denmark:

EEA/EU, Nordic citizens

Citizens from EEA/EU countries can live, work or study legally in Denmark through an easy residence permit application process or via family reunification. After living in Denmark for five years, they can apply for permanent residency. Nordic citizens and their family members from Finland, Iceland, Norway or Sweden do not require a residence permit³². EU citizens who migrate to Denmark typically do so for the job market, higher wages, better working conditions, cheaper housing, and education³³.

Asylum seekers

Anyone from a foreign country may apply for asylum in Denmark. With the objective of temporarily relocating to Denmark, asylum seekers can be issued time-limited residence

³¹ Ibid.

³² New to Denmark, official website, <https://nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/You-want-to-apply/Residence-as-a-Nordic-citizen-or-EU-or-EEA-citizen>

³³ OECD Report, STATUS FOR DECEMBER, 2021

visas. When their need for protection ends, their right to reside in Denmark expires (The Danish Immigration Service, n.d.-b). A law providing temporary status for those fleeing indiscriminate violence, as opposed to personal persecution, was passed in Denmark in 2015. This rule was ultimately applied to about 4,700 of the roughly 35,000 Syrians living in Denmark, in spite of Denmark's hard line on Syrian refugees which continues today (Alfred & Holst, 2022).

Ukrainian Citizens

In February 2022, Denmark passed the 'Special Act' in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which allows specifically Ukrainian citizens to obtain a residence permit in Denmark. In 2001, the European Council introduced the Temporary Protection Directive to address the potential influx of non-EU citizens seeking asylum (European Commission, n.d.). This was activated for the first time after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, providing Ukrainian refugees rights such as residence permits, access to housing, access to education and access to social welfare (European Commission, n.d.).

Ukrainians may also get a residence permit based on family reunification (European Commission, n.d.). Ukrainians may also be granted a residence permit, if they are a close relative to someone who already has a residence permit under the Special Act (The Danish Immigration Service, n.d.-a). The vast number of Ukrainian refugees being accepted has sparked a debate surrounding migration in the EU, as many believe it is counter to the historical and growing anti-immigrant rhetoric apparent in the EU (Martini, 2022). The speed and size of support the EU has offered Ukrainian refugees has made many hopeful that the EU will consider an overhaul of the current asylum and migration policies (Martini, 2022).

II. Barriers to Participation for Migrant Women

In a democratic society, political engagement and participation through acts such as voting are critical for ensuring a just and equitable society. It is the primary way citizens can both integrate themselves into and help shape a society that represents the values and needs of all of its residents.

There are two directly opposite political perceptions of migration and integration in Denmark: one, that access to citizenship should be easy in order to make integration easier

for migrants; and the other, that citizenship is a gift, which must be earned, thus the road must be long and difficult. The latter view is the dominant rhetoric in Denmark³⁴.

Migrant women lacking full electoral rights is therefore a justice and rights issue, as it limits their agency and ensures they remain alienated from the decisions governing Danish society, and thus society itself. Voting rights in Denmark vary depending on nationality and residence status. Only Danish citizens (including Greenland and the Faroe Islands) can vote in the general elections to the Danish Parliament. Moreover, only Danish citizens are able to become parliamentary candidates and vote in referendums³⁵. Migrants who have become naturalised are thus citizens and can vote.

As an EU member state, Denmark organises elections to the European Parliament every five years. Only EU citizens can vote for European Parliament candidates. Individuals with residence in Denmark can choose to vote in Danish elections or vote for candidates in their home country. Similarly, EU citizens may run for office; however, they must first join a political party and be listed on the party's list of candidates. A group can form a party to be nominated. Independent candidates cannot run. Non-EU citizens are not allowed to participate in European Parliamentary elections as voters or candidates.

Regional and municipal elections are open for certain migrant voters. To be entitled to vote, both citizens of EU countries, Nordic countries, as well as non-EU-citizens must have permanent residence for three years before the date of the elections. Migrants who qualify to vote can also be candidates in local and regional elections and, furthermore, be elected to regional and municipal/city councils.

One of the interviewees of the survey conducted by KULU, Lisbeth Vibe Utzon, head of Integrationshuset Kringlebakken³⁶, believes that major changes should be made in legislation. She said that the lack of voting rights is “**a major democratic problem** [as] it has become so difficult to obtain Danish citizenship... we have a larger and larger group of women, in particular, who cannot vote in parliamentary elections. In Kringlebakken we have a group of women who have waited up to eight years to get their first residence permits. They are completely outside society. In addition, there is not enough information

³⁴ Kasper Møller Hansen. prof., Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen (in) Ulrik Dahlin: “Hver tiende voksne kan ikke stemme til folketingsvalget”, Information, 14. Sept. 2022;

³⁵ Folketinget, 07.09.2022. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/democracy/elections-and-referendums>

³⁶ Integrationshuset Kringlebakken is an NGO that since 1999 has worked for equality, empowerment and integration of socially disadvantaged minority women and their children. Kringlebakken's efforts strengthen equality in the social, educational, business and health areas. <https://www.kringlebakken.dk/>

about voting rights in Denmark. Many migrants are not aware that they are able to vote in municipal and regional elections.”

The majority of decision-makers who took part in the survey identified the right to vote as the most important factor in improving migrant women’s position in Danish political life.

In the survey, all decision-makers and experts are in consensus that **migrant women are more discriminated against than other women**. Migrant women, especially non-Western ones, face many barriers and struggles, even after living in Denmark after several years. This includes social isolation, trauma, lack of employment opportunities, etc. A study on migrant women’s labour integration in Denmark showed that migrant women from Asian and Arab origins tend to experience racial discrimination and xenophobic attitudes at the workplace (Pace and Bennetzen, 2022). These experiences lead to migrant women withdrawing from integrating with their work peers and avoiding partaking in social activities, especially with ethnic Danes. Ultimately, the lack of acknowledgement of this discrimination and the toll it has on the mental health of migrant women will lead to long-term barriers to their participation in Danish society.

The discourse surrounding migrants and the **lack of representation of migrant women in the media** presents another serious barrier. The lack of media representation acts as a barrier to participation for three primary reasons: there is a lack of migrant voices, which renders them invisible, a lack of migrant representation in topics of concern to them, and when they do feature, the portrayals of migrants tend to be negative.

One study of Scandinavian newspapers found that under 1% of the 1244 news samples reviewed were written by a journalist with a minority background³⁷. In 2021, 14% of the Danish population were either migrants or descendants of migrants, but only 3.5% were represented in media sources. This is a decrease from a previous study in 2016 where 12.3% of the Danish population were migrants or their descendants, while only 4% were represented in media. When topics on foreigners and integration are covered in the media, 20% of the news sources³⁸ are non-Western; however, these topics remained politicised, especially by many ethnic Danish politicians, according to a study of Center for Nyhedsforskning, Roskilde University (2022). This study also found that while minorities are under-represented in the media, minority women, which includes migrant women, remain doubly under-represented with two men being mentioned for every woman. The

³⁷ The study included 1244 news entities from 14 chosen days in 2021 with 3045 sources from 7 newspapers and 4 TV news broadcasts (Hovden, Jan Fredrik, and Hilmar Mjelde. ‘Increasingly Controversial, Cultural, and Political: The Immigration Debate in Scandinavian Newspapers 1970–2016’. *Javnost – The Public*, vol. 26, no. 2, Apr. 2019).

³⁸ In this study, the researchers looked mainly at two types of sources. "Majority sources" refer to persons of ethnic Danish origin. "Minority sources" refer to persons of different ethnic origin. The study also differentiates between minority citizens of other Western and non-Western origins.

gender imbalance applies to all women, regardless of origin. (Center for Nyhedsforskning, 2022).

Migrants are represented disproportionately negatively in media. A study by Hovden and Mjelde analysing the discourse surrounding immigration in Scandinavian countries from 1970-2016 found that Danish newspapers had a greater degree of negative representation. Danish coverage stands out due to its focus and divisiveness on immigration. The authors found that threat-related frames of discourse increased in Denmark, while victim-related frames of discourse decreased through the years of the study. Nearly a quarter of all stories in each country, including Danish media, use a humanitarian sub-frame, which highlights immigrants as victims of persecution and with inadequate living situations. About one fifth of the Danish items use a racism/discrimination framing. (Hovden & Mjelde, 2019).

III. Participation of Migrant Women in Political Life

Engagement in political life includes the ability to actively participate in politics through individual and group actions, as well as interaction with executive authority. This includes individual actions such as voting, taking part in public referendums and running for political positions on all levels. The majority of decision-makers who took part in the survey identified the right to vote as the most important aspect that could make a difference to improving the position of migrant women in Danish political life.

It is mandatory to have Danish citizenship to be a candidate and be elected to the Danish Parliament. However, there are **female members of the Parliament** who refer to their migrant backgrounds. In the 2022 elections, **Samira Nawa** from social-liberal political party, Radikale Venstre, daughter of Afghan refugees (Radikale, n.d.), was elected, as well as **Monika Rubin** (the Moderates), who is part Polish and part Persian (Monika Rubin, n.d.). (Both are descendants of immigrants.) Additionally, **Christina Sade Olumeko**, who is Nigerian-French, was elected from the Alternativet (Solidaritet Danmark, n.d.), and **Victoria Velásquez**, whose mother is from Nicaragua, was elected from the Red-Green Alliance (Both of Danish origin because one of the parents is born in Denmark and has Danish citizenship). Samira Nawa thinks that the first step to achieve a better representation is that more descendants of migrants are running for elections. (TV2, Øst, 14.11.2022)

In general, women are politically engaged on all levels in Denmark, although migrant women face more obstacles (as discussed in the previous section). Looking at the Danish Parliament specifically, before November 2022, 38.9% were women - a slight increase from 2019 where 34.3% of all candidates nominated were women (Statistics Denmark, n.d.).

Nevertheless, this is still higher than the EU average of 32%³⁹. In the 2019 elections to the European Parliament, only 37.8% of candidates were women, and 35.7% were elected (Statistics Denmark, n.d.). Female representation in politics remains an important issue at the EU level.

In Denmark's 2022 General Elections, of all the candidates for the Danish Parliament, 38.4% were women. The final results saw the election of 79 women, comprising 43.4% of Parliament's 179 seats. This is the best result in the history of Danish general elections, (Ritzau, 2022) showing improvement, yet still insufficient representation of women in politics.

The need for a larger female representation is more evident at the municipal/city council level where in 2021 only 34.1% of nominated candidates were women, with roughly 36% elected (Statistics Denmark, n.d.). Similarly at the regional council elections, of all candidates running, 36.1% nominated were women and over 50% of these candidates were elected (Statistics Denmark, n.d.).

When we look at **Denmark's government** from 2019 to November 2022, Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen from the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet), led a one-party, minority government, supported by a 'red-green'⁴⁰ group of parties in the Parliament. Out of 20 ministers, six of them were women⁴¹ (30%). The new 2022 government represents 3 parties - the Social Democrats, the Moderates and Venstre – the liberal party. Mette Frederiksen, is Prime Minister and leads a government of 23 ministers, of which eight ministers, including the prime minister, are women (34,8%)⁴².

An analysis of political party programmes of the main and most influential parties⁴³ in Denmark, found no issues related directly to migrant women. Most of the political parties discuss the situation of migrants without specifying the gender perspective.

The programme of one of the right-wing parties, the Liberal Party (Venstre), mentions that fewer migrant women should stay at home and more should be active participants in the Danish labour market (Venstres Landsorganisation, n.d.). The programme does not suggest this for ethnic Danish women. The majority of the left-wing and centre parties agree on stopping the repatriation of refugees to states where the individual in question fears for

³⁹ Gender Equality Ministry: 'Sådan får vi flere kvindelige politikere og diversitet i politik' report, 8. March 2021

⁴⁰ The Red-Green Alliance is a liberal group of parties with a major focus on environmental policy, but also social justice oriented policies. See more at: <https://vores.enhedslisten.dk/om-enhedslisten/enhedslistens-historie/>

⁴¹ Folketinget, 15.02.2023. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/members/the-government>

⁴² Folketinget, 07.09.2022. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/members/the-government>.

⁴³ The analysis includes programs of Enhedslisten, Radikale Venstre, Alternativet, Moderaterne, Liberal Alliance, Venstre, Det Konservative Folkeparti, Socialdemokratiet, Socialistisk Folkeparti.

their safety (Alternativet, n.d.). They are also against establishing a Danish asylum centre in Rwanda and work towards receiving UN quota refugees again.

Right-wing parties diverge on immigration, wanting to make the acquisition of Danish citizenship more difficult and considered on a more individual basis. Their agenda proposes greater integration, while requiring migrants to speak Danish and participate in the labour market. They focus especially on non-western migrants. Some additionally support diverting asylum seekers to Rwanda or other countries outside of the EU in addition to a reduction of the annual refugee quota (Venstres Landsorganisation, n.d.).

IV. Participation in Democratic Life

Integrating migrant women is necessary to create societies that are fully inclusive and democratic. Migrant women often lead the way with regards to political activism and community leadership. One key way this is seen is through migrant women-led organisations, which are very active when it comes to supporting and engaging the integration of migrant women. Organisations were initially centred around helping migrant women to integrate via the job market and economic empowerment. Since then, organisations have expanded to address integration from all aspects, including rights, but also social engagement.

In Denmark, migrant women have various organisations and institutions that encourage them to participate in democratic life. Civil society organisations, including diaspora groups on local and national levels, organise activities and support migrants with various issues and obstacles they face in Denmark. These organisations include the Danish Congolese Federation (Dansk Congolesisk Forening), DBD - Diaspora Burundi in Denmark, Project Sultana, Kurdish Women's Association, Afghan Women's Association (Afghansk Kvindeforening, AKF), World's Women in Denmark (Verdens Kvinder I Danmark), and Blossom. Their outreach is visible to their diaspora groups and public activities attract attention.

Different institutions also provide assistance and advice to official bodies regarding migrant women. For example, the **Danish Refugee Council**: Denmark's largest NGO working

Migrant women-led or women-led groups/organisations in Denmark

Babaylan-Denmark: Babaylan-Denmark is a network of Filipino women in Denmark and was established in 1997. Babaylan-Denmark works on several fronts: political, cultural-educational, and social to improve the situation of Filipinas in Danish society and in the Philippines. Dialogue with and empowering au pairs has been a prioritised area of work.
<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100064765116957>

Wo-Mi - Women Migrants: Wo-Mi is a platform created by a group of Latin American women that seek to advance the rights of all women and girls, focus on their needs and conditions, and promote an enabling and non-discriminatory environment.
<https://wo-mi.com/>

Diversity Works: One of the most long-established spaces for migrant women in Denmark, their work includes offering social activities such as yoga and educational classes. They also offer legal help and financial guidance, while furthermore helping with integrative tasks such as employment and citizenship.
<https://diversityworks.dk/>

The Neighbourhood Mothers: The majority of the Neighbourhood Mothers (Bydelsmødrene) are women from ethnic minorities who volunteer their time in their local community to support marginalised women whom the established system finds challenging to reach. The provided assistance empowers the women to support their families, children, and other family members.
<https://bydelsmor.dk/>

globally to provide humanitarian assistance and support across all stages of displacement. They work with civil society, public authorities and companies to support migrant integration and coexistence. (Danish Refugee Council, n.d.)

There is also the **National Integration Council (Det Nationale Integrationsråd)**, which is an institutional body providing advice to the Minister of Immigration and Integration on issues involving refugees, immigrants, and integration. The Council attempts to identify lasting remedies to current problems in Danish integration initiatives by engaging strategically in numerous forums to create projects and actively participate in consultation rounds on new legislative proposals. The Council is also a member of numerous committees and task forces that address integration on local, national, and international levels. Its purpose is to monitor and influence the advancement of integration. Logistically, council members are recruited from local refugee and immigrant associations, social partners and school boards. (Det Nationale Integrationsråd, n.d.).

In the survey that was conducted, migrant women were asked about their awareness of programmes and initiatives, or advocacy actions for the rights of migrant women at local and national levels. Half of the migrant women interviewed were not familiar with initiatives that support migrant women's participation in democratic life, while some were aware of some initiatives on the local level or by large organisations. The results of this survey further demonstrate the barriers impeding migrant women from fully integrating, participating and helping shape the society within which they reside.

Conclusion

Migrants and migrant women specifically make up a significant portion of Denmark's population. Still, many barriers, particularly the lack of adequate political and media representation, in addition to strict avenues to citizenship remain. These barriers make participation and engagement both in political decision-making and Danish society as a whole difficult. This paper has not only provided general information regarding the legal, institutional and organisational structures surrounding immigration in Denmark, but it has also identified several ways of addressing barriers migrants face, of providing better communication and support with regards to citizenship and increased efforts to engage migrant women in local and general elections.

Based on answers from decision makers, experts, and migrant women, the most **important factors and trends** can be summarised as:

Right to vote:

Difficulties/barriers in obtaining Danish citizenship exclude a larger group of ethnic women from voting in parliamentary elections. The lack of knowledge of the right to vote in regional and community elections also excludes migrant women. (Lisbeth Vibe Utzon, head, Integrationshuset Kringlebakken)

Political participation:

Migrant women are not very visible or active at the grassroots, or in local councils and boards because the rhetoric from the Parliament stigmatises, alienates, and disenfranchises them, although many have political knowledge and vote in parliamentary and community elections. (Sabad Abid/ Social Democrats, Høje Taastrup City Council). Civil society should be inclusive, and elected officials should not make derogatory remarks about migrant women. (Christina Olumeko/MP for The Alternative Party)

Media coverage:

The political rhetoric and news coverage reinforces a negative context. Any publicity is good publicity. A change in media coverage of migrant women's lives is needed. (Sabad Abid/Social Democrats, Høje Taastrup City Council)

Migrant women in leading positions on the local level and women in decision-making positions:

Use elected officials with migrant backgrounds to advocate for better representation of migrant women (Hediye Temiz/The Social Liberal Party, Albertslund City Council)

Self-organisation and financial support of migrant women in political issues:

Survival of migrant women's organisations requires support from stakeholders as well as financial support. (Ana Lindenhann/Babaylan-Denmark)

Educating and raising awareness of citizens about non-discrimination of migrant women:

Discrimination is perceived as a problem by decision makers, experts, and migrant women. All decision makers and experts think migrant women are discriminated against more than other women.

Affirmative action such as quotas:

Affirmative actions and quotas are necessary because members of boards/committees in different domains (whether it is boards of big companies, or parent committees in local day-care institutions) tend to elect people from their own education background and/or gender. Quotas will create new role models. (Sabad Abid/Social Democrats, Høje Taastrup City Council)

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Italy study by Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL) and ADRI Association

Writers: Laura Albu and Silvia Dumitrache

Participation of Migrant Women in Political and Democratic Life in Italy

I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the participation of migrant women in political and democratic life in Italy. The main indicators we are following are – voting rights, the right to stand as candidates, the right to join political parties, and the right, opportunity, and space to influence public decision-making processes.

This paper is written within the framework of the WE-EMPOWER project, which uses an inclusive definition of migrant women – for us, the term **‘migrant women’ refers to ALL women, including gender non-conforming persons, those who have been displaced between countries, trafficked, have moved from a third or European country to a destination in Europe, or women who are second-generation migrants.**

Effective participation of migrant women is necessary so that they can contribute their ideas and proposals to the development of the societies they live in. However, in Italy there are still many barriers to migrant women’s visibility and voices in public and political spaces, and this is why it is important to have a deeper understanding of the context around migration, migrant women, and participation in Italy.

In Italy, women of migrant origin, both first and second generation, present differently to their male counterparts, as they are autonomous individuals in migratory flows, in the labour market and in society, where they engage with associations, develop new forms of activism and take part in artistic and literary endeavours. Nevertheless, migrant women remain stuck between a “strong desire for personal affirmation and chronic exposure to conditions of vulnerability” (Redattore Sociale, 2023).

II. Migrant Women in Italy

In the last few decades, more women have migrated to Italy, either for work, education, and/or family reasons. Research into migration has mostly been about migrant workers in

general and not necessarily disaggregated according to gender. Migrant women in Italy are therefore unsurprisingly under-researched. This reflects the long-standing debate regarding the issue of the so-called 'gender data gap'⁴⁴, which is about how women are ignored or under-represented in the statistics (Perez, 2020)^{45, 46}

According to the official data (ISTAT, 2012), **migrants living in Italy represent 7.5% of the population (4,570,317 million). Ukrainians, Moldavians, Poles, Peruvians, and Ecuadorians have higher percentages of women**, while Indians, Tunisians, Egyptians, and Bangladeshi are mostly men.

In Italy, there is no definition of 'migrant' in law. The term includes several well-defined legal categories of migrants, such as "migrant workers", referring to persons whose types of movements are legally defined; "smuggled migrants" whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law; and international students. Additionally, Italy does not have an independent integration law.

Issues related to the arrival and integration of migrants have become increasingly contentious in Italy over the past decade, as right-wing populist parties have made the issue a key element of their respective political platforms. A key role has also been played by the centre-left, the first to have approved restrictive measures to prevent new arrivals while entering into controversial agreements with third-country actors to prohibit new departures from reaching Italian shores. Counter narratives about the need for Italy (a country still experiencing emigration and affected by a very low birth-rate) to actually allow and integrate migrants and workers in order to make the welfare state sustainable, have fallen on deaf ears⁴⁷.

The "Annual report on the labour market situation of immigrants in Italy, 2022⁴⁸", issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Policies in Italy, provides a detailed analysis of the presence and proportion of migrants, both EU citizens and third-country nationals (TCNs), in the labour market in Italy. According to this report, the biggest migrant communities are

⁴⁴ Caroline Criado Perez (2020) -We Need to Close the Gender Data Gap By Including Women in Our Algorithms, <https://time.com/collection/davos-%202020/5764698/gender-data-gap/>

⁴⁵ Maria Elena Pontecorvo, (2023), Indagine Istat: stranieri e naturalizzati nel mercato del lavoro italiano, Stranieri in Italia Magazine <https://stranieriinitalia.it/attualita/indagine-istat-stranieri-e-naturalizzati-nel-mercato-del-lavoro-italiano>

⁴⁶ Alessandra Tosi (2020) – *Migrant women are the first to suffer Italy's gender pay gap*, Italics Magazine, <https://italicsmag.com/2020/11/30/on-italys-gender-pay-and-data-gap-and-migrant-women/>

⁴⁷ Juliani M.Campisi, Cecilia Emma Sittilota (2022) - <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/italys-far-right-and-migration-debate-implications-europe> -Istituto Affari Internazionali

⁴⁸ Only data from labor market information is used.

Romanian (1,076,000 people in total), Albanian (421,000) and Moroccan (414,000)⁴⁹. **Among migrants coming from Eastern Europe there is a higher female percentage (60% Romanians and 78% Ukrainians), employed especially as domestic workers.** Irregular migrants, particularly from Africa and Asia, are mostly male. **In 2020, most migrants residing in Italy were women (53.6%).** According to IOM surveys in 2019 and 2020, economic reasons along with persecution and violence seem to be among the most common push factors, always appearing as the respondents' first two choices.

Migrants, especially irregulars from non-EU countries, are more likely to be precarious workers, earning less than Italians, and have a higher unemployment rate (13% against 8.7%) and a higher proportion of NEET⁵⁰, among the youth and women.

Stretching into the Central Mediterranean Sea, Italy is a natural corridor to enter Europe, receiving thousands of refugees and irregular migrants from Africa and Asia annually. Recently, Italy declared a "state of emergency" over the migration situation as Italian coast guards had rescued more than 31,000 migrants since January 2023 (Wallis, 2023). However, humanitarian organisations argue that this declaration is exaggerated, as it is not the first time Italy has made such a statement and according to some experts, Italy is looking for reasons to violate their obligations to allow migrants to seek asylum in the country (Ibid.). Moreover, once migrants arrive and are placed in reception centres, they face many issues made exacerbated by complex asylum application processes and poor conditions at the reception centres (Wallis, 2022).

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has also brought many Ukrainians to Italy – by October 2022, 172,405 refugees from Ukraine had arrived. Most of them are women (91,788) and children (51,101)⁵¹. Like many EU countries, Italy has also provided a warm welcome to Ukrainian refugees compared to refugees from other countries. A recent study found that in Italy, attitudes towards Syrian refugees are more negative than towards Ukrainians (Drazanova and Geddes, 2022).

⁴⁹ Annual report on the labour market situations of immigrants in Italy, 2022 - https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/2022-annual-report-labour-market-situations-immigrants-italy_en

⁵⁰ NEET - Young People - Not in Education, Employment or Training

⁵¹ https://www.esteri.it/en/politica-estera-e-cooperazione-allo-sviluppo/aree_geografiche/europa/litalia-a-sostegno-dellucraina/

III. Barriers to Participation for Migrant Women

a) Legal barriers to participation in political life

In general, migrants' opportunities for collective action and political activism are limited for various reasons. These include the increasingly restrictive immigration and asylum legal regimes of Italy, which prevent access to a residence permit in the country and endanger migrants who would like to participate and to be more visible in public. Even for those migrants with residence permits, it could be difficult to benefit from full political rights because of the linkage between citizenship status and electoral rights. In 2002, the Italian government passed the "Bossa-Fini" law, which introduced criminal sanctions for migrants without residence permits (ERRC, 2002). Under this law, the residence permit was linked to an employment contract, which removed the need for a "sponsor" who acts as a guarantor for the migrant (Obasuyi, 2022). The law has since been abolished but it symbolised how immigration is viewed as "a 'problem' of public order"⁵².

Access to the right to vote for migrants, and migrant women at the local and national level in Italy is linked to their country of origin status. All EU citizens living as residents in Italy and registered as resident in the local community are legally entitled to vote in certain Italian elections, specifically municipal and European elections. Registration to vote in either of these elections does not automatically qualify a voter for the other. An EU citizen may also stand as a candidate at municipal elections, under the same conditions as an Italian national. **Third-country nationals who are not EU citizens do not have voting rights in Italy.**

b) Social and cultural barriers to participation in democratic life

For migrant women, **unequal gender relations and gender-based discrimination** are barriers to their political participation and activism⁵³. Italy is ranked among the countries in the EU with the lowest gender equality, according to the European Gender Equality Index (EIGE, 2022).

Policies to re-address gender inequality have been cautious, while progress in the legal framework has been promoted mainly by directives coming from the EU or by pressure

⁵² Oiza Obasuyi (2022) – Partecipazione Politica Persone Straniere Italia, Fondazione Feltrinelli
<https://fondazionefeltrinelli.it/partecipazione-politica-persone-straniere-italia/>

⁵³ Ilaria Boiano -(2022) - *Migrant and refugee women's political participation as essential prerequisite for gender equality and genuine democracy* -Consulting EUTH Project - <https://consultingeuthproject.eu/2022/06/01/migrant-and-refugee-womens-political-participation-as-essential-prerequisite-for-gender-equality-and-genuine-democracy>

from civil society. Italy lacks a proper gender infrastructure at the national level to promote, coordinate and monitor gender equality initiatives. In addition to the problems of racial prejudice and xenophobia, cultural stereotypes and gender discrimination exist as barriers for migrant women. The lack of access to sexual and reproductive health services also poses a serious issue for women. For instance, data from the Health Ministry⁵⁴, published in June 2021 showed that 64.6% of gynaecologists and 44.6% of anaesthesiologists in Italy refuse to perform abortions. Access to medical abortion, using prescription drugs to end a pregnancy safely, also varied significantly among regions of the country, with a national average of 35% across procedures⁵⁵. These provisions directly affect the capacity of all women, especially migrant women who are already lacking access to basic healthcare, to have a free and independent life.

With regard to labour participation, in 2020, **only one in two migrant women worked, and they are poorer than the European average** (when compared with migrant women in other European countries) (InfoMigrants, 2022). Some reasons can be attributed to cultural factors, depending on the traditions of the country of origin, while others are due to reasons of entry into Italy.

Migrant women who enter for family reunification find it difficult to enter the world of work. According to findings published in the 2021 IDOS Statistical Immigration Dossier, in 2020, 14% of migrant women reported being underemployed, compared to 8.1% in 2019 and 9.1% of Italian women. The percentage of over-educated migrant women also remained high, with 42.3% of migrant women workers possessing a higher skill level than required for their job. This is significantly higher than both Italian women (24.8%) and male migrants (27.7%). Migrant women workers not only earn 17% less (894 euros per month) than the general average of migrants, but also 28.2% less than Italian female workers (1,245 euros), already receiving a lower average salary than that of fellow countrymen (IDOS, 2021).

When migrant women do work, they are often placed in sectors where they are more likely to receive unfavourable treatment: as domestic workers, caregivers, and cleaning staff in offices and businesses. In the domestic sector, there is a high concentration of undeclared work. **Migrant women in the care-giving and domestic sector are one of the least protected groups of workers under international and national labour legislation.** Their vulnerability emerges from a lack of skills recognition, which would enable them to get jobs in other fields. They often work in the intimate sphere of the home in close proximity to their employers. Degani says there is a “paradoxical” exclusion of migrant care

⁵⁴ Ministero della Salute (2020) -*Relazione Del Ministro Della Salute Sulla Attuazione Della Legge Contenente Norme Per La Tutela Sociale Della Maternità E Per L'interruzione Volontaria Di Gravidanza (Legge 194/78)* - https://www.salute.gov.it/imgs/C_17_pubblicazioni_3236_allegato.pdf

⁵⁵ Human Rights Watch (2023) World Report: Italy <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/italy>

workers from political and public debates on the securitisation of migrants (Degani, 2022).

Nowadays, as Italian families become increasingly dependent on external help for domestic work, migrant women are mostly employed as caregivers. More than two out of five migrant women (who are employed) work in this sector. Silvia Dumitrache of the Associazione Donne Romene (ADRI)⁵⁶ in Italy (ADRI) explains, “The figures are clear: seven out of ten pensioners cannot afford to legally employ home help on their incomes. The state knows this but does nothing about it. There is a lot of rhetoric about the crucial role these workers play, but it is institutionalised exploitation. They are not only invisible, but they are also deliberately ignored.” (Marchese, 2021).

The increasing presence of migrant women in Italy – characterised by many internal differences in terms of migratory experience and legal status (Bonizzoni, 2011), triggered an increasing interest from the media and, slowly, the feminisation of migration began to be visible even in the press, modifying the predominant representation of migration as an essentially male phenomenon (Giorgi, 2012). Nevertheless, an analysis of the media reveals **a systematic lack of attention to issues of concern to migrant women.**

Migrant women are predominantly represented through a cultural lens, portrayed as ‘the Other’. Very few studies specifically focus on migrant women in the Italian press (Campani, 2001; Censis, 2002). When they do become visible, migrant women are mainly depicted as maids, as reassuring figures. There is also an emotive image of the migrant prostitute – submissive, completely dependent on men, and often labeled as a “slave”. This victimised figure has contributed towards criminalising migrants – and the press completely ignores cases of women who managed to regain control over their lives. Second, the Muslim woman, arriving through family reunification, often gets presented as “the Other”, submissive toward Muslim men and completely embedded in the culture of her country of origin.

Table 1 shows the topics related to images of migrant women and focuses especially on reproductive rights. A large percentage is related to sexuality: this category includes topics as prostitution, gender relationships, and other related issues (forced marriages and ‘female genital mutilation’). 15% of articles focus on migrant women and maternity and, more broadly, on the relationship between migrant mothers and their children (in Italy and abroad). The last category includes a variety of articles that mention migrant women in relation to other topics, such as their presence in the labour market.

⁵⁶ ADRI is a partner of the WE-EMPOWER project, and a member of the WIDE+ migration and gender working group.
<https://adriassociazione.wordpress.com/>

TABLE I - Migrant Women and the Italian Press - Topics Distribution (Percentages)

Topic					
	Non-partisan	Catholic	Left	Right	Total
Maternity	20	16	4	3	15
Sexuality	17	18	32	38	22
Fertility/Abortion	39	49	51	43	42
Various + mix	24	17	13	16	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Alberta Giorgi, 2012, The Cultural Construction of Migrant Women in the Italian Press

c) Impact of COVID-19 on migrant women

During the COVID-19 pandemic, employers silenced healthcare workers who raised concerns about working conditions in care homes (Amnesty International, 2021). Violence against women persisted and obstacles to accessing abortion were not addressed. A UNICEF report (2022) found that migrant women in Italy experienced an increased risk of violence due to greater isolation, less access to services and support networks/centres.

In 2021, Italy saw a total of 93 women killed in domestic violence incidents, 70 of those by partners or ex-partners (Reuters, 2021). In December 2021, the government approved a bill to strengthen measures to prevent violence against women and domestic violence. These included access to early provisional compensation during criminal investigations for victims who report the abuse and broader powers for the authorities to adopt surveillance and coercive measures against perpetrators (Ibid).

In October 2021, the Senate blocked a bill aimed at combatting discrimination and violence based on sex/gender, sexual orientation, gender identity and disability (Euronews, 2021). The bill would have extended to LGBTI people, women, and people with disabilities, the same protections available to victims of hate speech and hate crimes based on racist, religious, ethnic and nationalist motives, having the direct effect of providing less protection to migrant women as victims of gender-based violence.

In 2020, a ‘regularisation project’ was launched, aimed at ensuring people with irregular status could obtain residence and work permits and access health services during the pandemic – however, it achieved limited results. The measure only applied to workers in the agri-food sector and domestic workers (including domestic care workers) (PICUM, 2021). While 89% of domestic workers are women, data shows that two in three migrant men applied for regularisation (Degani, 2022). Fewer migrant women applying for regularisation leads to the “persistence of exploitation” (Ibid). Domestic workers who are migrant women continue to have irregular working conditions and are systematically excluded from labour regulations and benefits.

IV. Participation of Migrant Women in Political Life

Given the multiple barriers migrant women face in participation, the opportunities for them to play an active part in political life are very limited. While voting rights are exclusively for Italian and EU citizens, migrant women who are third-country nationals have no possibility of being active in political life. Additionally, female representation in Italian politics remain very low.

In order to increase female representation in Italian politics, gender quotas and 'double gender' preference have been introduced in administrative elections, i.e. the possibility of voting for a woman and a man on the ballot paper. Double gender preference is a new mechanism that does not reserve a share of seats to the under-represented sex, but redresses the under-representation of women in decision-making assemblies, through a second preference vote. Thanks to this, greater gender balance of assemblies is encouraged, but it is not imposed. Like quotas, the double gender preference is a neutrally worded anti-discrimination measure, as it does not affect, directly or indirectly, the results of elections.

In force since 2013, according to a recent study, the measures influenced the composition of local administrations, increasing the representation of women in municipal councils by 18%. Despite good results, double preference may not yet have reached its full potential. Gender quotas and double preference are solutions that open the door to politics but are far from conferring full political power⁵⁷.

Even more notable inequalities can be found in municipal and regional administration; even if local representation is increasingly inclusive, according to the Senate report on gender equality, **fewer than 15% of mayors are women**⁵⁸. There are many obstacles to overcome in the political process of selection and being elected. The scarcity of female role models is a deterring factor. Furthermore, due to the low presence of women, low expectations of

⁵⁷ Di Orizzonti Politici (2020): Più donne in politica, ma senza grandi poteri -La Voce <https://www.lavoce.info/archives/67586/piu-donne-in-politica-ma-senza-grandi-poteri/>

⁵⁸ Bocconi University (2023) -Italy, a realtime case study of female leadership, <https://www.viasarfatti25.unibocconi.eu/notizia.php?idArt=25213>

success are formed, which further discourages participation.

Overall, there is a general lack of policies for gender mainstreaming. Both laws and practices are usually gender blind and often contribute to the mere reproduction of inequalities and the stereotypical vision of women. This gender blindness and lack of interest in hearing the voices of migrant women in Parliament have led to the situation where there was only one woman of migrant origin in the Italian Parliament in 2022 (out of 630 deputies and 315 senators) (Petrovic, 2022).

Over the years, there have been some examples of migrant women in public institutions. They include Mercedes Lourdes Frias, from the Dominican Republic, who is the former councillor for immigration in the municipality of Empoli; and Cécile Kyenge, born in the Democratic Republic of Congo, appointed minister of integration by the Letta government in 2013-14 (Pasca, 2013). The elections in 2022 revealed some Italian citizens of migrant origin. They include Ouidad Bakkali, born in Morocco, now a Member of Parliament; Antonella Moro Bundu, born in Sierra Leone, sits on the City Council of Florence; Diye Ndiaye, anthropologist of Senegalese origins, councillor in the Municipality of Scandicci (Florence) since 2014; and Veronica Atitsogbe, of Togolese origin, now a city councillor in Verona, becoming the first second-generation Italian to enter the city council (Sachy, 2022).

A notable example of female politician in Italy with migrant background

Cécile Kashetu Kyenge is an Italian politician and ophthalmologist. She was the Minister for Integration in the 2013–14 Letta Cabinet, and Italy's first black government minister. She proposed a law that would give citizenship to the children of immigrants if they were born on Italian soil.

Both the Italian and international press have regularly reported outrageous racist speeches against her coming from influential members of the parliament, elected politicians, members of local constituencies and city councils (Meret, Corte, and Sangiuliano (2013). The words of Cécile Kyenge at her first press conference replying to mainstream media which kept on calling her 'the first coloured minister', she replied: "I am not coloured, I am black and proud of being that...we need indeed to use the right words, starting from those we employ to define diversity, which is a resource".

She was elected in 2014 to the European Parliament where she was a member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs.

V. Participation of Migrant Women in Democratic Life

Migrant women's associations or groups play an important role in promoting participation in Italian society. In Italy, in the 1970s, the first migrant women's associations were

established when migrant women first arrived in the country as domestic workers (Chiappelli, 2016). During the 80s, migrant women began organising mutual support networks and solidarity at a national level. These included migrant women's organisations such as the Filipino Women's Council and the Association of Women from Cape Verde (Ibid.). Through these organisations, migrant women carry out different activities, including supporting labour integration of migrant women and advocacy to influence legislation and policy changes (Ibid.).

One example of this is the Association of Romanian Women in Italy, or ADRI, which has been involved in promoting Romanian migrant women's rights for years, in raising awareness of their important role in the economy and society. For example, ADRI, together with Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL), organised a workshop, "Romanian women are not a minority – the 50/50 Campaign"⁵⁹ that took place on 2 November 2022 in Bucharest, Romania. The event was organised within the project, "GLORIA - feminism and the strategic approach to gender equality" by the Community Safety and Mediation Centre Foundation (CMSC), in partnership with the RoWL, with the support of the Green Party in Romania. The themes addressed during the workshop will inform future policy briefs and will make recommendations for new policies to reduce inequalities in women's representation in decision-making positions in Romanian and Italian politics. ADRI also carries out advocacy at the EU level – for instance, it contributed to several European parliamentary written questions regarding the problems faced by migrant women and transnational families, as well as data collection on the children left behind⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>

⁶⁰ ADRI's advocacy led to formulation of two European parliamentary written questions regarding the problems faced by migrant women and the transnational families, also data collection on the children left behind (2016); Step up EU action to protect the rights of transnational families (2022), since many women who emigrate leave their children, sometimes very young, in the country of origin to work as housekeepers or "carers" taking care of the elderly. See the following articles:

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2016-002577_IT.html?redirect;https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070;https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-9-2022-000192_IT.pdf;https://aic.camera.it/aic/scheda.html?numero=4/00170&ramo=CAMERA&leg=19;https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=875624330142482 Eleonora Evi and Silvia Dumitrache;
<https://pace.coe.int/en/news/8022/leaving-millions-of-labour-migrants-children-without-parental-care-is-a-violation-of-human-rights->

The table below shows other migrant women's and women-led organisations supporting migrant women in Italy:

Associazione Differenza Donna/Donne Migranti welcomes and hosts migrant women who arrive in Italy for family reunification or for work; they include women who are victims of violence in their country of origin, and in Italy and need to be accompanied on a long journey that requires the reconstruction of a psychophysical identity. www.differenzadonna.org/donne-migranti/

Associazione Stella supports migrant women's access to the labour market in Italy. It supports migrant women in creating and improving their CVs, upskill themselves and gain access to training opportunities. <https://www.facebook.com/stella.associazione>

Casa di Ramia is an intercultural centre that welcomes Italian and migrant women and their children. Over the years, many different migrant women associations have become a part of the house and its activities. It has become a meeting place where migrant women carry out their activities, meet others and do things together.
https://www.comune.verona.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=2081&tt=verona_agid

VI. Measures to Promote and Improve the Participation of Migrant Women in Italy

Currently there are no efforts to include migrant women in politics or public decision-making. Besides the national level, many regions have created consultative bodies to bring integration stakeholders together, and local authorities have carried out public consultations (Chiappelli, 2016). However, the participation of civil society organisations and experts varies significantly across regions and is not gender focused. Plus, these efforts remain very much top-down. Public consultations also rarely involve the Immigration Territorial Councils, the consultative bodies operating at the provincial level under the mandate of the interior ministry.

One example of a migrant council that involves migrants and is primarily driven by them is the immigrant advisory council in Naples, (InfoMigrants, 2021). Its primary task is to present proposals to the town council to improve the living conditions of migrants and ultimately influence migration policies. Representatives of the diverse foreign communities living in Naples will take part, though there is no action to create gender parity.

NGOs like Action Aid Italy have also pushed for more migrant participation. In 2021, it launched the "Migrant Voices Heard"⁶¹ project which promotes the involvement of

⁶¹ See: <https://morethanprojects.actionaid.it/en/projects/migrantvoicesheard/>

migrants through migrant councils, as direct actors of change, through processes of participation and active citizenship. These processes will be defined and constructed by migrant organisations and communities in the target territories, in collaboration with local authorities and civil society organisations.

VII. Conclusion

There needs to be a coordinated response to a gender-sensitive approach when it comes to migrant integration, particularly to enhance the participation of migrant women. This can be done by ensuring dialogue between civil society and government, in order to share best practice and identify gaps; the collection of systematic gender disaggregated data; better provision of information for migrant women (for example, providing information on rights and resources in various languages); active participation of women's organisations, especially migrant women-led organisations in public consultations; and better funding of migrant women's organisations and women's organisations supporting migrant women.

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Germany study by Gabriela Germany

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Political and Democratic Participation of Migrant Women in Germany

I. Introduction

Despite the large proportion and increasing number of women with a migration background in Germany, their representation in decision-making bodies from municipal to federal level is marginal and their participation in political and democratic spaces is still limited. On the other hand, there is growing advocacy as well as initiatives by migrant women themselves to promote and advance their political and democratic participation.

In this paper, reviews of relevant surveys and related studies, as well as interviews with experts were carried out, to investigate the extent of migrant women's lack of representation in political and democratic spaces in German society, and to examine the barriers and factors that generate these conditions. Additionally, the various efforts and initiatives of migrant women to promote and advance their participation will also be analysed. Through the findings of this paper and drawing on our own experiences in a migrant women's organisation, we also aim to contribute to the urgent demand to address the inadequate representation and limited political and democratic participation of these groups in German society.

The expert interviewees come from various backgrounds to provide a broad perspective on this theme. The interviewees include an academic Dr. Megha Amrith, Lea Rakovsky from a non-governmental organisation "Ban Ying", and Wilfred Josue, a Co-Chair of the local advisory council for participation and integration in the district of Steglitz-Zehlendorf, Berlin.

II. Migration and Migrant Women in Germany

In 2021, 27.2% (22.4 million) people in German private households had a so-called migration background of whom 49.2% (11 million) were women (DESTASIS,⁶² 2022). A person with a

⁶² DESTASIS - Statistisches Bundesamt or The Federal Statistical Office is a federal authority of Germany. It is the institution to contact first for official data on the society, the economy, the environment and the state.

migration background is defined by DESTATIS (2022) as someone who has at least one parent who does not have German citizenship by birth. Of the 11 million women with a migration background, 3.2 million women are non-EU nationals. Overall, migrant women in Germany represent a heterogeneous group in terms of region of origin and residence permit (Lechner and Atanisev, 2023).

There are six basic categories that grant the right to stay to non-German nationals in Germany: a temporary residence permit, a settlement permit or permit for permanent residence, naturalisation, citizens of the European Union (right of free movement on the basis of EU treaties), a residence permit for protection for asylum seekers, and exceptional permission to remain for persons who are obliged to leave the country and who cannot be deported. Additionally, the concept of "irregular" residence is used to refer to persons who are in Germany without a regular right of residence. Both unauthorised entry and unauthorised residence are punishable by law and are generally punishable by a fine or imprisonment (Section 95 of the Residence Act) (BMI/BAMF, 2020).

Table 1 shows the six basic categories of the right of residency in Germany along with a short description (Adapted from Fachkommision Integrationsfähigkeit, p.188).

A residence permit grants a temporary stay. In the vast majority of cases, it can be extended as long as the prerequisites for issuance continue to be met.
A settlement permit (or permit for permanent residence – EU) is a permanent title that can typically be applied for after five years of residence, provided that the legal requirements are met. Persons with a settlement permit are equal to German nationals in virtually every respect, but they do not have the right to vote.
Foreigners can acquire German nationality by way of naturalisation. They have a legally enforceable claim to this after eight years of legal residence, or even earlier in exceptional cases, provided they meet the requirements.
Citizens of the European Union with the nationality of another EU member state have a right of free movement on the basis of the European treaties. They are allowed to enter Germany and work here at any time without the need for a residence permit.
A residence permit for protection seekers confirms that a person may stay in Germany for the duration of the asylum procedure in order to apply for asylum. It is only replaced by a residence permit if the asylum application is granted and in the event of a refusal, the person concerned has to leave the country.
Exceptional permission to remain is granted to persons who are obliged to leave the country and who cannot be deported. The exceptional permission to remain does not change the fact that the stay is illegal. However, it can be replaced by a regular residence permit under certain conditions; there are various legal bases for this.

Table 1. The six basic categories of the right of residency in Germany and their short description.

The number of migrant women in Germany has continuously increased in the last five years (DESTATIS, 2022) (Fig. 1). This trend is similar to that of the total number of persons with a

migration background.

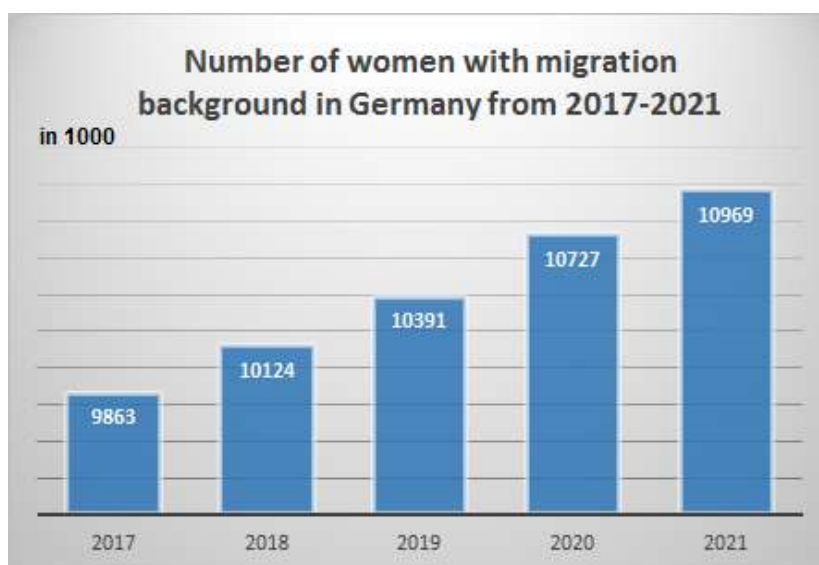


Fig. 1. The number of women with a migration background steadily increased from 2017 to 2021 (DESTATIS, 2022).

Women who migrate to Germany are coming from different global regions. Fig. 2 shows the top countries where women with a migrant background in Germany come from, based on the DESTATIS survey (2022) as of 2021.

Based on this most recent survey, the majority of the women who migrate to the country are from EU-countries (33%) led by Poland, Romania, Italy, Croatia and Greece. A significant number also come from non-EU countries such as Turkey, Russia and Kazakhstan. Other Asian countries where most migrant women come from include Syria, Afghanistan, China and Vietnam.

Interestingly, some countries are characterised by a disproportionately high share of females in the total number of immigrants such as Thailand (74.4 %), the Philippines (67.9%) and the Russian Federation (59.3%) (BMI/BAMF, 2020, p. 48). This disproportionate trend in two countries mentioned; Thailand and the Philippines is mainly caused by the high number of women migrating due to marriage (so-called marriage migrants) from these countries.

People who enter the country to claim asylum on the other hand face an entirely different political and bureaucratic process, subject to laws that differ from the general regulations for foreigners (Statista Research Department, 2023).

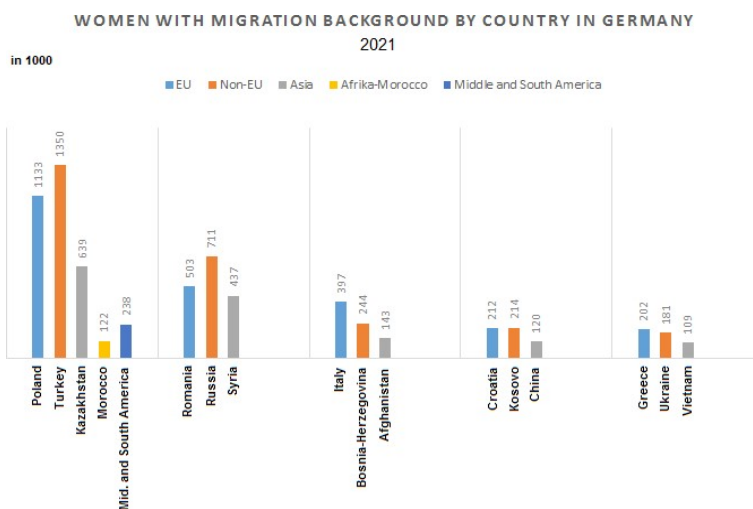


Fig. 2. The top countries from the five global regions where women with migrant backgrounds in Germany come from as of 2021. Data from the survey of DESTATIS (2022).

A particular procedure called the “cluster procedure” was used in 2015-2017 (Brücke et al., 2019 (a)). The procedure groups asylum seekers based on the potential complexity of their cases to speed up average processing times. Asylum seekers were grouped into Cluster A: countries of origin whose nationals have a high rate of having asylum applications approved, Cluster B: countries of origin with a low protection rate, Cluster C: complex cases, and Cluster D: (Dublin cases)⁶³. This grouping procedure generally minimised the length of waiting times by processing the easy cases first, but it also led to more variation: asylum seekers from some clusters faced even longer procedures (Brücke et al., 2019 (a)).

Germany is currently the largest economy in Europe and home to a diverse international population. These conditions make the country an attractive destination and residence country for migrants. As of 2020, the top reasons given for staying in Germany recorded by the Foreign Office among non-EU citizens were for family reasons (15.9%), temporary residence (10.8%), employment (8.1%), “Duldung”⁶⁴ or toleration (5.4%) and education

⁶³ The “Dublin” system serves to identify which European Union (EU) Member State is responsible for examining an asylum application filed in one of the Member States by a third-country national. It seeks to establish that only one Member State is responsible for examining an asylum application. This is to avoid asylum seekers from being sent from one country to another, and also to prevent the submission of several applications for asylum by one person (European Court of Human Rights, 2021).

⁶⁴ A *Duldung* is not a legally valid residence permit. It certifies that you are obliged to leave the country but can currently not leave or be deported because there is an obstacle to deportation (§ 60a AufenthG). A *Duldung* can

(4.7%) (BMI/BAMF, 2020 p. 52).

In recent years, the country experienced an influx of refugees and asylum seekers. In 2015, official figures state that the arrivals of refugees peaked to a million, mostly coming from Syria and Afghanistan. In fact, it is in the period between 2015 to 2020 where a more pronounced change in the foreign population can be observed. During this period, the foreign population grew by 25.5% (BMI/BAMF, 2020, p. 175). This development is largely attributable to the migrations in 2015 and 2016, which were characterised by high levels of arrival in the context of the refugee influx. Another wave of refugee arrivals happened last year as the war broke out in Ukraine. As of November 2022, over a million refugees from Ukraine arrived in Germany (Statista, 2023).

III. Barriers to Participation for migrant women in Germany

Each of the different categories to acquire the right to enter and stay in Germany provide specific requirements and sets of rules and regulations (see Table 1).

Germany's legal regulations on entry and residence are regarded as tortuous and complex, and have been a subject of public debate and criticism. Indeed, acquiring a residence permit is difficult and restrictive and poses limitations on people with a migration background in exercising their political rights and participating in democratic life. The experiences of Gabriela Germany, which works with marriage migrants from the Philippines, reveal that some women are forced to stay in a marriage, despite facing marital difficulties and are sometimes subjected to abuse, as their right to stay in the country is legally tied to the validity of the marriage for three years.

Indeed, different groups of migrants have different legal statuses that significantly influence their freedom and extent of participation. Lea Rakovsky, Project Coordinator of Ban Ying e.V. and one of the expert interviewees, said it is important to note that legally, migrants from EU countries do not have to worry about their residence permits. "There is still the prevalent power dynamics that is rooted from colonial history and affects the level of discrimination against women from non-EU countries", she added.

Additionally, women from EU-member state countries enjoy more freedom to move than women coming from so-called 'third' countries. Free or easier movement between countries within the EU single market, makes migration and integration less difficult for citizens of

be granted for a few days or for a couple of months. Depending on the reason, immigration authorities are either obliged to grant you a Duldung or they have the discretion to do so.

EU member states, Germany included, with a large list of choices on where to work and live at any time in life (Statista Research Department, 2023).

This is in stark contrast to the measures implemented for various migrant groups. For labour migrants, new laws have been implemented to ease their entry while for non-labour migrants, bureaucratic difficulties are maintained. On March 1, 2020, a new migrant labour law, the Skilled Immigration Act, was enacted to facilitate the recruitment and immigration of qualified skilled workers in the country. It contains provisions that expand the opportunities for workers from non- EU countries to apply for work in Germany, while it maintains that the right to vote is only granted to people with German citizenship.

Refugees and asylum seekers also face various forms of challenges not only in securing their permit to stay and in being able to start a new life in Germany, but also maintaining a healthy psychological sense of well-being. Refugees often have had greater exposure to traumatic events than other migrants, caused by wars, violence, and persecution - both in their countries of origin and in transit countries (Brücker et al., 2019 (a)). The study of Brücker et al., 2019 (a) further revealed that the reported prevalence among refugees of mental health risks such as depression-related symptoms, post-traumatic stress disorder, and psychological disorders, are disproportionately high among females and individuals above the age of 40. All of these health issues are likely to hinder social participation.

Female refugees with children, particularly toddlers, have fewer opportunities to take part in integration support such as language classes. They also participate less in education and, eventually have substantially lower employment rates than their male counterparts (Brücker et al., 2019 (b)).

In an interview, Dr. Amrith, the lead researcher of the Max Planck Research Group “Ageing in a Time of Mobility”, pointed out that language can also be a barrier to participating in political life and to feeling a sense of inclusion and belonging in political spaces or in local arenas. “In the academic sector in which I work, it is harder for migrant women to find jobs, particularly long-term permanent positions or higher-ranking positions like professorships if they don’t speak fluent German – they are often perceived as being unable to contribute to administrative work because of the language limitation or to teach in German”, she added.

In Germany, the basic provision of political participation is through the right to vote and the ability to stand for election at national and local levels. In order to have these rights however, one has to have German citizenship - therefore voting rights.

Dr. Amrith also believes that discrimination is a barrier that limits the participation of migrant women. She pointed out that migrant women are without a doubt discriminated against more than other women, whether they are first, second, or third generation women in the country. They are often asked about their ‘migration background’, are often racialised

and never truly seen as belonging even if they have lived in the country for many years. She added that it could also depend on the city where one lives, if it on the whole embraces and encourages diversity and freedom of expression (e.g. Berlin), or if it is relatively more homogeneous and expecting migrant women to 'conform' more to German social norms.

Additionally, The German Citizenship Law had been quite restrictive for decades (Miera, 2009). It was only on January 1, 2000 that the thorough revision of German nationality law came into force with the amended Nationality Act (StAG). This supplemented the principle of descent, previously the sole possible way to acquire nationality or German citizenship. This means that children born in Germany to non-German parents are now able to acquire German nationality if certain conditions are met (Federal Foreign Office, 2022).

According to Rakovsky, the women they support are confronted by very severe and urgent [personal] issues and often there is not much space for political participation - for example one needs to quickly get out of a sexual trafficking situation, a difficult financial situation from a husband, or dealing with issues on a residence permit, before one can actually have the capacity to participate in political life.

The media also plays a role in either uplifting or limiting the participation of migrant women. In terms of media representation, studies found that women with a migration background are significantly less likely to be featured on various media programmes (e.g. Lünenborg, Fritsche and Bach, 2011) than men with a migration background. On a quantitative and qualitative basis, the authors claim that women with a migration background only appear in one third of all migration-specific media contributions. Aside from the migration and gender-specific discrimination against women in media representation, there is still a prevalent portrayal of migrant women as objects of desire, as 'exotic' or 'oriental'.

Based on the study of Lind and Meltzer (2020), in which they examined the visibility of gender in media coverage about migrants, they found that migrant women are distinctly under-represented. They argued that invisibility of women migrants may reduce the perceived importance of their needs to the audience. For women migrants, this might reduce their self-esteem and constrain them from taking powerful positions in society. It follows that the under-representation of migrant women in the media may pose severe consequences for them as a social group and for society as a whole.

IV. Participation of Migrant Women in Political Life

In order to understand the lack of political participation of migrant women, it is important to first examine how women in general are represented in political spaces in the country. It

is likewise important to state that this paper is aligned to the definition of political participation as efforts through which individuals seek to influence and/or direct local, state, or national policies through interaction with the executive authority. This participation can be in the form of voting in elections and public referendums or being eligible for election. It also includes the ability to actively participate in politics through individual and group actions and being informed about key issues and pending decisions by the executive authority.

The proportion of women who held positions in Germany's lower house of parliament, the Bundestag, was only 31% or 218 of the 709 elected parliamentarians after the 2017 federal elections. Although this proportion slightly increased to 34.7% after the elections on September 26, 2021, it is still far from equal gender representation (EAF Berlin, 2022). Fig. 3 presents the number of women in the 20th German Bundestag (national Parliament) as compared to the total number of seats that each of the major parties has (Statista, 2022).



Fig. 3. The number of women in the 20th German Bundestag (national Parliament) as compared to the total number of seats per party (Statista, 2022).

In terms of running for positions, there is a relatively higher share of women candidates on the national lists as of September 2021 (Fig. 4) than those being elected.

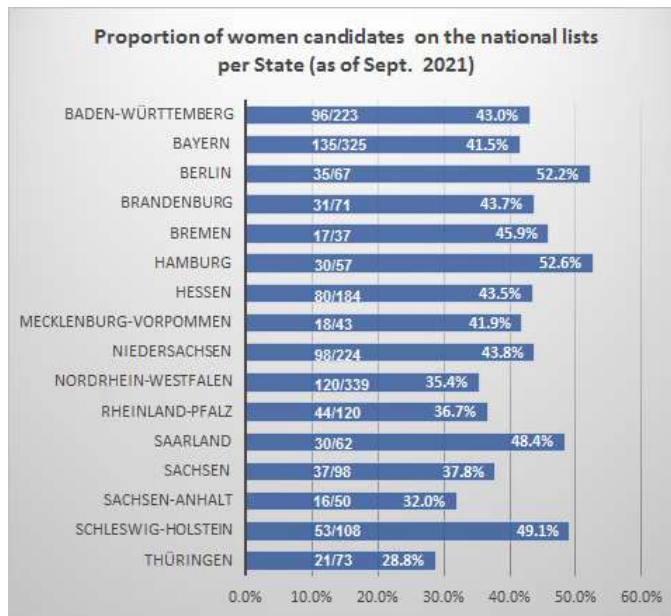


Fig. 4. The proportion of women candidates on the national lists per state as of September 2021 (EAF Berlin, 2021)

Based on the data available, women in general are still highly underrepresented in decision-making bodies from municipal to national levels. People with migrant backgrounds who engage in politics are still relatively few in number, and the political careers of migrants are constrained by stereotyping and opposition within political parties and in the way they are represented by the media. In fact, those few who are successful are still perceived as being something 'other', 'exotic' – or their 'normality' appears arduous (Miera, 2009).

The representation of women with migration backgrounds was marginal in the last two federal elections – 2017 and 2021. Although there is a slight increase in the total number of Members of Parliament (MPs) with a migration background, as well as the number of women with a migration background, the figures are still less representative considering that the total number of people with migration backgrounds in Germany is 22.4 million (27.2%).

Party	Federal Elections 2021			Federal Elections 2017		
	MP (Total)	MP with migration background (Total)	MP with migration background (Women)	MP (Total)	MP with migration background (Total)	MP with migration background (Women)
SPD	206	35	14	153	15	7
CDU/CSU	196	8	4	246	7	2
Green	118	17	11	67	10	6
FDP	92	5	1	80	5	1
AfD	83	6	1	93	8	1
The Left	39	11	6	69	13	7
SSW	1	1				
Independent				1	0	
Total	735	83	37	709	58	24

Table 2. The total number of Members of Parliament (MPs) compared to the number of MPs with a migration background and the corresponding number of women MPs with a migration background following the 2017 and 2021 Federal Elections (Mediendiest Integration, 2021).

According to Sauer (2016), empirical research findings show that migrants' political participation in terms of electoral processes has improved over time, but it is still lower than that of native citizens in all areas. She added that there are general conditions of direct political participation that exclude foreigners, caused by the lack of perception of political institutions as stakeholders and different socio demographic structures. Even in the report of the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration (2020) on Integration Potential, the focus is more on the civic and social engagement of immigrants than on participation in elections and political parties.

Dr. Amrith said that the participation of migrant women is a spectrum that ranges from not participating at all to participating only on issues concerning migration. She added that it partially depends on how long one has lived in Germany. Wilfred Dominic Josue observed that women of colour and those with migration backgrounds are primarily active at local level.

Rakovsky added that based on some interviews that they conducted to investigate political participation, some of the women said they do not feel entitled to participate at all. Rather they said that they would feel grateful to receive anything (for example a residence

permit), and that they are also afraid that if they are politically active, they will get into trouble. Moreover, they are also not very familiar with German politics.

Roth (2017) argues that legal equality alone is not enough. Rather, it is necessary to remove migration-specific barriers for example by providing appropriate language skills and basic knowledge of the political system of the host country, as well as access to political parties and other associations in order to achieve fair political representation of migrants' interests.

V. Participation of Women in Democratic Life

In general, the participation of women with a migration background in democratic life is more limited than those with no migration background (Miera, 2009). Moreover, different factors such as country of origin, reason for migration and whether one is a first or second generation migrant also influences the degree of participation.

Dr. Amrith believes that when migrant women are involved in decision-making, this can have a lasting impact at a local level for the next generation of women. This is because the priorities of migrant women are likely to be different from the status quo and require greater sensitivity in terms of the inclusion of intersectional identities.

Currently there are a significant number of migrant women-led initiatives, organisations and networks in Germany that aim to promote and improve their democratic participation and representation. Most of the existing organisations represent a particular group (e.g. country of origin, migration status, or LGBTQ). While there are some organisations that are officially registered or have an e.V. (*eingetragene Verein*) status, there are others that do not but are quite visible in political and democratic spaces.

Table 3 presents some self-led national and local (Brandenburg-Berlin) migrant women's organisations.

Organisation (registered, e.V.)	Short Description
DaMigra (Dachverband der Migrantinnen Organisationen)	Has been operating as a nationwide, origin-independent and women-specific umbrella for migrant women's organisations since 2014.
Women in Exile	A group of refugee women working for their rights in Berlin-Brandenburgarea.

International Women Space	Founded in December 2012 during the Refugee Movement's occupation of the former Gerhart-Hauptmann School in Berlin-Kreuzberg and was registered in 2017. Describe themselves as a political organisation to fight against attacks on women and the issues they confront: as refugee women, as migrant women and as non-migrant women
Bundesverband der Migrantinnen in Deutschland	An independent, non-partisan and democratic association of immigrant women in Germany from Turkey. Founded in March 2005, aims to promote the integration of Turkish and Kurdish immigrant women in all areas of German life.

Table 3 - Some self-led national migrant women's organisations

VI. Measures to Promote and Improve the Participation of Migrant Women

Understanding the broader sense of political and democratic participation of women with a migration background is a good step towards promoting their participation. There are already some proposals (e.g. Miera, 2009; Roth, 2017) for a broader understanding of the political participation of migrants in Germany. This includes the involvement in institutionalised round tables, consultation and participation in civil society rather than just voting and standing for elections. An example of participatory projects are the Migrants Advisory Councils (e.g. Leipzig)⁶⁵. Furthermore, this broader understanding overcomes the restrictions imposed by not having citizenship rights and takes into account the significant number of immigrants without German citizenship, including those considered as irregular migrants.

Dr. Amrith stated that improving the participation of migrant women means providing an open and welcoming atmosphere to women of different backgrounds and a broader understanding of what it means to live in contemporary German society, one that is constituted by people holding a range of intersectional identities.

According to Rakovsky, improvement should really start from granting residence status and that there should be more opportunities to migrate, live and work here so that migrants

⁶⁵ Migrant Advisory Council Leipzig.

<https://english.leipzig.de/youth-family-and-community/foreign-nationals-and-migrants/migrants-integration-and-intercultural-activities-in-leipzig/the-city-of-leipzig-migrants-council/the-members-of-the-migrants-advisory-council-leipzig>

can have the opportunity to become politically active. “Better access to work and becoming independent and self-sufficient are also essential enabling factors” she added.

For Josue, reducing bureaucracy or paperwork in acquiring funding for the empowerment of migrant women would encourage more organisations to apply for funding and thus enable them to have resources to support their initiatives.

Gabriela Germany have seen how migrant women’s own organisations were especially helpful during the pandemic. Many migrant women, especially BIPOCs (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour), suffer from isolation, anxiety, and loss of perspective due to their conditions. However, there is a need for a special support programme to help women to get back on their feet and to participate in political and democratic life.

In terms of media representation, Dr. Amrith believes that the prevalence of social media and the ability of migrant women to represent themselves in many of these channels should be maximised so that they can portray a more positive image of themselves to that in traditional media channels.

“People can participate in a political sense in the organisations or institutions in which they work, in raising awareness about challenges facing migrant women, faith-based spaces, and in their residential areas, even if not in formal political channels” she added.

Indeed, there are many ways of promoting and raising migrant women’s participation, including the reduction of bureaucratic hurdles in securing the right to stay, enabling them to move around and vote, better media representation, increasing the number of women in decision making positions, combating the discrimination against them, and supporting them to self-organise, not only to support each other, but to collectively empower themselves and fight for their rights.

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Serbia study by NGO Atina

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Political and Democratic Participation of Migrant Women in the Republic of Serbia

I. National context related to migration and migrant women

In recent history, the Republic of Serbia has gone through different migration phases. The largest migrations in this region occurred during the 90s due to the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The civil wars that followed caused the forced migration of millions of people who had to leave their homes, mostly from the former Yugoslav Republics and provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, as well as Kosovo and Metohija. At the same time, citizens were leaving the territory of Serbia after years of sanctions and NATO bombing, but also because of the feeling that they were the losers of the transition, which is still an ongoing process in the Republic of Serbia. A more certain future, higher salaries, better standard of living, and state regulation are the main reasons for migration which shape migratory patterns in Serbia even today, as well as “threats to the freedoms and rights of citizens, accumulated injustice in society as a result of the arrogance of politicians in power, and situations in which they constantly ‘make fools’ of their citizens.”⁶⁶

Because of bad political decisions imposed by Slobodan Milošević's regime, society faced unemployment, a decrease in living standards, and poverty, which also affected migration flows. Migration continued even after the change of his regime and the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić and is still ongoing. People of all ages and levels of education are leaving Serbia.

After Serbia and the EU signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2008, the relations between the two sides were raised to a new level, which led to the abolition of visas for citizens of Serbia to enter the Schengen countries in December 2009. This also marked increased immigration from Serbia to the EU countries, given that the movement of students, businesspeople, etc., was facilitated. However, this also influenced the occurrence of individual citizens or entire groups, especially from poorer parts of the country, who went to EU countries in the hope that they would be able to stay there and get a job. That is why the EU countries insisted on signing so-called readmission agreements with Serbia, based on which many Serbian citizens were returned to Serbia in previous years and still are returning. On the other hand, since the EU countries are continuously in deficit

⁶⁶ <https://www.wfd.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/WFD-Serbia-Istraz%CC%8Civanje-i-analiza-Odlazak-mladih-i-nepoverenje-u-politiku-2020.pdf>

for the (highly qualified) labour force, some facilitated the arrival and employment of citizens of Serbia. For example, many doctors and medical staff left Serbia to work in Germany or Slovenia. The process of integration into the EU, which Serbia started in the meantime after becoming an official candidate country in 2012, only accelerated immigration from Serbia to the EU. It is assumed that tens of thousands of young and highly educated people leave Serbia annually and find work in the EU countries and other far away countries. In addition, the last census official data showed that Serbia lost about half a million inhabitants⁶⁷. An article entitled “We are dying and fleeing Serbia too much: The painful slap that the last population census gave us”⁶⁸ speaks in support of all the reasons why more than a million citizens left Serbia from the nineties until today. That trend of leaving the country practically has not stopped since then.

On the other hand, the country's geographical position greatly influences the fact that many refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers from politically unstable and poor governing countries in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa go through Serbia. However, those numbers had increased manifold after the Arab Spring and especially since 2015 with a great influx of refugees and migrants, when only from the summer of 2015 to the spring of 2016 over a million of them passed through Serbia, primarily from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, but also from other countries towards the EU. There were days when over 10,000 people entered Serbia, which is why not all of them could even be registered. This situation and the large number of people who headed for the EU were significantly influenced by the emergence and expansion of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq and its brutality towards non-believers, women, children, and ethnic and religious minorities, especially the Kurds and Yazidis. In that wave of refugees, thousands of individuals, families, and unaccompanied minors from these communities and nations came and passed through Serbia. After the EU signed an agreement with Turkey in March 2016 on the return of refugees and migrants and the closing of borders, the number of people that were passing through Serbia decreased but did not stop.

This became particularly evident after the outbreak of another conflict, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, in the spring of 2022. In 2022, over 116,000 refugees and migrants came to Serbia (according to the government's Commissariat for Refugees and Migration), an increase of over 100% compared to 2021. This was nevertheless contributed by the thousands of refugees from Ukraine who came to Serbia. There was also an increase in the number of people from other countries, for example, from Burundi or Afghanistan: many people fled that country after the return of the Taliban to power during the summer of 2021. However,

⁶⁷ <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/srbija-popis-stanovnistvo/32187570.html>

⁶⁸ <https://nova.rs/vesti/drustvo/mnogo-umiremo-i-bezimo-iz-srbije-bolan-samar-koji-nam-je-opalio-poslednji-popis-stanovnistva/>

this number of refugees and migrants does not include citizens of Russia who came to Serbia in the same period. After the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the proclaimed limited mobilization in Russia in September 2022. It is presumed that most Russian citizens will temporarily reside in Serbia, even though their number is quite high: it is estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 of them were coming to Serbia in 2022. These are mostly highly educated, young businesspeople from the IT sector, various start-ups, etc. who moved their jobs to Serbia. The Agency for Business Registers data speaks about this: the number of new Russian companies and entrepreneurs in 2021 was 159, while in 2022, there were as many as 4,187. The arrival of a large number of Russians was influenced by the positive social climate and traditionally good relations between Serbia and Russia, the non-imposing of sanctions against Russia by the Serbian authorities, the free visa regime, and the maintenance of a direct airline between Belgrade and Moscow; besides Istanbul and Tbilisi, Belgrade remained the only European capital to which Russians could travel freely after the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The unresolved Kosovo issue also directly impacted migration flows in Serbia in previous years. Since the status of the province was not resolved, and five EU countries refused to recognize Kosovo's independence, the citizens of Kosovo were on the Schengen blacklist for many years; that is, they had to obtain visas for EU countries. This influenced the emergence of large migrations from Kosovo to the EU, especially in 2014, when a significant number of citizens of Kosovo went to EU countries via Serbia, many of whom were later returned. At the same time, Serbia's insistence that as few countries as possible recognize the independence of Kosovo, as well as for those countries that recognized it to withdraw that recognition, also influenced Serbia's visa policy towards these countries. Thus, Serbia canceled the visas of those countries that supported it on the issue of Kosovo or withdrew their recognition. An illustrative example is the relationship with Iran, which refuses to recognize Kosovo's independence and has supported Serbia's position for years: in 2017, Serbia canceled visas for Iranian citizens, after which thousands of Iranians came to Serbia as "tourists" and then headed to other EU countries. After only a few months and pressured by the EU, Serbia had to re-introduce visas for citizens of Iran. A similar example is Burundi, which withdrew its recognition of Kosovo in 2018. That led to the improvement of relations between the two countries and the wave of Burundians who came to Serbia based on a bilateral visa-free regime but then tried to move to other European Union countries. Due to this "Kosovo visa" policy, Serbia was lately again criticized by the European Commission, which in the 2022 Progress Report, requested the government in Belgrade to introduce visas for citizens of Burundi, Tunisia, and India. After this, Serbia introduced a visa regime with Burundi and Tunisia until the end of 2022.

All these circumstances, the social, political, military, and economic situation in the countries of origin, as well as the bilateral relations between Serbia and individual countries,

accelerated a large number of refugees and migrants coming to Serbia, who then try to move to other European countries. Many of these people are in a situation of long stay in Serbia, which means that they do not express intention to seek asylum in Serbia nor enter the asylum procedure but stay as long as necessary until they find a smuggling route to continue their journey. They stay in Serbia from a few days to several years. The largest number of refugees and migrants reside in one of the 18 reception and asylum centers run by the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration, located throughout Serbia. This does not apply to women and children from Afghanistan who, fearing that the Taliban might find and take revenge on their families at home, nowadays stay in informal or private accommodations and do not register, which means that it is not possible to determine the exact number of Afghans currently residing in Serbia.

From the beginning of the refugee crisis, the state's attitude towards refugees and migrants remained mostly humanitarian and not integrative, which means that the state mainly provided the necessary ad hoc aid in food, clothing, and accommodation, but not long-term support and integration programs. To some extent, this does not apply to children since, in previous years, many refugee and migrant children were enrolled in Serbian primary and secondary schools. Still a small number of them remained there, considering that their families continued to migrate. On the other hand, the attitude of civil society towards migration was changing; However, at the beginning it was also mainly humanitarian, civil society organizations have since established some long-term services and support programs aimed at integration, such as empowerment and educational workshops, economic empowerment programs, etc.

Particularly vulnerable groups of refugees and migrants, such as women and children and victims of violence or human trafficking, face different challenges in Serbia. For example, although there are shelters in Serbia for women victims of partner and family violence, refugee women who have suffered violence cannot use this service or be accommodated in state shelters because the authorities are covering the stay costs only for Serbian citizens. This is why a small number of refugee women decide to report violence at all since the result is usually that they are moved to another room in the same reception center where they stay with the abuser. The number of formally identified victims of human trafficking among the migrant and refugee population is even smaller, despite the numerous risks of exploitation: it is only a few persons per year are identified as victims (in 2022 – five officially identified victims from this population).

Further in the text, attention will be paid to the understanding of the concepts of immigration, and foreigners granted temporary residence, migration - women migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons, and asylum seekers in the context of migration flows of the Republic of Serbia.

Immigration is defined by Article 2 of the Law on Migration Management⁶⁹ as a relocation to the Republic of Serbia from another country, which lasts or is expected to last longer than 12 months⁷⁰.

In 2021, the largest number of immigrants were from the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation (21.4% and 14.8%). What can be seen by comparing the previous and the observed year is a double decrease in the number of immigrants from China⁷¹.

The Law on Foreigners⁷² states that temporary residence is a residence permit of a foreign citizen in the Republic of Serbia, which is granted to a person who intends to stay in the Republic of Serbia for more than 90 days based on: employment, education or learning the Serbian language, studying, participating in the programmes of international student exchange, professional specialisation, training and practice, scientific research work or other scientific, educational activities, family reunification, performing a religious service, medical treatment or care, ownership of the real estate, humanitarian stay, status of a presumed victim of human trafficking, the status of a victim of human trafficking, and other justified reasons following the law or international agreement.

In 2021, 17,560 temporary residence permits were issued for the first time. Most approvals were issued to citizens of the People's Republic of China (46.6% based on employment), Turkey, and the Russian Federation.

Migration - migrants are those who decide to move not because of the direct threat of persecution or death but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases, for education, family reunification, or other reasons.

Refugees are persons fleeing conflict or persecution. Due to the protection granted by international law, the countries refugees find themselves in must not expel or return them to situations where their life and freedom are threatened. The cornerstone of refugee protection is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Geneva Convention), which defines a "refugee" as someone who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group

⁶⁹ "Official Gazette of RS", No. 107/12

⁷⁰ Such a definition and monitoring of immigration is in accordance with the Regulation on Community Statistics on Migration and International Protection.

⁷¹ See more at the Migration Profile of the Republic of Serbia for 2021:
<https://kirs.gov.rs/media/uploads/Migracije/Publikacije/Migracioni%20profil%20Republike%20Srbije%20za%202021-%20godinu.pdf>

⁷² "Official Gazette of RS", No. 24/2018 and 31/2019, Article 40

or political opinion, is outside the country of [their] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail [themselves] of the protection of that country.”

The term asylum seeker refers to a migrant who seeks international protection. Following European law, international protection can take the form of refugee status or subsidiary protection. If a foreign country considers migrant needs to be protected, but for reasons not specified in the Geneva Convention, it may grant subsidiary protection instead of a refugee status.

A massive influx of migrants and refugees in 2015 has placed Serbia in front of a serious challenge in managing the refugee crisis; the need to organize accommodation, food, medical assistance, and other social protection services for all persons on the route. In response to the crisis, the country primarily used the capacities activated during the refugee crisis that arose after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After the countries of the Western Balkans closed their borders to the passage of migrants, it created a new crisis for thousands of people who remained imprisoned in Serbia and other countries of the region.

When it comes to the demographic picture of migration in Serbia, according to the reports of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, in the period from 2015 to today, Serbia has been a transit country for a high number of refugees who passed through the Balkan route in their migration to countries of the European Union. Data on the exact number of refugees in Serbia change over time due to changes in migration flows and policies and other factors. Unofficial estimates support that around one and a half million people passed through Serbia in search of refuge.⁷³

The share of women in the total number of refugees and migrants in the Republic of Serbia varied from year to year. It is important to note that, in addition to the fact that Serbia was a transit country for most people on their way to EU countries, many people were forced to seek refuge in the Serbia due to the closure of borders and other factors. However, there have been no political or systemic efforts to enable these people to participate and be represented in the public and political life of the country.

II. The position of migrant women in political life

In Serbia, this is a complex topic that requires a deeper understanding of their situation and the challenges they face. Migrant women are persons who have migrated or are refugees who have arrived in Serbia from different parts of the world, often seeking safety,

⁷³ See more at: <https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/svet-54014677i>

protection, or better economic opportunities. They face numerous obstacles and discrimination, which makes their integration into society and participation in public life even more difficult.

First, migrant women often face a language barrier, making it difficult to communicate and access information. A lack of language skills can exclude them from participating in public debates, political processes, or public services.

Second, migrant women face discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, and migration status. They are often exposed to sexism, racism, and xenophobia, which can result in their exclusion from public life. Discrimination can exist in various spheres, including access to education, health care, employment, and political participation.

Third, migrant women often face economic vulnerability. Most often, they face unemployment, and if they are employed, they work in low-paid jobs, such as jobs in agriculture, catering, or domestic work, where they are exposed to exploitation and poor working conditions. Low income and an inadequate social protection system affect their financial independence and reduce the possibility of becoming engaged in public life.

Fourth, migrant women often lack access to education and information. Lack of education access can limit their professional development and political participation opportunities. In addition, the lack of information about their rights, opportunities and resources can hinder them in integrating and participating in public life.

It is especially important to point out that refugee women face gender-based violence to a great extent, as well as inadequate systemic support when responding to violence.

The position of migrant women in political life in Serbia is challenging, and they often face various obstacles that hinder their active participation in political processes. Although there are laws and political initiatives that promote gender equality and inclusion, migrant women still face numerous challenges that prevent them from actively engaging in political life. To participate in political life, it is necessary first to define the possibility of refugees and migrants entering the labour market. The Law on Foreigners⁷⁴ foresees the possibility of employing foreigners⁷⁵. Foreigners can establish companies or register as entrepreneurs and do business in the Republic of Serbia without restrictions. Regarding the employment of foreigners, the conditions that the foreigner must fulfill are a visa for a long stay based on employment, a permit for temporary or permanent residence, and a work permit. A work permit issued based on a long-stay employment visa is issued for the maximum

⁷⁴ "Official Gazette of RS", No. 24/2018 and 31/2019

⁷⁵ *A foreigner is any person who does not have the citizenship of the Republic of Serbia*, Article 3, para. 1

validity period of that visa. A work permit issued to persons who are asylum seekers is issued upon personal request nine months after entry into the asylum procedure⁷⁶. Depending on the type of work permit, the request for issuance is submitted either by the foreigner (if it is a personal work permit or a work permit for self-employment) or by the employer. In Serbia, the National Employment Service is responsible for issuing work permits. From the end of 2020, the possibility of submitting a combined application for temporary residence and work permit has been introduced.

Findings from the interviews with professionals in the area of migration

For this paper, 13 interviews were conducted with professionals in the field of management and provision of support to the vulnerable categories among migrants and refugees.

Representatives of the non-governmental, international, and state sectors participated in the interviews. The largest number of participants comes from the state sector (71.4%), followed by international organisations (14.3%), while a small percentage (7.1%) is made up of representatives of the civil sector, i.e., universities.

Regarding the parts of the country where they are active, a significant number of respondents come from Belgrade, 46.2%, while the same percentage (46.2%) works in the south of the country on the border with North Macedonia. In addition to the aforementioned participants, 7.7% of professionals who participated in the research are active in the east of the country.

In their opinion, the participation of migrant women/asylum seekers in public and political life is lacking (Chart 1).

⁷⁶ In recent months, the civil sector has been active in advocating the amendment of this provision and enabling earlier inclusion in the labour market. More on the Draft Law on Amendments to the Law on Employment of Foreign Citizens can be found here:

http://www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/archive/files/lat/pdf/predlozi_zakona/13_saziv/634-23%20-%20Lat..pdf

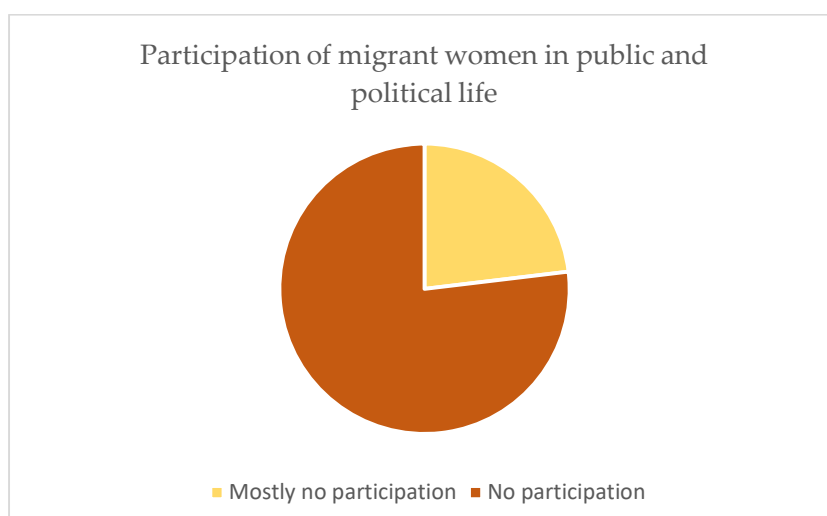


Chart 1 – Assessment of the participation of migrant women in political life in Serbia

When asked to evaluate the measures offered to improve the position of migrant women/asylum seekers in political life, with a score of 1 to 4, the majority of respondents opted for the measure that provides financial support to migrant women for self-organization and the establishment of women's associations (46.5%), while obtaining the right to vote was marked as the least important (46.5%). In second place in terms of importance were the affirmative action measures and the implementation of gender quotas in political organisations (30.7%).

When it comes to proposals for improving the position of migrant women, solutions such as advocacy activities stand out, as well as the role of the non-governmental sector in facilitating and supporting these processes.

One of the respondents, a representative of the state sector in charge of accommodation and reception of refugees, pointed out that political activities and actions are prohibited during the stay in the accommodation facilities, which entails the promotion of political parties and ideologies. He stated that this ban also applies to employees in this part of the system, considering that neutrality and objectivity are preserved in this way.

A representative of the international organisation stated that it is important to start with access to education, which must be guaranteed to all migrant girls and women, as well as greater participation in the initiatives of local non-governmental organisations. In terms of the level of discrimination against migrant women, the majority of respondents believe that there is a higher level of discrimination against migrant women compared to other women (61.5%), followed by those who believe there is no discrimination against migrant women

(30.8%). In comparison, a few (7.7%) believe that all women are equally discriminated against and that migratory status does not contribute to the level of discrimination.

When it comes to factors that can improve the participation of migrant women in political life, the highest number of respondents believe that it is necessary to improve the education and informedness of the general population on the rights of migrant women (53.8%). At the same time, they consider the participation of a greater number of migrant women in management positions at the local government level (46.1%) is least important. Based on the above, it can be concluded that the respondents believe a prerequisite for participation in political life is the achievement of a certain level of education among the general public that could accept and understand the need for greater inclusion of migrant women in political life. Therefore, it can be indirectly concluded that the respondents point to an insufficiently favorable social climate for encouraging greater inclusion of migrant women in political life, and they consider it necessary to inform the general population in this sense.

When asked if there is any fund or type of financial support aimed at the promotion and inclusion of migrant women in political life, all respondents stated that they are not aware of the existence of such a fund, and that the existing measures do not provide for the incentive to have migrant women included in political life.

A representative of the international organisation stated that it would be important to establish such and similar funds that would encourage women's participation in political life, especially women from marginalised categories, including migrant women.

In conclusion, the respondents emphasised the importance of the inclusion of migrant women in the work of local non-governmental organisations, considering it a temporary solution in the process of their more active participation in political life, as well as the necessary establishment of a greater degree of openness of social and political factors towards migrant women. At this point, it is important to consider that the largest number of respondents in this research come from the state system, and the conclusions are presented following the views of the representatives of that part of the system. On the other hand, representatives of the non-governmental sector emphasise the importance of creating systemic solutions that would enable the inclusion of migrant women in public life, as well as more efficient access to the labour market and education. In addition, it is important to emphasise that civil society organisations in Serbia are not supported by state institutions; the state does not financially support even the organisations that run licensed services in the social protection system. In this regard, the burden of this proposal from the state institutions would fall exclusively on civil society organisations, which, even under these circumstances, barely find ways to maintain their services.

III Participation of migrant women in democratic life

If we consider that democratic life implies equality, freedom, and respect for all citizens regardless of their origin, sex, gender, religion, nationality, or any other characteristic, the participation of migrant women in democratic life is crucial for the realisation of these values. Migrant women face challenges that can limit their participation in democratic life, such as language barriers, cultural differences, discrimination, and social isolation. However, these obstacles can be overcome through the active integration of migrant women into society and the political process.

In addition to improving access to education, and health care, and exercising other rights, it is essential to support organisations that deal with the issues of migrant women, support them and empower them to participate in political life. Including women from marginalised groups, including migrant women, in political and democratic life can lead to changes in political agendas, policies, and practices that are more sensitive to the needs and interests of these groups. This, in turn, contributes to creating a democratic society that respects diversity and is open to all its citizens. For this study, NGO Atina's team conducted interviews with six women from the refugee and migrant population who are active members of the Advocacy Group⁷⁷ gathered around Atina. Of all the Advocacy Group members who participated in the interviews, five live in Serbia, while one is in France. Concerning the country of origin, two respondents come from Iran⁷⁸, while the remaining four are from Burundi⁷⁹.

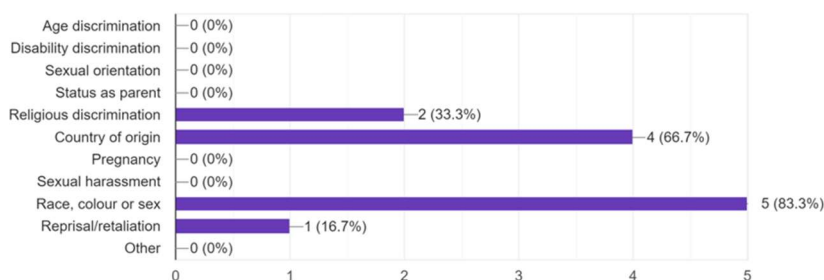
The respondents' average stay in European countries is around 3.5 years (from leaving the country of origin to arriving in the first country on European soil). When asked about their experience of discrimination during their stay in the Republic of Serbia, the respondents answered in equal percentage that they faced discrimination rarely, sometimes, and often. No respondent was exempt from discrimination of varying intensity and frequency.

⁷⁷ The Advocacy Group gathered around NGO Atina represents an informal women's body made up of refugee and migrant women intending to address and advocate for better living conditions, access to justice and human rights for all migrant and refugee women in the Republic of Serbia. The Group carries out activities, actions, and meetings with relevant decision-makers, sharing experiences and recommendations for improving the position of refugee and migrant women in the Republic of Serbia. The Group was founded in 2018 and so far had more than 20 members.

⁷⁸ More on migration from Iran can be found here: <https://www.dw.com/en/lost-in-belgrade-iranian-refugees-head-to-serbia-as-tourists/a-43363216>

⁷⁹ More on migration from Burundi can be found here: <https://balkaninsight.com/2022/03/23/false-hope-burundians-duped-into-paying-big-for-serbia-asylum/>

When asked which institution/organisation and actors they most often felt discriminatory attitudes from, the respondents primarily mentioned representatives of state institutions in the accommodation facilities they used upon arrival in the country. In the second place, situations of discrimination related to employment and job search stood out. The respondents emphasised that in those situations, they encountered discrimination and were deprived of opportunities to enter the labour market. Some respondents stated that when seeking health services, they encountered discriminatory attitudes from professionals. Regarding the basis of discrimination, the largest number of respondents recognised race and gender (Graph 3).



Graph 2 – The basis of discrimination

Regarding access to rights, all respondents recognise that they do not have the same degree of access as women who are residents when it comes to employment, healthcare, and political life. On the other hand, 5 out of 6 research participants believe they do not have the same access even when it comes to protection from violence, legal support, education, or social services.

When asked which areas they recognise as the source of greatest deprivation when it comes to access to rights compared to women who are residents, the majority of respondents stated access to social rights and services, then access to employment and legal support, followed by healthcare and other parts of the system. Only one respondent stated that the impossibility of inclusion into political life, in addition to other parts of the system, was drastically visible.

It is important to pause for a moment and consider the possibility of understanding access to and participation in, political life. Many women refugees and migrants were significantly denied access to rights during the entire transit. The question arises whether they actually have an expectation that they will be included in political life during the transit. On the one hand, political life can be considered only participation in political processes and organisations, while on the other hand, this participation can be viewed much more widely, and a different body of rights and opportunities can be seen through it, however, this is a

topic for a separate analysis. Based on the above, it can be concluded that, to the greatest extent, migrant women do not consider that their participation in the democratic life of a society is at all possible since they do not have access to elementary parts of the social system. In the footsteps of feminist political theorists such as Bell Hooks⁸⁰ and Angela Davis⁸¹, the inclusion of women from marginalised groups in democratic and political life has a direct impact on the advancement of their rights and, thus on the advancement of the democratic life of society as a whole.

When asked to name initiatives or organisations that improve and promote the participation of migrant women in democratic and political life, members of the Advocacy Group recognised only the initiative of NGO Atina, that is, the Advocacy Group, as an opportunity to participate in political and democratic life in the country. The respondents state that they believe that the Advocacy Group is an initiative that exists at the national and international levels, but that similar initiatives are lacking at the local level to bring women together.

When asked what they believe may influence the improvement of the position of migrant women in political life, the respondent primarily cited education and awareness raising among citizens about the importance of non-discrimination against migrant women and refugees (in order of importance). Among other things, they also recognised that measures of affirmative action aimed at ensuring a greater presence of migrant women in managerial positions at the local level are of great importance. It is interesting to note that the responses of the Advocacy Group members actually correspond with the view of professionals about the factors that can contribute to improving the position of migrant women in political life, citing education and informing the public in the first place.

In the concluding remarks, respondents stated that they believe self-organization of migrant women into informal groups would greatly improve their participation in democratic life, that is, their initiative is crucial for improving their position. One respondent stated that education is of greatest significance in this matter and that without access to education, a higher level of participation of migrant women in political life cannot be expected.

The attitude of one respondent was particularly interesting, as she actually expects to gain access to political life only in the destination country, and her expectations regarding participation in democratic life are tied to her destination, that is, one of the EU countries.

⁸⁰ Politics of Literacy: A Conversation, Vol. 14, No. 1, Special Issue: Collaboration and Change in the Academy, 1994

⁸¹ See more at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/10/19/t-magazine/angela-davis.html>

IV Representation of migrant women in the media

The representation of migrant women in the media in Serbia is often problematic and based on stereotypes, prejudice, and sensationalism. Migrant women are often portrayed as victims, persons of lesser importance, or as a danger to society, and their stories, strengths, and experiences are marginalised.

The media often use sensationalist headlines and stories about migrant women, which affects the creation of a negative perception and reinforces the existing prejudices in society. In addition, the language that is most often used implies that all migrant women are passive victims, completely deprived of the ability to act in their own interests. Media coverage of issues related to migrant women usually focuses on violence, poverty and discrimination, which can be useful in raising awareness, but at the same time reinforces stereotypes about migrant women as insufficiently educated or integrated into society.

A research NGO Atina conducted during 2013/2014, entitled Migrant population in local communities in Serbia⁸², dealt with the issue of presenting refugees and migrants in the media. The role of the media was assessed as mostly negative, both at the national and local levels.

V Recommendations

Improving the political position of migrant women in Serbia requires an integrated approach that will address the various challenges they face. Some of the key recommendations resulting from interviews with professionals and migrant women are concerning:

1. Language and communication

Access to language programmes and translation services is needed in order to ensure that migrant women who do not speak the language can communicate with political

⁸² Read more at:

<http://www.atina.org.rs/sites/default/files/Migranti%20i%20migrantkinje%20u%20lokalnim%20zajednicama%20u%20Srbiji.finalno.pdf>

institutions. This includes providing interpretation services at political rallies, debates, and meetings, as well as providing opportunities to learn the Serbian language.

2. Education and empowerment

Migrant women should be empowered through education about the political system of Serbia, their political rights, and opportunities for political engagement. This may include providing educational programs, seminars, and workshops on political participation, leadership, and political skills.

3. Gender equality

It is necessary to strongly promote gender equality in political life, in order to ensure equality of rights, opportunities, and resources for migrant women. This requires political will to promote gender equality, adopt policies and laws that protect the rights of migrant women, and prevent discrimination based on gender.

4. Economic empowerment

Ensuring the economic empowerment of migrant women can help reduce economic vulnerability and enable them to become actively engaged in political life. Economic empowerment also includes providing access to education, training, mentoring, and financial resources to support political activities.

5. Support and mentorship

It is necessary to provide support and mentorship to migrant women who want to engage in political life. This may include mentoring by women leaders in certain fields, political mentors, and civil society organisations dealing with women's and migrants' rights.

6. Inclusiveness of political processes

Political processes must be inclusive and ensure that migrant women have access to political positions, authorities, and political organisations, both at the local and national levels.

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Annex 1 – Survey questions for decision-makers

- 1) To what extent do you think that migrant women participate in political life in your country?
 - 1- They do not participate at all
 - 2- They mostly do not participate
 - 3- They participate only on the local level
 - 4- They participate in the issues concerning migration
 - 5- They actively participate in all the important political issues

- 2) What issues do you consider the most important for improving the position of migrant women in political life?
(multiple choices are available but please rank them 1-5 by importance)
 - a) The right to vote _____
 - b) Providing financial support for self-organization and associations of women in democratic life _____
 - c) More women in affirmative action _____
 - d) Measures of positive discrimination and application of gender quotas in relation to migrant women in political organizing _____
 - e) Something else: _____

- 3) Do you think that migrant women are more discriminated against compared to other women in your community?
 - 1- I think they are not discriminated at all
 - 2- I believe that the level of discrimination is the same for all women, regardless of whether they are migrants or not
 - 3- I think they are discriminated against more than other women

- 4) Rank in order of priority (1- highest priority; 5- lowest priority) factors that influence the improvement of the position of migrant women in political life:
 - a) Media representation of migrant women _____
 - b) More migrant women in managerial positions at local levels _____
 - c) Self-organization of migrant women around political issues _____
 - d) Measures of positive discrimination aimed at migrant women _____
 - e) Educating and informing the general population about the rights of migrant women _____

- 5) Are you aware/are there funds and financial support intended for the promotion and inclusion of migrant women in political life?

YES (please, give an example):

NO

Annex 2 – Survey questions for migrant women

- 1) Have you experienced discrimination by any institution because of your migrant status?
 - 1- Never
 - 2- Rarely
 - 3- Sometimes
 - 4- Often
 - 5- Always

- 2) What kind of discrimination (multiple answers are available):
 - a) Age Discrimination
 - b) Disability Discrimination
 - c) Sexual Orientation
 - d) Status as a Parent
 - e) Religious Discrimination
 - f) National Origin
 - g) Pregnancy
 - h) Sexual Harassment
 - i) Race, Color, and Sex
 - j) Reprisal / Retaliation

- 3) Have you experienced discrimination by any organization because of your migrant status?
 - 1- Never
 - 2- Rarely
 - 3- Sometimes
 - 4- Often
 - 5- Always

- 4) What kind of discrimination (multiple answers are available):
 - a) Age Discrimination
 - b) Disability Discrimination
 - c) Sexual Orientation
 - d) Status as a Parent
 - e) Religious Discrimination
 - f) National Origin
 - g) Pregnancy
 - h) Sexual Harassment
 - i) Race, Color, and Sex
 - j) Reprisal / Retaliation

- 5) Do you feel that you have the same access to rights as other women (who are residents) in terms of:

- a) Education YES NO
 - b) Health YES NO
 - c) Legal support YES NO
 - d) Social protection YES NO
 - e) Employment YES NO
 - f) Protection against violence YES NO
 - g) Participation in politics YES NO
- 6) In which of the following do you feel you are drastically more discriminated against than other women (specify): _____
- 7) Are you familiar with programs/initiatives or advocacy actions for the rights of migrant women at the local and national levels?
- a) Yes, at the local level (please, give an example)
-
- b) Yes, at the national level (please, give an example)
-
- c) I am not familiar with any
- 8) What do you think can be done to improve the position of migrant women in political life (rate the listed areas from 1 to 5 in order of importance: 1- the least important issue, 5 - the most important issue)
- a) Positive media coverage of migrant women _____
 - b) Providing funds and finances for women who are interested in gathering and associating around political goals _____
 - c) Directing the existing political parties, social movements and initiatives towards the issues related to the position of migrant women _____
 - d) Educating and raising awareness of citizens about the importance of non-discrimination of migrant women _____
 - e) Measures of positive discrimination aimed at ensuring a greater presence of migrant women in managerial positions at the local level _____

I. Recommendations / good practice examples

- 1) List 5 recommendations related to improving the position of migrant women in political life (based on the results of the conducted questionnaires)
- 2) An example of good practice or a case study on the inclusion of migrant women in political life

Europe study by Women in Development Europe+ (WIDE+)

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Deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het politieke en democratische proces in Europa

Deze briefing beschrijft in welke mate, en hoe migrantenvrouwen deelnemen aan het politieke en democratische proces¹ in Europa. Deze publicatie is tot stand gekomen in het kader van het WE-EMPOWER-project². Daarin verwijst deelname aan het politieke en democratisch proces naar het actief en passief kiesrecht, het lidmaatschap van politieke partijen en het recht, de gelegenheid en de ruimte om invloed uit te oefenen op openbare besluitvormingsprocessen die bijdragen tot de ontwikkeling van een samenleving. Deze deelname is een belangrijk aspect van de integratie van alle migranten, in het bijzonder van migrantenvrouwen die nog steeds veel minder zichtbaar zijn in de publieke besluitvorming samenleving.

Effectieve participatie van migrantenvrouwen is noodzakelijk zodat zij met hun ideeën en voorstellen kunnen bijdragen aan de ontwikkeling van de samenlevingen waarin zij leven. Er zijn nog veel belemmeringen voor migrantenvrouwen om gehoord te worden in de publieke en politieke ruimte. Daarom is het belangrijk om de context rond migratie, migrantenvrouwen en hun participatie in Europa beter te begrijpen.

In het algemeen is er een gebrek aan onderzoek naar de democratische participatie van migrantenvrouwen op EU-niveau, met beperkte beschikbaarheid van transnationale gegevens. Dit document vult enkele lacunes in kennis over die deelname.

¹ Deelnemen aan het democratisch proces houdt ook in -naast politieke actie- dat men actief betrokken is bij het gemeenschapsleven en het maatschappelijk leven, en actief burgerschap uitdraagt, zoals deelname aan niet-gouvernementele verenigingen en organisaties die zich bezighouden met het openbare en politieke leven van het land.

² Het WE-EMPOWER-project is een door de EU gefinancierd ERASMUS+-project dat tot doel heeft de deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het politieke en democratisch proces te vergroten. In het project werken zeven organisaties geleid door migrantenvrouwen en/of door vrouwen samen in Europees verband.

I. Migrantenvrouwen in Europa

Het WE-EMPOWER-project hanteert een inclusieve, brede definitie van wie migrantenvrouwen zijn: de term '**migrantenvrouwen**' verwijst naar **ALLE vrouwen, inclusief gender non-conforme personen, die van het ene naar het andere land zijn verhuisd, verhandeld zijn, van een derde of Europees land naar een bestemming in Europa zijn verhuisd, of vrouwen die migranten van de tweede generatie zijn.** Dat omvat dus ook asielzoekers, vluchtelingen, migrantenvrouwen zonder papieren, vrouwen met migrantenouders en mobiele EU-burgers. Met deze inclusieve benadering van migrantenvrouwen gaan we ervan uit dat ze verschillen in ervaring, middelen en kwetsbaarheid.

In de EU-context verschilt de definitie van migranten van de definitie die in ons project wordt gebruikt, aangezien de definities van de EU voornamelijk gebaseerd zijn op het migratiebeleid gericht op het beheersen van migranten. Hoewel het niet binnen het bestek van dit document valt om een diepgaande normatieve discussie te voeren over het gebruik van de term "migrant"³, willen we de verschillende beleidstermen die worden gebruikt door de EU om mensen te beschrijven die vrijwillig of door omstandigheden migreren, op een rij zetten.

- Een **onderdaan van een derde land** is iemand die een burger van buiten de EU en die het EU-recht van vrij verkeer niet heeft, zoals omschreven in artikel 2, lid 5, van de Schengengrenscodes.
- Een **migrant** is een persoon die reeds voor een periode van ten minste 12 maanden in de EU gevestigd is, nadat deze eerder in een andere EU-lidstaat of een derde land heeft verbleven⁴.
- Een **asielzoeker** is een onderdaan van een derde land of staatloze die een verzoek om bescherming heeft ingediend op grond van het Vluchtelingenverdrag en het Protocol van Genève, waarover nog geen definitieve beslissing is genomen (Europese Commissie, 2022). Een

³ Voor meer informatie over het debat over een inclusieve versus een residuale benadering van de term "migrant", zie: <https://meaningofmigrants.org/the-case-for-being-inclusive/>.

⁴ Zie het volledige glossarium van migratietermen, *Migration and home affairs*, door de Europese Commissie, 2022 (https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/migrant_en).

vluchteling is iemand wiens asielverzoek is goedgekeurd en die dus de vluchtelingenstatus heeft gekregen.

Migranten vormen een aanzienlijk deel van de bevolking in Europa. Op basis van Eurostat-gegevens uit 2021 wonen er 447,2 miljoen mensen in de EU (Eurostat, 2023). Onderdanen van derde landen (met een buitenlands paspoort), of niet-EU-burgers, maken ongeveer 5% van de bevolking van de EU uit, oftewel 23,7 miljoen. Als we mobiele EU-burgers meetellen, stijgt dit cijfer tot bijna 10%. In 2021 immigreerden 2,3 miljoen mensen uit derde landen naar de EU, met een iets hoger percentage mannen dan vrouwen: **55% voor mannen en 45% voor vrouwen**⁵.

In de afgelopen vijf jaar hebben zich een paar trends rond migratie in Europa voorgedaan. De inval van Rusland in Oekraïne heeft het debat over het migratie- en asielbeleid van de EU een nieuwe wending gegeven. De EU heeft voor het eerst in de geschiedenis een beroep gedaan op de **richtlijn tijdelijke bescherming**⁶ om een snel passend en gecoördineerd beleid te formuleren voor Oekraïners die de oorlog ontvluchtten. Daarnaast heeft de overname van Afghanistan door de Taliban geleid tot een toename van Afghanen die bescherming zoeken in Europese landen. Tot slot heeft de COVID-19-pandemie de risico's en uitdagingen voor migranten en vluchtelingen in Europa vergroot, met specifieke gevolgen voor migrantenvrouwen. Zo nam gender-gerelateerd geweld tegen migrantenvrouwen toe tijdens de pandemie. En hadden zij een zwaardere zorglast en terwijl ze veel minder toegang hadden tot informatie en integratiemiddelen (zoals online taalcursussen) (EMN, 2022).

Gezien de diversiteit van de landen waar de migranten vandaan komen, de verschillende migratietrajecten en de uiteenlopende redenen om te migreren, is het logisch maar niettemin belangrijk te onderstrepen dat **migrantenvrouwen als groep of categorie niet homogeen zijn**. Vrouwen migreren om veel verschillende redenen naar de EU. Ze migreren als echtgenote, student, arbeidsmigrant of asielzoeker.

⁵ De gegevens van Eurostat tellen alleen immigranten die ten minste 12 maanden in een lidstaat verblijven. Slechts enkele lidstaten nemen asielzoekers of vluchtelingen die ten minste 12 maanden in een lidstaat verblijven, op in de gegevens over migratie.

⁶ Tijdelijke bescherming is een uitzonderlijke maatregel om onmiddellijke en tijdelijke bescherming te bieden in geval van massale toestroom of dreigende massale toestroom van ontheemden uit derde landen die niet naar hun land van herkomst kunnen terugkeren. De maatregel werd in 2001 aangenomen na de conflicten in voormalig Joegoslavië.
(https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/temporary-protection_en)

Geslacht is een belangrijke factor dat migratiebeslissingen beïnvloedt. Hoewel migratie vaak wordt gezien als een proces dat gendergelijkheid kan bevorderen voor de migrantenvrouwen, worden vrouwen en meisjes hierdoor ook kwetsbaarder en worden zij bijvoorbeeld blootgesteld aan grotere risico's op geweld. Dit geldt vooral voor migrantenvrouwen zonder papieren. De uitdagingen waarmee migrantenvrouwen in Europa worden geconfronteerd, zijn vaak een direct gevolg van hun verblijfsstatus of de push-factoren om te migreren. Daarom is het essentieel dat migrantenvrouwen de kans krijgen om deel te nemen aan het publieke en politieke proces, zodat ze specifieke problemen onder de aandacht kunnen brengen en invloed kunnen uitoefenen op de besluitvorming.

II. Barrières voor participatie van migrantenvrouwen

Het internationale CEDAW-verdrag - bevestigd door de 'Beijing Platform for Action' (BPfA) - bepaalt dat alle vrouwen, ook migrantenvrouwen, op alle gebieden van het leven niet mogen worden gediscrimineerd en het recht moeten hebben deel te nemen aan de beleidsvorming en openbare ambten moeten kunnen bekleden (artikel 7, CEDAW)⁷. Helaas worden de rechten in dit verdrag nog niet helemaal gewaarborgd en worden migrantenvrouwen geconfronteerd met een reeks obstakels als het gaat om deelname aan besluitvormingsprocessen.

Het gebrek aan kiesrecht is een van de belemmeringen voor politieke participatie van migrantenvrouwen in Europa. Het wettelijk hebben van kiesrecht hangt af van of migrantenvrouwen EU-burgers of onderdanen van 'derde landen' zijn. Mobiele EU-burgers hebben in dit opzicht duidelijk meer rechten. Bij Europese verkiezingen kunnen zij stemmen in hun eigen land of in het gastland; zij kunnen ook stemmen bij gemeenteraadsverkiezingen in het gastland en in sommige lidstaten kunnen zij zich kandidaat stellen in de gastlanden. Aan de andere kant mogen migrantenvrouwen die onderdaan zijn van 'derde landen' over het algemeen niet stemmen bij gemeentelijke, nationale of Europese verkiezingen. Er zijn echter enkele uitzonderingen, zoals in Denemarken, Zweden en Finland, waar onderdanen van derde landen bij gemeentelijke en regionale verkiezingen mogen stemmen als zij een bepaald aantal jaren in het land verblijven. In Frankrijk, Oostenrijk, Duitsland en

⁷ Zie het VN-Verdrag inzake de uitbanning van alle vormen van discriminatie van vrouwen (CEDAW) van 18 december 1979: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm#article7>.

Italië is in de afgelopen jaren gedebatteerd over het stemrecht voor onderdanen van derde landen, waarvoor een grondwetswijziging nodig is (Stichting ECIT, 2020).

Momenteel zijn er geen overzicht gegevens beschikbaar naar land uitgesplitst, waaruit blijkt of migrantenvrouwen gebruik maken van hun kiesrecht (als ze dat hebben) en in het algemeen is er een gebrek aan informatie over hun stempatronen of motivaties om te stemmen. In het kader van het WE-EMPOWER-project heeft een van de deelnemende organisaties, Red Latinas, een landelijke studie uitgevoerd in Spanje⁸ naar de politieke participatie van migranten in het land. De gegevens werden verzameld aan de hand van een door 1.351 migranten ingevulde enquête. Er werden drie categorieën migranten bevraagd: genaturaliseerde migranten, migranten met stemrecht en migranten zonder stemrecht. Uit de studie bleek dat er een gebrek is aan politieke vorming (bijvoorbeeld kennis van het kiesstelsel) bij migranten, vooral bij migrantenvrouwen. Meer migrantenvrouwen zijn echter actief met burgerparticipatie, zoals binnen gemeenschappen cultureel en bij onderwijsinstellingen.

Volgens een verslag van de Raad van Europa (2021) is er een **ernstig gebrek aan deelname van vrouwen uit ondervertegenwoordigde groepen zoals migrantenvrouwen, Roma-vrouwen, en LGBTQI+-vrouwen en andere gender minderheden, aan de politieke en publieke besluitvorming**. In het verslag wordt de participatie van vrouwen in regionale en lokale overheden in Europese landen geëvalueerd. Net als in deze briefing verwijst participatie naar "meer dan stemmen of zich verkiesbaar stellen ... Participatie en actief burgerschap houdt in dat men het recht, de middelen, de ruimte en de gelegenheid en waar nodig de steun heeft om deel te nemen aan en invloed uit te oefenen op beslissingen en zich in te zetten voor acties en activiteiten teneinde bij te dragen tot een betere samenleving" (blz. 5, vertaling uit Engels). Het doel van participatie is de besluitvorming in een gemeenschap te kunnen beïnvloeden, en dit kan hetzij via instrumenten voor publieke invloed en participatie, hetzij als (politieke) vertegenwoordigers van de gemeenschap die in een lokale raad zijn gekozen" (blz. 24, vertaling uit Engels).

Het rapport belicht enkele barrières die migrantenvrouwen ervaren als het gaat om participatie. Deze omvatten **discriminatie, een ongelijke verdeling van zorgtaken, barrières binnen politieke partijen, een gebrek aan gerichte maatregelen voor inclusie en participatie, en een gebrek aan toegankelijkheid tot**

⁸ Red Latinas is een Latijns-Amerikaans en Caribisch vrouwenennetwerk dat in Spanje is gevestigd en lid is van de WIDE+ gender and migration WG. Voor het onderzoek ga naar: <https://wideplus.org/we-empower-project/>

participatiemechanismes (COE, 2021). Het beschrijft hoe vrouwen uit ondervertegenwoordigde groepen grote moeilijkheden ondervinden om door te dringen tot politieke partijen of om op kieslijsten geplaatst te worden (Ibid.).

Vergelijkbaar, in een verslag van het Europees Parlement uit 2021⁹ wordt het begrip **intersectionele discriminatie besproken waarmee groepen vrouwen in de EU op basis van verschillende vormen van discriminatie, waaronder genderidentiteit, ras, etniciteit en migrantenachtergrond meervoudige discriminatie ervaren**. Intersectionele discriminatie is iets anders dan een optelsom van meervoudige discriminatie. Met intersectionele discriminatie zijn: "de gronden van discriminatie met elkaar verweven, waardoor een unieke vorm van discriminatie ontstaat" (p.4, vertaling uit Engels). Deze intersectionele discriminatie draagt bij aan de armoede, mensenhandel, gendergerelateerd geweld, belemmeringen in de gezondheidszorg en sociale uitsluiting die migrantenvrouwen ervaren.

Bijvoorbeeld, migranten die werken als huishoudelijk personeel, en dat zijn voornamelijk vrouwen, krijgen vaak te maken met slechte arbeidsomstandigheden, lage lonen en geweld en intimidatie op het werk. En een ander voorbeeld is een groep migrantenvrouwen die onderdaan zijn van derde landen en een verblijfsvergunning hebben die gekoppeld is aan die van hun echtgenoten/partners, wat hen ervan weerhoudt misbruik/geweld te melden of zelfs actief te zijn in het politieke en democratische leven.

Het alarmerende aantal haatzaaiende uitspraken en online geweld waarmee vrouwelijke politici en publieke figuren in Europa te maken krijgen¹⁰ is ook een grote belemmering voor migrantenvrouwen om politiek en publiekelijk actief te zijn.

Het ontbreekt migrantenvrouwen ook aan zichtbaarheid in de media. In het algemeen zijn migranten niet alleen ondervertegenwoordigd in de media, maar wanneer er aandacht aan wordt besteed aan het onderwerp, wordt migratie vaak in negatieve en conflictgerelateerde termen geportretteerd (Eberl et al., 2018). Uit een rapport van de Kerkencommissie voor migranten in Europa (2017) bleek dat slechts

⁹ *Intersectional discrimination in the EU: socio-economic situation of women of African, Middle-Eastern, Latin American and Asian descent*, Europees Parlement, 2021
(https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-9-2022-0190_EN.html).

¹⁰ Uit de studie "*Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Europe*" by IPU-PACE, 2021" blijkt dat een overweldigend percentage vrouwelijke parlementsleden in het Europees Parlement te maken kreeg met verschillende vormen van misbruik en online geweld.
<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/issue-briefs/2018-10/sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliaments-in-europe>

21% van de verhalen in de Europese media¹¹ over migratie of integratie een individuele migrant of vluchteling bevatte. Uit het verslag bleek ook dat migrantenvrouwen nog onzichtbaarder zijn - slechts 27% van de 21% verhalen waarin individuele migranten werden genoemd ging over migrantenvrouwen. Wanneer migrantenvrouwen wel in de media aan bod komen, zijn de voorstellingen vaak beperkt en stereotiep. (Lünenborg en Bach, 2009).

In Europa wordt de beelvorming van migrantenvrouwen in de media vaak gereduceerd tot essentialistische binaries (Lünenborg & Bach, 2009). Zo worden in de media voortdurend overgesimplificeerde categorieën gebruikt om stereotype voorstellingen van moslimvrouwen te creëren, waarbij gesluisde moslimvrouwen worden afgeschilderd als "on-Europees". Uiteindelijk draagt de oververtegenwoordiging van een bepaalde religieuze groep migrantenvrouwen, beperkt tot enkele stereotypen, bij tot de stigmatisering van alle migrantenvrouwen.

In het algemeen kunnen het gebrek aan kiesrecht, intersectionele discriminatie en het gebrek aan positieve mediavertegenwoordiging leiden tot verdere uitsluiting van deelname en vervreemding van migrantenvrouwen van de samenleving.

III. Deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het politieke leven

Er zijn niet genoeg gegevens om de participatie van migrantenvrouwen in gekozen of politieke organen, precies in kaart te brengen. Wat wel duidelijk is, is dat er een **zichtbaar gebrek is aan vertegenwoordiging van vrouwen en van migranten en etnische minderheden in politieke functies**. Op Europees niveau waren in de afgelopen vijf jaar de twee landen met de hoogste vrouwelijke vertegenwoordiging in hun nationale parlementen België en Denemarken (zie figuur 1), maar ook daar is gendergelijkheid in deelname niet bereikt (EIGE, 2022).

¹¹ *Changing the Narrative: Media representation of refugees and migrants in Europe*, door Churches Commission For Migrant in Europe (CCME) en Communication For All (WACC) Europe, 2017 (https://www.refugeesreporting.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Changing_the_Narrative_Media_Representation_of_Refugees_and_Migrants_in_Europe.pdf).

Een ander voorbeeld op nationaal niveau is Duitsland, dat een van de meest diverse nationale parlementen in Europa heeft in termen van vertegenwoordiging van migranten, vrouwen en LGBTQIA+ (Stowers, 2022). Uit een desktopanalyse die Gabriela Germany in het kader van deze reeks briefings heeft uitgevoerd, blijkt dat de vertegenwoordiging van vrouwen met een migrantenachtergrond bij de laatste twee federale verkiezingen, in 2017 en 2021, marginaal is gebleven. Vrouwelijke parlementsleden met een migrantenachtergrond vertegenwoordigen slechts 5% van de parlementsleden in het Duitse parlement, terwijl zij ongeveer 13% van de Duitse bevolking uitmaken.

In het Europees Parlement is het aandeel weliswaar gestegen tot 39,3% in de huidige zittingsperiode (2019-2024) van 36,4% (2014-2019) (Europees Parlement, 2019), maar er moeten verdere stappen worden gezet om genderpariteit te bereiken.

Figuur 1: Vertegenwoordiging van vrouwen in nationale parlementen in België en Denemarken, 2019-2022¹²

Land	Vertegenwoordigingspercentage van vrouwelijke politici in nationale parlementen per jaar			
	2019	2020	2021	2022
België	42.4%	43.3%	43.8%	43.8%
Denemarken	39.7%	39.7%	41.3%	43.4%

Naast het gebrek aan genderpariteit in het Europees Parlement, blijft het percentage raciale/etnische¹³ vertegenwoordigingen laag (ENAR, 2019). Terwijl etnische minderheden ongeveer 10% van de bevolking in de EU uitmaken volgens ENAR, vertegenwoordigen zij slechts 5% van de leden van het Europees Parlement (MEP), oftewel 36 MEP's. In de huidige zittingsperiode zijn van de 36 EP-leden van raciale/etnische minderheden, 17 vrouwen. Gezien het gebrek aan informatie en gegevens over de vertegenwoordiging van migranten in het Europees Parlement, fungeert de studie van ENAR als een proxy om de vertegenwoordiging van

¹² Bron: Europees Instituut voor gendergelijkheid (EIGE), 2022. Vertegenwoordigingspercentage van vrouwen in nationale parlementen in België en Denemarken.
https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/indicator/wmidm_pol_parl_wmid_natparl/datatable

¹³ In ENAR's analyse van de verkiezingen van 2019 werd rekening gehouden met leden van Afrikaanse, Noord-Afrikaanse, Zuid-Aziatische, Oost-Aziatische, Midden-Oosterse, Roma, nationale minderheden (bijvoorbeeld: Hongaars in Roemenië, Russisch in Litouwen) en anderen.

migrantenvrouwen in dit gekozen orgaan te schatten. Waarschijnlijk is er een sterke correlatie tussen vrouwen die tot deze etnische gemeenschappen behoren en het feit dat zij migrantenvrouwen zijn, volgens onze definitie van migrantenvrouwen. **We kunnen dus gerust stellen dat de evenredige vertegenwoordiging van migrantenvrouwen in het Europees Parlement ernstig tekortschiet.**

Op basis van nationale enquêtes die in 2016 in zes EU-landen zijn gehouden (European Website on Integration, 2016), is er wat betreft de vertegenwoordiging van migranten een kloof tussen Noord- en Zuid-Europa: hoe zuidelijker, hoe minder parlementsleden van allochtone afkomst. Deze gegevens zijn niet uitgesplitst naar geslacht in deze enquête. In Italië is 2% van de parlementsleden migrant; in Griekenland is 1% migrant; en in Spanje is minder dan 1% van de congresleden migrant.

Er zijn ook enkele voorbeelden van vrouwelijke politici met een migrantenachtergrond die succes hebben geboekt bij het bereiken van hoge posities in openbare ambten.. Dilan Yeşilgöz-Zegerius bijvoorbeeld, een in Koerdië geboren minister van Justitie in Nederland, zit in het huidige kabinet van Mark Rutte. In Spanje werd Rita Bosaho, geboren in Equatoriaal-Guinea, in 2016 het allereerste zwarte lid van de Spaanse Senaat¹⁴. Momenteel is zij directeur-General voor gelijke behandeling en raciale en

etnische diversiteit bij het Spaanse ministerie van gelijkheid.

In Frankrijk werd de in Libanon geboren Rima Abdul Malak in 2022 door president Emmanuel Macron benoemd tot minister van Cultuur¹⁵. In Noorwegen is een van de meest prominente politici Hadia Tajik van Pakistaanse afkomst. Zij was zeven jaar lang plaatsvervangend leider van de Arbeiderspartij en werd als eerste vrouw met

Voorbeelden van door migrantenvrouwen geleide organisaties die deel uitmaken van de WIDE+ werkgroep migratie en gender:

Red Latinas, Spanje - <https://redlatinas.es/>
Red Latinas is een netwerk van verenigingen van Latijns-Amerikaanse en Caribische vrouwen die in Spanje wonen. Zij streven ernaar de bijdrage van migrantenvrouwen aan de samenleving zichtbaar te maken als subjecten van rechten die hun actief burgerschap uitoefenen.

International Women* Space, Duitsland - www.iwspace.de
IWS is een feministische, antiracistische politieke NGO in Duitsland van migranten-, vluchtelingen- en niet-migrantenvrouwen.

Voice of All Women, Nederland - <https://voiceofallwomen.org/>
Voice of All Women is een organisatie die zich inzet voor vrouwenrechten en de weerbaarheid op lokaal niveau, en streeft naar meer autonomie en zeggenschap van vrouwen uit gemarginaliseerde gemeenschappen.

¹⁴<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/21/podemos-rita-bosaho-becomes-spains-first-female-black-mp>.

¹⁵<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/05/23/president-macron-appoints-rima-abdul-malak-as-frances-new-minister-of-culture>.

een minderheidsachtergrond door het tijdschrift Kapital uitgeroepen tot de machtigste vrouw van Noorwegen. In Italië werd Cécile Kyenge, geboren in de Democratische Republiek Congo, in 2013 de eerste zwarte minister van het Italiaanse kabinet. Van 2014 tot 2019 was ze lid van het Europees Parlement. Ze hield zich vooral bezig met kwesties rond migratie naar Europa.

IV. Deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het democratische leven

Er is een grotere zichtbaarheid van migrantenvrouwen in democratische proces buiten direct politieke deelname. Vaak zijn door migrantenvrouwen geleide gemeenschapsgroepen de eerste respons tijdens crises (zoals blijkt uit de COVID pandemie) ook op individueel niveau. En ze hebben expertise in een reeks van kwesties zoals gendergerelateerd geweld, en/of het opbouwen van ondersteuningssystemen voor migrantenvrouwen. Toch is er nog veel werk aan de winkel om migrantenvrouwen te betrekken bij de besluitvorming over kwesties die hun gemeenschappen aangaan.

Volgens gegevens van de Europese website over integratie (2021) vertegenwoordigen¹⁶ **door vrouwen geleide migranten organisaties slechts 12% van de door migranten geleide organisaties op nationaal niveau. Dit percentage stijgt op regionaal en lokaal niveau, waar 19% van de migranten organisaties door vrouwen wordt geleid.** Organisaties van migrantenvrouwen zijn ook actiever in Noord- en West-Europa, waar ze ook eerder zijn begonnen met organiseren dan in de zuidelijke, centrale, oostelijke en Baltische regio's (ibid.). Het werk van migrantenvrouwen organisaties is vaak gericht op de bestrijding van seksueel en gendergerelateerd geweld, lobby en belangenbehartiging. Veel van hen hanteren een intersectionele aanpak in hun werk, waarbij ze ondersteunende diensten combineren

¹⁶ *Mapping key migrant-led organisations across the EU*, door de Europese Commissie, 2021 (https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/special-feature/mapping-key-migrant-led-organisations-across-eu_en)

met politiek activisme voor verschillende gemeenschappen van migrantenvrouwen. Toegang tot basisfinanciering op langere termijn en flexibele korte termijn financiering blijft voor hen een groot probleem (WIDE+, 2022).

Momenteel zijn er slechts drie organisaties onder leiding van migrantenvrouwen of vrouwen met migrantenvrouwen die zich op EU-niveau inzetten voor de rechten van migrantenvrouwen. Dat zijn het European Network of Migrant Women (ENOMW)¹⁷, New Women Connectors¹⁸ en WIDE+ (de coördinator van het WE-EMPOWER-project). WIDE+ heeft in 2016 haar werkgroep migratie en gender opgericht die bestaat uit door migrantenvrouwen geleide organisaties en feministische organisaties die zich in heel Europa inzetten voor de rechten van migrantenvrouwen. De werkgroep blijft zeer actief en werkt aan belangenbehartiging, het versterken van het netwerk en van capaciteit van migrantenvrouwen organisaties en hun leiders.

¹⁷ Het European Network of Migrant Women is een door migranten vrouwen geleid feministisch, seculier, niet-partijgebonden platform dat opkomt voor de rechten, vrijheden en waardigheid van migranten, vluchtelingen en vrouwen uit etnische minderheden in Europa. (<https://www.migrantwomennetwork.org/>)

¹⁸ New Women Connectors is een pan-Europees platform onder leiding van migrantenvrouwen dat zich inzet voor de betrokkenheid van migranten- en vluchtelingenvrouwen bij beleidsvormingsprocessen. (www.newwomenconnectors.com)

V. Maatregelen ter bevordering en verbetering van de participatie van migrantenvrouwen

Zoals eerder gezegd ontbreekt het aan transnationale gegevens om de participatie van migrantenvrouwen in Europa volledig te beoordelen. Een review van het Europees beleid, leidt tot de conclusie dat er geen expliciete strategie is van de EU om de participatie van migranten of migrantenvrouwen te bevorderen.

In 2020, na de lancering van het **nieuwe pact inzake migratie en**

asiel¹⁹, heeft de Europese Commissie ook een **actieplan inzake integratie en inclusie 2021-2027**²⁰ gelanceerd, waarin de bijdrage van migranten aan de EU wordt erkend en de Commissie belemmeringen wil aanpakken die migranten, zowel nieuwkomers als burgers, ervaren op verschillende gebieden van integratie, zoals onderwijs, werkgelegenheid, toegang tot gezondheidszorg en huisvesting. In het actieplan omvat de term "**migrant**" ook **EU-burgers met een migrantenachtergrond, genaturaliseerde burgers en/of in het buitenland geboren ouders**. Belangrijk is dat dit strategisch document een sterke genderdimensie heeft, waarbij **concrete acties worden voorgesteld rond integratie voor migrantenvrouwen**. Het document stelt dat "migrantenvrouwen en -meisjes bij hun integratie met extra obstakels worden geconfronteerd in vergelijking met migrantenmannen en -jongens, omdat zij vaak structurele belemmeringen moeten overwinnen die verband houden met het feit dat zij zowel migrant als vrouw zijn, waaronder stereotypen" (blz. 7, vertaling van Engels). Andere aanbevelingen met betrekking tot migrantenvrouwen zijn: meer

Andere relevante EU-beleidsdocumenten:

- **De EU-strategie voor gendergelijkheid 2020-2025:** Een deel van de belangrijkste doelstellingen zijn het bereiken van genderevenwicht in de besluitvorming en in de politiek, en het bestrijden van gendergerelateerd geweld.
- **Het EU-actieplan tegen racisme 2020-2025:** Het erkent hoe racisme kan samengaan met discriminatie en haat op andere gronden, zoals geslacht en migratiestatus.

¹⁹ Het nieuwe pact schetst de agenda van de EU inzake migratie voor de komende jaren. Het pact omvat vijf wetgevingsvoorstellen, die als ze worden aangenomen bindende EU-wetgeving zullen zijn, en vier niet-bindende aanbevelingen door de Europese Commissie. (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020DC0609>).

²⁰https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-11/action_plan_on_integration_and_inclusion_2021-2027.pdf.

participatie van migrantenvrouwen op de arbeidsmarkt, betere toegang tot gezondheidszorg en gelijke participatie in de samenleving.

De lidstaten zijn primair verantwoordelijk voor de uitvoering van sociaal beleid en maatregelen rond de integratie van migranten en de EU heeft een beperkte gedeelde bevoegdheid waarbij nationale regelgeving het primaat heeft. Daarom wordt in het actieplan voorgesteld de lidstaten te ondersteunen door het inzetten van EU-financiering, het geven van richtsnoeren inzake voorbeelden van succesvol beleid en het bevorderen van partnerschappen. Met betrekking tot de participatie van migranten heeft de Commissie een **deskundigengroep inzake de visie op migratie, asiel en integratie opgericht** en moedigt zij de lidstaten aan om migranten en migrantenorganisaties te betrekken bij de ontwikkeling, uitvoering en evaluatie van het integratiebeleid (blz. 22). In het algemeen bevat **het actieplan geen specifieke aanbevelingen om de deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het politieke en democratische leven te vergroten**.

De deskundigengroep is intussen opgericht en bestaat uit twaalf personen, van wie er acht vrouw zijn, en elf migranten/vluchtelingenorganisaties, waarvan er ten minste drie door migrantenvrouwen worden geleid²¹. Anila Noor, oprichtster van de pan-Europese door migrantenvrouwen geleide organisatie New Women Connectors, en lid van de deskundigengroep, zegt dat het migratiebeleid vaak wordt ontworpen zonder een feministische of gender lens, en dat het voorbijgaat aan de realiteit waarmee migrantenvrouwen in Europa worden geconfronteerd²². Hoewel ze de inspanningen om de participatie van migrantenvrouwen te vergroten toejuicht, merkt ze op dat er nog steeds sprake is van een afstandelijke relatie tussen migrantenvrouwen en beleidsmakers. Ze betoogt dat migrantenvrouwen bij alle stappen van de besluitvorming moeten worden betrokken en niet alleen moeten worden opgeroepen voor een enkel overleg. Bovendien hebben raadplegingen als vorm van participatie een zeer beperkte impact op wetsvoorstellen (Desille en Tommasi, 2023).

Er worden pogingen ondernomen om migranten te betrekken bij de lokale (stads-) en nationale beleidsvorming in Europa, via de ontwikkeling van migrantenraden of

²¹ Meer over de deskundigengroep vindt u hier:

<https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/expert-groups-register/screen/expert-groups/consult?lang=en&do=groupDetail.groupDetail&groupID=3734>

²² Deze interventie van Anila Noor is ontleend aan een paneldiscussie over "Politieke participatie van migrantenvrouwen in de EU", georganiseerd door WIDE+, in het kader van het WE-EMPOWER-project, op 22 maart 2023 in Brussel.

adviesorganen. Zo hebben 47 steden het "Handvest voor integrerende steden" ondertekend, een reeks verbintenissen die op initiatief van Eurocities²³ zijn aangegaan "om alle inwoners gelijke kansen te bieden, migranten te integreren en de diversiteit van hun bevolking, die in steden in heel Europa een realiteit is, te omarmen" (vertaling van Engels). Hoewel dit een niet-bindende actie is, geeft het aan dat beleidsmakers op stadsniveau zich willen inzetten om migranten bij de lokale besluitvormingsprocessen te betrekken.

Alexandra Weerts, senior projectcoördinator bij Eurocities, stelt²⁴ dat de ontwikkeling van migrantenraden een nuttige manier is om migranten bij de besluitvorming te betrekken. En steden als Leipzig in Duitsland zorgen voor gendergelijkheid in hun migrantenraad. De raad bestaat uit 22 leden (16 zijn migranten en zes zijn vertegenwoordigers van politieke partijen). Sinds 2021 zijn de leden van de raad gekozen door de migranten die in de stad wonen.

Toch hangt de doeltreffendheid van migrantenraden of adviesorganen als participatiemechanisme dat de beleidsvorming beïnvloedt, af van meerdere factoren, zoals politieke wil, middelen (financiering en kennis), en regelmatige follow-up na raadplegingen (Eurocities, 2022). Er bestaat ook grotendeels geen wettelijke verplichting voor overheden om de aanbevelingen van dergelijke adviesorganen in het integratiebeleid op te nemen (Golubeva, 2012).

Wat het vergroten van de vertegenwoordiging van migrantenvrouwen in de politiek betreft, zijn er geen maatregelen op EU-niveau bekend. Er worden wel verschillende maatregelen aanbevolen om het aantal vrouwen in de politiek te vergroten, waaronder het verplicht stellen van genderquota en het verstrekken van opleiding, begeleiding, financiering en andere bijstand aan vrouwelijke kandidaten, met name jonge vrouwen en vrouwen uit ondervertegenwoordigde minderheidsgroepen (Europees Parlement, 2021)²⁵. De Raad van Europa (2021), niet te verwarren met de Europese Raad van de EU, beveelt aan uitgesplitste gegevens te verzamelen en onderzoek te ondersteunen naar vrouwen uit ondervertegenwoordigde groepen in

²³ EUROCITIES is een netwerk van meer dan 200 steden in 38 landen en biedt een platform om kennis en ideeën te delen, ervaringen uit te wisselen, gemeenschappelijke problemen te analyseren en innovatieve oplossingen te ontwikkelen. (www.eurocities.eu)

²⁴ Deze interventie van Alexandra Weerts is ontleend aan een paneldiscussie over "Politieke participatie van migrantenvrouwen in de EU", georganiseerd door WIDE+, in het kader van het WE-EMPOWER-project, op 22 maart 2023 in Brussel.

²⁵ Om de volledige notitie te lezen, *Vrouwen in de politiek in de EU: Stand van zaken*, European Parliamentary Research Service, 2021
([https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/689345/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)689345_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/689345/EPRS_BRI(2021)689345_EN.pdf)).

de politiek en de vertegenwoordiging van vrouwen en mannen op nationaal en regionaal niveau te analyseren vanuit een intersectioneel perspectief. Het Comité voor gelijkheid en non-discriminatie van de Raad van Europa onderstreept enkele maatregelen om de participatie van vrouwen uit ondervertegenwoordigde groepen te bevorderen, zoals het opzetten en financieren van enkele leiderschaps- en mentorschapsprogramma's, het versterken van organisaties voor vrouwenrechten door financiële steun te verlenen en het bevorderen van de oprichting van vrouwennetwerken of -caucuses in nationale parlementen.

Conclusie

Het vergroten van de deelname van migrantenvrouwen aan het politieke en democratische proces is een noodzakelijke stap om inclusieve en democratische samenlevingen op te bouwen. De participatie van migrantenvrouwen als ondervertegenwoordigde groep kan een positieve bijdrage leveren aan openbaar bestuur, transparantie en verantwoordingsplicht (Desille en Tommasi, 2023). Hoewel dit kan gebeuren via verschillende participatiemechanismen, zoals het waarborgen van genderpariteit in migrantenraden en adviesorganen en het hanteren van quota om ervoor te zorgen dat vrouwen met een migrantenachtergrond vertegenwoordigd zijn in gekozen organen, is het ook van cruciaal belang dat migrantenvrouwen ruimtes kunnen ontwikkelen en leiden waar zij hun expertise en kennis kunnen delen en betrokken kunnen worden bij besluitvormingsprocessen. Daartoe is het evenzeer van cruciaal belang dat door migrantenvrouwen geleide organisaties toegang hebben tot essentiële, duurzame en flexibele financiering van regeringen, donoren en de EU (WIDE+, 2022).

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Denmark study by KULU – Women and Development (KULU)

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Indledning

Der bor et betydeligt antal indvandrerkvinder i Danmark. Dette paper opsummerer forskellige barrierer, som indvandrerkvinderne står over for, når det gælder deltagelse i det politiske og demokratiske liv i Danmark. Den understreger også behovet for at overvinde disse hindringer og giver forslag til, hvordan dette kan opnås.

Udtrykket "demokratisk liv" beskriver den enkeltes mulighed for at interagere med statslige og ikke-statslige demokratiske procedurer. Et demokratisk samfund er et samfund, hvori alle individer kan deltage og er engageret i beslutningsprocedurer, samt i samfundet på alle niveauer f.eks. gennem deltagelse i foreningslivet.

Deltagelse i det politiske og demokratiske liv betyder især at have ret til at stemme, stille op som kandidat, være medlem af et politisk parti og at have ret, mulighed og plads til at påvirke offentlige beslutningsprocesser, der bidrager til udviklingen af et samfund.

I forbindelse med dette paper har Kvindernes U-landsudvalg (KULU), som den ledende organisation, der har udarbejdet paperet, gennemført interviewundersøgelser med eksperter, indvandrerkvinder og beslutningstagere i Danmark¹.

Resumé

- I 2021 var der 300.000 indvandrerkvinder bosiddende i Danmark
 - Indvandrerkvinder i Danmark står fortsat over for problemer så som hindringer for politisk deltagelse, diskrimination, komplicerede veje til statsborgerskab, utilstrækkelig medierepræsentation og utilstrækkelig politisk repræsentation.
- Der skal træffes foranstaltninger til bedre at støtte indvandrerkvinder, f.eks. oplysning og reformer vedrørende opnåelse af dansk statsborgerskab, øget græsrodsengagement, mere positiv mediedækning, fremme af indvandrerkvinder i politiske stillinger, støtte til indvandrerkvinders organisationer, oplysning mod diskrimination og positiv særbehandling.

¹ Undersøgelsen blev sendt til 13 beslutningstagere (12 kvinder med indvandrerbaggrund og 1 mand), som repræsenterede 7 politiske partier. Gruppen bestod af medlemmer af Folketinget samt medlemmer af 5 byråd. 4 beslutningstagere svarede og repræsenterede 3 politiske partier. Gruppen bestod af 1 medlem af Folketinget og 3 byrådsmedlemmer, der repræsenterede 3 kommuner, herunder 2 kommuner med stor indvandrerbefolkning. Den blev også sendt til 7 eksperter (5 forskere og studerende ved Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier og Københavns Universitet, 1 tidligere politiker med indvandrerbaggrund og erfaring med indvandrere i politik og 1 leder af integrationsinstitutionen for indvandrer- og flygtningekvinder, *Integrationshuset Kringlebakken*). 3 eksperter svarede (2 forskere og 1 leder af integrationsinstitutionen). Derudover svarede 8 indvandrerkvinder også på

I. Migrantkvinder i Danmark

En migrant er en person, der har opholdt sig i det pågældende land i mindst 12 måneder. En tredjelandstatsborger er i EU's definition en person, som ikke er borger i et EU land og som derfor ikke er omfattet af EU's ret til fri bevægelighed i henhold til artikel 2, stk. 5, i Schengen grænsekodeksen. En asylansøger defineres som en person, som er tredjelandstatsborger eller som er statsløs, og som via Genève-flygtningekonventionen og -protokollen har søgt om beskyttelse, men som endnu ikke har fået en afgørelse (Europa-Kommissionen, 2022). Når denne ansøgning er godkendt, får den pågældende person flygtningestatus.

I 2021 boede der ca. 5,8 millioner mennesker i Danmark, heraf 2,5 millioner kvinder af dansk oprindelse. Det anslås, at der i samme år **boede 300.000 indvandrerkvinder i Danmark, hvoraf 80.000 havde dansk statsborgerskab**. Til trods for den store procentdel af indvandrere i Danmark udgør stemmeretten et demokratisk problem, for mens indvandrere uden dansk pas kan stemme til regions- og kommunalvalg, kan de ikke stemme til folketingsvalg.²

Tabel 1: Kvindelig befolkning i Danmark³

År	Oprindelse	Statsborgerskab	
		Dansk	Udenlandsk
2021	Person af dansk oprindelse	2 524 001	2 695
2021	Indvandrere	80 278	230 833
2021	Efterkommere*	63 778	336 603

**Efterkommere af indvandrere er født i Danmark, men forældrene er ikke født i Danmark, og de havde heller ikke dansk statsborgerskab*

I de sidste fem år er de **fleste indvandrerkvinder indvandret fra Rumænien, Polen og Tyskland**. I 2022 gav Danmark asyl til mange flygtninge fra Ukraine. Desuden viser

undersøgelsen - de er født i Filippinerne, Indien, Ghana, Rusland og Litauen. Respondenterne havde boet i Danmark fra 1 til mere end 20 år.

² Danmarks Statistik, 2022. Tallene viser antallet af indvandrere, herunder alle køn.

³ Ibid. Statistikkerne henviser til indvandrerkvinder.

statistikkerne, at mange migranter kom fra USA, Indien, Filippinerne og Kina.⁴ Migranter i Danmark bor oftest i storbyer, især i København. Statistikker fra februar 2022 viser, at polske indvandrere er den største gruppe i Danmark og omfatter omkring 44.000 personer. Syriske og rumænske indvandrere følger tæt efter med henholdsvis 35.000 og 34.000. I januar 2022 udgjorde følgende grupper også en stor del af den danske befolkning: Tyrkere (33.500), tyskere (32.500), irakere (22.000) og iranere (18.000). (Statista Research Department, 2023).

Den lovgivningsmæssige ramme i Danmark er integrationsloven, der blev lanceret i 1999, og som har til formål at støtte integrationen af indvandrere på kommunalt niveau (Europa-Kommissionen, 2023). Siden da har skiftende indvandringspolitikker og -pakker fokuseret på at integrere indvandrere i arbejdsstyrken (Europa-Kommissionen, 2023). Den nuværende integration af migranter er baseret på en integrationspolitik, der blev indført i 2015, som fokuserer på job og som inddrager aspekter som sprogkrav og borgeruddannelse.⁵ Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet varetager planlægning og administration af den overordnede politik, mens kommunerne er ansvarlige for en stor del af integrationsprojekterne (Europa-Kommissionen, 2023).

Der er forskellige årsager til at flytte til Danmark. En vigtig grund er mulighederne for beskæftigelse, da Danmark tilbyder følgende opholdstilladelser til personer, der er ansat i danske virksomheder: Positivlisten, Beløbsordningen, Green card eller Corporate Scheme (sidstnævnte er udfaset). (Make Visas, n.d.). Desuden kan en ung udlænding, der ønsker at lære det danske sprog og den danske kultur at kende, også søge om opholdstilladelse som au pair (Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.-b). Enkeltpersoner kan også indvandre for at få adgang til uddannelse, da Danmark tilbyder studietilladelser til personer, der er indskrevet på støtteberettigede institutioner (Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.-b). En tredje vigtig grund er familiesammenføring, hvor udlændinge kan flytte til Danmark for at blive forenet med et familiemedlem, der studerer, arbejder eller har permanent ophold i Danmark (Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.-b). Migranter, der ønsker at opholde sig i Danmark i længere perioder, har forskellige muligheder for at få visum eller opholdstilladelse. Nedenfor er nogle kategorier af migranter, der har betydning i dansk sammenhæng.

⁴ Danmarks Statistik, 07.09.2022, <https://www.statbank.dk/statbank5a/Graphics/mapanalyser.asp?maintable=VAN1KVT&lang=1&mapvar=INDVLAD>.

⁵ Ibid.

EU/EØS, nordiske borgere

Borgere fra EU/EØS-lande kan bo, arbejde eller studere lovligt i Danmark via en nem ansøgningsproces om opholdstilladelse eller via familiesammenføring. Efter at have boet i Danmark i fem år kan de søge om permanent opholdstilladelse. Nordiske borgere og deres familiemedlemmer fra Finland, Island, Norge og Sverige behøver ikke opholdstilladelse.⁶ EU-borgere, der migrerer til Danmark, gør det typisk på grund af arbejdsmarkedet, højere lønninger, bedre arbejdsvilkår, billigere boliger og gratis uddannelse.⁷

Asylansøgere

Enhver fra udlandet kan søge om asyl i Danmark. Hvis det drejer sig om foreløbig flytning til Danmark, kan asylansøgere få udstedt tidsbegrænsede opholdsvisa med henblik på midlertidig flytning til Danmark. Når deres behov for beskyttelse ophører, udløber deres ret til at opholde sig i Danmark (Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.-b). En lov, der giver midlertidig asylstatus til personer, der flygter fra vilkårlig vold, men ikke er personligt forfulgt, blev vedtaget i Danmark i 2015. Denne regel blev samlet set bragt i anvendelse på ca. 4.700 af de ca. 35.000 syrere, der bor i Danmark, på trods af Danmarks hårde linje over for syriske flygtninge, som stadig er gældende (Alfred & Holst, 2022).

Ukrainske statsborgere

I februar 2022 vedtog Danmark som reaktion på Ruslands invasion af Ukraine en såkaldt særlov, som giver specifikt ukrainske statsborgere mulighed for at få opholdstilladelse i Danmark. I 2001 indførte Det Europæiske Råd et direktiv om midlertidig beskyttelse for at imødekomme den potentielle tilstrømning af tredjelandsborgere, der ville søge asyl i Europa.(Europa-Kommissionen, n.d.). Direktivet blev aktiveret for første gang efter Ruslands invasion af Ukraine og gav ukrainske flygtninge rettigheder såsom opholdstilladelse, adgang til bolig, adgang til uddannelse og adgang til social velfærd (Europa-Kommissionen, n.d.).

Ukrainere kan også få opholdstilladelse på grundlag af familiesammenføring (Europa-Kommissionen, n.d.). eller hvis de er nære slægtninge til en person, der allerede har en opholdstilladelse i henhold til særloven (Udlændingestyrelsen, n.d.-a). Det store antal ukrainske flygtninge, der bliver accepteret, har udløst en debat om migration i EU, da mange

⁶ Ny i Danmark, officiel hjemmeside, <https://nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/You-want-to-apply/Residence-as-a-Nordic-citizen-orEU-or-EEA-citizen>

⁷ OECD-rapport, STATUS FOR DECEMBER, 2021.

mener, at det udfordrer den historiske og voksende anti-indvandrerretorik, der også trives i EU (Martini, 2022). Den hurtige og omfattende støtte, som EU har tilbudt ukrainske flygtninge, har givet mange nyt håb om, at EU vil overveje en revision af den nuværende asyl- og migrationspolitik (Martini, 2022).

II. Barrierer for indvandrerkvinders deltagelse

I et demokratisk samfund er politisk engagement og deltagelse gennem handlinger som f.eks. at stemme til valg afgørende for at sikre et retfærdigt og lige samfund. Det er den primære måde, hvorpå borgerne kan integrere sig i samfundet og bidrage til at skabe et samfund, der repræsenterer alle borgeres værdier og behov.

Der er to direkte modsatrettede politiske opfattelser af migration og integration i Danmark: Den ene er, at adgangen til statsborgerskab skal være let for at gøre integrationen lettere for indvandrere. Den anden er, at statsborgerskab er en gave, som man skal gøre sig fortjent til, og at vejen derfor skal være lang og vanskelig. Sidstnævnte opfattelse dominerer den politiske retorik i Danmark.⁸

Indvandrerkvinder, der ikke har opnået fuld valgret, er derfor et spørgsmål om retfærdighed og rettigheder, da det begrænser deres handlefrihed og medfører, at de forbliver fremmedgjorte i forhold til de beslutninger, der former det danske samfund, og dermed samfundet selv.

Stemmeret i Danmark varierer afhængigt af nationalitet og opholdsstatus. Kun danske statsborgere (inklusive Grønland og Færøerne) kan stemme ved **folketingsvalg**. Det er også kun danske statsborgere, der kan opstille som folketingskandidater og stemme ved folkeafstemninger.⁹ Indvandrere, der er blevet naturaliseret, er således danske statsborgere og har stemmeret.

Som EU-land udskriver Danmark valg til **Europa-Parlamentet** hvert femte år. Kun EU-borgere kan stemme på kandidater til Europa-Parlamentet. Personer med bopæl i Danmark

⁸ Kasper Møller Hansen, prof., statskundskab, Institut for Statskundskab, Københavns Universitet (i) Ulrik Dahlin: "Hver tiende voksne kan ikke stemme til folketingsvalget", Information, 14. Sept. 2022;

⁹ Folketinget, 07.09.2022. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/democracy/elections-and-referendums>.

kan vælge at stemme ved danske valg eller stemme på kandidater i deres hjemland. På samme måde kan EU-borgere stille op til valg, men de skal først melde sig ind i et politisk parti og stå på partiets kandidatliste. En gruppe kan danne et parti for at blive opstillet. Uafhængige kandidater kan ikke stille op. Borgere fra lande uden for EU må ikke deltage i valg til Europa-Parlamentet som vælgere eller kandidater.

Regions- og kommunalvalg er åbne for visse indvandervælgere. For at have stemmeret skal både borgere fra EU-lande, nordiske lande og ikke-EU-borgere have haft permanent ophold i tre år før valgdagen. Indvandrere, der har stemmeret, kan også stille op som kandidater ved kommunal- og regionsvalg og vælges til regionsråd og byråd.

En af de interviewede i KULU's undersøgelse, Lisbeth Vibe Utzon, leder af Integrationshuset Kringlebakken¹⁰, mener, at der bør ske større ændringer i lovgivningen. Hun siger, at den manglende stemmeret er "**et stort demokratisk problem** [da] det er blevet så svært at få dansk statsborgerskab ... vi har en større og større gruppe af især kvinder, som ikke kan stemme til folketingsvalg. I Kringlebakken har vi en gruppe kvinder, der har ventet op til otte år på at få deres første opholdstilladelse. De står helt uden for samfundet."

"Desuden er der ikke tilstrækkelig information om stemmerettigheder i Danmark. Mange indvandrere er ikke klar over, under hvilke betingelser de kan stemme ved kommunal- og regionsvalg" Flertallet af de beslutningstagere, der deltog i undersøgelsen, identificerede en øget stemmeret som den vigtigste faktor for at forbedre indvandrerkvinders stilling i det danske politiske liv.

I undersøgelsen er alle beslutningstagere og eksperter enige om, at **indvandrerkvinder er mere udsat for diskrimination end andre kvinder**. Indvandrerkvinder, især ikke-vestlige kvinder, står over for mange barrierer og kampe, selv efter at de har boet i Danmark i flere år. Det omfatter social isolation, traumer, manglende beskæftigelsesmuligheder, osv. En undersøgelse af indvandrerkvinders integration på arbejdsmarkedet i Danmark viste, at indvandrerkvinder af asiatisk og arabisk oprindelse har tendens til at opleve racediskrimination og fremmedfjendske holdninger på arbejdspladsen (Pace og Bennetzen,

¹⁰ Integrationshuset Kringlebakken er en NGO, der siden 1999 har arbejdet for ligestilling, empowerment og integration af socialt dårligt stillede minoritetskvinder og deres børn. Kringlebakkens indsats styrker ligestillingen på det sociale, uddannelsesmæssige, erhvervmæssige og sundhedsmæssige område.
<https://www.kringlebakken.dk/>

2022). Disse oplevelser fører til, at indvandrerkvinder ikke integrerer sig med deres arbejdskolleger og undgår at deltage i sociale aktiviteter, især med etniske danskere. I det lange løb vil den manglende erkendelse af diskriminationen og de omkostninger, den har for indvandrerkvindernes mentale sundhed, være en barriere for deres deltagelse i det danske samfund.

Diskursen om migranter og den **manglende repræsentation af migrantkvinder i medierne** udgør en anden alvorlig barriere. Der er tre hovedgrunde til, at den manglende repræsentation i medierne er en hindring for deltagelse: der er mangel på indvandrerstemmer, hvilket gør indvandrerne usynlige, der er mangel på repræsentation af indvandrere selv på de områder, der vedrører dem direkte, og når indvandrere træder frem, er det ofte i en negativ sammenhæng.

En undersøgelse af skandinaviske aviser viste, at under 1 % af de 1244 undersøgte nyheder var skrevet af en journalist med minoritetsbaggrund.¹¹ I 2021 var 14 % af den danske befolkning enten selv indvandrere eller efterkommere af indvandrere, men kun 3,5 % var repræsenteret i mediekilderne. Dette er et fald i forhold til en undersøgelse i 2016, hvor 12,3 % af den danske befolkning var indvandrere eller efterkommere af indvandrere, mens kun 4 % var repræsenteret i medierne. Når emner som udlændige og integration dækkes i medierne, er næsten 20 procent af nyhedskilderne¹² ikke-vestlige, men emnerne bliver stærkt politiserede af specielt mange etnisk danske politikere, jvf. rapport fra Center for Nyhedsforskning, Roskilde Universitet (2022). Rapporten konkluderer, at eftersom minoritetsgrupper er underrepræsenteret i medierne, så er **minoritetskvinder, herunder migrantkvinder, dobbelt underrepræsenterede, da der i nyhederne optræder to mænd for hver kvinde**. Denne kønsskævhed er gældende for alle kvinder, uanset oprindelse.

Indvandrere er uforholdsmæssigt negativt repræsenteret i medierne. En undersøgelse af Hovden og Mjelde, der analyserede diskursen omkring indvandring i de skandinaviske lande fra 1970-2016, viste, at der i danske aviser var en større grad af negativ repræsentation. Den danske dækning skiller sig ud på grund af dens fokus og splittelse i holdningen til

¹¹ Ibid., Undersøgelsen omfattede 1244 nyhedsenheder fra 14 udvalgte dage i 2021 med 3045 kilder fra 7 aviser og 4 tv-nyhedsudsendelser.

¹² I dette studie ses der på to typer kilder. "Majoritetskilder" henviser til personer af dansk oprindelse. "Minoritetskilder" henviser til personer af anden etnisk oprindelse. Der skelnes også mellem minoritetsborgere af anden vestlig og ikke-vestlig oprindelse.

indvandring. Forfatterne fandt, at trusselsrelaterede diskurser steg i Danmark, mens offerrelaterede diskurser faldt i de år, undersøgelsen omfattede. Næsten en fjerdedel af alle historier i hvert enkelt land, således også i danske medier, sætter fortællingerne ind en overordnet humanitær begrebsramme, som fremhæver indvandrere som ofre for forfølgelse og flugt fra utilstrækkelige levevilkår. Omkring en femtedel af de danske artikler taler ind en racisme/diskrimination-ramme. (Hovden & Mjelde, 2019).

III. Indvandrerkvinders deltagelse i det politiske liv

Engagement i det politiske liv omfatter evnen og lysten til at deltage aktivt i politik gennem individuelle og gruppeaktioner samt i interaktion med den udøvende magt og dens institutioner. Dette omfatter individuelle handlinger som f.eks. at stemme, deltage i offentlige folkeafstemninger og stille op til politiske poster på alle niveauer. Flertallet af de beslutningstagere, der deltog i undersøgelsen, identificerede stemmeret som det vigtigste aspekt, der kunne gøre en forskel for at forbedre indvandrerkvinders politiske deltagelse og stilling i det danske samfund.

Det er obligatorisk at have dansk statsborgerskab for at stille op og blive valgt til Folketinget. Der er dog **kvindelige medlemmer af Folketinget**, som henviser til deres indvandrerbaggrund. Ved valget i 2022 blev **Samira Nawa** (Radikale Venstre), datter af afghanske flygtninge (Radikale, n.d.), samt **Monika Rubin** (Moderaterne), som har delvis polsk og delvis persisk baggrund, valgt (Monika Rubin, n.d.). Derudover blev **Christina Sade Olumeko**, der er nigeriansk-fransk, valgt for Alternativet (Solidaritet Danmark, n.d.), og **Victoria Velásquez**, hvis mor er fra Nicaragua, blev valgt for Enhedslisten (Begge af dansk oprindelse, da en af forældrene er født i Danmark og har dansk statsborgerskab). Samira Nawa mener, at det første skridt til at opnå en bedre repræsentation er, at flere efterkommere af indvandrere stiller op til valg. (TV2, Øst, 14.11.2022)

Generelt er kvinder repræsenterede på alle politiske niveauer i Danmark, selv om indvandrerkvinder står over for flere forhindringer (som beskrevet i det foregående afsnit). Ser man specifikt på Folketinget i Danmark, var 38,9 % af kandidaterne før november 2022 kvinder - en lille stigning fra 2019, hvor 34,3 % af alle opstillede kandidater var kvinder (Danmarks Statistik, n.d.). og den procent er stadig højere end EU-gennemsnittet på 32 %¹³

¹³ Ministeriet for Ligestilling: "Sådan får vi flere kvindelige politikere og diversitet i politik" rapport, 8. marts 2021

. Ved valget til **Europa-Parlamentet** i 2019 var kun 37. 8 % af kandidaterne kvinder, og 35. 7 % blev valgt (Danmarks Statistik, n.d.). Kvinders lige repræsentation i politik er fortsat en vigtig opgave på EU-plan.

Ved folketingsvalget i Danmark i 2022 var, ud af alle kandidater til Folketinget, 38,4 % kvinder. Det endelige resultat var valget af 79 kvinder, som udgjorde 43,4 % af Folketingets 179 pladser. Det er det bedste resultat i de danske folketingsvalgs historie, (Ritzau, 2022), hvilket viser en forbedring, men stadig ikke en ligelig repræsentation af kvinder i politik.

Behovet for en større kvindelig repræsentation er mere tydelig på kommunalt-/byrådsniveau, hvor i 2021 kun 34,1 % af de opstillede kandidater var kvinder, mens ca. 36 % blev valgt. (Danmarks Statistik, n.d.). Endvidere var 36,1 % af alle opstillede kandidater ved regionsrådsvalget kvinder, og over 50 % af disse kandidater blev valgt. (Danmarks Statistik, n.d.).

Når vi ser på **Danmarks regering** fra 2019 til november 2022, var statsminister Mette Frederiksen fra Socialdemokratiet leder af en etparti mindretalsregering, støttet af en "rød-grøn"¹⁴ gruppe af partier i Folketinget. Ud af 20 ministre var seks kvinder¹⁵ (30 %). Den nye 2022-regering repræsenterer 3 politiske partier - Socialdemokraterne, Moderaterne og Venstre. Mette Frederiksen er statsminister og leder en regering med 23 ministre, hvoraf otte, inklusiv statsministeren, er kvinder (34,8 %).¹⁶

En analyse af de vigtigste og mest indflydelsesrige partiers politiske partiprogrammer¹⁷ i Danmark viste, at der ikke var nogen emner, der specifikt vedrørte indvandrerkvinder. De fleste af de politiske partier drøfter indvandrernes situation uden at inddrage noget kønsperspektiv.

¹⁴ Den rød-grønne alliance er en liberal gruppe af partier med hovedfokus på miljøpolitik, men også på politikker, der er rettet mod social retfærdighed. Se mere på: <https://vores.enhedslisten.dk/om-enhedslisten/enhedslistens-historie/>

¹⁵ Folketinget, 15.02.2023. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/members/the-government>

¹⁶ Folketinget, 07.09.2022. <https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/members/the-government>.

¹⁷ Analysen omfatter programmer fra Enhedslisten, Radikale Venstre, Alternativet, Moderaterne, Liberal Alliance, Venstre, Det Konservative Folkeparti, Socialdemokratiet, Socialistisk Folkeparti.

I partiprogrammet for Venstre nævnes det, at færre indvandrerkvinder skal være hjemmearbejdende, og at flere skal være aktive på det danske arbejdsmarked. (Venstres Landsorganisation, n.d.). Programmet foreslår ikke det samme for etnisk danske kvinder. Flertallet af partierne til venstre er enige om at stoppe hjemsendelser af flygtninge til stater, hvor en flygtning har grund til at frygte for sin sikkerhed (Alternativet, n.d.). De samme partier er også imod etablering af et dansk asylcenter i Rwanda og arbejder for at Danmark skal modtage flere FN-kvoteflygtninge.

Højrefløjspartierne er indbyrdes uenige om indvandringspolitikken, men ønsker at gøre det vanskeligere at opnå dansk statsborgerskab, og at ansøgerne skal vurderes mere individuelt. På deres dagsorden ligger større integration i top, samtidig med at de kræver, at indvandrere skal kunne tale dansk og deltage på arbejdsmarkedet. Deres integrationsprogram fokuserer især på ikke-vestlige indvandrere. Nogle støtter desuden at henvise asylansøgere til Rwanda eller andre lande uden for EU og at stoppe modtagelsen af spontane asylansøgere. De ønsker også en reduktion af den årlige FN flygtningekvoteflygtninge (Venstres Landsorganisation, n.d.).

IV Deltagelse i det demokratiske liv

Det er nødvendigt at integrere indvandrerkvinder, hvis vi ønsker et samfund, der er mere rummeligt og demokratisk. Indvandrerkvinder kan ofte gå forrest med hensyn til politisk aktivisme og lederskab. Et sted det ses tydeligt er i organisationer, ledet af indvandrerkvinder, som er meget aktive, når det drejer sig om at støtte og engagere sig i integrationen af andre indvandrerkvinder. Nogle organisationer var oprindeligt fokuseret på at hjælpe migrantkvinder med at integrere sig via arbejdsmarkedet og økonomisk selvstændiggørelse, men siden er organisationernes fokus blevet udvidet til at omfatte flere aspekter af integration, herunder indvandreres rettigheder og mobilisering til et større socialt engagement.

I Danmark har indvandrerkvinder forskellige organisationer og institutioner, der opmuntrer dem til at deltage i demokratiske liv. Civilsamfundsorganisationer, herunder diasporagrupper på lokalt og nationalt plan organiserer aktiviteter og støtter migranter på forskellige områder og med problemstillinger i deres tilværelse i Danmark. Disse organisationer omfatter bl.a. Dansk Congolesisk Forening, DBD - Diaspora Burundi i

Danmark, Projekt Sultana, Kurdisk Kvindeforening, Afghansk Kvindeforening (AKF), Verdens Kvinder I Danmark og Blossom. Deres indsats er synlig for deres diasporagrupper, og deres offentlige aktiviteter tiltrækker sig opmærksomhed.

Forskellige institutioner yder også bistand og rådgivning til officielle organer vedrørende indvandrerkvinder. F.eks.

Dansk Flygtningehjælp: Danmarks største NGO, der arbejder globalt for at yde humanitær bistand og støtte på tværs af alle stadier af integration. De samarbejder med civilsamfundet, offentlige myndigheder og virksomheder for at støtte migranternes integration og sameksistens i det danske samfund. (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, n.d.)

Det Nationale Integrationsråd er et institutionelt organ, der rådgiver Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeren om spørgsmål vedrørende flygtninge, indvandrere og integration. Rådet forsøger at finde varige løsninger på aktuelle problemer i de danske integrationsinitiativer ved at engagere sig strategisk i en lang række fora for at søsætte projekter og deltage aktivt i høringsrunder om nye lovforslag. Rådet er også medlem af en lang række udvalg og taskforcer, der beskæftiger sig med integration på lokalt, nationalt og internationalt plan. Formålet er at overvåge og påvirke integrationsfremskridt. Logistisk set rekrutteres rådets medlemmer fra lokale flygtninge- og indvandrerforeninger, arbejdsmarkedets parter og skolebestyrelser. (Det Nationale Integrationsråd, n.d.).

Grupper/organisationer i Danmark, der er ledet af indvandrerkvinder eller af kvinder og mænd:

Babaylan-Danmark: Babaylan-Denmark er et netværk af filippinske kvinder i Danmark etableret i 1997. Babaylan-Denmark arbejder på flere fronter: politisk, kulturelt-uddannelsesmæssigt og socialt for at forbedre filippineres situation i det danske samfund og i Filippinerne. Dialog med og styrkelse af au pairer har været et prioriteret arbejdsområde.

<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100064765116957>

Wo-Mi - kvindelige migranter: Wo-Mi er en platform skabt af en gruppe latinamerikanske kvinder, der søger at fremme alle kvinders og pigers rettigheder, fokusere på deres behov og vilkår og fremme et gunstigt ikke-diskriminerende miljø. <https://wo-mi.com/>

Diversity Works Et af de mest veletablerede steder for indvandrerkvinder i Danmark, hvor der bl.a. tilbydes sociale aktiviteter som yoga og uddannelseskurser. De tilbyder også juridisk hjælp og økonomisk vejledning og hjælper desuden med integrationsopgaver som f.eks. beskæftigelse og statsborgerskab. <https://diversityworks.dk/>

Bydelsmødrene: Størstedelen af Bydelsmødrene er kvinder fra etniske minoriteter, som frivilligt arbejder i deres lokalsamfund for at støtte marginaliserede kvinder, som det etablerede system har svært ved at nå. Den ydede bistand gør kvinderne i stand til at forsørge deres familier, børn og andre familiemedlemmer. <https://bydelsmor.dk/>

I den gennemførte undersøgelse blev indvandrerkvinderne spurgt om deres kendskab til programmer og initiativer eller fortalervirksomhed for indvandrerkvinders rettigheder på

lokalt og nationalt plan. Halvdelen af de adspurgte indvandrerkvinder kendte ikke til initiativer, der støtter indvandrerkvinders deltagelse i det demokratiske liv, mens nogle kendte til nogle initiativer på lokalt plan eller fra store organisationer. Resultaterne af denne undersøgelse viser yderligere de barrierer, der forhindrer migrantkvinder i at integrere sig fuldt ud, at deltage og være med til at forme det samfund, de bor i.

Konklusion

Migranter og specielt indvandrerkvinder udgør en betydelig del af Danmarks befolkning. Alligevel er der stadig mange barrierer, især manglen på tilstrækkelig politisk og mediemæssig repræsentation, og de fortsat vanskelige veje til at opnå statsborgerskab. Disse barrierer gør det vanskeligt at deltage og engagere sig både i den politiske beslutningstagning og i det danske samfund som helhed. Dette paper præsenterer generelle oplysninger om de juridiske, institutionelle og organisatoriske strukturer omkring indvandring i Danmark, men identificerer også flere veje til at tackle de barrierer på, som indvandrere står over for, nemlig gennem bedre information og støtte til at opnå statsborgerskab og og gennen en øget indsats for at engagere indvandrerkvinder i kommunal- og folketingsvalg.

På baggrund af svarene fra beslutningstagere , eksperter og indvandrerkvinder kan de **vigtigste faktorer og tendenser** opsummeres som følger:

Ret til at stemme:

Vanskeligheder/barrierer i forbindelse med opnåelse af dansk statsborgerskab udelukker en stadig en større gruppe etniske kvinder fra at stemme ved folketingsvalg. Manglende kendskab til retten til at stemme ved regions- og kommunalvalg udelukker også indvandrerkvinder. (Lisbeth Vibe Utzon, leder, Integrationshuset Kringlebakken)

Politisk deltagelse:

Indvandrerkvinder er ikke særlig synlige eller aktive på græsrodsniveau eller i lokale råd og bestyrelser, fordi retorikken fra Christiansborg stigmatiserer og fremmedgør dem, selv om mange har politisk dannelse og stemmer ved Folketings- og kommunalvalg. (Sabad Abid/ Socialdemokratiet, Høje Taastrup Byråd). Civilsamfundet bør være rummeligt, og de folkevalgte bør ikke fremsætte nedsættende eller patroniserende bemærkninger om indvandrerkvinder. (Christina Olumeko/MF for Alternativet)

Mediedækning:

Den politiske retorik og nyhedsdækningen forstærker en negativ kontekst. Negative nyheder er gode nyheder. Der er behov for en ændring i mediernes dækning af indvandrerkvinders liv og et stærkt behov for at inddrage kvinderne direkte. (Sabad Abid/Socialdemokratiet, Høje Taastrup Byråd)

Indvandrerkvinder i ledende stillinger på lokalt plan og kvinder i beslutningstagende stillinger:

Brug folkevalgte med indvandrerbaggrund til at advokere for en bedre repræsentation af indvandrerkvinder (Hediye Temiz/ Radikale Venstre, Albertslund Byråd)

Selvorganisering og økonomisk støtte til migrantkvinder i politiske spørgsmål:

Hvis migrantkvinde-organisationer skal overleve, er det nødvendigt med opbakning fra interessenter og økonomisk støtte. (Ana Lindenhann/Babaylan-Danmark)

Uddannelse og bevidstgørelse af borgerne om ikke-diskrimination af indvandrerkvinder:

Diskrimination opfattes som et problem af beslutningstagere, eksperter og indvandrerkvinder. Alle **beslutningstagere** og eksperter mener, at indvandrerkvinder bliver diskrimineret mere end andre kvinder.

Positiv særbehandling og kvoter:

Positiv særbehandling og kvoter er nødvendige, fordi medlemmer af bestyrelser/udvalg på forskellige områder (uanset om det drejer sig om bestyrelser i store virksomheder eller forældredvalg i lokale daginstitutioner) har en tendens til at vælge personer med deres egen uddannelsesbaggrund og/eller køn. Kvoter vil skabe nye rollemodeller. (Sabad Abid/Socialdemokraterne, Høje Taastrup Byråd)

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Italy study by Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL) and ADRI Association

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Italian

Partecipazione delle donne migranti alla vita politica e democratica in Italia

1. Introduzione

Lo scopo di questo lavoro è quello di esaminare la partecipazione delle donne migranti alla vita politica e democratica in Italia. I principali indicatori che stiamo seguendo sono: i diritti di voto, il diritto di candidarsi, il diritto di aderire a partiti politici e il diritto, l'opportunità e lo spazio per influenzare i processi decisionali pubblici.

Questo documento è scritto nell'ambito del progetto WE-EMPOWER, che attribuisce una definizione di inclusività alle donne migranti. Per noi, il termine **"donne migranti"** si riferisce a **TUTTE le donne, incluse le persone di genere non conforme, profughe, vittime di tratta, che si siano trasferite da un paese terzo o europeo verso una destinazione in Europa, o donne migranti di seconda generazione.**

La partecipazione effettiva delle donne migranti è necessaria affinché possano contribuire con le loro idee e proposte allo sviluppo delle società in cui vivono. Tuttavia, in Italia, ci sono ancora molti ostacoli alla visibilità e alla voce delle donne migranti negli spazi pubblici e politici, ed è per questo che è importante avere una comprensione più profonda del contesto relativo alla migrazione, alle donne migranti e alla partecipazione in Italia.

In Italia, le donne di origine migrante, sia di prima che di seconda generazione, hanno una presenza autonoma rispetto alla controparte maschile e si muovono come soggetti consapevoli nei flussi migratori, nel mercato del lavoro e nella società, dove si impegnano in associazioni, sviluppano nuove forme di attivismo, di arte e produzioni letterarie.

Tuttavia, le donne migranti rimangono bloccate tra un "forte desiderio di affermazione personale e una cronica esposizione a condizioni di vulnerabilità" (Redattore Sociale, 2023).

2. Donne migranti in Italia

Negli ultimi decenni, sempre più donne sono emigrate verso l'Italia, sia per lavoro, istruzione e/o motivi familiari. Le ricerche in materia di migrazione riguardano principalmente i lavoratori migranti in generale e non necessariamente disaggregate per genere. Non sorprende quindi che le donne migranti in Italia siano poco studiate. Ciò riflette il dibattito di lunga data sulla questione del cosiddetto “divario di dati di genere”¹, che riguarda il modo in cui le donne vengono ignorate o sottorappresentate nelle statistiche (Perez, 2020)²³.

Secondo i dati ufficiali (ISTAT, 2012), **i migranti che vivono in Italia rappresentano il 7,5% della popolazione (4.570.317). Ucraini, moldavi, polacchi, peruviani ed ecuadoriani hanno percentuali più alte di donne**, mentre indiani, tunisini, egiziani e bengalesi sono per lo più uomini.

In Italia non esiste una definizione giuridica di “migrante”. Il termine include diverse categorie legali ben definite di migranti, come i “lavoratori migranti”, che si riferiscono a persone i cui tipi di spostamenti sono legalmente definiti; “migranti clandestini” il cui status o mezzi di movimento non sono specificatamente definiti dal diritto internazionale; e studenti internazionali. Inoltre, l'Italia non ha una propria legge sull'integrazione.

Le questioni relative all'arrivo e all'integrazione dei migranti sono diventate sempre più controverse in Italia negli ultimi dieci anni, poiché i partiti populistici di destra hanno fatto della questione un elemento chiave delle loro politiche. Un ruolo chiave è stato svolto anche dal centrosinistra, il primo ad aver approvato misure restrittive per prevenire nuovi arrivi mentre stipulava accordi controversi con attori di paesi terzi per proibire nuove partenze per raggiungere le coste italiane.

¹Caroline Criado Perez (2020) - Dobbiamo colmare il divario di dati di genere includendo le donne nei nostri algoritmi, <https://time.com/collection/davos-%202020/5764698/gender-data-gap/>

²Maria Elena Pontecorvo, (2023), articolo Indagine Istat: stranieri e naturalizzati nel mercato del lavoro italiano, Rivista Stranieri in Italia <https://stranieriinitalia.it/attualita/indagine-istat-stranieri-e-naturalizzati-nel-mercato-del-lavoro-italiano>

³Alessandra Tosi (2020) – Articolo *Le donne migranti sono le prime a subire il divario retributivo di genere in Italia*, Italics Magazine, <https://italicsmag.com/2020/11/30/on-italys-gender-pay-and-data-gap-and-migrant-women/>

Per contro, le posizioni sulle necessità per l'Italia (un paese ancora in emigrazione e colpito da un tasso di natalità molto basso) di consentire e integrare migranti e lavoratori per rendere sostenibile lo stato sociale sono caduti nel vuoto⁴.

Il "Rapporto annuale sulla situazione del mercato del lavoro degli immigrati in Italia, 2022"⁵, pubblicato dal Ministro del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali in Italia, fornisce un'analisi dettagliata della presenza e dell'incidenza dei migranti, sia cittadini comunitari che cittadini di paesi terzi, nel mercato del lavoro in Italia. Secondo questo rapporto, le più grandi comunità di migranti sono rumene (1.076.000 persone in totale), albanesi (421.000) e marocchine (414.000)⁶. **Tra i migranti provenienti dall'Europa dell'Est vi è una percentuale femminile più alta (60% romene e 78% ucraine), impiegate soprattutto come lavoratrici domestiche.** I migranti irregolari, in particolare dall'Africa e dall'Asia, sono per lo più maschi. **Nel 2020 la maggior parte dei migranti residenti in Italia erano donne (53,6%).** Secondo i sondaggi dell'OIM nel 2019 e nel 2020, le ragioni che spingono le donne a migrare sono principalmente di natura economica, o persecuzioni e violenze - queste appaiono sempre come le prime due scelte degli intervistati.

I migranti, soprattutto irregolari provenienti da paesi extra UE, hanno maggiori probabilità di essere lavoratori precari, guadagnano meno degli italiani, hanno un tasso di disoccupazione più elevato (13% contro 8,7%) e una quota più alta di NEET⁷, tra i giovani e le donne.

Protesa nel Mar Mediterraneo centrale, l'Italia è un corridoio naturale per entrare in Europa, riceve annualmente migliaia di rifugiati e migranti irregolari dall'Africa e dall'Asia. Recentemente, l'Italia ha dichiarato lo "stato di emergenza" per la situazione migratoria in quanto la guardia costiera italiana ha salvato oltre 31.000 migranti da gennaio 2023 (Wallis, 2023). Tuttavia, le organizzazioni umanitarie sostengono che questa dichiarazione sia esagerata perché non è la prima volta che si presenta questa situazione e secondo alcuni esperti, l'Italia sta cercando motivi per violare i propri obblighi in materia di accoglienza verso migranti che chiedono asilo

⁴ Juliani M.Campisi, Cecilia Emma Sittilota (2022) -<https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/italys-far-right-and-migration-debate-implications-europ> -Istituto Affari Internazionali

⁵ Vengono utilizzati solo i dati delle informazioni sul mercato del lavoro.

⁶ Rapporto annuale sulla situazione del mercato del lavoro degli immigrati in Italia, 2022 - https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/2022-annual-report-labour-market-situations-immigrants-italy_en

⁷ NEET - Giovani - Non in istruzione, occupazione o formazione

in questo paese (Ibid.). Inoltre, una volta che i migranti arrivano e vengono collocati nei centri di accoglienza, affrontano molte questioni rese complicate da complesse procedure di richiesta di asilo e da cattive condizioni nei centri di accoglienza (Wallis, 2022).

L'invasione dell'Ucraina da parte della Russia ha portato anche molti ucraini in Italia: da ottobre 2022 ne sono arrivati 172.405. La maggior parte sono donne (91.788) e bambini (51.101) ⁸. Come molti paesi dell'UE, anche l'Italia ha offerto un caloroso benvenuto ai rifugiati ucraini rispetto ai rifugiati provenienti da altri paesi. Uno studio recente ha rilevato che in Italia gli atteggiamenti nei confronti dei rifugiati siriani sono più negativi che nei confronti degli ucraini (Drazanova e Geddes, 2022).

3. Barriere alla partecipazione delle donne migranti

a) Barriere giuridiche alla partecipazione alla vita politica

In generale, le opportunità dei migranti per l'azione collettiva e l'attivismo politico sono limitate per varie ragioni, quali l'aumento delle restrizioni sull'immigrazione e le richieste di asilo in Italia- questo impedisce l'accesso a un permesso di soggiorno nel paese e mette in pericolo i migranti che vorrebbero partecipare e essere più visibili in pubblico. Anche per i migranti con permesso di soggiorno, potrebbe essere difficile beneficiare di pieni diritti politici a causa del legame tra status di cittadinanza e diritti elettorali. Nel 2002, il governo italiano passa la legge "Bossi- Fini" che ha introdotto sanzioni penali per i migranti senza permesso di soggiorno (ERRC, 2002). Secondo questa legge, il permesso di soggiorno era legato a un contratto di lavoro, che ha rimosso la necessità di uno "sponsor" che agisce come garante per il migrante (Obasuyi, 2022). Da allora la legge è stata abolita, ma simboleggia come l'immigrazione è vista come "un'problema" di ordine pubblico"⁹.

L'accesso al diritto di voto per i migranti, e le donne migranti, in Italia a livello locale e nazionale è legato al loro stato di origine. Tutti i cittadini dell'UE residenti in Italia e registrati come residenti nel comune hanno diritto di voto in alcune elezioni

⁸ https://www.esteri.it/it/politica-estera-e-cooperazione-allo-sviluppo/aree_geografiche/europa/litalia-a-sostegno-dellucraina/

⁹ Oiza Obasuyi (2022) – Partecipazione Politica Persone Straniere Italia, Fondazione Feltrinelli <https://fondazionefeltrinelli.it/partecipazione-politica-persone-straniere-italia/>

italiane, in particolare le elezioni comunali e le elezioni europee. La registrazione per votare in una di queste elezioni non qualifica automaticamente un elettore per l'altra. Un cittadino dell'UE può candidarsi alle elezioni comunali, alle stesse condizioni di un cittadino italiano. **I cittadini di paesi terzi non comunitari non hanno diritto di voto in Italia.**

b) Barriere sociali e culturali nella partecipazione alla vita democratica

Per le donne migranti, **le relazioni di genere disuguali e la discriminazione di genere** vi sono ostacoli alla partecipazione politica e all'attivismo¹⁰. L'Italia è classificata tra i paesi dell'UE con la più bassa parità di genere, secondo l'European Gender Equality Index (EIGE, 2022).

Le politiche per affrontare la disuguaglianza di genere sono state caute, mentre i progressi nel quadro giuridico sono stati promossi principalmente da direttive provenienti dall'UE o da pressioni della società civile. In Italia manca un'adeguata infrastruttura di genere a livello nazionale per promuovere, coordinare e monitorare le iniziative sulla parità di genere. Oltre ai problemi del pregiudizio razziale e della xenofobia, gli stereotipi culturali e la discriminazione di genere esistono importanti barriere anche nei confronti delle donne migranti. Anche la mancanza di accesso ai servizi per la salute sessuale e riproduttiva rappresenta un serio problema per le donne. Ad esempio, i dati del Ministero della Salute¹¹, pubblicati nel giugno 2021, hanno mostrato che il 64,6% dei ginecologi e il 44,6% degli anestesisti in Italia si rifiutano di eseguire aborti. Allo stesso modo, l'accesso alla prescrizione di farmaci per interrompere una gravidanza in modo sicuro varia da regione a regione e raggiunge una media nazionale del 35% tra le procedure¹². Tali disposizioni riguardano direttamente la capacità di tutte le donne di avere una vita libera e indipendente e ancora di più le donne migranti che già non hanno accesso all'assistenza sanitaria di base.

¹⁰ Ilaria Boiano -(2022) - *La partecipazione politica delle donne migranti e rifugiate come prerequisito essenziale per l'uguaglianza di genere e un'autentica democrazia* -Consulting EUTH Project - <https://consultingeuthproject.eu/2022/06/01/migrant-and-refugee-womens-political-la-partecipazione-come-prerequisito-essenziale-per-l'uguaglianza-di-genere-e-la-democrazia-autentica>

¹¹ Ministero della Salute (2020) - *Relazione Del Ministro Della Salute Sulla Attuazione Della Legge Contenente Norme Per La Tutela Sociale Della Maternità E Per L'interruzione Volontaria Di Gravidanza (Legge 194/78)* - https://www.salute.gov.it/imgs/C_17_pubblicazioni_3236_allegato.pdf

¹² Human Rights Watch (2023) World Report: Italia/- <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/italy>

Nel 2020 solo **una donna migrante su due ha lavorato, con un tasso di povertà più basso rispetto alla media europea** (rispetto alle donne migranti in altri paesi europei) (InfoMigranti, 2022). Alcuni motivi possono essere attribuiti a fattori culturali, a seconda delle tradizioni del paese di origine, altri sono dovuti a delle motivazioni del loro ingresso in Italia.

Le donne migranti che entrano per ricongiungimento familiare riscontrano più difficoltà ad accedere al mondo del lavoro. Secondo i risultati presentati nel 2021 da IDOS Statistical Immigration Dossier, nel 2020, il 14% delle donne migranti ha riferito di essere sottoccupate, rispetto all'8,1% nel 2019 e al 9,1% delle donne italiane. Anche la percentuale di donne migranti con un livello di istruzione superiore è rimasta elevata, con il 42,3% delle lavoratrici migranti in possesso di un livello di competenze superiore a quello richiesto per il proprio lavoro. Questa percentuale supera in modo significativo sia quella delle lavoratrici italiane (24,8%) che quella dei migranti maschi (27,7%). Le lavoratrici migranti non solo guadagnano il 17% in meno (894 euro al mese) rispetto alla media generale dei migranti, ma anche il 28,2% in meno rispetto alle lavoratrici italiane (1.245 euro), che già percepiscono una retribuzione media inferiore a quella dei connazionali di genere maschile (IDOS, 2021).

Quando le donne migranti iniziano a lavorare, finiscono per essere collocate nei settori che adottano i trattamenti più sfavorevoli: colf, badanti, addetti alle pulizie, in uffici e imprese. Nel settore domestico c'è un'alta concentrazione di lavoro non dichiarato. **Le donne migranti nel settore dell'assistenza e domestico sono uno dei gruppi di lavoro meno protetti dalla legislazione internazionale e nazionale.** La loro vulnerabilità emerge dalla mancanza di riconoscimento delle competenze per ottenere un impiego più remunerativo in settori diversi e più qualificati; si ritrovano infatti spesso a lavorare nella sfera familiare a stretto contatto con i datori di lavoro e d'altro canto si riscontra una "paradossale" esclusione dei lavoratori domestici dalla sfera politica e dai dibattiti pubblici sulla sicurezza dei migranti. (Degani, 2022).

Al giorno d'oggi, mentre le famiglie italiane diventano sempre più dipendenti da aiuti esterni per il lavoro domestico, le donne migranti sono impiegate principalmente come badanti. Più di 2 donne su 5 lavorano in questo settore. Silvia Dumitrache dell'Associazione Donne Romene (ADRI)¹³ in Italia (ADRI) spiega: "I numeri parlano chiaro: sette pensionati su dieci non possono permettersi di mettere

¹³ ADRI è partner del progetto WE-EMPOWER e membro del gruppo di lavoro WIDE+ su migrazione e genere. <https://adriaassociazione.wordpress.com/>

in regola le lavoratrici. Lo stato lo sa ma non fa nulla al riguardo. C'è molta retorica sul ruolo cruciale di queste lavoratrici, ma si tratta di sfruttamento istituzionalizzato. Non solo sono invisibili, ma sono anche deliberatamente ignorate". (Marchese, 2021).

La crescente presenza di donne migranti in Italia - caratterizzata da un alto grado di differenze interne in termini di esperienza migratoria e status giuridico (Bonizzoni, 2011), ha innescato un crescente interesse da parte dei media e, lentamente, la femminilizzazione della migrazione ha cominciato a essere visibile anche nella stampa, modificando la rappresentazione predominante della migrazione come un processo essenzialmente maschile. Eppure, un'analisi dei media mostra **una sistematica mancanza di attenzione alle questioni che riguardano le donne migranti**.

Le donne migranti sono rappresentate prevalentemente attraverso lenti culturali, raffigurate come "l'Altro". Pochissimi studi si concentrano specificamente sulle donne migranti nella stampa italiana (Campani, 2001; Censis, 2002). Quando diventano visibili, le donne migranti sono principalmente rappresentate come domestiche, come figure rassicuranti. E poi c'è l'immagine della migrante prostituta, emotivamente debole, sottomessa, completamente dipendente dagli uomini e spesso etichettata come "schiava". Questa figura vittimizzata ha contribuito a discriminare i migranti e la stampa ignora completamente i casi di donne che sono riuscite a riprendere il controllo della propria vita. In secondo luogo, la donna musulmana, arrivata attraverso il ricongiungimento familiare, viene spesso presentata come "l'Altro", sottomessa agli uomini musulmani e completamente radicata nella cultura del paese d'origine.

La tabella 1 mostra i temi relativi alle immagini delle donne migranti e si concentra in particolare sui diritti riproduttivi. Una grande percentuale è legata alla sessualità: questa categoria include argomenti come la prostituzione, le relazioni di genere e altre questioni correlate (matrimoni forzati e 'mutilazione genitale femminile'). Il 15% degli articoli si concentra su donne migranti e maternità e, più in generale, sul rapporto tra madri migranti e figli (in Italia e all'estero). L'ultima categoria (various and mix) racchiude gli articoli che citano le donne migranti in relazione ad altri temi, come la loro presenza nel mercato del lavoro.

TABLE I - Migrant Women and the Italian Press - Topics Distribution (Percentages)

Topic					
	Non-partisan	Catholic	Left	Right	Total
Maternity	20	16	4	3	15
Sexuality	17	18	32	38	22
Fertility/Abortion	39	49	51	43	42
Various + mix	24	17	13	16	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Fonte: Alberta Giorgi, 2012, *La costruzione culturale delle donne migranti nella mass media italiana*

c) Impatto del COVID-19 sulle donne migranti

Durante la pandemia di COVID-19, i datori di lavoro hanno messo a tacere gli operatori sanitari che hanno espresso preoccupazione per le condizioni di lavoro nelle case di cura (Amnesty International, 2021). La violenza contro le donne è persistita e gli ostacoli all'accesso all'aborto non sono stati affrontati. Un rapporto dell'UNICEF (2022) ha rilevato che le donne migranti in Italia hanno riscontrato un aumento del rischio di violenza a causa dell'isolamento, del minore accesso ai servizi e alle reti/centri di supporto.

In Italia, ci sono stati 102 femminicidi in ambito domestico, 70 dei quali causati dai propri partner o ex-partner (Reuters, 2021). Nel dicembre 2021 il governo ha approvato un disegno di legge per rafforzare le misure per prevenire la violenza contro le donne e la violenza domestica. Questi includevano l'accesso a un indennizzo provvisorio anticipato durante le indagini penali per le vittime che denunciano gli abusi e poteri più ampi per le autorità di adottare misure di sorveglianza e coercitive contro i colpevoli (Ibid).

Nell'ottobre 2021, il Senato ha bloccato un disegno di legge volto a combattere la discriminazione e la violenza di genere, orientamento sessuale, identità di genere e disabilità (Euronews, 2021). Il disegno di legge avrebbe esteso alle persone LGBTI, alle donne e alle persone con disabilità le stesse tutele disponibili per le vittime di incitamento all'odio e crimini di odio basati su motivazioni razziste, religiose, etniche e nazionaliste, con effetto diretto anche sulla protezione nei confronti delle donne migranti vittime di violenza di genere.

Nel 2020, è stata avviata la misura di regolarizzazione volta a garantire alle persone irregolari l'ottenimento di permessi di soggiorno e di lavoro e l'accesso ai servizi sanitari durante la pandemia, ma ha prodotto risultati limitati. La misura si applicava solo ai lavoratori del settore agroalimentare e ai lavoratori domestici (PICUM, 2021). Nonostante l'89% dei lavoratori domestici siano donne, i dati mostrano che 2 persone su 3 che hanno presentato domanda di regolarizzazione sono stati uomini (Degani, 2022). Meno sono le donne che richiedono la regolarizzazione contrattuale e più aumenta la "persistenza allo sfruttamento". (Ibid). Le lavoratrici domestiche migranti continuano quindi ad avere condizioni di lavoro irregolari ed essere sistematicamente escluse da ciò che è il lavoro regolamentato e dai benefici che ne derivano.

Un notevole esempio di una donna con un background migratorio nel campo della politica italiana:

Cécile Kashetu Kyenge, nata il 28 agosto 1964 nella Repubblica Democratica del Congo, è una politica e oculista italiana. È stata Ministro per l'Integrazione nel Gabinetto Letta 2013-14, e primo ministro del governo nero in Italia. Propose una legge che avrebbe dato la cittadinanza ai figli degli immigrati nati sul suolo italiano.

Sia la stampa italiana che internazionale hanno regolarmente riportato scandalosi discorsi razzisti contro di lei provenienti da membri influenti del parlamento, politici eletti, membri delle circoscrizioni locali e dei consigli comunali (Meret, Corte e Sangiuliano (2013). Le parole di Cécile Kyenge alla sua prima conferenza stampa in risposta ai media che continuavano a chiamarla 'il primo ministro di colore', ha risposto: "Non sono di colore, sono nera e orgogliosa di esserlo. Abbiamo davvero bisogno di usare le parole giuste, a partire da quelle che usiamo per definire il diverso o la diversità e che va riconosciuta come una risorsa.

Nel 2014 è stata eletta al Parlamento europeo come membro della commissione per le libertà civili, la giustizia e gli affari interni.

4. Partecipazione delle donne migranti alla vita politica

Date le molteplici barriere che le donne migranti riscontrano, le opportunità di partecipare attivamente alla vita politica sono molto limitate. Mentre il diritto di voto spetta esclusivamente alle cittadine italiane e comunitarie, le donne migranti che sono cittadine di paesi terzi non hanno alcuna possibilità di essere attive nella vita politica. Inoltre, la rappresentanza femminile nella politica italiana rimane molto bassa.

Al fine di aumentare la rappresentanza femminile nella politica italiana, sono state introdotte le quote di genere e la doppia preferenza di genere nelle elezioni amministrative ovvero la possibilità di votare per una donna e un uomo sulla scheda elettorale. La doppia preferenza di genere è un nuovo meccanismo che non riserva una quota di seggi al sesso sottorappresentato, ma rimedia alla sottorappresentanza delle donne nelle assemblee decisionali, attraverso un secondo voto di preferenza. Grazie a ciò, viene incoraggiato, ma non imposto, un maggiore equilibrio di genere nelle assemblee. Come le quote, la doppia preferenza di genere è una misura antidiscriminatoria formulata in modo neutrale, in quanto non influisce, direttamente o indirettamente, sui risultati delle elezioni.

In vigore dal 2013, secondo un recente studio, queste misure hanno influenzato la composizione delle amministrazioni locali, aumentando del 18% la rappresentanza femminile nei consigli comunali. Nonostante i buoni risultati, la doppia preferenza potrebbe non aver ancora raggiunto il suo pieno potenziale. Le quote di genere e la doppia preferenza sono soluzioni che aprono le porte alla politica ma sono lontane dal conferire pieno potere politico¹⁴.

Disuguaglianze ancora più notevoli si riscontrano nell'amministrazione comunale e regionale; anche se la rappresentanza locale è sempre più inclusiva, secondo il rapporto del Senato sulla parità di genere, **meno del 15% dei sindaci sono donne**¹⁵. Ci sono molti ostacoli da superare nel processo politico di selezione ed elezione. La scarsità di modelli femminili è un fattore deterrente e, come un effetto a cascata, forma basse aspettative di successo, il che scoraggia la partecipazione in partenza.

Nel complesso, vi è una generale mancanza di politiche per l'integrazione di genere. Sia le leggi che le pratiche sono generalmente cieche rispetto al genere e spesso contribuiscono alla mera riproduzione delle disuguaglianze e della visione stereotipata delle donne. Questa cecità di genere e la mancanza di interesse ad ascoltare le voci delle donne migranti in Parlamento hanno portato alla situazione in cui nel 2022 c'era solo una donna di origine migrante nel Parlamento italiano (su 630 deputati e 315 senatori) (Petrovic, 2022).

¹⁴ Di Orizzonti Politici (2020): Più donne in politica, ma senza grandi poteri -La Voce <https://www.lavoce.info/archives/67586/piu-donne-in-politica-ma-senza-grandi-poteri/>

¹⁵ Bocconi University (2023) -Italy, a realtime case study of female leadership, <https://www.viasarfatti25.unibocconi.eu/notizia.php?idArt=25213>

Nel corso degli anni, ci sono stati alcuni esempi di donne migranti nelle istituzioni pubbliche. Tra loro Mercedes Lourdes Frias, della Repubblica Dominicana, ex assessore all'immigrazione nel comune di Empoli; e Cécile Kyenge, nata nella Repubblica Democratica del Congo, nominata Ministro dell'Integrazione dal governo Letta nel 2013-14 (Pasca, 2013). Le elezioni del 2022 hanno rivelato alcuni cittadini italiani di origine migrante, quali Ouidad Bakkali, nato in Marocco, ora membro del Parlamento; Antonella Moro Bundu, nata in Sierra Leone, siede nel Consiglio Comunale di Firenze; Diye Ndiaye, antropologa di origini senegalesi, dal 2014 consigliere comunale di Scandicci (Firenze); Veronica Atitsogbe, di origine togolese, ora consigliere comunale a Verona - la prima italiana di seconda generazione a entrare in consiglio comunale (Sachy, 2022).

5. Partecipazione delle donne migranti alla vita democratica

Le associazioni o i gruppi di donne migranti svolgono un ruolo importante nel promuovere la partecipazione alla società italiana. In Italia, negli anni '70, sono state istituite le prime associazioni di donne migranti quando le donne migranti sono arrivate per la prima volta nel paese come lavoratrici domestiche (Chiappelli, 2016). Durante gli anni '80, le donne migranti hanno iniziato a organizzare a livello nazionale reti di sostegno reciproco e di solidarietà, comprese le organizzazioni di donne migranti come il Consiglio femminile filippino e l'Associazione delle donne di Capo Verde (Ibid.). Attraverso queste organizzazioni, le donne migranti svolgono diverse attività, tra cui il sostegno all'integrazione lavorativa delle donne migranti e advocacy per influenzare la legislazione e i cambiamenti politici (Ibid.).

Un altro esempio potrebbe essere l'Associazione delle donne romene in Italia, o ADRI, che da anni è impegnata nella promozione dei diritti delle donne migranti romene, nella sensibilizzazione sul loro importante ruolo nell'economia e nella società. ADRI, insieme a Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL), ha organizzato un seminario, "Le donne romene non sono una minoranza - la campagna 50/50"¹⁶, che ha avuto luogo il 2 novembre 2022 a Bucarest, in Romania. L'evento è stato organizzato nell'ambito del progetto "GLORIA - il femminismo e l'approccio strategico

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>

all'uguaglianza di genere" della Community Safety and Mediation Center Foundation (CMSC), in collaborazione con la RoWL, con il sostegno del Partito dei Verdi in Romania. I temi affrontati durante il workshop sono volti a informare le future riunioni politiche per sostenere le raccomandazioni per nuove politiche al fine di ridurre le disuguaglianze nella rappresentanza delle donne nelle posizioni decisionali nella politica romena e italiana¹⁷. L'ADRI svolge anche attività di advocacy a livello dell'UE - ad esempio, ha contribuito a diverse interrogazioni scritte del Parlamento europeo per quanto riguarda i problemi affrontati dalle donne migranti e dalle famiglie transnazionali, anche sulla raccolta di dati sui bambini lasciati indietro (left behind), i cosiddetti orfani bianchi¹⁸.

La tabella seguente mostra altre donne migranti e organizzazioni guidate da donne che sostengono le donne migranti in Italia:

Associazione Differenza Donna/Donne Migranti accoglie e ospita donne migranti arrivate in Italia per riunirsi con le proprie famiglie e/o per lavorare; sono incluse anche le donne vittime di violenza nel loro paese di origine e in Italia e che hanno bisogno di essere accompagnate in un lungo viaggio che richiede la ricostruzione di un'identità psicofisica.

www.differenzadonna.org/donne-migranti/

Associazione Stella sostiene l'accesso delle donne migranti al mercato del lavoro in Italia. Sostiene le donne migranti nella creazione e nel miglioramento dei loro CV, nella riqualificazione e nella formazione. <https://www.facebook.com/stella.associazione>

Casa di Ramia è un centro interculturale che accoglie donne italiane e migranti e i loro figli. Nel 13^{ter} degli anni, diverse associazioni di donne migranti sono diventate parte della casa e delle sue attività. È diventato un luogo di incontro dove le donne migranti svolgono le loro attività, incontrano 13^{ter} persone e passano tempo insieme.

https://www.comune.verona.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=2081&tt=verona_agid

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>

¹⁸ L'attività di advocacy di ADRI ha portato alla formulazione di due interrogazioni parlamentari europee scritte riguardanti i problemi delle donne migranti e delle famiglie transnazionali, nonché alla raccolta di dati sui bambini lasciati indietro (2016); Rafforzare l'azione dell'UE per proteggere i diritti delle famiglie transnazionali (2022), poiché molte donne che emigrano lasciano i loro figli, a volte molto piccoli, nel Paese d'origine per lavorare come governanti o "badanti" che si prendono cura degli anziani. Si vedano i seguenti articoli:

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2016-002577_IT.html?redirect;

<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070;>

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-9-2022-000192_IT.pdf ;

<https://aic.camera.it/aic/scheda.html?numero=4/00170&ramo=CAMERA&leg=19> ;

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=875624330142482> Eleonora Evi e Silvia Dumitrache;

<https://pace.coe.int/en/news/8022/lasciare-milioni-di-bambini-migranti-lavoratori-senza-cure-parentali-e-una-violazione-dei-diritti-umani->

6. Misure per promuovere e migliorare la partecipazione delle donne migranti in Italia

Attualmente non ci sono sforzi per includere le donne migranti nella politica o nel processo decisionale pubblico. Oltre al livello nazionale, molte regioni hanno creato organi consultivi per riunire le parti interessate dell'integrazione e le autorità locali hanno condotto consultazioni pubbliche (Chiappelli, 2016). Tuttavia, la partecipazione delle organizzazioni degli esperti varia in modo significativo tra le regioni e non sono incentrate sulle differenze di genere. Raramente le consultazioni pubbliche coinvolgono anche i Consigli territoriali per l'immigrazione, gli organi consultivi operanti a livello provinciale su mandato del ministero dell'Interno.

Un esempio di consiglio dei migranti che coinvolge i migranti ed è guidato principalmente da essi, è il consiglio consultivo degli immigrati a Napoli (InfoMigrants, 2021). Il suo compito principale è quello di presentare proposte al consiglio comunale per migliorare le condizioni di vita dei migranti e, in ultima analisi, influenzare le politiche migratorie. Parteciperanno rappresentanti delle diverse comunità straniere residenti a Napoli, anche se non è attualmente noto alcun progetto per la parità di genere.

Anche ONG come Action Aid Italy ha spinto per una maggiore partecipazione dei migranti. Nel 2021 ha lanciato il progetto "Migrant Voices Heard"¹⁹ che promuove il coinvolgimento dei migranti attraverso i consigli dei migranti, come attori diretti del cambiamento, attraverso processi di partecipazione e cittadinanza attiva. Questi processi saranno definiti e costruiti dalle organizzazioni e dalle comunità di migranti nei territori di riferimento, in collaborazione con le autorità locali e le organizzazioni della società civile.

Conclusione

È necessaria una risposta coordinata a un approccio sensibile al genere quando si tratta di integrazione dei migranti, in particolare per migliorare la partecipazione

¹⁹ Vedi: <https://morethanprojects.actionaid.it/en/projects/migrantvoicesheard/>

delle donne migranti. Ciò può essere fatto garantendo il dialogo tra la società civile e il governo, al fine di condividere le migliori pratiche e identificarne le lacune; attraverso la raccolta di dati sistematici disaggregati per genere; una migliore fornitura di informazioni per le donne migranti (ad esempio, fornendo informazioni su diritti e risorse in varie lingue); la partecipazione attiva delle organizzazioni femminili alle consultazioni pubbliche, in particolare le organizzazioni guidate da donne migranti, finanziare le organizzazioni di donne migranti e delle organizzazioni di donne che sostengono le donne migranti.

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Italy study by Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL) and ADRI Association

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Participarea femeilor migrante la viața politică și democratică în Italia

1. Introducere

Scopul acestei lucrări este de a examina participarea femeilor migrante la viața politică și democratică din Italia. Principalii indicatori pe care îi urmărim sunt - dreptul de vot, dreptul de a candida, dreptul de a se înscrie în partide politice, precum și dreptul, oportunitatea și spațiul de a influența procesele de luare a deciziilor publice.

Acest document este scris în cadrul proiectului WE-EMPOWER, care folosește o definiție incluzivă a femeilor migrante - pentru noi, termenul **"femei migrante"** se referă la **TOATE** femeile, inclusiv la persoanele care nu se conformează genului, la cele care au fost strămutate între țări, traficate, care s-au mutat dintr-o țară terță sau europeană către o destinație din Europa sau la femeile care sunt migrante la a doua generație.

Participarea efectivă a femeilor migrante este necesară pentru ca acestea să poată contribui cu ideile și propunerile lor la dezvoltarea societăților în care trăiesc. Cu toate acestea, în Italia există încă multe bariere în calea vizibilității și a vocilor femeilor migrante în spațiile publice și politice, motiv pentru care este important să avem o înțelegere mai profundă a contextului din jurul migrației, al femeilor migrante și al participării în Italia.

În Italia, femeile de origine migrantă, atât din prima cât și din a doua generație, se prezintă diferit față de omologii lor de sex masculin, deoarece sunt indivizi autonomi în fluxurile migratorii, pe piața muncii și în societate, unde se angajează în asociații, dezvoltă noi forme de activism și participă la activități artistice și literare. Cu toate acestea, femeile migrante rămân blocate între o "dorință puternică de afirmare personală și expunerea cronică la condiții de vulnerabilitate" (Redattore Sociale, 2023).

2. Femeile migrante în Italia

În ultimele câteva decenii, tot mai multe femei au migrat în Italia pe , fie pentru muncă, fie pentru educație și/sau din motive familiale. Cercetările privind migrația au vizat în principal lucrătorii migranți în general și nu au fost neapărat dezagregate în funcție de sex. Prin urmare, subiectul femeilor migrante din Italia nu este surprinzător faptul că nu este suficient cercetat. Acest lucru reflectă dezbaterile de lungă durată cu privire la problema așa-numitei "diferențe de date de gen"¹, care se referă la modul în care femeile sunt ignorate sau subreprezentate în statistici (Perez, 2020)²³.

Conform datelor oficiale (ISTAT, 2012), **migranții care trăiesc în Italia reprezintă 7,5% din populație (4, 570, 317 milioane). Ucrainenii, moldovenii, polonezii, peruani și ecuatorienii au procente mai mari de femei, în timp ce indienii, tunisienii, egiptenii și bangladeshienii sunt în majoritate bărbați.**

În Italia, nu există o definiție a termenului "migrant" în lege. Termenul include mai multe categorii juridice bine definite de migranți, cum ar fi "lucrătorii migranți", care se referă la persoanele ale căror tipuri de deplasări sunt definite legal; "migranții clandestini", al căror statut sau mijloace de deplasare nu sunt definite în mod specific în dreptul internațional; și studenții internaționali. În plus, Italia nu are o lege independentă privind integrarea.

Problemele legate de sosirea și integrarea migranților au devenit din ce în ce mai controversate în Italia în ultimul deceniu, deoarece partidele populiste de dreapta au făcut din această problemă un element-cheie al platformelor lor politice. Un rol esențial a fost jucat, de asemenea, de partidele de centru-stânga, primele care au aprobat măsuri restrictive pentru a împiedica noi sosiri, încheind în același timp acorduri controversate cu actori din țări terțe pentru a interzice noi plecări de pe coastele italiene. Narațiunile contrare privind necesitatea ca Italia (o țară care încă se confruntă cu emigrația și este afectată de o rată foarte scăzută a natalității) să permită

¹ Caroline Criado Perez (2020) - Trebuie să reducem decalajul de gen în materie de date prin includerea femeilor în algoritmii noștri, <https://time.com/collection/davos-%202020/5764698/gender-data-gap/>

² Maria Elena Pontecorvo, (2023), articolul Indagine Istat: stranieri e naturalizzati nel mercato del lavoro italiano, Stranieri in Italia Magazine <https://stranieriinitalia.it/attualita/indagine-istat-stranieri-e-naturalizzati-nel-mercato-del-lavoro-italiano>

³ Alessandra Tosi (2020) - Articolul Femeile migrante sunt primele care suferă din cauza diferențelor salariale dintre femei și bărbați în Italia, Italics Magazine, <https://italicsmag.com/2020/11/30/on-italys-gender-pay-and-data-gap-and-migrant-women/>

și să integreze efectiv migranții și lucrătorii pentru a face statul social sustenabil, au ramas ne-auzite⁴.

"Raportul anual privind situația pieței muncii a imigranților în Italia, 2022⁵", publicat de Ministerul Muncii și Politicilor Sociale din Italia, oferă o analiză detaliată a prezenței și proporției imigranților, atât cetățeni UE, cât și resortisanți ai țărilor terțe, pe piața muncii din Italia. Potrivit acestui raport, cele mai mari comunități de migranți sunt cele românești (1, 076, 000 persoane în total), albaneze (421, 000) și marocane (414, 000)⁶. **Printre migranții care provin din Europa de Est există un procent mai mare de femei (60% românce și 78% ucrainene), angajate în special ca lucrători casnici.** Migranții ilegali, în special din Africa și Asia, sunt în majoritate bărbați. **În 2020, cei mai mulți migranți rezidenți în Italia erau femei (53,6%).** Potrivit sondajelor OIM din 2019 și 2020, motivele economice, alături de persecuție și violență, par a fi printre cei mai comuni factori care contribuie la emigrare, apărând întotdeauna ca primele două opțiuni ale respondenților.

Migranții, în special cei aflați în situație neregulamentară din țări din afara UE, au o probabilitate mai mare de a fi lucrători precari, câștigând mai puțin decât italienii, și au o rată mai mare a șomajului (13% față de 8,7%) și o proporție mai mare de NEET⁷, în rândul tinerilor și al femeilor.

Întinzându-se în Marea Mediterană centrală, Italia este un coridor natural de intrare în Europa, primind anual mii de refugiați și migranți ilegali din Africa și Asia. Recent, Italia a declarat "stare de urgență" în ceea ce privește situația migrației, deoarece gărzile de coastă italiene au salvat peste 31.000 de migranți din ianuarie 2023 (Wallis, 2023). Cu toate acestea, organizațiile umanitare susțin că această declarație este exagerată, deoarece nu este prima dată când Italia face o astfel de declarație și . Potrivit unor experți, Italia caută motive pentru a-și încălca obligațiile de a permite migranților să solicite azil în țară (Ibid.). În plus, odată ce migranții ajung și sunt plasați în centrele de primire, aceștia se confruntă cu numeroase probleme exacerbate

⁴ Juliani M.Campisi, Cecilia Emma Sittilota (2022) -<https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/italys-far-right-and-migration-debate-implications-europ> -Istituto Affari Internazionali

⁵ Se utilizează numai date din informațiile de pe piața muncii.

⁶ Raport anual privind situația pe piața muncii a imigranților din Italia, 2022 - https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/2022-annual-report-labour-market-situations-immigrants-italy_en

⁷ NEET - Tineri care nu urmează o formă de învățământ, nu lucrează sau nu urmează o formare profesională

de procesele complexe de solicitare a azilului și de condițiile precare din centrele de primire (Wallis, 2022).

Inviaza Rusiei în Ucraina a adus, de asemenea, mulți ucraineni în Italia - până în octombrie 2022, 172, 405 refugiați din Ucraina au sosit . Cei mai mulți dintre ei sunt femei (91, 788) și copii (51, 101)⁸ . La fel ca multe țări UE, Italia a oferit o primire călduroasă refugiaților ucraineni în comparație cu refugiații din alte țări. Un studiu recent a constatat că, în Italia, atitudinile față de refugiații sirieni sunt mai negative decât față de ucraineni (Drazanova și Geddes, 2022).

3. Bariere în calea participării femeilor migrante

a) Bariere legale în calea participării la viața politică

În general, oportunitățile de acțiune colectivă și de activism politic ale migranților sunt limitate din diverse motive. Printre acestea se numără regimurile juridice din ce în ce mai restrictive ale Italiei în materie de imigrație și azil, care împiedică accesul la un permis de ședere în țară și pun în pericol migranții care ar dori să participe și să fie mai vizibili în public. Chiar și pentru acei migranți cu permise de ședere, ar putea fi dificil să beneficieze de drepturi politice depline din cauza legăturii dintre statutul de cetățean și drepturile electorale. În 2002, guvernul italian a adoptat legea "Bossi-Fini", care a introdus sancțiuni penale pentru migranții fără permis de ședere (ERRC, 2002). Conform acestei legi, permisul de ședere a fost legat de un contract de muncă, ceea ce a eliminat necesitatea unui "sponsor" care să acționeze ca garant pentru migrant (Obasuyi, 2022). De atunci, legea a fost abrogată, dar a simbolizat modul în care imigrația este privită ca "o "problemă" de ordine publică".⁹

Accesul la dreptul de vot pentru migranți și pentru femeile migrante la nivel local și național în Italia este legat de statutul lor în țara de origine. Toți cetățenii UE care lociesc ca rezidenți în Italia și sunt înregistrați ca rezidenți în comunitatea locală au dreptul legal de a vota la anumite alegeri italiene, în special la alegerile municipale și la alegerile europene. Înregistrarea pentru a vota la oricare dintre aceste alegeri nu califică automat un alegător pentru cealaltă. De asemenea, un cetățean al UE poate

⁸ https://www.esteri.it/en/politica-estera-e-cooperazione-allo-sviluppo/aree_geografiche/europa/litalia-a-sostegno-dellucraina/

⁹ Oiza Obasuyi (2022) - Partecipazione Politica Persone Straniere Italia, Fondazione Feltrinelli <https://fondazionefeltrinelli.it/partecipazione-politica-persone-straniere-italia/>

candida la alegerile municipale, în aceleași condiții ca și un cetățean italian. Resortisanții **țărilor terțe care nu sunt cetățeni UE nu au drept de vot în Italia.**

b) Bariere sociale și culturale în calea participării la viața democratică

Pentru femeile migrante, **relațiile inegale de gen și discriminarea bazată pe gen** reprezintă bariere în calea participării lor politice și a activismului¹⁰. Italia se numără printre țările din UE cu cea mai scăzută egalitate de gen, conform Indicelui european al egalității de gen (EIGE, 2022).

Politicile de abordare a inegalității de gen au fost prudente, în timp ce progresele în cadrul legal au fost promovate în principal de directivele venite din partea UE sau de presiunea din partea societății civile. Italia nu dispune de o infrastructură de gen adecvată la nivel național pentru a promova, coordona și monitoriza inițiativele privind egalitatea de gen. Pe lângă problemele legate de prejudecățile rasiale și de xenofobie, stereotipurile culturale și discriminarea de gen există ca bariere pentru femeile migrante. Lipsa accesului la servicii de sănătate sexuală și reproductivă reprezintă, de asemenea, o problemă gravă pentru femei. De exemplu, datele Ministerului Sănătății¹¹, publicate în iunie 2021, au arătat că 64,6 % dintre ginecologii și 44,6 % dintre anesteziștii din Italia refuză să efectueze avorturi. Accesul la avortul medical, prin utilizarea medicamentelor eliberate pe bază de prescripție medicală pentru a pune capăt unei sarcini în condiții de siguranță, a variat, de asemenea, în mod semnificativ între regiunile țării, cu o medie națională de 35 % pentru toate procedurile¹². Aceste dispoziții afectează în mod direct capacitatea tuturor femeilor, în special a femeilor migrante care nu au deja acces la asistență medicală de bază, de a avea o viață liberă și independentă.

În ceea ce privește participarea pe piața muncii, în 2020, **doar una din două femei migrante lucra, iar acestea sunt mai sărace decât media europeană** (în comparație cu femeile migrante din alte țări europene) (InfoMigrants, 2022). Unele motive pot fi

¹⁰ Ilaria Boiano -(2022) -*Participarea politică a femeilor migrante și refugiate ca o condiție esențială pentru egalitatea de gen și o democrație autentică* -Consulting EUTH Project <https://consultingeuthproject.eu/2022/06/01/migrant-and-refugee-womens-political-participation-as-essential-prerequisite-for-gender-equality-and-genuine-democracy>

¹¹ Ministero della Salute (2020) -*Relazione Del Ministro Della Salute Sulla Attuazione Della Legge Contenenente Norme Per La Tutela Sociale Della Maternità E Per L'interruzione Volontaria Di Gravidanza (Legge 194/78)* - https://www.salute.gov.it/imgs/C_17_pubblicazioni_3236_allegato.pdf

¹² Human Rights Watch (2023) Raport mondial: Italia/-<https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/italy>

atribuite unor factori culturali, în funcție de tradițiile din țara de origine, în timp ce altele se datorează unor motive legate de intrarea în Italia.

Femeile migrante care vin în Italia pentru reunificarea familială întâmpină dificultăți în a intra pe piața muncii. Potrivit constatărilor publicate în Dosarul statistic privind imigrația din 2021 al IDOS, în 2020, 14 % dintre femeile migrante au declarat că nu lucrează, față de 8,1 % în 2019 și 9,1 % dintre femeile italiene. Procentul femeilor migrante cu un nivel de educație prea ridicat a rămas, de asemenea, mare, 42,3% dintre lucrătoarele migrante deținând un nivel de calificare mai ridicat decât cel necesar pentru locul de muncă. Această cifră este semnificativ mai mare atât decât cea a femeilor italiene (24,8%), cât și decât cea a bărbaților migranți (27,7%). Femeile lucrătoare migrante nu numai că câștigă cu 17% mai puțin (894 de euro pe lună) decât media generală a migranților, dar și cu 28,2% mai puțin decât femeile lucrătoare italiene (1 245 de euro), primind deja un salariu mediu mai mic decât cel al conaționalilor (IDOS, 2021).

Atunci când femeile migrante muncesc, acestea sunt adesea plasate în sectoare în care este mai probabil să primească tratament nefavorabil: ca lucrătoare casnice, îngrijitoare și personal de curățenie în birouri și întreprinderi. În sectorul casnic, există o concentrație mare de muncă nedeclarată. Femeile migrante din sectorul de îngrijire și din sectorul casnic sunt unul dintre cele mai puțin protejate grupuri de lucrători în temeiul legislației internaționale și naționale în domeniul muncii. Vulnerabilitatea lor reiese din lipsa recunoașterii competențelor care le-ar permite să obțină locuri de muncă în alte domenii. Adesea, acestea lucrează în sfera intimă a locuinței, în imediata apropiere a angajatorilor lor. Degani afirmă că există o excludere "paradoxală" a lucrătorilor migranți din domeniul îngrijirii din dezbaterile politice și publice privind securizarea migranților (Degani, 2022).

În prezent, pe măsură ce familiile italiene devin din ce în ce mai dependente de ajutor extern pentru munca domestică, femeile migrante sunt angajate în cea mai mare parte ca îngrijitoare. Mai mult de două din cinci femei migrante (care sunt angajate) lucrează în acest sector. Silvia Dumitrache de la Associazione Donne Romene (ADRI)¹³ în Italia (ADRI) explică, "Cifrele sunt clare: șapte din zece pensionari nu-și pot permite să angajeze în mod legal ajutoare la domiciliu din veniturile lor. Statul știe acest lucru, dar nu face nimic în acest sens. Există multă retorică despre rolul

¹³ ADRI este partener al proiectului WE-EMPOWER și membru al grupului de lucru WIDE+ pentru migrație și gen. <https://adriassociazione.wordpress.com/>

crucial pe care îl joacă acești lucrători, dar este vorba de o exploatare instituțională ed. Ei nu numai că sunt invizibili, dar sunt și ignorați în mod deliberat." (Marchese, 2021).

Prezența din ce în ce mai mare a femeilor migrante în Italia - caracterizată de multe diferențe interne în ceea ce privește experiența migratorie și statutul legal (Bonizzoni, 2011), a declanșat un interes sporit din partea mass-media și, încet, feminizarea migrației a început să fie vizibilă chiar și în presă, modificând reprezentarea predominantă a migrației ca fenomen esențialmente masculin (Giorgi, 2012). Cu toate acestea, o analiză a mass-mediei relevă **o lipsă sistematică de atenție față de problemele care preocupă femeile migrante.**

Femeile migrante sunt reprezentate predominant prin prisma unei lentile culturale, înfățișate ca fiind "Cealaltă". Foarte puține studii se concentrează în mod specific asupra femeilor migrante în presa italiană (Campani, 2001; Censis, 2002). Atunci când devin vizibile, femeile migrante sunt reprezentate în principal ca menajere, ca figuri liniștitoare. Există, de asemenea, o imagine emoționantă a prostituatei migrante - supusă, complet dependentă de bărbați și adesea etichetată drept "sclavă". Această figură de victimă a contribuit la criminaliscriminalizarea migranților - iar presa ignoră complet cazurile de femei care au reușit să recâștige controlul asupra vieții lor. În al doilea rând, femeia musulmană, sosită prin reîntregirea familiei, este deseori prezentată ca fiind "Cealaltă", supusă față de bărbații musulmani și complet încorporată în cultura țării sale de origine.

Tabelul 1 prezintă subiectele legate de imaginea femeilor migrante și se concentrează în special pe drepturile reproductive. Un procent mare este legat de sexualitate: această categorie include subiecte precum prostituția, relațiile de gen și alte aspecte conexe (căsătorii forțate și "f mutilarea genitală feminină"). 15 % dintre articole se concentrează asupra femeilor migrante și a maternității și, în sens mai larg, asupra relației dintre mamele migrante și copiii lor (în Italia și în străinătate). Ultima categorie include o varietate de articole care menționează femeile migrante în legătură cu alte subiecte, cum ar fi prezența lor pe piața muncii.

TABLE I - Migrant Women and the Italian Press - Topics Distribution (Percentages)

Topic					
	Non-partisan	Catholic	Left	Right	Total
Maternity	20	16	4	3	15
Sexuality	17	18	32	38	22
Fertility/Abortion	39	49	51	43	42
Various + mix	24	17	13	16	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Sursa: Alberta Giorgi, 2012, The Cultural Construction of Migrant Women in the Italian Press
(Construcția culturală a femeilor migrante în presa italiană)*

c) Impactul COVID-19 asupra femeilor migrante

În timpul pandemiei COVID-19, angajatorii i-au redus la tăcere pe lucrătorii din domeniul sănătății care și-au exprimat îngrijorarea cu privire la condițiile de muncă din centrele de îngrijire (Amnesty International, 2021). Violența împotriva femeilor a persistat, iar obstacolele în calea accesului la avort nu au fost abordate. Un raport al UNICEF (2022) a constatat că femeile migrante din Italia s-au confruntat cu un risc sporit de violență din cauza izolării mai mari, a accesului mai redus la servicii și la rețele/centre de sprijin.

În 2021, Italia a înregistrat un total de 93 de femei ucise în incidente de violență domestică, 70 dintre acestea de către parteneri sau foști parteneri (Reuters, 2021). În decembrie 2021, guvernul a aprobat un proiect de lege pentru consolidarea măsurilor de prevenire a violenței împotriva femeilor și a violenței domestice. Printre acestea se numără accesul la despăgubiri provizorii timpurii în timpul anchetelor penale pentru victimele care raportează abuzurile și puteri mai largi pentru autorități de a adopta măsuri de supraveghere și coercitive împotriva autorilor (Ibidem).

În octombrie 2021, Senatul a blocat un proiect de lege menit să combată discriminarea și violența pe criterii de sex/gender, orientare sexuală, identitate de gen și handicap (Euronews, 2021). Proiectul de lege ar fi extins pentru persoanele LGBTI, femeile și persoanele cu dizabilități aceleași protecții disponibile pentru victimele discursului instigator la ură și ale crimelor motivate de ură bazate pe motive rasiste, religioase, etnice și naționaliste, având ca efect direct de a oferi mai puțină protecție femeilor migrante ca victime ale violenței bazate pe gen.

În 2020, a fost lansat un proiect de regularizare menit să asigure că persoanele cu statut neregularitar pot obține permise de ședere și de muncă și pot avea acces la servicii de sănătate în timpul pandemiei - cu toate acestea, a obținut rezultate limitate. Măsura s-a aplicat numai lucrătorilor din sectorul agroalimentar și lucrătorilor casnici (inclusiv lucrătorilor de îngrijire la domiciliu) (PICUM, 2021). În timp ce 89 % dintre lucrătorii casnici sunt femei, datele arată că doi din trei bărbați migranți au depus cereri de regularizare (Degani, 2022). Un număr mai mic de femei migrante care solicită regularizarea duce la "persistența exploatării" (Ibidem). Lucrătorii casnici care sunt femei migrante continuă să aibă condiții de muncă neregulate și sunt excluși în mod sistematic de la reglementările și beneficiile muncii.

Un exemplu notabil de femeie politician din Italia cu origini migrante:

Cécile Kashetu Kyenge, născută Kashetu Kyenge, 28 august 1964, este un politician și oftalmolog italian. A fost ministru pentru Integrare în cabinetul Letta din 2013-2014 și primul ministru de culoare din guvernul italian. Ea a propus o lege care să acorde cetățenie copiilor de imigranți dacă aceștia se nasc pe teritoriul italian.

Atât presa italiană, cât și cea internațională au relatat în mod regulat discursuri rasiste scandaloase împotriva ei, venite din partea unor membri influenți ai parlamentului, politicieni aleși, membri ai circumscripțiilor locale și ai consiliilor municipale (Meret, Corte și Sangiuliano (2013). Cuvintele lui Cécile Kyenge la prima sa conferință de presă, în replică la presa mainstream care o numea în continuare "primul ministru de culoare", a răspuns "Nu sunt de culoare, sunt de neagră și sunt mândră că sunt așa... trebuie într-adevăr să folosim cuvintele potrivite, începând cu cele pe care le folosim pentru a defini diversitatea, care este o resursă".

A fost aleasă în 2014 în Parlamentul European, unde a fost membră a Comisiei pentru libertăți civile, justiție și afaceri interne.

4. Participarea femeilor migrante la viața politică

Având în vedere multiplele bariere cu care se confruntă femeile migrante în ceea ce privește participarea, oportunitățile ca acestea să joace un rol activ în viața politică sunt foarte limitate. În timp ce dreptul de vot este exclusiv pentru cetățenii italieni și ai UE, femeile migrante care sunt resortisante ale țărilor terțe nu au nicio posibilitate de a fi active în viața politică. În plus, reprezentarea femeilor în politica italiană rămâne foarte scăzută.

Pentru a crește reprezentarea femeilor în politica italiană, au fost introduse cotele de gen și preferința de "dublu gen" în alegerile administrative, adică posibilitatea de a vota pentru o femeie și un bărbat pe buletinul de vot. Preferința dublă de gen este un nou mecanism care nu rezervă o cotă de locuri pentru sexul subreprezentat, și repară subreprezentarea femeilor în adunările decizionale, prin intermediul unui al doilea vot de preferință. Datorită acestuia, este încurajat un mai mare echilibru de gen în cadrul adunărilor, dar nu este impus. La fel ca și cotele, dubla preferință de gen este o măsură antidiscriminatorie formulată în mod neutru, deoarece nu afectează, direct sau indirect, rezultatele alegerilor.

În vigoare din 2013, potrivit unui studiu recent, măsurile au influențat componența administrațiilor locale, crescând cu 18% reprezentarea femeilor în consiliile municipale. În ciuda rezultatelor bune, este posibil ca dubla preferință să nu-și fi atins încă întregul potențial. Cotele de gen și dubla preferință sunt soluții care deschid ușa către politică, dar sunt departe de a conferi putere politică deplină¹⁴.

Inegalități și mai notabile pot fi găsite în administrația municipală și regională; chiar dacă reprezentarea locală este din ce în ce mai incluzivă, conform raportului Senatului privind egalitatea de gen, **mai puțin de 15% dintre primari sunt femei**¹⁵. Există multe obstacole care trebuie depășite în procesul politic de selecție și de a fi ales. Lipsa modelelor feminine este un factor de descurajare. În plus, din cauza prezenței scăzute a femeilor, se formează așteptări scăzute de succes, ceea ce descurajează și mai mult participarea.

În general, există o lipsă generală de politici de integrare a dimensiunii de gen. Atât legile, cât și practicile sunt, de obicei, lipsite de perspectiva de gen și contribuie adesea la simpla reproducere a inegalităților și a viziunii stereotipice asupra femeilor. Această orbiere la perspectiva de gen și lipsa de interes pentru a auzi vocile femeilor migrante în Parlamenta dus la situația în care exista o singură femeie de origine migrantă în Parlamentul italian în 2022 (din 630 de deputați și 315 senatori) (Petrovic, 2022).

De-a lungul anilor, au existat câteva exemple de femei migrante în instituțiile publice. Printre acestea se numără Mercedes Lourdes Frias, din Republica Dominicană, fost consilier pentru imigrație în municipalitatea din Empoli, și Cécile Kyenge, născută în

¹⁴ Di Orizonti Politici (2020): Mai multe femei în politică, dar fără mari puteri -La Voce <https://www.lavoce.info/archives/67586/piu-donne-in-politica-ma-senza-grandi-poteri/>

¹⁵ Universitatea Bocconi (2023) -Italia, un studiu de caz real al leadershipului feminin, <https://www.viasarfatti25.unibocconi.eu/notizia.php?idArt=25213>

Republica Democrată Congo, numită ministru al integrării de către guvernul Letta în 2013-2014 (Pasca, 2013). Alegerile din 2022 au scos la iveală câteva femei cetățeni italieni de origine migrantă. Printre acestea se numără, Ouidad Bakkali, născută în Maroc, în prezent deputat; Antonella Moro Bundu, născută în Sierra Leone, face parte din Consiliul Municipal din Florența; Diye Ndiaye, antropolog de origine senegaleză, consilier în municipalitatea din Scandicci (Florența) din 2014; și Veronica Atitsogbe, de origine togoleză, în prezent consilier municipal în Verona, devenind prima italiancă din a doua generație care a intrat în consiliul municipal (Sachy, 2022).

5. Participarea femeilor migrante la viața democratică

Asociațiile sau grupurile de femei migrante joacă un rol important în promovarea participării în societatea italiană. În Italia, în anii 1970, primele asociații ale femeilor migrante au fost înființate în momentul în care femeile migrante au sosit pentru prima dată în țară ca lucrătoare casnice (Chiappelli, 2016). În anii '80, femeile migrante au început să organizeze rețele de sprijin reciproc și solidaritate la nivel național. Printre acestea se numărau organizații ale femeilor migrante, cum ar fi Consiliul femeilor filipineze și Asociația femeilor din Capul Verde (Ibid.). Prin intermediul acestor organizații, femeile migrante desfășoară diferite activități, inclusiv sprijinirea integrării profesionale a femeilor migrante și acțiuni de advocacy pentru a influența legislația și schimbările de politică (Ibid.).

Example of Susținerea ADRI a condus la formularea a două întrebări scrise ale Parlamentului European privind problemele cu care se confruntă femeile migrante și familiile transnaționale, precum și la colectarea de date privind copiii rămași în urmă (2016); intensificarea acțiunii UE pentru protejarea drepturilor familiilor transnaționale (2022), deoarece multe femei care emigrează își lasă copiii, uneori foarte mici, în țara de origine, pentru a lucra ca menajere sau "îngrijitoare" care au grijă de persoanele în vârstă.

Un exemplu în acest sens este, Asociația Femeilor Române din Italia, sau ADRI, care se implică de ani de zile în promovarea drepturilor femeilor migrante române, în conștientizarea rolului important al acestora în economie și societate. De exemplu, ADRI, împreună cu Romanian Women's Lobby (RoWL), a organizat un atelier de lucru, "Femeile din România nu sunt o minoritate - campania 50/50"¹⁶, care a avut loc la 2 noiembrie 2022 la București, România. Evenimentul a fost organizat în cadrul proiectului „GLORIA - feminismul și abordarea strategică a egalității de gen” de către

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>

Fundația Centrul de Mediere și Securitate Comunitară (CMSC), în parteneriat cu RoWL, cu sprijinul Partidului Verde din România. Temele abordate în cadrul atelierului vor fundamenta viitoarele note politice și vor face recomandări pentru noi politici de reducere a inegalităților în ceea ce privește reprezentarea femeilor în poziții de decizie în politica românească și italiană¹⁷. ADRI desfășoară, de asemenea, activități de advocacy la nivelul UE - de exemplu, a contribuit la mai multe întrebări scrise ale Parlamentului European referitoare la problemele cu care se confruntă femeile migrante și familiile transnaționale, precum și la colectarea de date privind copiii rămași în urmă¹⁸.

Tabelul de mai jos prezintă alte organizații de femei migrante și organizații conduse de femei care sprijină femeile migrante din Italia:

Associazione Differenza Donna/Donne Migranti primește și găzduiește femei migrante care sosesc în Italia pentru reîntregirea familiei sau pentru a munci; printre acestea se numără femei care sunt victime ale violentei în țara de origine și în Italia și care au nevoie să fie însoțite într-o călătorie lungă care necesită reconstrucția unei identități psiho-fizice. www.differenzadonna.org/donne-migranti/

Associazione Stella sprijină accesul femeilor migrante la piața muncii din Italia. Aceasta le sprijină pe femeile migrante în crearea și îmbunătățirea CV-urilor lor, pentru a se perfecționa și a avea acces la oportunități de formare.

<https://www.facebook.com/stella.associazione>

Casa di Ramia este un centru intercultural care găzduiește femei italiene și migrante și copiii acestora. De-a lungul anilor, multe asociații diferite de femei migrante au devenit parte a casei și a activităților sale. Aceasta a devenit un loc de întâlnire unde femeile migrante își desfășoară activitățile, se întâlnesc cu alte persoane și

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>

¹⁸ Activitatea de advocacy a ADRI a dus la formularea a două întrebări scrise ale Parlamentului European privind problemele cu care se confruntă femeile migrante și familiile transnaționale, precum și la colectarea de date privind copiii rămași în urmă (2016); Intensificarea acțiunii UE pentru protejarea drepturilor familiilor transnaționale (2022), deoarece multe femei care emigrează își lasă copiii, uneori foarte mici, în țara de origine pentru a lucra ca menajere sau "îngrijitoare" care au grijă de persoanele în vârstă. A se vedea următoarele articole:

<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=FeminismGLORIA&set=a.159347323453070>;

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2016-002577_IT.html?redirect;

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-9-2022-000192_IT.pdf;

<https://aic.camera.it/aic/scheda.html?numero=4/00170&ramo=CAMERA&leg=19>;

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=875624330142482>

Eleonora Evi și Silvia Dumitrache;
<https://pace.coe.int/en/news/8022/leaving-millions-of-labour-migrants-children-without-parental-care-is-a-violation-of-human-rights->

6. Măsuri pentru promovarea și îmbunătățirea participării femeilor migrante în Italia

În prezent, nu există niciun efort pentru a include femeile migrante în politica sau în procesul de luare a deciziilor publice. Pe lângă nivelul național, multe regiuni au creat organisme consultative pentru a reuni părțile interesate de integrare, iar autoritățile locale au desfășurat consultări publice (Chiappelli, 2016). Cu toate acestea, participarea organizațiilor societății civile ații și a experților variază semnificativ de la o regiune la alta și nu este axată pe gen. În plus, aceste eforturi rămân în mare măsură de sus în jos. De asemenea, consultările publice implică rareori consiliile teritoriale pentru imigrație, organismele consultative care funcționează la nivel provincial sub mandatul Ministerului de Interne.

Un exemplu bună practică care implică migranții și este condus în primul rând de aceștia este consiliul consultativ al migranților din Napoli, (InfoMigrants, 2021). Sarcina sa principală este de a prezenta propuneri consiliului municipal pentru a îmbunătăți condițiile de viață ale migranților și, în cele din urmă, de a influența politicile de migrație. Participă reprezentanți ai diverselor comunități străine care trăiesc în Napoli, deși nu există nicio acțiune pentru a crea paritate de gen .

ONG-uri precum Action Aid Italia au făcut, de asemenea, presiuni pentru o mai mare participare a migranților. În 2021, a lansat proiectul "Migrant Voices Heard"¹⁹ , care promovează implicarea migranților prin intermediul consiliilor de migranți, ca actori direcți ai schimbării, prin procese de participare și cetățenie activă. Aceste procese vor fi definite și construite de organizațiile și comunitățile de migranți din teritoriile vizate, în colaborare cu autoritățile locale și organizațiile societății civile.

Concluzie

Este nevoie de un răspuns coordonat la o abordare sensibilă la dimensiunea de gen atunci când vine vorba de integrarea migranților, în special pentru a spori participarea femeilor migrante. Acest lucru poate fi realizat prin asigurarea dialogului între societatea civilă și guvern, pentru a face schimb de bune practici și a

¹⁹ A se vedea: <https://morethanprojects.actionaid.it/en/projects/migrantvoicesheard/>

identifica lacunele; colectarea sistematică de date defalcate pe sexe; o mai bună furnizare de informații pentru femeile migrante (de exemplu, furnizarea de informații privind drepturile și resursele în diferite limbi); participarea activă a organizațiilor de femei în special a organizațiilor conduse de femei migrante la consultările publice; și o mai bună finanțare a organizațiilor de femei migrante și a organizațiilor de femei care sprijină femeile migrante.

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Germany study by Gabriela Germany

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Politische und demokratische Partizipation von Migrantinnen in Deutschland

I. Einführung

Trotz des hohen Anteils und der steigenden Zahl von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland ist ihre Vertretung in Entscheidungsgremien von der kommunalen bis zur Bundesebene marginal und ihre Beteiligung an politischen und demokratischen Räumen immer noch begrenzt. Auf der anderen Seite gibt es immer mehr Lobbyarbeit und Initiativen von Migrantinnen selbst, um ihre politische und demokratische Beteiligung zu fördern und voranzutreiben.

Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung wurden einschlägige Erhebungen und Studien sowie Experteninterviews durchgeführt, um das Ausmaß der mangelnden Repräsentation von Migrantinnen in politischen und demokratischen Räumen in der deutschen Gesellschaft zu untersuchen und die Hindernisse und Faktoren zu ermitteln, die zu diesen Bedingungen führen. Darüber hinaus werden auch die verschiedenen Bemühungen und Initiativen von Migrantinnen zur Förderung ihrer Teilhabe analysiert. Mit den Ergebnissen dieser Untersuchung und auf der Grundlage unserer eigenen Erfahrungen in einer Migrantinnenorganisation wollen wir auch einen Beitrag zu der dringenden Forderung leisten, die unzureichende Repräsentation und eingeschränkte politische und demokratische Beteiligung dieser Gruppen in der deutschen Gesellschaft anzugehen.

Die befragten Experten kommen aus verschiedenen Bereichen, um eine breite Perspektive auf dieses Thema zu bieten. Zu den Interviewpartnern gehören Dr. Megha Amrith aus der Wissenschaft, Lea Rakovsky von einer Nichtregierungsorganisation und Wilfred Josue, Co-Vorsitzender des lokalen Beirats für Partizipation und Integration im Bezirk Steglitz-Zehlendorf- Berlin.

II. Migration und Migrantinnen in Deutschland

Im Jahr 2021 hatten 27,2 % (22,4 Millionen) der Personen in deutschen Privathaushalten einen sogenannten Migrationshintergrund, davon waren 49,2 % (11,0 Millionen) Frauen

(DESTASIS,¹ 2022). Als Personen mit Migrationshintergrund definiert DESTATIS (2022) Personen, bei denen mindestens ein Elternteil nicht die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit von Geburt an besitzt. Von den 11 Millionen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund sind 3,2 Millionen Frauen Nicht-EU-Bürgerinnen. Insgesamt stellen Migrantinnen in Deutschland eine heterogene Gruppe in Bezug auf Herkunftsregion und Aufenthaltstitel dar (Lechner und Atanisev, 2023).

Es gibt sechs Grundkategorien, die Ausländern ein Aufenthaltsrecht in Deutschland gewähren: befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis, Niederlassungserlaubnis oder Erlaubnis zum Daueraufenthalt, Einbürgerung, Unionsbürger (Freizügigkeitsrecht auf der Grundlage von EU-Verträgen), Aufenthaltserlaubnis zum Schutz von Asylbewerbern und Ausnahmegenehmigung zum Aufenthalt für ausreisepflichtige Personen, die nicht abgeschoben werden können. Darüber hinaus wird der Begriff "irregulärer" Aufenthalt verwendet, um Personen zu bezeichnen, die sich ohne reguläres Aufenthaltsrecht in Deutschland aufhalten. Sowohl die unerlaubte Einreise als auch der unerlaubte Aufenthalt sind strafbar und werden in der Regel mit einer Geld- oder Freiheitsstrafe geahndet (§ 95 AufenthG) (BMI/BAMF, 2020).

Tabelle 1 zeigt die sechs Grundkategorien des Aufenthaltsrechts in Deutschland zusammen mit einer kurzen Beschreibung (in Anlehnung an Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit, S.188).

Ein **Aufenthaltstitel** gewährt einen befristeten Aufenthalt. In den allermeisten Fällen kann er verlängert werden, solange die Voraussetzungen für die Erteilung weiterhin erfüllt sind.

Die **Niederlassungserlaubnis (oder Erlaubnis zum Daueraufenthalt - EU)** ist ein dauerhafter Titel, der in der Regel nach fünf Jahren Aufenthalt beantragt werden kann, sofern die gesetzlichen Voraussetzungen erfüllt sind. Personen mit einer Niederlassungserlaubnis sind deutschen Staatsangehörigen in nahezu allen Belangen gleichgestellt, haben aber kein Wahlrecht.

Ausländer können die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit im Wege der **Einbürgerung** erwerben. Sie haben einen einklagbaren Anspruch nach acht Jahren legalen Aufenthalts oder in Ausnahmefällen auch früher, sofern sie die Voraussetzungen erfüllen.

Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Europäischen Union mit der Staatsangehörigkeit eines anderen EU-Mitgliedstaates haben auf der Grundlage der europäischen Verträge ein **Recht auf Freizügigkeit**. Sie dürfen jederzeit nach Deutschland einreisen und hier arbeiten, ohne eine Aufenthaltserlaubnis zu benötigen.

Eine **Aufenthaltserlaubnis für Schutzsuchende** bestätigt, dass sich eine Person für die Dauer des

¹ DESTASIS - Statistisches Bundesamt Das Statistische Bundesamt ist eine Bundesbehörde der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Es ist die erste Anlaufstelle für amtliche Daten zu Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Umwelt und Staat.

Asylverfahrens in Deutschland aufhalten darf, um Asyl zu beantragen. Sie wird nur dann durch eine Aufenthaltserlaubnis ersetzt, wenn dem Asylantrag stattgegeben wird; im Falle einer Ablehnung muss die betreffende Person das Land verlassen.

Eine Ausnahmegenehmigung zum Aufenthalt wird Personen erteilt, die das Land verlassen müssen und nicht abgeschoben werden können. Die Ausnahmegenehmigung zum Aufenthalt ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass der Aufenthalt illegal ist. Sie kann jedoch unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen durch eine reguläre Aufenthaltserlaubnis ersetzt werden; hierfür gibt es verschiedene Rechtsgrundlagen.

Tabelle 1. Die sechs Grundkategorien des Aufenthaltsrechts in Deutschland und ihre kurze Beschreibung.

Die Zahl der Migrantinnen in Deutschland ist in den letzten fünf Jahren kontinuierlich gestiegen (DESTATIS, 2022) (Abb. 1). Diese Entwicklung ist ähnlich wie die der Gesamtzahl der Personen mit Migrationshintergrund.

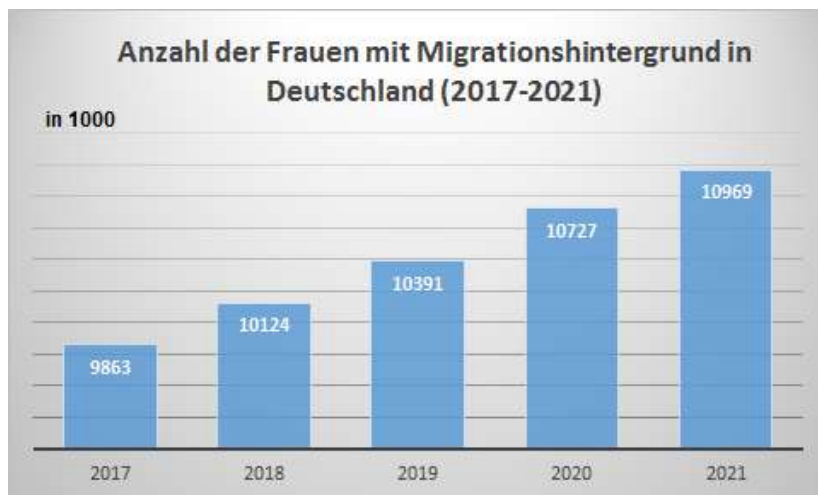


Abb. 1. Die Anzahl der Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund ist von 2017 bis 2021 stetig gestiegen (DESTATIS, 2022).

Frauen, die nach Deutschland zuwandern, kommen aus unterschiedlichen Weltregionen. Abb. 2 zeigt die Top-Länder, aus denen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland kommen, basierend auf der DESTATIS-Erhebung (2022) ab dem Jahr 2021.

Aus der jüngsten Erhebung geht hervor, dass die meisten Frauen, die in das Land einwandern, aus EU-Ländern kommen (33 %), allen voran aus Polen, Rumänien, Italien, Kroatien und Griechenland. Eine beträchtliche Anzahl kommt auch aus Nicht-EU-Ländern wie der Türkei, Russland und Kasachstan. Weitere asiatische Länder, aus denen die meisten Migrantinnen kommen, sind Syrien, Afghanistan, China und Vietnam.

Interessanterweise zeichnen sich einige Länder durch einen überproportionalen Anteil von Frauen

an der Gesamtzahl der Zuwanderer aus, wie Thailand (74,4 %), die Philippinen (67,9 %) und die Russische Föderation (59,3 %) (BMI/BAMF, 2020, S. 48). Dieser überproportionale Trend in zwei der genannten Länder - Thailand und den Philippinen - ist vor allem auf die hohe Zahl der Heiratsmigranten aus diesen Ländern zurückzuführen.

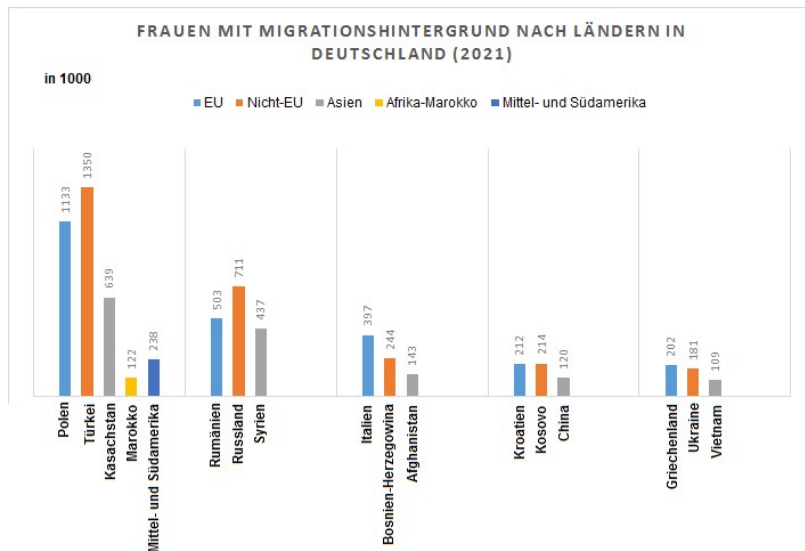


Abb. 2. Die Top-Länder aus den fünf Weltregionen, aus denen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland ab 2021 stammen. Daten aus der Erhebung von DESTATIS (2022).

Menschen, die ins Land kommen, um Asyl zu beantragen, sind dagegen mit einem völlig anderen politischen und bürokratischen Verfahren konfrontiert, das anderen Gesetzen unterliegt als die allgemeinen Regelungen für Ausländer (Statista Research Department, 2023).

In den Jahren 2015-2017 wurde ein besonderes Verfahren, das sogenannte "Clusterverfahren", angewandt (Brücke et al., 2019 (a)). Bei diesem Verfahren werden Asylbewerber auf der Grundlage der potenziellen Komplexität ihrer Fälle gruppiert, um die durchschnittlichen Bearbeitungszeiten zu beschleunigen. Asylsuchende wurden in Cluster A: Herkunftsländer, deren Staatsangehörige eine hohe Anerkennungsquote für Asylanträge haben, Cluster B: Herkunftsländer mit einer niedrigen Schutzquote, Cluster C: komplexe Fälle und Cluster D: (Dublin-Fälle)² eingeteilt. Dieses Gruppierungsverfahren minimierte im Allgemeinen die

² Mit dem "Dublin"-System wird festgelegt, welcher Mitgliedstaat der Europäischen Union (EU) für die Prüfung eines Asylantrags zuständig ist, den ein Drittstaatsangehöriger in einem Mitgliedstaat gestellt hat. Es soll sicherstellen, dass nur ein Mitgliedstaat für die Prüfung eines Asylantrags zuständig ist. Damit soll verhindert werden, dass

Länge der Wartezeiten, da die einfachen Fälle zuerst bearbeitet wurden, aber es führte auch zu größeren Unterschieden: Asylbewerber aus einigen Clustern mussten noch längere Verfahren durchlaufen (Brücke et al., 2019 (a)).

Deutschland ist derzeit die größte Volkswirtschaft in Europa und beheimatet eine vielfältige internationale Bevölkerung. Diese Bedingungen machen das Land zu einem attraktiven Ziel- und Aufenthaltsland für Migranten. Die vom Auswärtigen Amt erfassten Hauptgründe für den Aufenthalt von Nicht-EU-Bürgerinnen und -Bürgern in Deutschland waren im Jahr 2020 familiäre Gründe (15,9 %), vorübergehender Aufenthalt (10,8 %), Erwerbstätigkeit (8,1 %), Duldung³ (5,4%) und Bildung (4,7 %) (BMI/BAMF, 2020 S. 52).

In den letzten Jahren erlebte das Land einen Zustrom von Flüchtlingen und Asylbewerbern. Im Jahr 2015 erreichte die Zahl der angekommenen Flüchtlinge nach offiziellen Angaben einen Höchststand von einer Million, die hauptsächlich aus Syrien und Afghanistan kamen. In der Tat ist im Zeitraum zwischen 2015 und 2020 eine stärkere Veränderung der ausländischen Bevölkerung zu beobachten. In diesem Zeitraum wuchs die ausländische Bevölkerung um 25,5% (BMI/BAMF, 2020, S. 175). Diese Entwicklung ist vor allem auf die Zuwanderungen in den Jahren 2015 und 2016 zurückzuführen, die durch hohe Zuzugszahlen im Zusammenhang mit dem Flüchtlingszustrom gekennzeichnet waren. Eine weitere Welle von Flüchtlingsankünften erfolgte im vergangenen Jahr, als der Krieg in der Ukraine ausbrach. Bis November 2022 kamen über eine Million Flüchtlinge aus der Ukraine in Deutschland an (Statista, 2023).

III. Hindernisse für die Teilnahme

Jede der verschiedenen Kategorien zum Erwerb des Rechts auf Einreise und Aufenthalt in Deutschland stellt spezifische Anforderungen und Vorschriften auf (siehe Tabelle 1).

Die gesetzlichen Regelungen zur Einreise und zum Aufenthalt in Deutschland gelten als umständlich und komplex und sind Gegenstand öffentlicher Diskussionen und Kritik. Tatsächlich ist der Erwerb einer Aufenthaltserlaubnis schwierig und restriktiv und schränkt Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund bei der Ausübung ihrer politischen Rechte und der

Asylbewerber von einem Land in ein anderes geschickt werden und dass eine Person mehrere Asylanträge stellt (Europäischer Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte, 2021).

³ Eine *Duldung* ist kein rechtsgültiger Aufenthaltstitel. Sie bescheinigt, dass Sie ausreisepflichtig sind, aber derzeit nicht ausreisen oder abgeschoben werden können, weil ein Abschiebungshindernis vorliegt (§ 60a AufenthG). Eine Duldung kann für ein paar Tage oder für mehrere Monate erteilt werden. Je nach Grund sind die Ausländerbehörden entweder verpflichtet, Ihnen eine Duldung zu erteilen, oder sie haben ein Ermessen, dies zu tun.

Teilnahme am demokratischen Leben ein. Die Erfahrungen von Gabriela Deutschland, die mit Heiratsmigrantinnen aus den Philippinen arbeitet, zeigen, dass einige Frauen trotz ehelicher Schwierigkeiten gezwungen sind, in einer Ehe zu bleiben, und manchmal Missbrauch ausgesetzt sind, da ihr Recht auf Aufenthalt im Land rechtlich an die Gültigkeit der Ehe für drei Jahre gebunden ist.

In der Tat haben verschiedene Gruppen von Migranten einen unterschiedlichen rechtlichen Status, der ihre Freiheit und ihr Ausmaß an Beteiligung erheblich beeinflusst. Lea Rakovsky, Projektkoordinatorin von Ban Ying e.V. und eine der befragten Expertinnen, sagte, es sei wichtig zu wissen, dass sich Migranten aus EU-Ländern rechtlich gesehen keine Sorgen um ihre Aufenthaltsgenehmigung machen müssen. "Es gibt immer noch die vorherrschende Machtdynamik, die ihre Wurzeln in der Kolonialgeschichte hat und das Ausmaß der Diskriminierung von Frauen aus Nicht-EU-Ländern beeinflusst", fügte sie hinzu.

Darüber hinaus genießen Frauen aus EU-Mitgliedsstaaten mehr Freizügigkeit als Frauen aus so genannten "Drittstaaten". Die Freizügigkeit bzw. die Erleichterung der Freizügigkeit zwischen den Ländern des EU-Binnenmarktes macht Migration und Integration für die Bürgerinnen und Bürger der EU-Mitgliedsstaaten, einschließlich Deutschlands, weniger schwierig, da sie zu jedem Zeitpunkt ihres Lebens die Wahl haben, wo sie arbeiten und leben möchten (Statista Research Department, 2023).

Dies steht im krassen Gegensatz zu den Maßnahmen, die für verschiedene Migrantengruppen ergriffen wurden. Für Arbeitsmigranten wurden neue Gesetze eingeführt, um ihre Einreise zu erleichtern, während für Nicht-Arbeitsmigranten die bürokratischen Schwierigkeiten fortbestehen. Am 1. März 2020 wurde ein neues Arbeitsmigrationsgesetz, das Fachkräftezuwanderungsgesetz, erlassen, um die Anwerbung und Zuwanderung qualifizierter Fachkräfte in das Land zu erleichtern. Es enthält Bestimmungen, die die Möglichkeiten für Arbeitnehmer aus Nicht-EU-Ländern erweitern, sich in Deutschland um Arbeit zu bewerben, während das Wahlrecht weiterhin nur Personen mit deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit gewährt wird.

Flüchtlinge und Asylsuchende stehen auch vor verschiedenen Herausforderungen, nicht nur um ihre Aufenthaltsgenehmigung zu erhalten und ein neues Leben in Deutschland beginnen zu können, sondern auch um ein gesundes psychologisches Wohlbefinden zu erhalten. Flüchtlinge sind oft stärker als andere Migranten traumatischen Ereignissen ausgesetzt, die durch Kriege, Gewalt und Verfolgung verursacht werden - sowohl in ihren Herkunftsländern als auch in Transitländern (Brücker et al., 2019 (a)). Die Studie von Brücker et al. (2019 (a)) zeigt außerdem, dass die gemeldete Prävalenz von psychischen Gesundheitsrisiken wie depressionsbedingten Symptomen, posttraumatischen Belastungsstörungen und

psychischen Störungen unter Flüchtlingen bei Frauen und Personen über 40 Jahren überproportional hoch ist. All diese Gesundheitsprobleme können die soziale Teilhabe behindern.

Weibliche Flüchtlinge mit Kindern, insbesondere mit Kleinkindern, haben weniger Möglichkeiten, an Integrationshilfen wie Sprachkursen teilzunehmen. Sie nehmen auch weniger an Bildungsmaßnahmen teil und haben schließlich eine deutlich niedrigere Beschäftigungsquote als ihre männlichen Kollegen (Brücker et al., 2019 (b)).

In einem Interview wies Dr. Amrith, die Leiterin der Max-Planck-Forschungsgruppe "Altern in einer Zeit der Mobilität", darauf hin, dass die Sprache auch ein Hindernis für die Teilnahme am politischen Leben und für das Gefühl der Einbeziehung und Zugehörigkeit in politischen Räumen oder auf lokaler Ebene sein kann. "Im akademischen Bereich, in dem ich arbeite, ist es für Migrantinnen schwieriger, eine Stelle zu finden, insbesondere eine längerfristige Festanstellung oder eine höhere Position wie eine Professur, wenn sie nicht fließend Deutsch sprechen - sie werden oft so wahrgenommen, dass sie aufgrund der Sprachbeschränkung nicht in der Lage sind, in der Verwaltung mitzuarbeiten oder auf Deutsch zu lehren", fügte sie hinzu.

In Deutschland besteht die Grundvoraussetzung für politische Teilhabe im aktiven und passiven Wahlrecht auf nationaler und lokaler Ebene. Um diese Rechte in Anspruch nehmen zu können, muss man jedoch die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzen - also das Wahlrecht.

Dr. Amrith glaubt auch, dass Diskriminierung ein Hindernis ist, das die Beteiligung von Migrantinnen einschränkt. Sie wies darauf hin, dass Migrantinnen zweifellos stärker diskriminiert werden als andere Frauen, unabhängig davon, ob sie in erster, zweiter oder dritter Generation im Land sind. Sie werden oft nach ihrem "Migrationshintergrund" gefragt, werden häufig rassistisch eingestuft und nie wirklich als zugehörig angesehen, selbst wenn sie schon seit vielen Jahren im Land leben. Sie fügte hinzu, dass es auch von der Stadt, in der man lebt, abhängen kann, ob sie im Großen und Ganzen Vielfalt und freie Meinungsäußerung begrüßt und fördert (z. B. Berlin) oder ob sie relativ homogen ist und von Migrantinnen erwartet, dass sie sich mehr an die deutschen sozialen Normen anpassen.

Außerdem war das deutsche Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht jahrzehntelang recht restriktiv (Miera, 2009). Erst am 1. Januar 2000 trat mit dem novellierten Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz (StAG) die grundlegende Überarbeitung des deutschen Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts in Kraft. Damit wurde das Abstammungsprinzip, das bis dahin die einzige Möglichkeit zum Erwerb der Staatsangehörigkeit bzw. der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft darstellte, ergänzt. Das bedeutet, dass nun auch in Deutschland geborene Kinder nicht-deutscher Eltern unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit erwerben können

(Auswärtiges Amt, 2022).

Laut Rakovsky sind die Frauen, die sie unterstützen, mit sehr schwerwiegenden und dringenden [persönlichen] Problemen konfrontiert, und oft bleibt nicht viel Raum für politische Partizipation - zum Beispiel muss man sich schnell aus der Situation des sexuellen Menschenhandels befreien, eine schwierige finanzielle Situation durch den Ehemann überwinden oder sich mit Fragen der Aufenthaltsgenehmigung befassen, bevor man überhaupt die Möglichkeit hat, am politischen Leben teilzunehmen.

Auch die Medien spielen eine Rolle, wenn es darum geht, die Teilhabe von Migrantinnen zu fördern oder einzuschränken. In Bezug auf die mediale Repräsentation haben Studien ergeben, dass Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund in verschiedenen Mediensendungen deutlich seltener vorkommen (z. B. Lünenborg, Fritsche und Bach, 2011) als Männer mit Migrationshintergrund. Auf quantitativer und qualitativer Basis behaupten die Autoren, dass Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund nur in einem Drittel aller migrationspezifischen Medienbeiträge vorkommen. Neben der migrations- und geschlechtsspezifischen Benachteiligung von Frauen in der medialen Repräsentation ist nach wie vor die Darstellung von Migrantinnen als Objekt der Begierde, als "exotisch" oder "orientalisch" weit verbreitet.

Ausgehend von der Studie von Lind und Meltzer (2020), in der sie die Sichtbarkeit von Geschlecht in der Medienberichterstattung über Migranten untersuchten, stellten sie fest, dass Migrantinnen deutlich unterrepräsentiert sind. Sie argumentierten, dass die Unsichtbarkeit von Migrantinnen die wahrgenommene Bedeutung ihrer Bedürfnisse für das Publikum verringern kann. Für Migrantinnen könnte dies ihr Selbstwertgefühl mindern und sie daran hindern, einflussreiche Positionen in der Gesellschaft einzunehmen. Daraus folgt, dass die Unterrepräsentation von Migrantinnen in den Medien schwerwiegende Folgen für sie als soziale Gruppe und für die Gesellschaft als Ganzes haben kann.

IV. Beteiligung von Migrantinnen am politischen Leben

Um die mangelnde politische Partizipation von Migrantinnen zu verstehen, ist es wichtig, zunächst zu untersuchen, wie Frauen im Allgemeinen in den politischen Räumen des Landes vertreten sind. Ebenso wichtig ist es, darauf hinzuweisen, dass sich diese Untersuchung an der Definition von politischer Partizipation als Bemühungen orientiert, durch die Einzelpersonen versuchen, die lokale, staatliche oder nationale Politik durch Interaktion mit der Exekutive zu beeinflussen und/oder zu lenken. Diese Beteiligung kann in Form von Stimmabgabe bei Wahlen und Volksabstimmungen oder als Wählbarkeit erfolgen. Sie

umfasst auch die Fähigkeit, durch Einzel- und Gruppenaktionen aktiv an der Politik teilzunehmen und sich über wichtige Themen und anstehende Entscheidungen der Exekutive zu informieren.

Der Anteil der Frauen im Deutschen Bundestag lag nach der Bundestagswahl 2017 bei nur 31 % oder 218 der 709 gewählten Abgeordneten. Obwohl dieser Anteil nach den Wahlen am 26. September 2021 leicht auf 34,7 % anstieg, ist er immer noch weit von einer gleichberechtigten Vertretung der Geschlechter entfernt (EAF Berlin, 2022). Abb. 3 zeigt die Anzahl der Frauen im 20. Deutschen Bundestag im Vergleich zur Gesamtzahl der Sitze, die jede der großen Parteien hat (Statista, 2022).

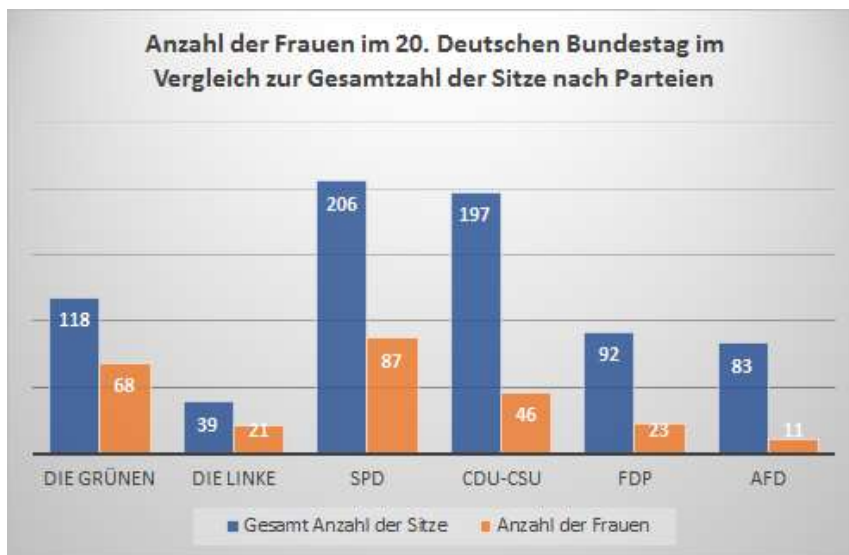


Abb. 3. Die Anzahl der Frauen im 20. Deutschen Bundestag im Vergleich zur Gesamtzahl der Sitze pro Partei (Statista, 2022).

Was die Kandidaturen anbelangt, so ist der Anteil der Frauen auf den nationalen Listen ab September 2021 (Abb. 4) relativ höher als die der Gewählten.

Den verfügbaren Daten zufolge sind Frauen in den Entscheidungsgremien von der kommunalen bis zur nationalen Ebene im Allgemeinen immer noch stark unterrepräsentiert. Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund, die sich in der Politik engagieren, sind immer noch relativ wenige, und die politischen Karrieren von Migranten werden durch Stereotypen und Widerstände innerhalb der politischen Parteien und in der Art und Weise, wie sie von den Medien dargestellt werden, behindert. Die wenigen, die erfolgreich sind, werden immer noch als etwas "Anderes", "Exotisches" wahrgenommen - oder ihre "Normalität" erscheint mühsam (Miera, 2009).

Die Vertretung von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund war bei den letzten beiden Bundestagswahlen - 2017 und 2021 - marginal. Obwohl die Gesamtzahl der Abgeordneten mit Migrationshintergrund sowie die Zahl der Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund leicht gestiegen ist, sind die Zahlen immer noch weniger repräsentativ, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Gesamtzahl der Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland 22,4 Millionen (27,2 %) beträgt.

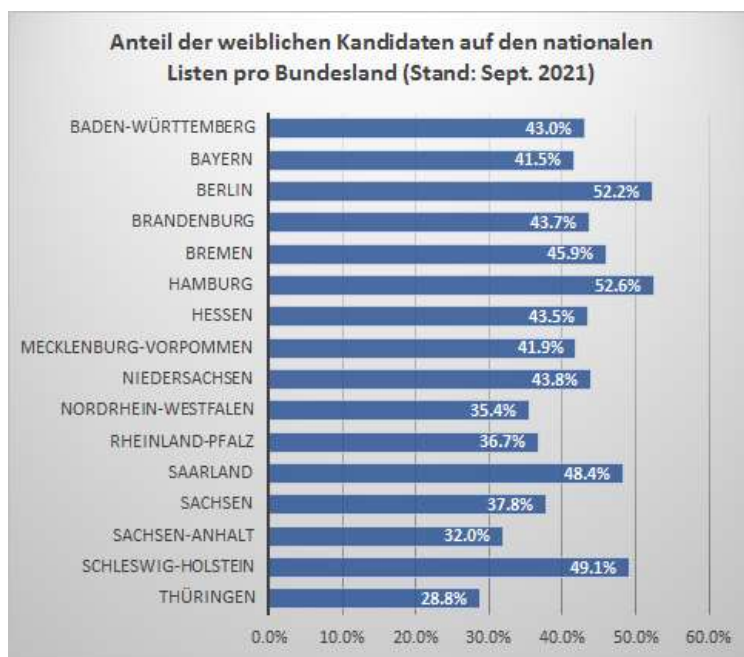


Abb. 4. Anteil der weiblichen Kandidaten auf den nationalen Listen pro Staat ab September 2021 (EAF Berlin, 2021).

Partei	Bundratswahlen 2021			Bundeswahlen 2017		
	MP (Gesamt)	MP mit Migrationshintergrund (Gesamt)	MP mit Migrationshintergrund (Frauen)	MP (Gesamt)	MP mit Migrationshintergrund (Gesamt)	MP mit Migrationshintergrund (Frauen)
SPD	206	35	14	153	15	7
CDU/CSU	196	8	4	246	7	2
Grün	118	17	11	67	10	6
FDP	92	5	1	80	5	1

AfD	83	6	1	93	8	1
Die Linke	39	11	6	69	13	7
SSW	1	1				
Unabhängig				1	0	
Insgesamt	735	83	37	709	58	24

Tabelle 2. Die Gesamtzahl der Bundestagsabgeordneten im Vergleich zur Zahl der Abgeordneten mit Migrationshintergrund und der entsprechenden Zahl der weiblichen Abgeordneten mit Migrationshintergrund nach den Bundestagswahlen 2017 und 2021 (Mediendienst Integration, 2021).

Laut Sauer (2016) zeigen empirische Forschungsergebnisse, dass sich die politische Partizipation von Migranten in Bezug auf Wahlprozesse im Laufe der Zeit verbessert hat, aber immer noch in allen Bereichen niedriger ist als die der einheimischen Bürger. Es gebe Rahmenbedingungen der direkten politischen Partizipation, die Ausländerinnen und Ausländer ausschließen, bedingt durch die mangelnde Wahrnehmung politischer Institutionen als Akteure und unterschiedliche soziodemografische Strukturen. Auch im Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (2020) über das Integrationspotenzial liegt der Schwerpunkt eher auf dem bürgerschaftlichen und sozialen Engagement von Zuwanderern als auf der Beteiligung an Wahlen und politischen Parteien.

Dr. Amrith sagte, dass die Partizipation von Migrantinnen ein Spektrum ist, das von gar nicht bis hin zur Partizipation nur bei Migrationsthemen reicht. Sie fügte hinzu, dass es teilweise davon abhängt, wie lange man schon in Deutschland lebt. Wilfred Dominic Josue stellte fest, dass farbige Frauen und Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund vor allem auf lokaler Ebene aktiv sind.

Rakovsky fügte hinzu, dass in einigen Interviews, die sie zur Untersuchung der politischen Partizipation geführt haben, einige der Frauen sagten, sie fühlten sich überhaupt nicht berechtigt, sich zu beteiligen. Vielmehr sagten sie, dass sie dankbar wären, wenn sie irgendetwas bekämen (z. B. eine Aufenthaltsgenehmigung), und dass sie außerdem Angst hätten, in Schwierigkeiten zu geraten, wenn sie politisch aktiv sind. Außerdem sind sie mit der deutschen Politik nicht sehr vertraut.

Roth (2017) argumentiert, dass rechtliche Gleichstellung allein nicht ausreicht. Vielmehr ist es notwendig, migrationsspezifische Barrieren zu beseitigen, zum Beispiel durch die Vermittlung von angemessenen Sprachkenntnissen und Grundwissen über das politische System des Aufnahmelandes sowie den Zugang zu politischen Parteien und anderen Vereinigungen, um eine faire politische Vertretung der Interessen von Migranten zu erreichen.

V. Beteiligung von Frauen am demokratischen Leben

Im Allgemeinen ist die Beteiligung von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund am demokratischen Leben geringer als die von Frauen ohne Migrationshintergrund (Miera, 2009). Darüber hinaus beeinflussen verschiedene Faktoren wie das Herkunftsland, der Grund für die Migration und die Tatsache, ob es sich um eine Migrantin der ersten oder zweiten Generation handelt, den Grad der Beteiligung.

Dr. Amrith ist der Meinung, dass die Einbeziehung von Migrantinnen in die Entscheidungsfindung auf lokaler Ebene einen nachhaltigen Einfluss auf die nächste Frauengeneration haben kann. Dies liegt daran, dass die Prioritäten von Migrantinnen sich wahrscheinlich vom Status quo unterscheiden und eine größere Sensibilität in Bezug auf die Einbeziehung intersektionaler Identitäten erfordern.

Derzeit gibt es in Deutschland eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Initiativen, Organisationen und Netzwerken, die von Migrantinnen geleitet werden und deren Ziel es ist, ihre demokratische Beteiligung und Vertretung zu fördern und zu verbessern. Die meisten der bestehenden Organisationen vertreten eine bestimmte Gruppe (z. B. Herkunftsland, Migrationsstatus oder LGBTQ). Während einige Organisationen offiziell registriert sind oder den Status eines e.V. (*eingetragener Verein*) haben, gibt es andere, die dies nicht sind, aber in politischen und demokratischen Räumen recht sichtbar sind.

In Tabelle 3 werden einige nationale und lokale (Brandenburg-Berlin) Migrantinnenselbstorganisationen vorgestellt.

Organisation (eingetragen, e.V.)	Kurzbeschreibung
DaMigra (Dachverband der Migrantinnen Organisationen)	agiert seit 2014 als bundesweites, herkunftsunabhängiges und frauenspezifisches Dach für Migrantinnenorganisationen.
Frauen im Exil	Eine Gruppe von Flüchtlingsfrauen, die sich in der Region Berlin-Brandenburg für ihre Rechte einsetzen.
Internationaler Frauenraum	Gegründet im Dezember 2012 während der Besetzung der ehemaligen Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule in Berlin-Kreuzberg durch das Refugee Movement und seit 2017 eingetragen. Sie beschreiben sich selbst als politische Organisation, die sich gegen Angriffe auf Frauen und

	die Probleme, mit denen sie konfrontiert sind, wehrt: als Flüchtlingsfrauen, als Migrantinnen und als Nicht-Migrantinnen.
Bundesverband der Migrantinnen in Deutschland	Ein unabhängiger, überparteilicher und demokratischer Verein von Migrantinnen aus der Türkei in Deutschland. Gegründet im März 2005 mit dem Ziel, die Integration türkischer und kurdischer Migrantinnen in allen Bereichen des deutschen Lebens zu fördern.

Tabelle 3. Einige nationale Migrantinnenselbstorganisationen.

VI. Maßnahmen zur Förderung und Verbesserung der Beteiligung von Migrantinnen

Das Verständnis der politischen und demokratischen Teilhabe von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund im weiteren Sinne ist ein guter Schritt zur Förderung ihrer Teilhabe. Es gibt bereits einige Vorschläge (z. B. Miera, 2009; Roth, 2017) für ein breiteres Verständnis der politischen Partizipation von Migranten in Deutschland. Dazu gehören die Beteiligung an institutionalisierten Runden Tischen, Konsultationen und die Mitwirkung in der Zivilgesellschaft und nicht nur die Stimmabgabe und Kandidatur bei Wahlen. Ein Beispiel für partizipative Projekte sind die Migrantenbeiräte (z. B. in Leipzig)⁴. Darüber hinaus überwindet dieses breitere Verständnis die Einschränkungen, die sich aus dem Fehlen von Staatsbürgerschaftsrechten ergeben, und berücksichtigt die beträchtliche Zahl von Zuwanderern ohne deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft, einschließlich derjenigen, die als irreguläre Migranten gelten.

Dr. Amrith erklärte, dass die Verbesserung der Teilhabe von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund bedeutet, eine offene und einladende Atmosphäre für Frauen mit unterschiedlichem Hintergrund zu schaffen. Ein breiteres Verständnis dafür zu entwickeln, was es bedeutet, in der heutigen deutschen Gesellschaft zu leben, die sich aus Menschen mit einer Reihe von intersektionalen Identitäten zusammensetzt.

⁴ Migrantenbeirat Leipzig.

<https://english.leipzig.de/youth-family-and-community/foreign-nationals-and-migrants/migrants-integration-and-interkulturelle-aktivitaeten-in-leipzig/die-stadt-leipzig-migrantenbeirat/die-mitglieder-des-migrantenbeirats-leipzig>

Rakovsky zufolge sollte die Verbesserung wirklich bei der Gewährung des Aufenthaltsstatus ansetzen und es sollte mehr Möglichkeiten geben, zu migrieren, hier zu leben und zu arbeiten, damit Migrantinnen die Möglichkeit haben, politisch aktiv zu werden. "Ein besserer Zugang zu Arbeit und die Möglichkeit, unabhängig zu werden und sich selbst zu versorgen, sind ebenfalls wichtige Faktoren", fügte sie hinzu.

Für Josue würde der Abbau von Bürokratie und Papierkram bei der Beschaffung von Finanzmitteln für die Stärkung von Migrantinnen mehr Organisationen dazu ermutigen, Finanzmittel zu beantragen, und ihnen somit Mittel zur Unterstützung ihrer Initiativen zur Verfügung stellen.

Gabriela Deutschland hat erlebt, wie die Selbstorganisationen von Migrantinnen während der Pandemie besonders hilfreich waren. Viele Migrantinnen, insbesondere BIPOCs (*Black, Indigenous and People of Colour*), leiden aufgrund ihrer Situation unter Isolation, Angst und Perspektivlosigkeit. Es besteht jedoch Bedarf an einem speziellen Unterstützungsprogramm, das Frauen dabei hilft, wieder auf die Beine zu kommen und am politischen und demokratischen Leben teilzunehmen.

In Bezug auf die Darstellung in den Medien ist Dr. Amrith der Ansicht, dass die Verbreitung sozialer Medien und die Fähigkeit von Migrantinnen, sich selbst in vielen dieser Kanäle darzustellen, maximiert werden sollten, damit sie ein positiveres Bild von sich selbst zeichnen können als in den traditionellen Medienkanälen.

"Die Menschen können sich in den Organisationen oder Einrichtungen, in denen sie arbeiten, an der Sensibilisierung für die Herausforderungen, mit denen Migrantinnen konfrontiert sind, in religiösen Einrichtungen und in ihren Wohnvierteln politisch engagieren, auch wenn dies nicht über die offiziellen politischen Kanäle geschieht", fügte sie hinzu.

Es gibt in der Tat viele Möglichkeiten, die Teilhabe von Migrantinnen zu fördern und zu erhöhen. Dazu gehören der Abbau bürokratischer Hürden bei der Sicherung des Bleiberechts, die Ermöglichung von Freizügigkeit und Wahlrecht, eine bessere Vertretung in den Medien, die Erhöhung der Anzahl von Frauen in Entscheidungspositionen, die Bekämpfung ihrer Diskriminierung und die Unterstützung ihrer Selbstorganisation, nicht nur um sich gegenseitig zu unterstützen, sondern auch um sich gemeinsam zu stärken und für ihre Rechte zu kämpfen.

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Serbia study by NGO Atina

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Politička i demokratska participacija žena migrantkinja u Republici Srbiji

I. Migracije i žene migrantkinje u nacionalnom kontekstu

U novijoj istoriji, Republika Srbija prošla je kroz različite faze migracija stanovništva. Najveće migracije na ovim prostorima nastale su tokom '90. godina prošlog veka kao posledica raspada Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Građanski ratovi koji su usledili izazvali su prinudna iseljavanja miliona ljudi su morali da napuste svoje domove u najvećem broju iz bivših jugoslovenskih Republika i pokrajina i to iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, kao i sa Kosova i Metohije. Uporedo s tim, građanke i građani napuštali su teritoriju Srbije, nakon višegodišnjih sankcija, NATO bombardovanja, ali i zbog osećaja da su gubitnici tranzicije, koja u Republici Srbiji još uvek traje. Izvesnija budućnost, veća plata, bolji životni standard i uređenost države jesu glavni razlozi za iseljavanje i oblikuju migracijske obrasce u Srbiji i danas, ali i „ugrožavanja sloboda i prava građana, nagomilane nepravde u društvu koja je posledica bahatosti političara na vlasti i situacija u kojima oni građane konstantno prave budalama“¹.

Kao posledicu loših političkih odluka koji je režim Slobodana Miloševića nametao, društvo se suočilo sa nezaposlenošću, smanjenjem standarda života i siromaštvom, što je takođe uticalo na migracijske tokove. Iseljavanje se nastavilo i nakon smene njegovog režima, i ubistva premijera Zorana Đinđić i još uvek traje. Stanovništvo svih uzrasta i nivoa obrazovanja napušta Srbiju.

Nakon što su Srbija i EU 2008. godine potpisale Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju, odnosi dveju strana podignuti su na novi nivo, što je dovelo do ukidanja viza za građane Srbije za ulazak u zemlje Šengena u decembru 2009. godine. Time je i povećana imigracija iz Srbije u zemlje EU, s obzirom na to da je olakšano kretanje studenata, radnika i sl. Međutim, to je uticalo i na pojavu pojedinih građana ili čitavih grupa, posebno iz siromašnijih delova zemlje, koji su odlazili u zemlje EU u nadi da će tamo moći da ostanu i da se zaposle. Zbog toga su zemlje EU insistirale na potpisivanju takozvanih sporazuma o readmisiji sa Srbijom, na osnovu kojih je

¹ <https://www.wfd.org/sites/default/files/2022-02/WFD-Serbia-Istraz%CC%8Civanje-i-analiza-Odlazak-mladih-i-nepoverenje-u-politiku-2020.pdf>

veliki broj državljana Srbije vraćen prethodnih godina i još uvek se vraća. S druge strane, kako su zemlje EU u kontinuitetu u deficitu za (visokokvalifikovanom) radnom snagom, neke od njih su olakšale dolazak i zapošljavanje građana Srbije. Tako je, na primer, veliki broj lekara i medicinskog osoblja otišao iz Srbije na rad u Nemačku ili Sloveniju. Proces integracije u EU, koji je Srbija u međuvremenu započela, nakon što je postala zvaničan kandidat 2012. godine, samo je ubrzao iseljavanje iz Srbije u EU. Pretpostavlja se da nekoliko desetina hiljada mladih i visokoobrazovanih ljudi svake godine napusti Srbiju i nađe posao u zemljama EU. Takođe, zvanični podaci poslednjeg popisa pokazali su da je Srbija izgubila oko pola miliona stanovnika². Jedan članak pod nazivom „Mnogo umiremo i bežimo iz Srbije: Bolan šamar koji nam je opalio poslednji popis stanovništva”³ govori u prilog svim razlozima zbog kojih je od devedesetih godina pa do danas Srbiju napustilo više od milion građana. Taj trend odlaska iz zemlje praktično nije zaustavljen.

S druge strane, geografski položaj zemlje utiče u velikoj meri i na činjenicu da mnoge izbeglice, migranti i tražioci azila from iz politički nestabilnih i siromašnih zemalja sa Bliskog istoka, centralne Azije i Afrike, prolaze kroz Srbiju. Međutim, ti brojevi su se višestruko povećali nakon Arapskog proleća, a posebno od 2015. godine i izbijanja velike izbegličke krize, kada je samo od leta 2015. do proleća 2016. kroz Srbiju prošlo preko milion izbeglica i migranata, pre svega iz Sirije, Iraka, Avganistana, ali i iz drugih zemalja na putu ka zemljama EU. Bilo je dana kada je u Srbiju ušlo i preko 10.000 ljudi, zbog čega svi nisu mogli ni da budu registrovani. Na ovu krizu i veliki broj ljudi koji su krenuli ka EU značajno je uticala pojava i širenje Islamske države u Siriji i Iraku i njena brutalnost prema nevernicima, ženama, deci, kao i etničkim i verskim manjinama, posebno Kurdima i Jazidima. U tom talasu izbeglica, kroz Srbiju su dolazile i prolazile hiljade pojedinaca, porodica, maloletnika bez pratnje iz ovih i drugih zajednica i naroda. Nakon što je EU u martu 2016. potpisala sporazum sa Turskom o povratku izbeglica i migranata i zatvaranju granica, priliv ljudi koji su prolazili kroz Srbiju se smanjio, ali nije prestao.

To je postalo posebno evidentno nakon izbijanja drugog sukoba, ruske invazije na Ukrajinu, u proleće 2022. godine. Tokom 2022. godine, u Srbiju je došlo preko 116.000 izbeglica i migranata (prema podacima Komesarijata za izbeglice i migracije), što je povećanje od preko 100% u odnosu na 2021. Tome su ipak doprinele hiljade izbeglica

² <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/srbija-popis-stanovnistvo/32187570.html>

³ <https://nova.rs/vesti/drustvo/mnogo-umiremo-i-bezimo-iz-srbije-bolan-samar-koji-nam-je-opalio-poslednji-popis-stanovnistva/>

iz Ukrajine koje su došle u Srbiju, ali i porast broja izbeglica iz drugih zemalja, kao što su Burundi ili Avganistan: mnogo njih je pobjeglo iz te države nakon povratka talibana na vlast tokom leta 2021. Međutim, ovaj broj izbeglica i migranata ne uključuje državljane Rusije koji su u Srbiju došli u istom periodu – nakon početka rata u Ukrajini, i proklamovane ograničene mobilizacije u Rusiji u septembru 2022. Pretpostavlja se da će većina ruskih državljana privremeno boraviti u Srbiji, iako je njihov broj prilično visok: procenjuje se da ih je u Srbiju 2022. došlo između 100.000 i 200.000. To su uglavnom visoko obrazovani, mladi, poslovni ljudi iz IT sektora, brojni startapovi i drugi koji su preselili posao u Srbiju. O tome jasno govore podaci Agencije za privredne registre: broj novih ruskih kompanija i preduzetnika u 2021. godini bio je 159, dok ih je 2022. bilo čak 4.187. Na dolazak velikog broja Rusa uticala je pozitivna društvena klima i tradicionalno dobri odnosi Srbije i Rusije, neuvođenje sankcija Rusiji od strane srpskih vlasti, besplatni vizni režim i održavanje direktne avio-linije između Beograda i Moskve; Beograd je, pored Istanbula i Tbilisija, ostao jedina evropska prestonica u koju su Rusi mogli slobodno da putuju nakon početka rata u Ukrajini.

Nerešeno pitanje Kosova imalo je direktan uticaj na migracione tokove u Srbiji prethodnih godina. Pošto status pokrajine nije rešen i 5 zemalja EU je odbilo da prizna nezavisnost Kosova, građani Kosova su godinama bili na crnoj šengenskoj listi, odnosno morali su da dobijaju vize za zemlje EU. To je uticalo na pojavu velikih migracija sa Kosova u EU, posebno tokom 2014. godine, kada je veliki broj građana Kosova, preko Srbije, otišao u zemlje EU, odakle su mnogi kasnije vraćeni. Istovremeno, na viznu politiku Srbije prema ovim zemljama uticalo je i insistiranje Srbije da što manje država prizna nezavisnost Kosova, kao i da one zemlje koje su ga priznale povuku to priznanje. Time je Srbija ukinula vize državama koje su je podržavale po pitanju Kosova, ili povukle njegovo priznanje. Ilustrativan primer je odnos sa Iranom koji odbija da prizna nezavisnost Kosova i godinama podržava stav Srbije: Srbija je 2017. godine ukinula vize za iranske državljane, nakon čega su na hiljade Iranaca došli u Srbiju kao „turisti“, a zatim se uputili u druge zemlje EU. Posle samo nekoliko meseci, pod pritiskom EU, Srbija je morala ponovo da uvede vize za državljane Irana. Sličan primer je i sa Burundijem, koji je 2018. godine povukao priznanje Kosova, što je dovelo do poboljšanja odnosa dve zemlje i talasa Burundijaca koji su u Srbiju došli na osnovu bilateralnog bezviznog režima, ali su iz Srbije tada pokušali da se presele u druge zemlje Evropske unije. Zbog ovakve „kosovske“ vizne politike Srbija je u poslednje vreme ponovo bila na udaru kritika Evropske komisije, koja je u Izveštaju o napretku za 2022. godinu zatražila od vlade u Beogradu da uvede

vize za državljane Burundija, Tunisa i Indije. Nakon ovoga, Srbija je uvela vizni režim sa Burundijem i Tunisom do kraja 2022. godine.

Sve ove okolnosti, društvena, politička, vojna i ekonomska situacija u zemljama porekla, kao i bilateralni odnosi Srbije i pojedinih zemalja, uslovili su da u Srbiju dolazi veliki broj izbeglica i migranata, koji potom pokušavaju da se presele u druge evropske zemlje. Mnogi od ovih ljudi su u situaciji dugog boravka u Srbiji, što znači da ne izražavaju nameru da zatraže azil u Srbiji niti da uđu u proceduru azila, već ostaju onoliko koliko je potrebno, dok ne pronađu krijumčare za nastavak putovanja. U Srbiji ostaju od nekoliko dana do nekoliko godina. Najveći broj izbeglica i migranata boravi u jednom od 18 prihvatnih ili centara za azil koje vodi Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije, a koji se nalaze širom Srbije. Ovo se ne odnosi na žene i decu iz Avganistana, koji, u strahu da bi talibani mogli otkriti gde su i osvetiti se njihovim porodicama u Avganistanu, danas borave u neformalnom ili privatnom smeštaju, i ne registruju se, što znači da nije moguće utvrditi tačan broj Avganistanaca koji trenutno borave u Srbiji.

Od početka izbegličke krize odnos države prema izbeglicama i migrantima ostao je uglavnom humanitaran, a ne integrativan, što znači da je država mahom pružala neophodnu ad hoc pomoć u vidu hrane, odeće i smeštaja, ali ne i dugoročnu podršku niti programe integracije. To donekle ne važi za decu, jer je prethodnih godina veliki broj dece izbeglica i migranata bio upisan u srpske osnovne i srednje škole, ali je mali broj njih ostao u njima, s obzirom da su njihove porodice nastavile da migriraju. S druge strane, menjao se odnos civilnog društva prema migracijama; iako je na početku pomoć takođe bila uglavnom humanitarna, organizacije civilnog društva su od tada uspostavile neke dugoročne usluge i programe podrške usmerene na integraciju, kao što su radionice i edukacije za osnaživanje, programi ekonomskog osnaživanja itd.

Posebno ranjive grupe izbeglica i migranata, kao što su žene i deca, žrtve nasilja ili trgovine ljudima, suočavaju se sa različitim izazovima u Srbiji. Na primer, iako u Srbiji postoje prihvatilišta za žene žrtve partnerskog i porodičnog nasilja, žene izbeglice koje su pretrpele nasilje ne mogu da koriste ovu uslugu niti da budu smeštene u državnim prihvatilištima, jer se troškovi boravka pokrivaju samo za državljanke Srbije. Zbog toga se mali broj žena izbeglica odlučuje da uopšte prijavi nasilje, jer se najčešće premeštaju u drugu prostoriju u istom prihvatnom centru gde borave sa nasilnikom. Broj formalno identifikovanih žrtava trgovine ljudima među migrantskom i izbegličkom populacijom još je manji, uprkos brojnim rizicima od

eksploatacije: samo nekoliko osoba godišnje budu identifikovane kao žrtve (2022. godine bilo je 5 zvanično identifikovanih žrtava iz ove populacije).

U daljem tekstu biće posvećena pažnja razumevanju pojmova imigracije, stranci/kinje kojima je odobren privremeni boravak, migracije - migrantkinja, izbeglica, interno raseljenih lica, tražiteljki azila u kontekstu migracionih tokova Republike Srbije.

Imigracija ili doseljavanje je definisano članom 2. Zakona o upravljanju migracijama⁴ kao preseljavanje u Republiku Srbiju iz neke druge države, koje traje ili se očekuje da će trajati duže od 12 meseci.⁵

U 2021. najveći broj imigranata je bio iz NR Kine i Ruske Federacije (21,4% i 14,8%). Ono što se jasno uočava poređenjem prethodne i posmatrane godine jeste duplo smanjenje broja imigranata iz Kine⁶.

U Zakonu o strancima⁷ se navodi da je **privremeni boravak** dozvola boravka stranog državljanina/ke u Republici Srbiji koja se odobrava osobi koja namerava da boravi u Republici Srbiji duže od 90 dana po osnovu: zapošljavanja, školovanja ili učenja srpskog jezika, studiranja, učestvovanja u programima međunarodne razmene učenika ili studenata, stručne specijalizacije, obuke i prakse, naučno istraživačkog rada ili druge naučno obrazovne aktivnosti, spajanja porodice, obavljanja verske službe, lečenja ili nege, vlasništva nad nepokretnosti, humanitarnog boravka, statusa pretpostavljene žrtve trgovine ljudima, statusa žrtve trgovine ljudima i drugih opravdanih razloga u skladu sa zakonom ili međunarodnim ugovorom.

U 2021. godini izdato je 17.560 odobrenja privremenog boravka prvi put. Najviše odobrenja je izdato državljanima NR Kine (46,6% po osnovu zapošljavanja), Turske i Ruske Federacije.

⁴ „Službeni glasnik RS”, broj 107/12

⁵ Ovakva definicija i praćenje imigracije usklađeno je sa Uredbom o statistici Zajednice o migraciji i međunarodnoj zaštiti.

⁶ Videti više na Migracioni profil Republike Srbije 2021. godina: <https://kirs.gov.rs/media/uploads/Migracije/Publikacije/Migracioni%20profil%20Republike%20Srbije%20za%202021-%20godinu.pdf>

⁷ Sl. glasnik RS”, br. 24/2018 i 31/2019, član 40.

Migracija- migranti i migrantkinje su one osobe koje se odlučuju da se presele ne zbog direktne pretnje progonom ili smrću, već uglavnom da bi poboljšali svoje živote pronalaženjem posla, ili u nekim slučajevima zbog obrazovanja, okupljanja porodice ili drugih razloga.

Izbeglice su osobe koji beže od sukoba ili progona. Zbog zaštita garantovanih međunarodnim pravom i države u kojima se izbeglice nađu ne smeju ih se proterivati ili vraćati u situacije u kojima su im ugroženi život i sloboda. Kamen temeljac zaštite izbeglica je Konvencija o statusu izbeglica⁸ (Ženevska konvencija) iz 1951. godine, kojom je „izbeglica“ definisana kao neko ko se *„zbog osnovanog straha od progona zbog svoje rase, veroispovesti, nacionalnosti, pripadnosti određenoj društvenoj grupi ili svojih političkih mišljenja, nalazi izvan zemlje svoje nacionalnosti i nije u mogućnosti ili, usled takvog straha, nije voljan da se stavi pod zaštitu te zemlje“*.

Pojam **tražilac/teljka azila** odnosi se na migranta/kinju koji traži međunarodnu zaštitu, u skladu sa evropskim pravom, međunarodna zaštita može poprimiti oblik izbegličkog statusa ili supsidijarne zaštite. Ako strana država smatra da je migranta potrebno zaštititi, ali iz razloga koji nisu navedeni u Ženevskoj konvenciji, ona može odlučiti da mu dodeli supsidijarnu zaštitu umesto statusa izbeglice.

Tokom 2015. godine izbeglička kriza pogodila je Srbiju, veliki talas migranata/kinja i izbeglica prošao je kroz Srbiju na svom putu ka Zapadnoj Evropi. Ovaj talas migracija je bio rezultat ratova i nestabilnosti na Bliskom istoku, posebno u Siriji, Iraku i Avganistanu, kao i drugim delovima sveta. Ovaj masovni priliv migranata/kinja i izbeglica postavio je Srbiju pred ozbiljan izazov u upravljanju izbegličkom krizom. Potreba za organizovanjem smeštaja, hrane, medicinske pomoći i drugih usluga socijalne zaštite za sve osobe koje se nalaze na ruti. U odgovoru na krizu prevashodno su korišćeni kapaciteti aktivirani tokom izbegličke krize nastale nakon raspada Socijalističke federativne republike Jugoslavije. Nakon što su zemlje Zapadnog Balkana su zatvorile svoje granice za prolaz migranata, što je stvorilo ozbiljnu krizu za hiljade ljudi koji su ostali zatvoreni u Srbiji i drugim zemljama regiona.

Kada je reč o demografskoj slici migracija u Republici Srbiji, prema izveštajima Komesarijata za izbeglice i migracije Republike Srbije, u periodu od 2015. godine do danas, Srbija je tranzitna zemlja za veliki broj izbeglica koje su prolazile kroz

⁸ Uredba o ratifikaciji "Sl. list FNRJ - Međunarodni ugovori i drugi sporazumi", br. 7/60, čl. 1 Konvencije

Balkansku rutu u svojoj migraciji ka zemljama Evropske unije. Podaci o tačnom broju izbeglica u Srbiji se menjaju tokom vremena zbog promene migracionih tokova, promene politika i drugih faktora. Nezvanične procene govore u prilog tome da je kroz Srbiju prošlo oko milion i po osoba u potrazi za utočištem.⁹

Udeo žena u ukupnom broju izbeglica i migranata u Republici Srbiji varirao je iz godine u godinu. Važno je napomenuti da pored toga što je Srbija predstavljala tranzitnu zemlju za većinu osoba na putu ka zemljama EU, zbog zatvaranja granica i drugih faktora mnoge osobe su bile prinuđene da potraže svoje utočište u RS. Međutim, izostali su politički i sistemski naponi da se ovim osobama omogući učešće i reprezentacija u javnom i političkom životu u RS.

II. Položaj žena migrantkinja u političkom životu

Položaj žena migrantkinja u političkom životu u Srbiji je kompleksna tema koja zahteva dublje razumevanje njihove situacije i izazova s kojima se suočavaju. Žene migrantkinje su osobe koje su migrirale ili su izbeglice koje su pristigle u Srbiju iz različitih delova sveta, često tražeći sigurnost, zaštitu ili bolje ekonomske mogućnosti. One se suočavaju s brojnim preprekama i diskriminacijom, što otežava njihovu integraciju u društvo i participaciju u javnom životu.

Prvo, žene migrantkinje se često suočavaju s *jezičkom barijerom*, što otežava njihovu komunikaciju i pristup informacijama. Nedostatak poznavanja jezika može ih isključiti iz učešća u javnim debatama, političkim procesima ili javnim službama.

Drugo, žene migrantkinje se suočavaju s *diskriminacijom na osnovu roda, rase, etničke pripadnosti i migracionog statusa*. One su često izložene seksizmu, rasizmu i ksenofobiji, što može rezultirati njihovim izopštenjem iz javnog života. Diskriminacija može biti prisutna u različitim sferama, uključujući pristup obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti, zapošljavanju i političkoj participaciji.

Treće, žene migrantkinje često suočavaju s *ekonomskom ranjivošću*. Najčešće se suočavaju sa nezaposlenošću, a ukoliko su zaposlene rade na nisko plaćenim poslovima, kao što su poslovi u poljoprivredi, ugostiteljstvu ili domaćinstvima, gde

⁹ Videti više: <https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/svet-54014677i>

su izložene iskorišćavanju i lošim uslovima rada. Niska primanja i neadekvatan socijalni sistem zaštite utiče na njihovu finansijsku nezavisnost i smanjuje mogućnost da se angažuju u javnom životu.

Četvrto, žene migrantkinje često suočavaju s *nedostatkom pristupa obrazovanju i informacijama*. Nedostatak pristupa obrazovanju može ograničiti njihove mogućnosti za profesionalni razvoj i političku participaciju. Takođe, nedostatak informacija o njihovim pravima, mogućnostima i resursima može ih ometati u procesu integracije i participacije u javnom životu.

Posebno je važno istaći da se žene izbeglice u velikoj meri suočavaju sa *rodno-zasnovanim nasiljem* kao i neadekvatnom sistemskom podrškom kada je reč o odgovoru na nasilje.

Položaj žena migrantkinja u političkom životu u Srbiji je izazovan i često se suočavaju s raznim preprekama koje otežavaju njihovu aktivnu participaciju u političkim procesima. Iako postoje zakoni i političke inicijative koje promovišu rodnu ravnopravnost i inkluziju, žene migrantkinje se i dalje suočavaju s brojnim izazovima koji ih sprečavaju da se aktivno angažuju u političkom životu. Za učešće u političkom životu neophodno je prethodno definisati mogućnost učešća izbeglica i migranata/kinja na tržištu rada. Zakon o strancima¹⁰ predviđa mogućnost zapošljavanja stranaca¹¹. Stranci mogu u Republici Srbiji osnivati privredna društva ili se registrovati kao preduzetnici i posloovati, bez bilo kakvih ograničenja. Što se tiče zapošljavanja stranaca, uslovi koje stranac mora da ispuni su da poseduje vizu za duži boravak po osnovu zapošljavanja, odobrenje za privremeni boravak ili stalno nastanjenje, kao i dozvolu za rad. Radna dozvola izdata na osnovu vize za duži boravak po osnovu zapošljavanja izdaje se najduže na period važenja te vize. Dozvola za rad koja se izdaje licima koja su tražioci azila izdaje se na lični zahtev, devet meseci nakon ulaska u proceduru azila¹². U zavisnosti od vrste radne dozvole, zahtev za izdavanje podnosi ili sam stranac (ukoliko se radi o ličnoj radnoj dozvoli i radnoj dozvoli za samozapošljavanje) ili poslodavac. U Srbiji je za izdavanje radnih

¹⁰ "Sl. glasnik RS", br. 24/2018 i 31/2019

¹¹ Stranac je svako lice koje nema državljanstvo Republike Srbije, član 3, stav 1.

¹² Poslednjih meseci, civilni sektor je aktivan u zagovaranju izmene ove odredbe i omogućavanje ranijeg uključivanja na tržište rada, više o Predlogu zakona o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o zapošljavanju stranaca, videti:

http://www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/archive/files/lat/pdf/predlozi_zakona/13_saziv/634-23%20-%20Lat.pdf

dozvola nadležna Nacionalna služba za zapošljavanje. Od kraja 2020. godine, uvedena je mogućnost podnošenja objedinjenog zahteva za privremeni boravak i dozvolu za rad.

Nalazi iz intervju sa profesionalcima/kama u oblasti migracija

Za potrebe ovog rada, sprovedeno je 13 intervju sa profesionalcima/kama u oblasti upravljanja i pružanja podrške ranjivim kategorijama među migrantima/kinjama i izbeglicama.

U istraživanju su učestvovali predstavnici/e nevladinog, međunarodnog i državnog sektora. Najveći broj učesnika/ca dolazi iz državnog sektora (71,4%), zatim ispred međunarodnih organizacija (14,3%) dok podjednak procenat (7,1%) čine predstavnici/ce civilnog sektora, odnosno univerziteta.

U pogledu delova zemlje u kojima su aktivni, značajan broj ispitanika dolazi iz Beograda 46,2% dok isti procenat (46,2%) deluje na jugu zemlje na granici sa Severnom Makedonijom. Pored navedenih učesnika, u istraživanju je uzelo učešće i 7,7% profesionalaca/ki koji su aktivni na istoku zemlje.

Prema njihovom mišljenju nedostaje učešće žena migrantkinja/ tražiteljki azila u javnom i političkom životu (grafikon 1.)

Grafikon 1. Ocena učešća žena migrantkinja u političkom životu u Srbiji



Na pitanje da ocene ponuđene mere za poboljšanje položaja žena migrantkinja/tražiteljki azila u političkom životu ocenom od 1 do 4. Najveći broj ispitanika/ca se odlučio za meru kojom se pruža *finansijska podrška ženama migrantkinjama za samoorganizovanje i osnivanje ženskih udruženja* (46,5%), dok kao najmanje važnom ispitanici su ocenili meru kojom se podržava *dobijanje prava glasa* (46,5%). Na drugom mestu po važnosti, ispitanici smatraju *mere afirmativne akcije i primenu rodni kvota u političkim organizacijama* (30,7%).

Kada je reč o predlozima za unapređivanje položaja žena migrantkinja ističu se rešenja poput zagovaračkih aktivnosti, ali i uloge nevladinog sektora u facilitiranju i podržavanju ovih procesa.

Jedan od sagovornika, predstavnik državnog sektora zadužen za smeštaj i prihvatanje izbeglica ističe da su tokom boravka u smeštajnim kapacitetima zabranjene političke aktivnosti i delovanja, smatrajući pod tim aktivnosti koje se odnose na promovisanje političkih partija i ideologija. Navodi da ova zabrana važi i za zaposlene u ovom delu sistema, smatrajući da se na taj način čuva neutralnost i objektivnost.

Predstavnica međunarodne organizacije navodi da je važno krenuti od pristupa obrazovanju koje mora biti garantovano svim devojkama i ženama migrantkinjama, kao i veće učešće u inicijativama lokalnih nevladinih organizacija. U pogledu viđenja nivoa diskriminacije žena migrantkinja, najveći broj ispitanika smatra da je vidan veći nivo diskriminacije žena migrantkinja u odnosu na druge žene (61,5%), potom da nema diskriminacije prema ženama migrantkinjama (30,8%), dok nekolicina (7,7%) smatra da su sve žene podjednako diskriminisane te da migratorni status ne doprinosi nivou diskriminacije.

Kada je reč o faktorima kojima se može unaprediti učešće žena migrantkinja u političkom životu najveći broj ispitanika smatra da je neophodno unaprediti *edukaciju i informisanje opšte populacije i pravima žena migrantkinja* (53,8%) dok najmanje važnim smatraju *učešće većeg broja žena migrantkinja na upravljačkim pozicijama na nivou lokalne vlasti* (46,1%). Na osnovu iznetog, zaključuje se da ispitanici smatraju da je preduslov za učešće u političkom životu postizanje određenog nivoa edukovanosti u opštoj javnosti koja bi mogla da prihvati i razume potrebu za većim uključivanjem žena migrantkinja u politički život. Dakle, posredno može se zaključiti da ispitanici ukazuju na nedovoljno povoljnu društvenu klimu za podsticanje većeg uključivanja žena migrantkinja u politički život, te smatraju neophodnim informisanjem opšte populacije u ovom smislu.

Upitani da li postoji neki fond ili vid finansijske podrške usmerene ka promociji i inkluziji žena migrantkinja u političkom životu, svi ispitanici navode da nisu upoznati sa postojanjem takvog fonda, kao i da postojeće mere ne predviđaju podsticaj žena migrantkinja u političkom životu.

Predstavnica međunarodne organizacije navodi da bi od značaja bilo uspostavljanje ovakvih i sličnih fondova kojim bi se podstaklo učešće žena, generalno, u političkom životu posebno žena iz marginalizovanih kategorija između ostalog i žena migrantkinja.

U zaključku ispitanici ističu značaj uključivanja žena migrantkinja u rad lokalnih nevladinih organizacija smatrajući to prelaznim rešenjem u procesu aktivnijeg učešća u političkom životu, kao i neophodno uspostavljanje većeg stepena otvorenosti društvenih i političkih činioca prema ženama migrantkinjama. Na ovom mestu važno je uzeti u obzir da najveći broj ispitanika u ovom istraživanju dolazi iz državnog sistema, te su izneti zaključci u skladu sa viđenjem predstavnika tog dela sistema. S druge strane predstavnici nevladinog sektora naglašavaju značaj kreiranja sistemskih rešenja kojim bi se omogućilo uključivanje žena migrantkinja u javni život kao što je omogućen efikasniji pristup tržištu rada i obrazovanju. Takođe, važno je naglasiti da organizacije civilnog društva u Srbiji nisu podržane od strane državnih institucija, kao da one finansijski ne podržavaju čak ni one organizacije koje vode licencirane usluge u sistemu socijalne zaštite. S tim u vezi, teret ovog predloga od strane državnih institucija spao bi isključivo na organizacije civilnog društva, koje su i u ovim okolnostima jedva pronalaze načine da održe svoje usluge.

III Učešće žena migrantkinja u demokratskom životu

Ako uzmemo da demokratski život podrazumeva jednakost, slobodu i poštovanje svih građana i građanku bez obzira na njihovo poreklo, pol, rod, religiju, nacionalnu pripadnosti ili bilo koju drugu karakteristiku, učešće žena migrantkinja u demokratskom životu je ključno za ostvarenje ovih vrednosti. Žene migrantkinje se suočavaju sa posebnim izazovima koji mogu ograničiti njihovo učešće u demokratskom životu, kao što su jezičke barijere, kulturne razlike, diskriminacija i društvena izolacija. Međutim, ove prepreke mogu biti prevaziđene kroz aktivnu integraciju žena migrantkinja u društvo i politički proces.

Pored unapređivanja pristupa obrazovanju, zdravstvu i ostvarivanju drugih prava, posebno je važno podržati organizacije koje se bave pitanjima žena migrantkinja i koje im pružaju podršku i osnažuju ih za učešće u političkom životu. Uključivanje žena iz marginalizovanih grupa, između ostalog žena migrantkinja u politički i demokratski život može dovesti do promena u političkim agendama, politikama i praksama koje su više osetljive na potrebe i interese ovih grupa. To, pak, doprinosi stvaranju demokratskog društva koje poštuje različitosti i koje je otvoreno za sve svoje građane i građanke. Za potrebe ovog rada, tim UG Atine sproveo je intervju sa 6 žena iz izbegličke i migrantske populacije koje su aktivne članice Zagovaračke grupe¹³ okupljene oko organizacije Atina. Od ukupnog broja članica Zagovaračke grupe koje su učestvovala u intervjuima, njih 5 trenutno živi u Srbiji, dok se jedna nalazi u Francuskoj. U odnosu na zemlju porekla, dve ispitanice dolaze iz Irana¹⁴, dok je ostalih 4 poreklom iz Burundija¹⁵.

Prosek boravka u zemljama na prostoru Evrope za ispitanice se kreće oko 3,5 godina (od napuštanja zemlje do dolaska u prvu zemlju na evropskom tlu). Na pitanje o iskustvu diskriminacije tokom boravka u Republici Srbiji, ispitanice u jednakom procentu odgovaraju da su se sa diskriminacijom suočavale retko, ponekad i često (odgovori u jednakom postotku). Nijedna ispitanica nije lišena suočavanja sa diskriminacijom u različitom intenzitetu i učestalosti.

Upitane od kojih institucija/ organizacija i drugih aktera su najčešće osetile diskriminatorne stavove, ispitanice navode na prvom mestu predstavnike državnih institucija u smeštajnim kapacitetima koje su koristile po dolasku u zemlju. Na drugom mestu ističu se situacije diskriminacije povezane sa zapošljavanjem i traženjem posla. Ispitanice ističu da su u tim situacijama nailazile na diskriminaciju i da su ostajale uskraćene za mogućnosti uključivanja u tržište rada. Neke od ispitanica

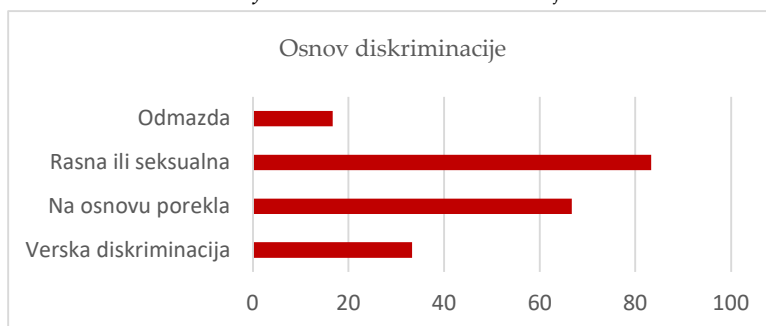
¹³ Zagovaračka grupa UG Atine predstavlja neformalno žensko telo koje čine žene izbeglice i migrantkinje sa ciljem adresiranja i zagovaranja za bolje uslove života, pristup pravdi i ljudskim pravima za sve žene migrantkinje i izbeglice koje se nalaze u Republici Srbiji. Grupa sprovodi aktivnosti, akcije i sastanke sa relevantnim predstavnicima donosioca odluka prenoseći iskustva i preporuke za unapređivanje položaja žena izbeglica i migrantkinja u Republici Srbiji. Grupa je osnovana 2018. godine i do sada je imala preko 20 članica.

¹⁴ Više o migracijama iz Irana, videti: <https://www.dw.com/en/lost-in-belgrade-iranian-refugees-head-to-serbia-as-tourists/a-43363216>

¹⁵ Više o migracijama iz Burundija, videti: <https://balkaninsight.com/2022/03/23/false-hope-burundians-duped-into-paying-big-for-serbia-asylum/>

navode da su prilikom traženja zdravstvenih usluga nailazili na diskriminatorne stavove profesionalaca/ki. U vezi sa osnovom diskriminacije, najveći broj ispitanica prepoznaje da je osnov bila rasa i pol (grafikon 3).

Grafikon 3. Osnov diskriminacije



Kada je reč o pristupu pravima, sve ispitanice prepoznaju da nemaju isti stepen pristupa kao žene koje su rezidentkinje kada je reč o zapošljavanju, zdravstvu i političkom životu. S druge strane, 5 od 6 učesnica istraživanja smatra da nemaju jedan pristup ni kada je reč o zaštiti od nasilja, pravnoj podršci, obrazovanju i socijalnim uslugama.

Na pitanje u kojoj oblasti ispitanice prepoznaju da su drastično više uskraćene za pristup pravima u odnosu na žene koje su rezidentkinje, većina ispitanica navodi pristup socijalnim pravima i uslugama, na drugom mestu se nalazi pristup zapošljavanju i pristup pravnoj podršci, a potom i zdravstvu i drugim delovima sistema. Samo jedna ispitanica navodi da je drastično vidljiva nemogućnost uključivanja u politički život, pored drugih delova sistema.

Važno je za trenutak zastati i razmotriti mogućnost shvatanja pristupa i učešća u političkom životu. Veliki broj žena izbeglica i migrantkinja je tokom čitavog tranzita uskraćeno značajno za pristup pravima, postavlja se pitanje da li one zapravo imaju očekivanje da će tokom tranzita biti uključene u politički život. S jedne strane, pod političkim životom može se smatrati samo učešće u političkim procesima i organizacijama, dok se sa druge strane ovo učešće može posmatrati dosta šire te se različiti korpus prava i mogućnosti može sagledati kroz njega, no međutim to predstavlja temu odvojene analize.

Na osnovu prethodno navedenog, može se zaključiti da u najvećoj meri žene migrantkinje ne smatraju da je njihova participacija u demokratskom životu društva

uopšte moguća budući da nemaju pristup elementarnim delovima društvenog sistema. Na tragu feminističkih političkih teoretičarka poput Bell Hooks¹⁶ i Angele Davis¹⁷ uključivanje žena iz marginalizovanih grupa u demokratski i politički život vrši direktan uticaj na unapređivanje prava ovih grupa, a samim tim i unapređivanju demokratskog života društva u celini.

Članice zagovaračke grupe, upitane da navedu inicijative ili organizacije koje unapređuju i pospešuju učešće žena migrantkinja u demokratskom i političkom životu prepoznaju jedino inicijativu organizacije Atina, odnosno Zagovaračku grupu kao svojevrsnu mogućnost učešća u političkom i demokratskom životu u zemlji u kojoj se nalaze. Ispitanice pak navode da smatraju da je Zagovaračka grupa inicijativa koja postoji na nacionalnom i internacionalnom nivou, ali da na lokalnom nedostaje još sličnih inicijativa koje bi okupile žene.

Na pitanje šta smatraju da može uticati na unapređivanje položaja žena migrantkinja u političkom životu, najvišom ocenom (po važnosti) ispitanice navodi edukaciju i podizanje svesti građana i građanki o važnosti nediskriminacije prema ženama migrantkinjama i izbeglicama. Najnižom ocenom ispitanice ocenjuju pozitivnu reprezentaciju žena migrantkinja u medijima. Između ostalog visokom ocenom značajnosti prepoznaju faktor afirmativnih akcija koje imaju za cilj da osiguraju više žena migrantkinja na menadžerskim pozicijama na lokalnom nivou. Zanimljivo je što odgovori predstavnica Zagovaračke grupe zapravo slažu sa viđenjem profesionalaca o tome koji faktori mogu doprineti unapređivanju položaja u političkom životu žena migrantkinja navodeći edukaciju i informisanje opšte javnosti na prvom mestu.

U zaključnim razmatranjima ispitanice navode da smatraju da bi samoorganizovanje žena migrantkinja u neformalne grupe u velikoj meri unapredilo i njihovo učešće u demokratskom životu, odnosno da je njihova inicijativa presudna za unapređivanje položaja. Jedna ispitanica navodi da je obrazovanje u ovom pitanju presudno, te da bez pristupa obrazovanju se ne može ni očekivati veći nivou učešća žena migrantkinja u političkom životu.

Posebno zanimljiv je stav jedne ispitanice koja navodi da zapravo očekuje da tek u zemlji destinacije ostvari pristup političkom životu te da se njena očekivanja vezana

¹⁶ Politics of Literacy: A Conversation, Vol. 14, No. 1, Special Issue: Collaboration and Change in the Academy, 1994.

¹⁷ Videti više: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/10/19/t-magazine/angela-davis.html>

i za učešće u demokratskom životu vezuje za zemlju destinacije, odnosno neku od zemalja EU.

IV Predstavljanje žena migrantkinja u medijima

Prezentovanje žena migrantkinja u medijima u Srbiji često je problematično i bazira se na stereotipima, predrasudama i senzacionalizmu. Žene migrantkinje se često prikazuju kao žrtve, kao osobe od nižeg značaja ili kao opasnost za društvo, a njihove priče, snage i iskustva su marginalizovani.

Mediji često koriste senzacionalističke naslove i priče o migrantkinjama, što utiče na stvaranje negativne percepcije o ženama migrantkinjama i ojačava predrasude koje već postoje u društvu. Takođe, često se koristi jezik koji podrazumeva da su sve žene migrantkinje pasivne žrtve, potpuno lišene sposobnosti da deluju u sopstvenom interesu. Takođe, medijska pokrivenost pitanja vezanih za žene migrantkinje se obično fokusira na pitanja kao što su nasilje, siromaštvo i diskriminacija, što može biti korisno u podizanju svesti o tim pitanjima, ali istovremeno i ojačati stereotipe o migrantkinjama kao nedovoljno obrazovanim i nedovoljno integrisanim u društvo.

U okviru istraživanja koje je UG Atina sproveo tokom 2013/14 godine pod nazivom *Migranti i migrantkinje u lokalnim zajednicama u Srbiji*¹⁸, bavilo se pitanjem prezentovanja izbeglica i migranata u medijima. Uloga medija je ocenjena kao uglavnom negativna, kako na nacionalnom tako i na lokalnom nivou.

V Preporuke

Unapređenje političkog položaja žena migrantkinja u Srbiji zahteva integrirani pristup koji će adresirati različite izazove s kojima se suočavaju. Neke od ključnih preporuka koje proističu iz intervjua sa profesionalcima/kama kao i ženama migrantkinja odnose se na:

¹⁸ Videti više:

<http://www.atina.org.rs/sites/default/files/Migranti%20i%20migrantkinje%20u%20lokalnim%20zajednicama%20u%20Srbiji.finalno.pdf>

1. Jezik i komunikacija

Potrebno je osigurati pristup jezičkim programima i prevodilačkim uslugama kako bi se osiguralo da žene migrantkinje koje ne govore jezik mogu komunicirati s političkim institucijama. Ovo uključuje obezbeđivanje prevodilačkih usluga na političkim skupovima, debatama i sastancima, kao i pružanje mogućnosti za učenje srpskog jezika.

2. Obrazovanje i osnaživanje

Žene migrantkinje trebaju biti osnažene putem obrazovanja o političkom sistemu Srbije, njihovim političkim pravima i mogućnostima političkog angažmana. Ovo može uključivati pružanje obrazovnih programa, seminara i radionica o političkoj participaciji, liderstvu i političkim veštinama.

3. Rodna ravnopravnost

Potrebno je snažno promovisati rodnu ravnopravnost u političkom životu, kako bi se osigurala jednakost prava, mogućnosti i resursa za žene migrantkinje. Ovo uključuje promovisanje političke volje za promociju rodne ravnopravnosti, usvajanje politika i zakona koji štite prava žena migrantkinja i sprečavaju diskriminaciju na osnovu pola.

4. Ekonomsko osnaživanje

Osiguravanje ekonomskog osnaživanja žena migrantkinja može pomoći u smanjenju ekonomske ranjivosti i omogućiti im da se aktivno uključe u politički život. Ekonomsko osnaživanje uključuje i pružanje pristupa obrazovanju, obukama, mentorstvu i finansijskim resursima za podršku političkim aktivnostima.

5. Podrška i mentorstvo

Potrebno je pružiti podršku i mentorstvo ženama migrantkinjama koje žele da se angažuju u političkom životu. Ovo može uključivati mentorstvo od strane žena liderki u pojedinim oblastima, političkih mentorki i organizacija civilnog društva koje se bave pravima žena i migranata.

6. Inkluzivnost političkih procesa

Politički procesi moraju biti inkluzivni i osigurati da žene migrantkinje imaju pristup političkim pozicijama, organima vlasti i političkim organizacijama, kako na lokalnim nivoima, tako i na nacionalnim.

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