Dimensions of Integration:

Migrant Youth in Central European Countries

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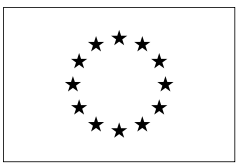

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PREFACE

Europe is forming ever closer networks of collaboration between states, while cultural diversity in the area is certainly increasing. In the context of this collaboration, it will be necessary to develop ideas about diversity, especially with regards to migrant children and youth. Research, reflection, and policies should certainly be shaped in a transnational context. This study represents an attempt to support new and old European Union member states in learning from each others' experiences.

The importance of the topic treated in this study, *Dimensions of Integration: Migrant Youth in Central European Countries*, is gaining more and more recognition, as testified by the increasing number of studies dedicated to the subject that have appeared in recent years. In this preface, I wish to put forward some thoughts concerning two aspects of the migration issue: one is the general pitfall of European nation-states facing the challenge of migration, and the other is about the tendency to hide social problems in cultural perspectives.

The phenomena of migration and increasing diversity are not at all unique to today, nor are they unique in the history of states. They are, however, a special challenge to states organised around the idea of a cohesive nation (a "Volk") and fixed borders, i.e. countries constructed as nation-states. Over the last 200 years, the nation as a particular kind of imagined community has became widely accepted as a principle for ordering states. Together with the discourse on democracy and human rights, on equality and freedom, the idea of nationhood has penetrated the public space and has, slowly but surely, infused compulsory education. In order to be highly effective, the ideology of nationhood has required the presentation of nations as natural entities and an understanding that it has always been the fate of people to share a standardized mother-tongue and certain cultural practices, on the basis of which they are to be organised into nation-states.

This process of "naturalizing" a homogenous national understanding of the self (as an individual and a community) has worked very well: most people nowadays believe that the nation of their people has always existed. Despite the positive changes that the nation as an imagined community has brought about, such as the fading importance of ranks and increased individual freedom and social mobility, it also has major drawbacks. One of these is the structural discrimination of immigrants and their descendants, who are perceived as not fitting into the respective national community, as not belonging.

It should be clear by now that this process of exclusion is neither natural nor inevitable, it simply needs to be tackled through new definitions of society, new ideas about the state. So, why does it seem to be so very difficult, at least in some of the old nation-states? This brings me to the second point: the social dimension of migration and diversity. Although in many cases the integration of newcomers has been no problem at all and has not even been worth mentioning, there seem to be certain circumstances under which diversity, as a consequence of migration, becomes a problem. These circumstances come about when physiognomic, cultural, religious, or linguistic differences merge with social issues such as poverty, unemployment, or concentration in specific neighbourhoods, i.e. in certain strata. It should be noted that because social science has its roots in the construction of the nation-state, analyses of societal processes often and unintentionally mirror the national perspective and highlight differences that are popularly used as markers for exclusion while also underestimating or bluntly forgetting about the social issues that might provide a much more adequate understanding of what is happening.

A possible message to all the different stakeholders is that the way in which today's societies understand themselves has to reflect the societal realities - Austria and Germany have been immigration countries for several decades and still have a hard time recognising it officially. We can clearly see that the exclusionary practices of nation-states actually create real problems instead of solving them. It is time to get serious about setting up structures that are adapted to a society of immigration! For Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Poland I see this publication as a first step to begin sharing experience in the area of migrant integration between countries who have experienced immigration and countries who are just beginning to experience the phenomenon. When developing new policy, both current and past experience, positive and negative, must be taken into consideration.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Through the project *Dimensions of Integration: Migrant Youth in Central European Countries*, research was conducted into one of the most pressing issues for the future of European societies: how to prepare young people to meet the challenges of the labour market while living together in a diverse and coherent society. The project chose to focus on migrant youth in Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Poland, in part so as to build on a previous European Social Fund project called *Sharing Experience: Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries and Lessons Learned from the "New Countries of Immigration" in the EU and Austria (completed),* in which the integration level of migrant youth in accession countries was identified as an increasingly important issue. For the specific purposes of this publication, experiences, statistics, and trends relating to migrant youth in each of the four countries have been provided and new additional information was obtained by means of comprehensive research with the aim of identifying factors (subjective component) and measures (objective component) that promote integration.

The studies included in this volume attempt to assess the situation of migrant youths from the largest "foreign" communities in each country (and of non-migrant youth for comparison) and describe the degree of their structural, cultural, social, and identificational integration within the host society (Heckmann, 1999)[1]. While all of these aspects are certainly vital to ensure successful integration, special emphasis was given to structural integration, which deals, among other things, with inclusion in such vital institutions as schools and the labour market. This publication was also intended to provide an opportunity for older immigration countries to share their experiences with their newer EU partners, in the hope that this exchange of knowledge will avoid repeating fruitless experiments. In fact, all four studies point to the growth of immigrant populations in their countries and to the need to confront this increasingly important issue, especially in view of the frequently deplored lack of integration throughout the European Union at large.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDIES

All of the studies followed a similar structure and tackled analogous issues so that they would be more easily comparable and so that "lessons learned" would be more easily transferable from one situation to the next. Nonetheless, the structure was designed to be sufficiently broad and flexible to allow for the appropriate depiction of each context's specific realities.

In Section 1, the research teams give a **General Overview** of each country's history of migration and how this background has affected current trends. The main characteristics of the foreign population in the four countries is also laid out in this section, with statistics on its size and geographical distribution as well as specific information on the youth component.

Section 2 deals with the **Legal and Policy Framework** that exists in each country. Here, the researchers outline the main laws affecting migrants' access to residence, employment, and the education system, and how these laws vary according to how immigrants are categorised. In fact, immigrants are treated differently and are entitled to a different bundle of benefits depending on whether they are, for example, refugees, asylum seekers, third country citizens, EU citizens, or return migrants[2]. Moreover, each country's laws governing citizenship and naturalisation rights are examined.

Section 3 is devoted to the **Integration of Second Generation Migrant Youth** and, specifically, to identifying ways of measuring the degree of their integration, whether on the basis of existing surveys/ data (Germany and Austria) or through purposely-designed empirical research (Poland and the Czech Republic). Various methods were used, including: participation in the education system and in other socialising institutions of the host country, such as political bodies, sports clubs, civil interest groups, etc; frequency and quality of contacts with the majority society; degree of identification with the country of origin compared to the host country; level of adherence to "traditional" behaviour patterns with regards to food, religious practice, language, marriage patterns; frequency of contacts with the country of origin. In measuring something as "abstract" as national allegiance or identity, it is clear that none of these measurements can, alone, draw a definitive conclusion; a composite of all the factors, however, is able to give us (readers, policymakers, practitioners, researchers) a useful idea of the situation. And the different methodologies used by the four research teams could be adopted in other case studies to gain additional, complementary data.

Working from the assumption that social, ethnic, national, and linguistic diversity is not only inevitable but also desirable (because it enriches both immigrants and host society members), this project was also interested in finding out how "foreign" communities affect and change the societies they settle in. Hence, Section 4 tackles the **Impact of Immigrant Communities on their Surroundings**. Given the relative lack of power that non-citizens have to change

[1] For more detail on these four integration modes, see also the country reports in this publication.
[2] See the Polish and German case studies for the treatment afforded to return migrants.

structural aspects, the greatest influences have been of a more "cultural" nature: for example, through changes in the host nation's eating habits and in their exposure to new languages and lifestyles. A clear difficulty that arises in trying to measure the influence exerted by "foreigners" is that naturalised immigrants, who often retain all the characteristics and behaviour patterns of newly-arrived people, "disappear" from censuses and other possible sources of data on migrants. This is only one example of how data-collection methods need to be adjusted to gain a more accurate overview.

Both the Austrian and Czech reports deviate from the general structure in Section 4. In the Austrian case, this section aims to give policy makers and practitioners insight into the integration strategy adopted by the City of Dornbirn, in the Austrian federal province of Vorarlberg (reasons for choosing this particular town as a case study are outlined in Section 4.2.1). The decision to focus on a local authority is meant to complement the wealth of information available on migration and integration issues in Austria at the federal level. In the Czech case, the issue of migrants' impact on the host society is so inextricably linked with the results of the empirical research (which forms the basis of the whole report) that it was deemed more appropriate not to deal with the two issues in two separate sections but, rather, to keep them in a unified whole.

Finally, in Section 5, **Recommendations** are given for concrete action[3]. While they are largely addressed at policy makers at all levels of government and at practitioners with the aim of promoting structural integration, they also suggest ways of improving research and data-collection methods.

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGIES

While the starting point and ultimate goal of this project was the same for all research teams, the methodologies adopted to compile the country reports necessarily varied. Not only were slightly different definitions of integration used (as explained in each paper), but the teams were confronted with specific challenges and problems: most importantly, the quality and quantity of official data and of previous academic studies on the phenomenon varied greatly between countries. Thus, while the German and Austrian teams were able to benefit from a wealth of information, the Czech and Polish researchers should be credited with carrying out some pioneering work.

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Lastly, it is worth underscoring that an enlarged European Union cannot become a coherent entity simply through political agreements and the harmonization of economic policies. The integration of all its citizens, as well as of third country citizens, must be actively promoted through targeted, cross-generational strategies. As the present publication makes abundantly clear, integration is a process that, by its very nature, changes in response to numerous factors and through time. As such, it must be monitored and confronted through complex but targeted policies.

[3] For the Czech team, this corresponds to Section 4.

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European Commission Project:

"Dimensions of Integration: Migrant Youth in Central European Countries"

Country Report on Austria

By

Mag. Margit Appel, Dr. Lieselotte Wohlgenannt, and Dr. Paloma Fernández de la Hoz

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1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1. HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION INTO AUSTRIA

The history of immigration into Austria has been researched thoroughly. Today, historical studies concentrate on two main matters: on migration movements within the boundaries of what used to be the Habsburg monarchy and what subsequently (1918-1960) became the area of the present Austrian republic, in particular from the perspective of geography and social history; and on Austria's role as a modern immigration country.

1.1.1. Austria as a Receiving Country (1950-2004)

The geographical area currently occupied by the Austrian Republic was historically a land of emigration, although Vienna represents an exception because, like all European metropolises, it has always attracted migrants. Numerous migration streams, mainly motivated by the search for work, flowed through the Habsburg monarchy between the 18th and 20th centuries, concentrating people into urban areas. What changed in Austria in the 1960s was the character of this labour migration: with the coming of the age of globalisation, the economy gradually started to become internationalised so that labour migration was no longer just limited to the cities but started to affect entire countries (Fassmann, 1997: 100). Between 1945 and 1991, in fact, 3.6 million people came to Austria, making the Republic, like Germany (Heckmann, 1985) and some other EU countries (Boucher, 2000: 30), an immigration country (Fassmann & Münz, 1992).

1950 - 1974: From Emigration to Immigration Country

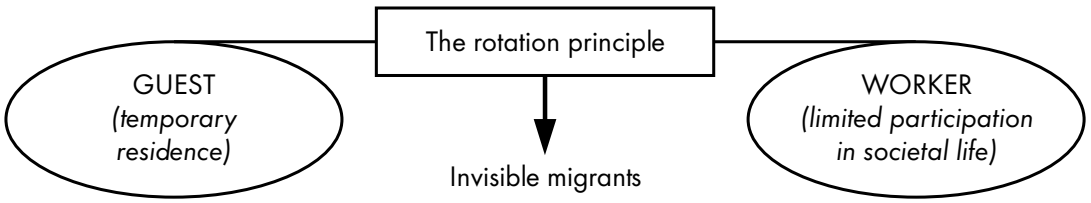
The Early Phase (1950 - 1968) At the beginning of this period, the emigration of Austrians (followed by Swiss and Western Germans) was still very significant, but, starting in the 1950s, the first trends of immigration to Austria began. These flows consisted of migrants, especially refugees, for whom Austria was mainly a temporary stop; most of them came from Hungary (1956-1957), Czechoslovakia (1968-1969), and Poland (1981-1982).

By the beginning of the 1960s, however, the post-World War II reconstruction phase had ended and a growth in the economy required a larger workforce. Through bilateral treaties, Austria began to recruit people from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey so that, between 1960 and 1968, large numbers of young, relatively well-educated men came to Austria; Slovenes and Croats were over-represented among this group.

The First Main Phase (1968-1975) The first main phase of labour migration took place between 1968 and 1975. During this time, Austria began actively seeking foreign workers: the country signed a recruitment agreement with Turkey that led to an influx of Turkish migrants, largely from rural areas; a significant number of migrants from rural, southern Yugoslavia also came. These migration patterns then gave way to family reunification flows, with the result that the number of foreign residents increased from 100,000 in 1961 to over 300,000 by 1973-74.

During the 1960s, the employment of foreign workers was based on a so-called "rotation principle". The term "guest worker" (*Gastarbeiter*) that was used to describe foreign workers hired under the bilateral agreements corresponds exactly with this rotation principle and was designed to reflect the wish for a limited presence of migrants in Austria. Within this type of employment, migrants were expected to remain in the receiving country only for a certain period of time (as a *Gast*, or "guest"), and their integration into social life was deliberately limited to their contribution to the labour market (as *Arbeiter*, or "workers") (cf. Lichtenberger, 1982).

Figure 1: Dimensions of the Rotation Principle



1975-1988: Between Return and Settlement

The oil crisis of 1973 and the resulting economic stagnation led to a halt in the recruitment of guest workers. At the same time, the first Austrian members of the "baby boom" generation were beginning to enter the job market, further contributing to a reduction in demand for foreign skilled workers. This combination of factors led to a **scaling-down phase (1975-1985**) that started with the passage of a restrictive Foreign Workers Law in 1975. Because of the new economic and legal situation, some of the migrant workers - especially Yugoslavians - returned to their home countries. Those who decided to remain did so despite fears of losing their working or residence rights and chose, instead, to concentrate their efforts on consolidating their presence in Austria.

Parallel to this, the limits of the rotation principle in the Austrian economy became apparent and, very soon, the initial concept of only allowing migrants to stay for short periods was abandoned (Bauböck, 1996: 13). Migrants who were needed were given the opportunity to sign extended employment contracts, mainly because many companies were unwilling to replace already trained workers. In addition, significant numbers of Eastern European migrants, who were almost automatically recognised as political refugees until the mid-1980s, started arriving.

Second Main Phase of Migration 1985-1993 During this time, a growing economy renewed migration to Austria.

1989-1993: After the End of the Division of Europe

An increase in immigration, particularly from Eastern Europe, followed the fall of the Iron Curtain in the autumn of 1989. This time, the great migration wave was not made up of workers but of refugees, many of whom once again viewed Austria as a transit country. The situation changed at the beginning of the 1990s, when civil wars and ethnic cleansing in Croatia (1991), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-93), and in region of Kosovo (1998-99) caused mass flights to Austria and other West European countries: often, these latest immigrants no longer saw Austria as a transit country but as a place of refuge. Nonetheless, it is notable that most of the war refugees later returned to their home countries.

The majority of immigrants who came to Austria during the 1990s continued to come from the traditional migrant regions: Turkey and the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Between 1989 and 1993, the number of foreign citizens increased from 387,000 to 690,000 people and thus represented 8.6% of the population. Increasingly, migrant families replaced single male migrant workers and, as a result of this chain-integration and family reunification, "guest workers" started to become immigrants with the perspective of staying in Austria for a long time.

In 1992, a Residence Law was passed, making Austria the first of current EU countries to try to regulate migration by law (Currle, 2004: 242). As part of this effort, it developed different categories of migrants and set annual quotas, and limits on legal immigration. Since then, immigration to Austria has been institutionalised and is legally regulated on the basis of the principle that there should be "integration before new immigration" (Münz, 2001: 61) (see Section 2).

In 1995, Austria joined the European Union and signed the Schengen Agreement on maintaining open borders between EU member states. In line with the Europe-wide finding that the Schengen Agreement did not cause a significant change in migration patterns within the Union, Austria did not experience an increase of immigration from its new partners. On the other hand, the idea of a de facto "Central European job market" did evolve in Austria and in the consciousness of Eastern Europe, and therefore, a certain potential for migration developed as well. Although the number of people from these countries who would be willing to move to Austria do not constitute a mass movement at the moment, it is already clear that there is a discrepancy between the expected size of the influx and Austrian authorities' openness to it (Fassmann, 1999: 36-37, 43).

1.1.2. Current Trends

Between 1990 and 2004, the following structural changes took place:

Coexistence of different kinds of migration streams and of very distinct migration projects Aside from seasonal workers and cross-border commuters, there are now also many immigrants who reside permanently in the country. Austria today is witness to a variety of migration trends that include: intra-European Union migration, asylum immigration, spouse and family reunification, and labour migration. Moreover, the latter manifests itself in many different ways: in addition to migrants who have decided to change country - often as a last resort - there are also border commuters from neighbouring countries and seasonal workers that continue to reflect the old migration patterns of Central Europe (cf. Fassmann, 1999: 15-23). Behind these different types of migration are people with very different expectations and migration projects, whose presence does not only affect the Austrian economy but the entire social structure of the country.

An increasingly diverse migration population Recent changes in the structure of migration trends have had the effect of diversifying the migration population. While, for decades, most migrants came from only two sources - Turkey and former Yugoslavia - the current population of immigrants is increasingly diverse: the number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, for example, has multiplied within the past three years. And in 2002, when Austria recorded the presence of 8,053,100 inhabitants, it is notable that 707,900 of these were foreigners, with 310,900 of them coming from former Yugoslavia and 131,900 of them being Turkish citizens; 265,600 of residents came from other countries (see the Statistical Overview in Section 1.2). Such variety among the migrant population in Austria corresponds to a "growing tendency toward ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity" in the European Union at large (EC, 2001: 7) and emphasises the importance of devising policies in favour of integration.

Crystallization of the presence of a "migrant population" The main form of current migration patterns is due to family reunification, which is also the most important generator of chain migration on the micro level. Over time, family reunification diversifies the population's age-structure, as witnessed by the fact that children and adolescents

form an increasingly important proportion of Austria's immigrant population. Young adults (25-35 year olds) alone represent one quarter of all immigrants living in the country; at the same time, the number of older migrants is also expected to increase since many of them are likely to stay in Austria for the rest of their lives. Family reunification also contributes to a more heterogeneous migration population than labour migration with regards to gender relations: in fact, the number of women is increasing although it is still clearly smaller than that of men.

The crystallization of the presence of a "migrant population" is particularly relevant for migrant children and youth, who will become increasingly visible as they build their life in Austria. There is no doubt that their presence poses the question of their integration (see Section 3.1).

1.2. STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

Austria disposes of very good statistical databases. At the beginning of 2000, the former Austrian Central Statistics Office was separated from Government Services and, under the new name of "Statistik Austria", it was made into an independent, non-profit federal institution regulated by public law. It is now responsible for providing scientific services in the area of federal statistics[1] and for furnishing data on the economic, demographic, social, ecological, and cultural situation in Austria for policy-making reasons. The information it produces is also made available to the scientific and economic community and to the general public.

The data used in the following section stems from different Statistik Austria collections and publications, especially from the most recent population census, which was done in 2001 (up to this date, censuses were carried out in Austria every 10 years). In the future, population and housing data will be collected through the registration record. Additional data, especially for the topics on "work" and "housing", were taken from the micro-census' quarterly samples.

1.2.1. Adolescents With a Migration Background

A narrow definition of "migrant youth" would only include children and adolescents who have personally came to Austria from abroad and disregard the fact that many children currently enrolled in Austrian schools who have foreign citizenship were actually born in Austria, or the fact that even second and third generation children, whose parents or grandparents immigrated, see no difference between themselves and newly immigrated and/or foreign children - not lastly with regard to language skills. Therefore, whenever possible, an attempt should be made group together all children with a foreign background.

Foreign Residents In Austria, all non-Austrian citizens who are in the country officially are included in this group. Austrian citizenship law follows the descent principle ("ius sanguinis") according to which immigrants cannot acquire nationality automatically, not even by being born in Austria: they must actively apply for it and fulfil the minimum requirements regarding length of residency, language skills, as well as personal and vocational integration. Consequently, not only are workers with residence permits and their families considered "foreigners", but so are foreign students, diplomats, refugees, and asylum applicants.

Immigrants Within the framework of the 2001 Census, questions were asked not only on citizenship but also on the country of birth, thus allowing for a differentiation between various generations of immigrants. A fundamental problem that arises when discussing migrants and foreigners is how to define the target group. Often, in common parlance (as in political debate), there is no differentiation between "migrants" and "foreigners", although migrants are generally considered to have all been born outside of the host country and to have become naturalised citizens since their arrival. On the other hand, there are children with foreign citizenship who were born and raised in Austria, and who cannot, therefore, be described as migrants, but whose situation and integration needs are identical to those of "foreign" children and youth.

Place of Birth and Language Of Austria's 8,033,000 inhabitants (as of 2001), 87.5% (7,029,000) were born in Austria, which means that the remaining 12.5% (1,004,000) were born outside the country (Lebhart, 2003: 260). With regards to language, the census data (see above) showed that 36% (147,000) of people born outside Austria declared themselves multilingual, while a small proportion (3.9% or 15,700 people) claims to speak no German at all in day to day life. Some 53.4% (317,400) of first generation immigrants are not multilingual, which means that fewer of them are multilingual than second and third generation foreigners, almost two thirds (74,200) of whom declared to have multilingual abilities (Lebhart, 2003: 264). From this data it is therefore possible to conclude that about one third of immigrants speak no German. Their Austrian-born children are thus bound to acquire the language of their immigrant parents as their first language.

These statistics also explain the results of interviews conducted within the framework of an integration project in Dornbirn (see Section 3), which show that second or third generation migrant children often have hardly any German language skills before they enter kindergarten or the school system.

[1] Web address: www.statistik.at/englisch/ueberuns/respons.shtml

Inhabitants With Foreign Citizenship An ongoing evaluation and publication of the 2001 Census has made available documents that give a comprehensive, quantitative, picture of the immigrant population in Austria. In 2002, there were 707,900 people (8.79%) out of a total population of 8,053,100 with foreign citizenship. The largest groups were made up of citizens from former Yugoslavia (310,900 people) and Turkey (131,400). A further 265,600 foreigners had other nationalities and included individuals not usually thought of as belonging to the classic immigrant category, such as German citizens or Western managers.

Children and Adolescents Children and adolescents are often divided into age groups that correspond to their increasing integration into society; it should be recognised that each of these groups has very specific needs: Small children (up to 3 years old) and preschool-age children (4-6 years old); School children (7-14 or 15 years old); Adolescents and young adults (15-19 and 20-24 years old). Despite the more common groupings listed above, census and micro-census statistical data is divided into 5-year groups (0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24). Therefore, overlapping occurs and should be considered in the interpretation of data. The children and adolescents that were accounted for in 2002 were divided according to the following age groups and citizenships (Table 1).

Table 1: Children and Adolescents by Age and Area of Origin (in thousands):

Age	Tot.	AT*	Total Foreign	Former Yugoslavia			Turkey			Others		
				Tot.	Men	W**	Tot.	Men	W	Tot.	Men	W
0 - 4	401.3	345.9	55.4	25.2	14.7	10.5	12.8	7	5.7	17.5	8.6	8.8
5 - 9	458	401.2	56.8	28.1	12.8	15.3	15.2	6.4	8.8	13.6	5.7	7.9
10 - 14	480.6	436.8	43.8	22.2	12	10.2	10	6	4.1	11.5	6.7	4.8
15 - 19	479.9	441.4	38.4	18	10.6	7.3	10.1	5.9	4.1	10.4	5.6	4.8
20 - 24	486.2	432.4	53.8	21.5	11.7	9.8	11	5.6	5.4	21.3	10.6	10.7
Total	2,306	2,057.7	248.2	115	61.8	53.1	59.1	30.9	28.1	74.3	37.2	37

**AT = Austria*
***W= Women*

Source: Statistik Austria: Micro-Census 2002 Results: 60, own calculations

The Increasing Number of "Foreign" Children and Adolescents: This overview draws attention to the fact that the total number of children and adolescents in Austria is decreasing because those children who were born in years with low birth rates are now entering the school system. At the same time, the number of school children with foreign parents (most of whom come from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey) is on the increase. This means that the segment of foreign students in mandatory schooling is growing. Children and adolescents with migration backgrounds should be added to the number of foreign children, for both of these groups face the same challenges with regard to integration.

It should also be noted that between 1999 and 2002 alone, 116,000 residents of Austria were awarded citizenship, including more than 37,600 children who, at the point of naturalisation, were between 0 and 15 years old, and about 18,500 adolescents aged 15-24 (Statistik Austria, Zeitreihentab: 6). Of these recently naturalized youngsters, about one third of those under 15 and about three quarters of 15-25 year olds were born outside of Austria and therefore can be considered as migrants in the same way as "foreign" children are.

300,000 Children and Adolescents from Immigrant Families: There are approximately 300,000 0-24 year old second and third generation children and adolescents who are either foreign citizens or who have been newly naturalised. Since very often the language of origin is used within the family, thus preserving migrants' cultural heritage, integration into the receiving culture must be offered and promoted by Austrian society; schools and other educational institutions play an integral part.

Future Developments: The continuing growth of the foreign population depends only partially on immigration. Between 1991 and 2001, about 170,000 foreigners living in Austria received Austrian citizenship. By 2001, the Census recorded the presence of 8,032,557 inhabitants in the country, 710,926 of whom did not have Austrian citizenship: this means that there were about 200,000 people more than 10 years earlier. This growth can be explained by new immigration but also by the high birth rate among foreigners (cf. Lebhart & Münz, 2003: 15).

As for the trends concerning migration due to family reunification, fewer and fewer people seem to be coming to Austria in this way. While approximately 8,000 people immigrated annually between 1995 and 1997, the numbers decreased drastically in following years so that by 2002 only 3,858 individuals moved to Austria as family members of third country citizens (Currle, 2004: 31). During this time, 44,000-50,000 foreign citizens moved out of Austria (Münz, et al. 2003: 31), probably because the standard of living in migrants' countries of origin had improved, inducing a certain amount of return migration.

Research on population growth assumes that the European Union's enlargement to the east will cause a short-term rise in immigration to Austria and therefore lead to a further increase in the foreign population (Hanika, et al. 2004: 19). However, such developments are essentially influenced by policy regulations. It has been estimated that, depending on the kind of immigration or naturalisation policies adopted, the segment of foreign citizens in Austria could increase from 9.3% to 13.1% by 2050 (Lebhart, Münz, 2003: 72), which is equal to the current proportion of foreign citizens living in Vienna and the federal state of Vorarlberg. This increase will certainly bring more children and adolescents to Austria, children who will have to find their place in this society.

1.2.2. The Educational Integration of Foreign Children and Adolescents

As Figure 2 (see below) shows, the Austrian school system is divided into four-year cycles. Attendance at kindergarten and pre-school (3-5/6 year olds) is not obligatory, but most Austrian parents do tend to use them, especially the last year, as a means to prepare their children for primary school.

General Obligatory Schooling Between the ages of 7 and 15, all children living in Austria are required to go to school. After completing 4 years of primary school, children can choose to attend either the lower level of the general secondary school (*Gymnasium*) or the *Hauptschule*. In the 2002/2003 school year, about 112,632 students attended a *Gymnasium*, while 268,058 (more than 70%), attended a *Hauptschule* (Statistik Austria, 2003). Parallel to these two options, there are schools for children with special needs, although the latter could also be placed in "integration classes" in *Hauptschulen*, where they receive guidance from additional teachers. A ninth academic year of polytechnic schooling is mandatory for all 15 year olds who do not plan to continue any other form of further education. In 2002-2003, 20,626 students chose to attended this ninth mandatory school year.

Further Education and Vocational Training Most 14-15 year olds either move on to a further form of secondary school (either upper level secondary schools or vocational secondary schools and colleges), or start an apprenticeship while also attending a vocational school, in accordance with the dual academic/ apprenticeship system. All secondary schools with a final exam (*Matura-Abschluss*) entitle students to attend a university, a *Fachhochschule*, or an Academy. Completion of a short vocational school course and passage of the relevant examination, or of an end-of-apprenticeship examination (*Lehrabschlussprüfung*), also allows students to go to university or other post-secondary institutions, but they must first pass an entrance exam (*Berufsreifeprüfung*) (cf. Figure 2).

Foreign Students in Austrian Schools In Table 2, the total number of foreign students in Austria is compared to the number of foreign students in the city of Vienna and the federal state of Vorarlberg in order to clarify regional differences in foreigners' school attendance. Vorarlberg was chosen because it lays the background for the "Integration Concept of the city of Dornbirn" (in Vorarlberg) that will be presented in Section 3.

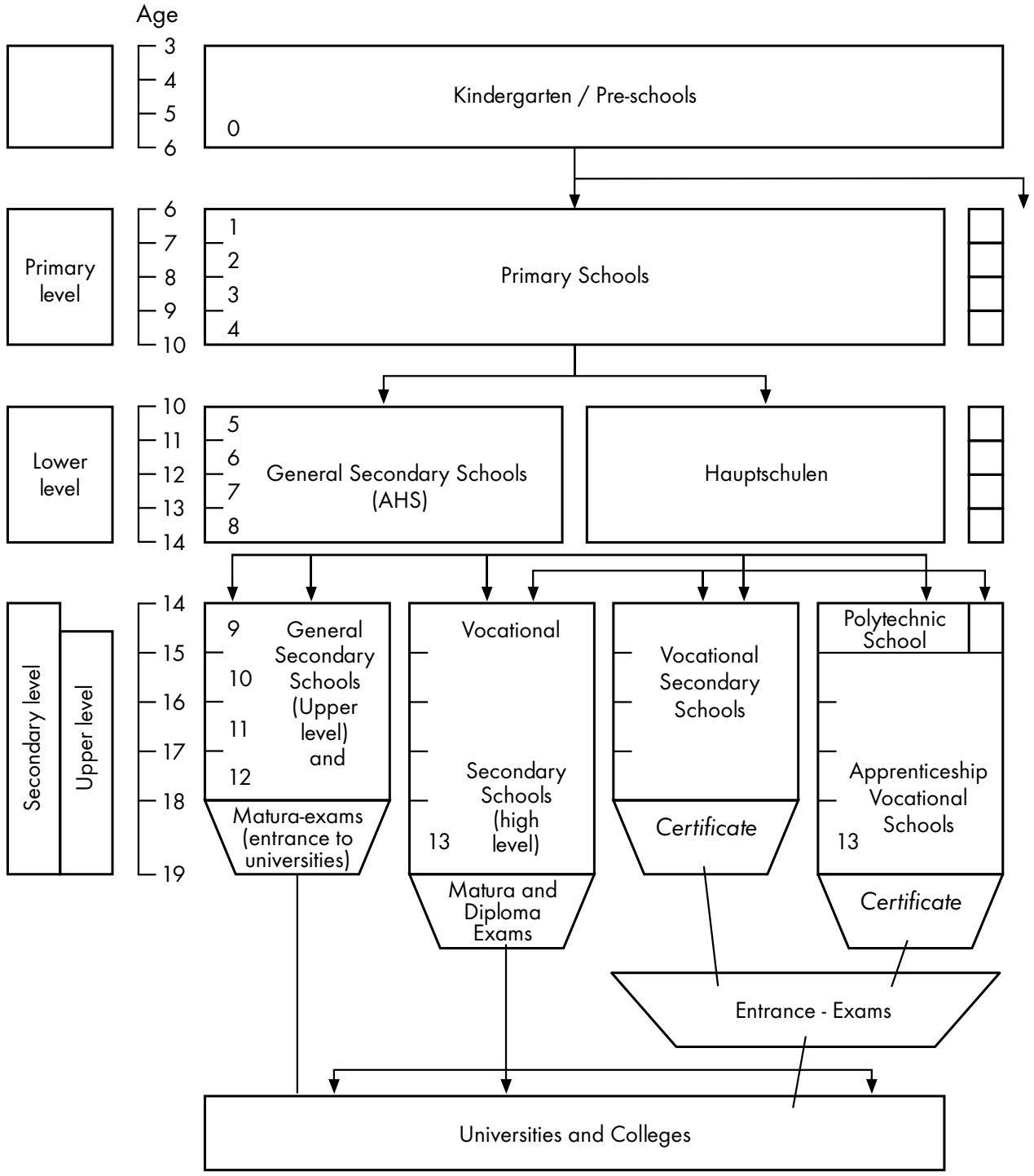
Students in Austria come from more than 150 different countries, including 56,000 from the former Yugoslavia and nearly 30,000 from Turkey (Statistik Austria: Schulwesen 2002/2003).

Academic Possibilities for Foreign Children and Adolescents The fact that foreign adolescents represent a much larger segment of the mandatory school system than foreign citizens do in the total population shows that, on the whole, the foreign population is much younger than the Austrian population. Yet, despite the relatively significant presence of foreign children in the school system, a comparison of the different school levels reveals that they do not take advantage of education possibilities to the same extent as their Austrian peers do. Foreign adolescents are overrepresented in polytechnic instruction: this ninth mandatory school year serves the purpose of preparing people for the job market and is usually a prerequisite for starting an apprenticeship.

The 2,600 foreign students who attend schools for children with special needs have a particularly hard obstacle to overcome in entering the job market. Foreign children seem to be overrepresented in these institutions to a much higher degree than they are in polytechnic schools: while only 1% of Austrian students attended these special schools in 2002, as many as 3.6% of Turkish children and 2.3% of children from former Yugoslavia enrolled. In order to join the working world, these students need special educational and job market policies.

Regional Differences A comparison of the data for Vienna and Vorarlberg shows how great the differences are in terms of school attendance between the country's various *Bundesländer* (federal provinces). While, nationwide, approximately 70% of 10-14 year olds fulfil their secondary schooling in *Hauptschulen* and about 29% do so in *Gymnasiums* (Schulwesen in Österreich, 2003: 10), in Vienna one out of two children in this age group attends a *Gymnasium*. It is important to note that in Vienna, *Hauptschulen* are mainly attended by children from disadvantaged social spheres and foreigners, while in large parts of Austria, especially outside of urban centres, they are seen as a common way for all children to access upper level secondary schools (*Oberstufengymnasium*) and Vocational Secondary schools and colleges. Although this difference is certainly, at least in part, political and social, it is also due to geographic factors, in other words to the varying distances that children have to travel to reach the two kinds of school in the city and in the country.

Figure 2: Schematic Representation of the Austrian Education System



Further Education Almost 9,000 foreign students are currently attending a 3-4 year apprenticeship programme and, parallel to this, a vocational school. Within further education technical and commercial schools, foreign adolescents are more heavily represented in shorter programmes: an overall picture shows that their segment is largest in the post-secondary commercial schools, where they number almost 3,500. Many of these students, however, come to Austria from neighbouring former Communist countries for the explicit purpose of attending these schools and are not, therefore, members of the general, long-term population of migrants and foreigners.

Language Training A solid knowledge of German is essential for ensuring academic success and for opening up possibilities for further education to children whose mother tongue is not German. At the same time, it is of fundamental importance for general linguistic and intellectual development (including the acquisition of a second language) that children have a firm grasp of their first language, even when this is not German (see de Cillia, 2001).

The percentage of children in kindergartens who speak a foreign language is decisively lower than the percentage of German-speakers. Nonetheless, policy makers must make a special effort to get foreign children to attend kindergarten.

Table 2: Numbers and Percentages of Students With Non-Austrian Citizenship, 2002/ 2003

Type of School	Austria	Vienna	Vorarlberg
Primary schools	381,140	63,661	19,917
Austrians	335,434	49,344	16,895
Foreigners	45,706	14,317	3,022
Foreigners (%)	12.0	22.5	15.2
"Hauptschulen"	268,058	32,893	14,493
Austrians	237,478	23,174	12,491
Foreigners	30,580	9,719	2,002
Foreigners (%)	11.4	29.5	13.8
Schools for children with special needs	13,466	3,656	1,054
Austrians	10,881	2.766	740
Foreigners	2,585	890	314
Foreigners (%)	19.2	24.3	29.8
Polytechnic course	20,626	3,036	1,150
Austrians	17,695	2,010	996
Foreigners	2,931	1,026	154
Foreigners (%)	14.2	33.8	13.4
General secondary school (AHS)	189,753	53,009	7,104
Austrian	178,868	47,851	6,669
Foreigners	10,885	5,158	435
Foreigners (%)	5.7	9.7	6.1
Vocational schools	126.916	18,231	6,714
Austrian	117,939	15,950	5,973
Foreigners	8,977	2,281	741
Foreigners (%)	7.1	12.5	11.0
Secondary technical schools	12,026	2,588	620
Austrians	11,019	2,155	538
Foreigners	1,007	433	82
Foreigners (%)	8.4	16.7	13.2
Post - secondary technical schools	46,437	10,715	1,770
Austrians	44,417	9,806	1,678
Foreigners	2,020	909	92
Foreigners (%)	4.3	8.5	5.2
Secondary commercial schools	14,315	3,511	783
Austrians	11,946	2,773	640
Foreigners	2,369	738	143
Foreigners (%)	16.5	21.0	18.3
Post - secondary commercial schools	42,813	6,387	2,174
Austrians	39,335	5,282	1,959
Foreigners	3,478	1,105	215
Foreigners (%)	8.1	17.3	9.9
TOTAL	**1,218,936**	**215,013**	**59,093**
Austrians	**1,104,668**	**177,339**	**51,783**
Foreigners	**114,268**	**37,674**	**7,310**
Foreigners (%)	**9.4**	**17.5**	**12.4**

Source: Statistik Austria, Schulwesen 2002/2003 (extract)

For example, in 2001 young children in Vienna were prepared for entrance into school at 60 school locations, thus exposing them for the first time to German as a teaching language.

Although this kind of approach is not as common in other federal provinces (see Biffl & Böck-Schappelwein, 2003: 136), other programmes have been implemented: for example, a 10-week pilot programme for facilitating kindergarten entrance for children and their mothers (parents) was implemented within the framework of the integration project of the city of Dornbirn (see Section 3). As part of this programme, children received their first language instruction for daily life in kindergarten and, at the same time, mothers were given information by female experts who spoke the same mother tongue on how to support the children.

Since the 1992/93 school year, "German for students whose mother tongue is not German" has become mandatory and forms part of the teaching curriculum; thus, 5-6 hours of German instruction, which can either be taken as part or in addition to regular studies, are provided every week. In order to implement the law, additional language teachers were found. Indeed, the need is great: almost 41% of students enrolled in Viennese primary schools during the 2002/2003

school year did not speak German as their mother tongue, and in *Hauptschulen* the proportion reached 47%.[2] Despite the clear demand for such classes, approved cuts in the 2004 educational budget may lead to a decrease in the number of additional teachers that can be hired and therefore put into question the availability of classes that are absolutely necessary to children of immigrant families.

Developing the "Mother Tongue" In order to develop children's knowledge of their languages of origin, schools could offer language classes in the "first" language as non-mandatory subjects throughout the compulsory school system; starting in the 6th grade, such classes could be offered as an elective (that would, however, be graded and have academic weight). This does sometimes happen in Austria, where non-German language teachers are hired by the state. In *Gymnasiums* and in *Hauptschulen*, for example, Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, Czech, and Hungarian can sometimes be found on the school curriculum in addition to more traditional foreign languages, and Turkish is sometimes taught in *Hauptschulen*.

1.2.3. School Attendance and Employment Opportunities

On the whole, if school attendance is seen as a prerequisite for opening up employment opportunities, foreign adolescents are clearly left behind compared to young Austrians. Furthermore, school attendance data shows that children of "guest workers" tend to enter the job market earlier than the children of native families. This is probably related to financial factors: immigrant parents may expect their children to contribute to the family income as soon as possible. Early entrance into the labour market leads to selecting apprenticeships as the preferred education path because this type of training includes income - even if it is very low. Students of Turkish or former Yugoslavian origin who study at Austrian universities and *Fachhochschulen* rarely come from "guest worker" families. Mostly, these young adults come to Austria specifically to study.

Differences Based on Region of Origin and Gender A 2004 study by Gudrun Biffl on the kind of academic opportunities open to foreign adolescents determined that there are critical differences depending on the individual's region of origin. In fact, the study showed that while, "in time, adolescents from the former Yugoslavia improve their position relative to Austrians," the distance between Turks and Austrians increases (Biffl, 2004: 45). Some differences are also due to gender. Specifically, it would seem that young girls tend to withdraw into the home and family while boys do not: "The falling behind of Turkish youths can be traced back to Turkish girls' decreasing interest in education over the last seven years. While in 1995 30.5% of Turkish women aged 15 to 24 attended school - a larger segment than that of Turkish boys (24.5%) - the education rate of Turkish females decreased to 21.8% by 2002, thereby falling behind the rate of Turkish males (28.8%)" (Biffl, 2004: 46). The finding that "in 1995, 17.2% of Turkish women aged 15-24 were in the household/ on maternity leave, while in 2002 it was already 32.7%" (Biffl, 2004: 46f) further confirms that the combination of (Turkish) nationality and (female) gender is detrimental to broadening adolescents' chances of employment and/ or further education. Interestingly, in Austria as a whole only 3.8% of women in this age group stay at home or are on maternity leave, while the figure relative to girls from the former Yugoslavia is of 8.2%, indicating that the latter group's employment opportunities will also, most likely, be limited. These findings show that average values are misleading because behaviour patterns vary according to the values of the region from which a given family stems.

Between School and Work According to the 2002 micro-census, approximately half (50.4%) of 15-24 year olds were still in school, almost 43% had jobs, and 3% were unemployed. The difference between girls and boys was considerable: while almost half (49.5%) of young men in this age group were employed and 44.5% were in school, 56% of girls were still in school -- only 35.9% were employed. Here too the differences between nationalities were striking. While the rate of employment for young men from the former Yugoslavia was not, at 53.5%, much above that of Austrians, they were also afflicted with an especially high rate of unemployment (8.8%) and just under one third of them was still in school. Of young Turkish men, however, two thirds (66.1%) had some sort of employment and less than 30% still attended school. Of young women from the former Yugoslavia, 43% were employed, 42% were attending school, 5.9% were unemployed, and 8.2% stayed at home. Of young Turkish women, 40% were employed; the next largest group, comprising almost one third of the age group (32.7%), was made up of homemakers; 21.8% were attending school (micro-census, 2002).

Choice of Vocation While, in the past, the children of foreigners tended to follow in their parents' footsteps, the choices made by today's young foreigners concerning employment are "becoming more similar to those of the natives" (Biffl, 2004: 54). But, even here, there are fundamental differences according to region of origin and gender: Turkish youths continue to be overrepresented in the textile, leather, and clothing industries as well as in the food and commerce industries, while children from the former Yugoslavia, "are over-proportionally represented in the chemistry industry, wood and paper manufacture, construction, in commerce and transportation fields" (Biffl, 2004: 52).

[2] Bitzan, Gerhard (2004): Schlechtes Deutsch, schlechte Chancen. In: Die Presse, 16 September 2004: 11, Vienna.

2. THE POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Between 1960 and 1990, Austria had no political concept for promoting integration and measures taken by the political leadership referred only to the regulation of immigration. Even in the last decade, the issue of immigration and its (actual or presumed) effects have replaced or superseded the challenge of integration, at least in political and media discourse (and, in part, in the field of research) (Gächter, 2000: 164, 189). The following chapter will illustrate the main characteristics of Austrian immigration policy during this period (1960-1990) and then look at the beginnings of the country's integration policy, which began to be formulated in the early 1990s. Whenever possible, regulations that specifically concern young immigrants will be discussed in detail.

2.1. LAWS ON IMMIGRATION, RESIDENCE, AND EMPLOYMENT

The goal of economic policies implemented by the government and other interest groups during the 1960s and 1970s was to employ foreign workers on short-term contracts (see Section 1.1.1) so as to ensure the availability of the necessary number of workers irrespective of fluctuations in demand. But, in retrospect, it would be true to say that already at this point in time the informal recruitment of employees already living in Austria was more important for ensuring manpower than the official recruitment strategy outlined above (König & Stadler, 2003: 24). Then, in 1969, an Immigration Law and a Passport Law were passed, providing the basis for an "Austrian Immigration Policy" (Davy & Cinar, 2001: 569).

Until the early 1990s, immigration took place almost exclusively in response to the needs of the employment market. In line with this approach, immigrants had to present proof of income in order to receive a residence permit and, up until the mid-1970s, a Migrant Worker Law stipulated that only an employer could give permits for the employment of foreigners. These permits were valid for one year only and had to be renewed continuously (Viehböck & Bratic, 1994: 24) although, after eight years of legal employment, employees could apply for a five-year exemption permit. In sum, ""until the end of the 1980s, immigration control took place essentially within the framework of employment law" (König & Stadler, 2003: 228).

Foreign political events at the end of the 1980s (the fall of the Iron Curtain, wars in the former Yugoslavia) led to a tightening of asylum regulations for refugees and also to important reforms in the area of immigrant and residence laws, as well as to amendments to the Migrant Worker Law. Austria became the first country in Europe to pass an immigration law (Currle, 2004: 239).

2.1.1. 1992: Right of Residence Reforms

With the passage of reforms affecting residence rights in 1992, regulations and restrictions on new immigration took hold. These were mainly based on Austrian society's worries and largely disregarded the concerns of immigrants already in Austria: new regulations affecting people who had been living in Austria for decades were in fact passed, some of which even threatened, in part, their right of residence. These laws were taken into account in the "Integration Index" published in 1995 (Cinar et al., 1995: 34 ff), an index measuring the legal integration of foreigners in select European countries, which gave Austria the worst rating with regard to "positive integration" because of its policies in the area of settlement and residence rights and because it was deemed to have the most complicated and anti-integration regulations on employment.

A core element of these reforms was the right of the federal government to establish an annual immigration quota that also affected family reunification (until 1995, even children born in Austria were included in this quota); it focused on the status of the employment and real estate markets, as well as on the education and health sectors; the federal government was also granted the right to require a certain level of education from immigrants; and immigrants had to apply for a first-time residence permit outside of Austria. With regards to the latter requirement, these reforms demanded immigrants to present proof of housing space that was comparable to that of Austrian citizens before an extension of the residence permit was issued (according to implementation regulations: 10 square meters/ person). And if an application for extension was received late, a new application, once again subject to the quota, had to be filled in and submitted from outside of Austria (this was amended in 1995).

In 1990, for the first time, the Ministry for Social Affairs set the federal maximum (Bundeshöchstzahl) for the total number of non-independent workers and unemployed immigrants at 10% of the workforce; in 1994, the percentage was reduced to 8% (federal maximum in 2003: 270, 607). Since 1995, the Federal Ministry for the Economy and Labour has been authorized to overstep the maximum for certain groups (although it can only increase the percentage to 9% at the most), who are then allowed to receive a work permit (issued by an employer and valid for one year). One of these groups is that composed of "integrated youth", in other words by young people who have finished the last year of

Austrian mandatory schooling and have at least one legally resident parent who has been employed for three years within the last five years.

After Austria joined the European Union in 1995, "several 'classes' of non-Austrian residents" (König & Stadler, 2003: 227) emerged, mainly due to the fact that EU citizens and their families suddenly acquired the same rights as Austrian citizens (communal suffrage, access to the employment market, and social security). Conversely, some "third country citizens", including many citizens from the former Yugoslavia, had the least possibilities to integrate; the situation for immigrants from some other "third countries" (like Turkey, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Morocco, and Tunisia), however, was comparatively better because of association and cooperation agreements signed by the governments of these countries with the European Union.

2.1.2. 1997: Immigration Law and Migrant Worker Law

The passage of the 1997 Immigration Law allowed immigrants to consolidate their residence status. Since then, there have been three kinds of residence permits: two of them are not subject to quotas -- the temporary residence permit (for students) and the permanent residence permit (mainly for EU citizens and their families); the third is a permanent residence permit that is subject to quotas and affects other categories of immigrants.

Increasingly, third country citizens who have been legally resident in Austria for an uninterrupted period of five, eight or 10 years tend not to be deported or to be denied residence even when there are problems linked to financial self-sufficiency or acceptable housing. Legal residents who have grown up and have lived in Austria for a long time (at least half of the person's life, including the last three years) are fully protected against the forceful termination of their right of residence (Davy & Cinar, 2001: 590). It should be mentioned that persons resident in Austria for employment reasons but who have been unemployed for the entire year leading up to the expiration of their eight-year term can lose their residence permit. This is true also for family members who lose their housing following the death or divorce of their "anchor person" before the expiration of the mandatory four years.

As for minors who fell under family reunification rules, the maximum age was reduced to 14 for immigrants who were already resident before 1 January 1998 (for the period between 1998 and 2000, a special quota was set for 14-19 year-olds whose applications for reunification were received before 1 January 1998; this quota allowed 550 children and youths to be reunited with their parents in 1998, 550 in 1999, and 360 in 2000) (Currle, 2004: 245). However, a series of sentences by the constitutional court has led this regulation to be changed continuously. At the moment, children whose applications were handed in before the end of their 15th year have the right to reunify with their families before they turn 19. These age limitations and the family reunification quotas are much stricter regulations than those adopted by other EU countries. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in some Austrian federal provinces there are still long waiting periods, often spanning several years.

Recently, the awarding of a humanitarian residence permit has become a legal possibility, although this still requires the consent of the Minister of the Interior, who is advised on the matter by the Asylum and Migration Council. This humanitarian residence permit is not issued to children who have been brought to Austria by circumventing the regulation on family reunification but, in certain cases, it is issued to youths without papers who are brought to Austria illegally by their parents or who have lived in the country for a long time without the right of residence (Schumacher, 2003: 82 ff).

From a labour law point of view, it is possible to determine that, despite an amendment to the 1997 Migrant Worker Law, there has been no satisfactory consolidation of immigrants' status on the labour market. This means that, despite long-term employment, immigrants could find themselves back at the lowest level (still dependent on a first-year restricted work permit) if, for example, they end up unemployed for extended periods of time. Before the 2002 reforms were implemented, Austria scored especially low in an EU-wide comparison of integration efforts.

The Migrant Worker Law names three types of work permits:

First Year Restricted Work Permit: This kind of permit is tied to a certain employer or company and is issued for one year by request of the Labour Market Service. Issuance of this permit is subject to the federal maximum, generally set at 10% of the total workforce (see previous page).

General Work Permit: This kind of permit is given to a worker and is also issued by request of the Labour Market Service. The permit is only valid in the federal province where it was issued for a period of for two years.

Unrestricted Work Permit: This kind of permit grants the holder equal access to the labour market as that enjoyed by Austrian citizens. Contrary to its name, however, the unrestricted work permit is valid for five years (but can be renewed).

2.1.3. 2002: Amendment to the Immigration Law

With the 2002 Amendment to the Immigration Law, a new residence title was implemented: the Proof of Residence. This replaced the permanent residence permit, guaranteeing holders' unrestricted right to employment throughout the entire country, provided the person has been a resident for five years, has a regular income from employment, and the "Integration Agreement" has been fulfilled. Family members who arrive later must also have been resident for at least five years before being issued their Proof of Residence; previously, only two years of residency was required. From the viewpoint of gender, it should be noted that this regulation could (unwittingly) promote women's dependency on men and aggravate domestic violence situations (Ali-Pahlavani, 2003: 50, footnote 18).

The quota for simple qualified workers was repealed, since it was estimated that this demand could be covered by seasonal workers and commuters. New immigration is now definitively limited to so-called "key workers" who have a minimum gross income of € 2,016 (as of 2003), a standard that only a few migrants will be in a position to reach. It is also important to note that the fact that female workers are often pushed into the informal labour market is overlooked (Echsel, 2003: 35).

For youth, unrestricted access to the labour market or to apprenticeship training can only be granted once they have been resident for five years and once they have fulfilled Austria's mandatory schooling requirements. Young people who have not completed the five-year residency requirement can apply for an unrestricted work permit if they have completed their last year of mandatory school in Austria. Importantly, this clause is dependent on at least one parent's legal employment within certain timeframes, which could represent an obstacle for a young person's integration into the job market. For young adults who initially come to Austria as students with a residence permit, the 2002 amendment allows them to apply for residency as a "key worker" after they have completed their studies.

Another important element of the 2002 Amendment to the Immigration Law is the so-called "Integration Agreement", which requires all who have become residents since 1 January 1998 and all new immigrants to learn German. Exempt from this requirement are: relatives of Austrian and EU citizens; people who can prove they already have a certain level of German language skills; and toddlers and school children. The "Integration Agreement" stipulates exact deadlines, and non-conformance leads to sanctions. At first, monetary penalties are levied. However, if new residents have not started the required courses within three years of receiving their permanent permit or if they do not fulfil the requirements of the "Integration Agreement" within four years, the person may be deported. Fundamentally, half of the cost of these "German integration courses" (100 teaching units) is paid by the government, but only when the classes are taken at certain institutions. With regard to integration into the job market, it is important to note that the (rapid) fulfilment of the Agreement can lead to receiving a first-year restricted work permit.

Numerous aspects and consequences of this extremely one-sided "agreement" have led to much criticism and a broad public debate on aspects such as: the forceful nature of the language requirement, the narrow terms with regard to completely different starting points for learning a language (writing and reading skills in the mother tongue, different alphabet, etc.), and the over-emphasis on language skills compared with numerous other, equally important, factors for successful integration.

2.2. OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT REGULATIONS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL LAW

In Austria, risks such as unemployment, sickness, work-related accidents, and ageing are covered by social insurance law; general salary-replacement (welfare) and housing-specific services come under the authority of the federal provinces. Children and family-specific services are regulated by the Family Burden Compensation Law. Below, only those regulations that present disadvantages for third country citizens compared to Austrian and EEC citizens, creating a barrier for integration, are summarised.

The integration of migrants, and especially of migrant families, into the country's social law is important especially with regard to the goal of eliminating poverty. Access to social services and social transfers is the only way for many households to elevate themselves above the poverty level or above the borderline poverty area. For children and youths, the unrestricted integration of their parents/ guardians into Austrian social law means increasing the chances that they will not inherit the older generation's poverty.

2.2.1. Unemployment Benefits/ Urgent Need Subsidy (*Notstandshilfe*)

According to Harald Waldrauch, all EU countries accept foreign workers and their family members into their general social insurance law systems, but do so mainly by taking, as a yardstick, an average insured person with no link to another country (Waldrauch, 2001: 388). In principle, the recognition of unemployment benefit claims does not depend on citizenship; in practice, however, the general requirements stated in the Unemployment Insurance Law must be met. Fundamentally, this means that applicants have to make themselves wholly available to employment agencies and must

provide proof of when they were legally employed in jobs that permit them to claim unemployment insurance (the first time, applicants must have worked for at least 52 weeks in the previous 24 months; in subsequent applications, they must have worked no less than 26 weeks in the previous 12 months). Family subsidies can only be claimed in addition to unemployment benefits if the family members' main residence is in Austria (Davy & Cinar, 2001: 613).

Should individuals exhaust their claim to unemployment benefits, they can apply for an "Urgent Need Subsidy", in accordance with social insurance law. This measure, however, requires applicants to prove personal need (this is not the case for claiming unemployment benefits): this means that household income is considered in awarding and calculating the sum of the Urgent Need Subsidy. In practical terms, this disqualifies many unemployed or under-employed women from receiving Urgent Need Subsidies when their partner has a secure income. It should also be noted that persons who have been continuously unemployed for nearly a year at some point during the eight years before application are decidedly excluded from receiving Urgent Need Subsidy (Davy & Cinar, 2001: 608 ff; König & Stadler, 2003: 240 ff).

Until 1998, it was difficult for third country citizens to receive an Urgent Need Subsidy, irrespective of whether they had lived in Austria half of their lives, because the subsidy could only be awarded to people who were born in Austria. Since then, obstructive regulations have been abolished by a judgement of the constitutional court and, since 1999, applications for an Urgent Need Subsidy are decided by providing proof of possession of a legal work title and according to the availability of work offered by the job market, just as unemployment benefits are.

2.2.2. Social Aid

In Austria, it is the federal provinces that decide whether to grant Social Aid or not. This service is financed by general tax monies, it encompasses both financial and material services, and serves the purpose of enabling people who need the "help of the community" to live in a humane way. If necessary, aid services must also cover dependent family members. Fundamentally, Social Aid is only intended to be a temporary support to enable recipients to once again become self-sufficient. Legal claims only exist on the basis of the so-called "Aid for securing living needs;" help in particular life situations and social services at the discretion of civil servants. The guidelines vary from province to province.

In six out of nine federal provinces, Social Aid is a service that goes mainly to Austrian citizens, while third country citizens only really have access to particular aspects of Social Aid, and even this is dependent on how long they have been in the country (it must be between three and six months). Furthermore, receiving Social Aid in Austria negatively affects the Right of Residence of immigrants who have been in the country less than eight years. If they have been in Austria longer than five years, however, residence rights are no longer at risk if the third country citizens are, at least in principle, willing to support themselves and if this proposition does not seem completely unlikely (Waldrauch, 2001: 398).

Women's organisations have, quite rightfully, pointed out that these regulations make access to Social Aid services practically impossible for female immigrants in domestic violence situations who have come to Austria as part of family reunification and have been in Austria for less than five years. Moreover, the law's tendency to want to include Immigration Police Forces further increases these women's fear of being threatened with deportation. The new Tyrolean Social Aid Law is a pioneer in this regard: it allows for all people who are in dire need to get "help for leading a humane lifestyle", independently of their citizenship (Basari, 2003: 79).

In some federal provinces Social Aid funds are used for family subsidies aimed at "assisting and supporting low income families with small children"; these subsidies also seek to enable one parent to care for the children while the other works. In most provinces, third country citizens are excluded from this service, although in Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, and Vienna, subsidies may be granted if the nationals in question have settled in the area between one to three years before the birth of their child (König & Stadler, 2003: 243 ff).

2.2.3. Housing

In most Austrian communities, third country citizens are also excluded from access to apartments paid for by tax monies (such as municipal or cooperative apartments). Since 2000, a provincial law for Vienna has allowed for third country citizens who have lived legally in Austria for five years (one of which in Vienna) to be awarded "emergency apartments" owned by the municipality. Even so, applicants for such housing must be the victims of "housing speculation", must be living in crisis shelters (mother-child-shelters), or must be living in situations that pose a health risk for children (König & Stadler, 2003: 247).

Although working third country citizens are required to contribute to the housing support fund, they are almost completely excluded from benefiting from it. There are some exceptions, for example with regards to the housing subsidy (which varies greatly from province to province) and to receiving the means for renovating living space. In

Vienna and Styria, the receipt of a housing subsidy (as a means of avoiding unacceptably high housing costs) is dependent upon applicants' possession of a work permit and, in Styria and Tyrol, upon their length of residence.

2.2.4. Family Subsidy/ Childcare Subsidy

Family subsidies are meant to help meet the cost of childcare and are financed by employer contributions and tax monies. Austrians and other citizens with equal rights are entitled to family subsidies if their child is a minor and lives in the same household as they do. In certain circumstances, a family subsidy is also paid for adult children who live at home and are still largely dependant on their family income. Third country nationals who have been in the country for at least 60 calendar months are considered as equal to Austrian citizens with regard to family subsidy payments. In general, however, third country citizens, are only entitled to family subsidies if they have been employed in Austria for longer than three months and if they intend to receive some kind of benefit (such as health coverage) from this employment. No family subsidy is paid in the case of unemployment or if the children live largely outside of the country.

Since 2002, parents can receive monthly financial support (c. €436), known as childcare subsidy, for the first three years of their child's life; additional income is also possible up to the legally regulated annual limit of €14,600. This measure replaced the maternity leave subsidy, which fell under unemployment insurance. While maternity leave subsidies were conditional on the recipient's commitment to personally caring for the child, the new childcare subsidy is intended to increase parents' choices in terms of childcare. As before, however, whoever receives the subsidy must live in the same household as the child. Most third country families living in Austria are entitled to childcare subsidies purely on the basis of their long residency status. Future evaluations will show whether - as with the stipulation that unemployed third country parents should not receive family subsidies - it is those parents/ families who can barely stay above the poverty line who are particularly affected by how the funds are distributed.

The unbalanced treatment of children and youths regarding the so-called "Child Support Advances" should be noted. While the federal state allows for child support subsidies to be awarded to Austrian children and youths when it seems likely that these costs will be repaid by the families, children and youths without Austrian citizenship are de facto excluded. This means that financial considerations, not the well-being of the child, is the real deciding factor for legislators.

2.3. OVERVIEW OF REGULATIONS OF RELEVANCE TO POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The correlation between access to social rights and political integration was made apparent by Seyla Benhabib when she spoke of citizenship as a societal practice and when she divided the institution and practice of citizenship into three sociological components: collective identity, privileges of political participation, and social rights and services (Benhabib, 2003: 14). Bauböck argued in a similar fashion when he defined naturalization and foreigners' right to vote as "two paths of democratic inclusion" (Bauböck, 2003: 28).

2.3.1. Naturalisation

The fact that Austria has been an immigration country for 40 years can hardly be discerned in the legal regulations concerning the naturalisation of foreign citizens. Nonetheless, a regulation on naturalisation requirements and waiting periods that was passed in 1998 does state the principle that naturalisation is "the last step in the successful integration of foreigners in Austria" (Waldrauch & Cinar, 2003: 261).

Unfortunately, this principle contradicts the current Austrian Citizenship Law that regulates naturalisation procedures: under this law, applicants for Austrian citizenship are required to have been resident in the country for as long as 10 years (or four to six years in special cases), to renounce their previous citizenship, and to accrue large costs. Further criteria for receiving citizenship include a secure means of sustenance and knowledge of the German language. Compared to other West European countries, Austrian citizenship law ranked last with regard to openness to integration (König & Hintermann, 2003: 13).

The lack of automatic naturalisation mechanisms becomes evident even with children who are born and raised in Austria and have no relationship to the home countries of their parents. These Austrian-born "foreigners" can only receive citizenship through a particular Award Act, and children over 14 are personally required to apply for an award or for a citizenship extension. Naturalisation procedures for minors may include a review of any criminal record infringements and endanger their chances for receiving citizenship on the basis of a lack of "good behaviour of the applicant" (such as administrative punishments or legal convictions).

According to Waldrauch and Cinar, the fact that the number of naturalizations quadrupled between 1990 and 2001 does not show a liberalisation of bureaucratic practice but rather that, by these dates, large portions of immigrants had lived in Austria long enough to apply for citizenship (Waldrauch & Cinar, 2003: 282).

2.3.2 Political Participation Rights

According to Waldrauch, the only international convention that directly refers to foreign citizens' right to vote is the EU "Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level". Since it was ratified by four countries, the Convention entered into force on 1 May 1997 (Waldrauch, 2003: 56).

In Austria, third country citizens are given neither the active or the passive right to vote, at any level - be it federal, provincial, or municipal. Although it is true that Vienna granted non-EU citizens the right to vote in 2002, this was limited to elections in district councils, for which the only prerequisite was that voters had to have lived legally in Vienna for five years. It is also remarkable that immigrants used to be barred from appointment as district representatives, deputies, or even as members in the Construction Committee (Waldrauch, 2003: 62). The constitutional court has reviewed the situation and recently eliminated these barriers, but the direction of further developments remains unclear.

Workers who are not self-employed, including immigrants with foreign citizenship, can participate in work council elections, in elections for the representation of their interest group, and in Chamber of Labour elections. Once again, however, the law makes exceptions for non-EU citizens: in fact, the Labour Constitution Law excludes this group from the right to vote in passive work council elections, making Austria one of the most restrictive European countries. According to Waldrauch, the exclusion of non-EU citizens from participatory company decision-making fits in with "Austria's unwillingness to give foreign citizens from third countries any equality in the labour market, even after a considerable period of time" (Waldrauch, 2001: 424).

An empirical investigation (carried out in the spring of 2002 through 698 interviews with naturalized and foreign immigrants) reveals additional information on the degree of electoral participation, at different levels. The statements collected showed that 16% of foreign respondents had participated in work council elections (compared to 38% of immigrants with Austrian citizenship) and 21% (against 45%) participated in the May 2000 Chamber of Labour elections. Furthermore, 48% of Austrian citizens participated in municipal and district representative elections in Vienna in March 2001, while the general participation level was 65% (Jenny, 2003: 134 ff).

Selma Yildirim, a speaker for integration on behalf of Innsbruck's branch of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), estimated that there are only two or three politicians with an immigrant background running in municipal and provincial elections, and that there are none at the national level (Yildirim 2003: 166). Interestingly, all parties represented in parliament named candidates with an immigration background at the last National Council election, but these individuals were all placed in impossible lists.

Aside from the issues of citizenship acquisition and voting rights, which have already been discussed, Austria's markedly restrictive policy with regards to political integration is obvious in the severe limitations imposed on Third Country Citizens' access to public services and on restrictions to their freedom of assembly and of association (Waldrauch, 2001: 420 ff).

3. THE INTEGRATION OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN AUSTRIA: INTEGRATION DYNAMICS AND PROCESSES

3.1. MIGRATION, INTEGRATION, AND YOUTH

The research project "Dimensions of Integration - Migrant Youth in Austria" is centred on three specific concepts: integration, migration, and youth[3]. These terms, however, have not been clearly defined, a fact that becomes especially problematic in the case of "integration". Without delving too much into this study's underlying theory, a few points regarding these terms and the interchanging effects of migration and integration are indispensable to gain a deeper understanding of the situation of adolescents from migrant families in Austria. The analysis contained in Section 3.2 discusses the double perspective of the dynamics of integration which is the basis of this report. Finally, in Section 3.3, some of the tendencies and development processes that influence migrant adolescents' possibilities for entering the main sites of integration will be explained. Much of the information in this section was taken from the results of current studies being done in Austria. In addition, concrete cases and processes mentioned by experts in interviews[4] will be

[3] Just like childhood, youth is not defined biologically but culturally (Mitterauer, 1986: 11, 18). This fact is especially important in the case of migrant children because, within a pluralistic society, there are different social perceptions of these phases of life. Furthermore, social science studies set varying milestones that define the period of youth (average age at start of puberty, beginning of education, introduction into the working world).

mentioned as examples; these expert opinions were pooled from interviews conducted specifically for this report, as well as from qualitative research done by the authors (See methodological annex).

3.1.1. How Migration Raises the Question of Integration

Just how complex the word migrant is, was pointed out many years ago. Demographically speaking, populations on the move are considered to represent the majority of migrants, which is why border commuters and seasonal workers are hereby included. In fact, both of these groups are important in the context of Austrian migration dynamics (see Section 1.2.) But territorial movement alone does not define the phenomenon of migration, at least not in the way that the European public understands it. For example, tourists are hardly ever considered migrants despite the fact that they too move from one region or country to another. Therefore, some authors have added other criteria, such as duration of stay and size of the migrating flow (Bauböck, 1994: 410). Other authors have emphasised the structurally "forced nature of migration" (Withol de Wenden, 1999: 15; Butterwegge, 2000: 274) to differentiate this phenomenon from other geographic movements that occur as part of a "pressure for mobility" typical of this age of globalisation (Bukow, 2000: 13).

These latter criteria, although only mentioned briefly, suffice to clarify the close connection between migration and integration. Lasting streams of migration do not only influence the personal biographies of migrants, but also influence life in the host country. Thus, the concrete shape of these movements is inconsequential, nor does it matter whether they are considered to be provisional by the host country and the migrants themselves or not (Sayad, 1997: 52), whether the migrants end up remaining permanently, or even whether they continue to go back and forth between different countries throughout their lives. On the other hand, the above mentioned "forced nature" of migration points to a global power struggle between countries that is reflected in the debate on integration in each host country (Boucher, 2001: 107). In fact, immigration is one of the factors that today "clearly increases the risk of poverty and social exclusion" in EU countries (EC, 2001: 8). Global and European integration, as well as the liberalisation of previously protected economic areas, has led to a great increase in competitive pressure on the Austrian economy. Therefore, it has become more urgent than ever before for businesses to adapt to recent economic and structural changes (Cf. Biffl, 2001: 65-66), changes that also influence the debate on integration, especially in terms of evaluating the pros and cons of immigrants' presence. In Austrian society, the presence of migrants is understood and valued very differently (see Section 4).

3.1.2. Integration in a Political Context

Today, integration is still an inexact and normative concept and therefore remains problematic. It is always used implicitly, and no definition is ever clarified. The term has different connotations, and even meanings, depending on what is being discussed: whether in connection to the European Union, social integration, or immigrants. Like other socio-political key terms -- for example "exclusion", "cohesion", or "inclusion" -- it has a clearly normative character (Thränhardt, 2000: 13) that makes it the subject of "desirable" political goals. Moreover, each time that it is used, a certain confusion between objectivity and ideology is unavoidable (García Borrego, 2000).

Within the European Union, different opinions, sometimes even "opposing logics" become apparent in the debate on the integration of immigrants (Boucher 2001: 114-127). From the perspective of social integration -- as it is understood by EU political institutions -- the integration of migrants aims at an efficient articulation of an increasing degree of plurality of interests and ways of life, and at an "increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity" (EC 2001: 7) due to migration and to an increased degree of mobility. From the outset, this clearly defines the political dimension of the concept of integration (Volf & Bauböck 2001: 13, 21-39).

The use of the term "integration," when used in connection with migration, has spread to the general public, while it used to be scientifically designed to be precise and operational. The concept of integration is a rather debated notion within the field of social sciences throughout Europe (Filsinger, 2000: 8-11; Hettlage & Kohler, 2000:34-41; Boucher, 2000: 37-59, 97-114) and in Austria (Fassmann, 2003: 13). The concept is often used without a clear definition of its content, with the result that it has sparked theoretical debates on the validity and reformulation of classical assimilation approaches. Some authors dealing with this topic have proposed a redefinition of classical ideas based on the complexity of migration processes (see Sassen, 1996: 174; Pries, 1997: 49-53) and the variety of integration processes of immigrant individuals or groups. Others have already started developing a new theory of intergenerational integration and point to homogenisation trends in a globalised world that do not include ethnic stratifications, ethnically-structured economic constraints, or long-term exclusions based on ethnicity (Esser, 2003: 1-9, 29).

[4] With people that are in touch with migrant families and their children for professional reasons, and also with authorities and experts of the City of Dornbirn (see methodological annex).

Within the context of Austrian migration and integration research, the concept of "assimilation" is hardly accepted at all: the word already has too many negative connotations (Cf. Bauböck, 2001:14; Windisch, 1994: 202). Current trends have leaned more towards a multidimensional integration concept that includes the personal, self-determined growth of individuals and their social integration into the social structures of the country they live in. In this sense, integration is the antipode of social marginalisation and is structured in different levels. The development of this trend does not imply that all European authors are focusing on the same dimension of integration, but it has meant that the following aspects have often been elaborated on:

The personal aspect, which focuses on independence, how individuals view their own personal identity, the acquisition of language, and knowledge and educational skills;

The social aspect, which focuses on the availability of interpersonal relations and networks (family, neighbours, friends, etc);

The economic aspect, which focuses particularly on individuals' employment situation (integration through gainful employment) and on their access to social rights. This dimension has been documented in numerous Austrian studies on the structural conditions characteristic of the lives of migrants;

The national/ government aspect, which focuses on political rights and on political participation. This approach is often emphasized in Austria (see for example Waldrauch & Cinar, 2003: 283), but it does not yet enjoy a consensus of opinions. Rainer Bauböck, for example, regards integration as "equality, plurality, and cohesion" and proposes a culturally pluralistic society (based on "hyphenated identities") whose members are not discriminated against in response to such tendencies. Such political objectives inevitably call for the establishment of processes that enable migrants to achieve political rights (Bauböck, 2001: 16ff.). This point of view does not confront the fact that integration processes are asymmetrical phenomena that also require migrants to try to assimilate -- for example, by learning the German language. Rather, it debates integration guidelines and projects that try to force such an assimilation process onto migrants. Moreover, the failure to integrate should not be equated with a lack of will, for obstacles to integration are often based on the living conditions of migrants.

3.1.3. Migrant Youth and the Children of Migrants

In Austria, migrants and ethnic minorities[5] are often equated, if not blatantly confused. The problem is exacerbated by the aforementioned changes in global power relations and by an increase in cultural pluralism in EU countries and in Austria, especially when migration is identified as the single cause of this increased pluralism. Migration studies do not differentiate between these two social groups either. This can be explained by the following reasons: first, in Austria, the division between foreigner and native is decisive; second, in the context of analysing structural conditions characteristic of the living conditions of migrant and foreign youth in Austria, there is often no difference between these two groups, for both are confronted with similar problems -- such as barriers to integration and different forms of direct and indirect discrimination (Gojo, 2003: 48) (see Section 1.2). Both of these facts lead to the crystallisation of isolated ethnic minorities and are, therefore, signs of unsatisfactory integration.

Migrant youth, however, are not the same as the children of migrants: most importantly, they have not lived in the host country for part of their primary socialisation. This is a difference that can, at times, have a significant effect on personal resources and behaviour patters, especially among young people. Furthermore, the systematic equation of migrant youth with the children of migrants can easily lead to an "ethnification" of migration processes. From this perspective, ethnicity is understood simply as a constant variable, as cultural heritage, and as a factor that defines people from the same country for generations (Cf. Bukow, 1996: 136 - 138). It is an interpretation that several migration studies warn against.

3.2. INTEGRATION DYNAMICS

3.2.1. Two Perspectives

Integration processes are based on the interrelation of two types of factors: on the one hand, there are the conditions encountered in Austria and migrants' individual plans and behavioural strategies; on the other hand, there are migrants' own interests, validations, and concerns. Furthermore, specific psychological development processes have to be taken into account when dealing with children and adolescents; within this context, ethnicity plays a special role. The integration processes of young migrants can basically be monitored from one of two perspectives:

Perspective of structural integration: Here, the focus is primarily on the living conditions of young migrants in their receiving countries (particularly in school and in the labour market). Through this point of view, the conditions that lead

[5] For a definition of "minorities" see: Heckmann's "Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation", Stuttgart, Enke: 57(1992).

to structural inequality, as well as the integration measures designed to fight it, can be identified clearly. Nonetheless, young migrants are regarded as passive objects in need of a certain treatment.

Perspective of integration through action[6]: Here, the focus is on young migrants as acting individuals in search of ways and strategies that favour optimum integration into the host society (through identificational, social, cultural integration). From this perspective, young migrants become the centre of attention and their perceptions, reactions, interests, and action strategies can be understood better. This approach often points to processes of inequality and social exclusion, as well as to adolescents' personal resources and social environment, which can be supported with the aid of integration measures. To a large extent, these integration perspectives overlap in real life and are only separated here for analytical purposes. The interaction of all the factors mentioned above is responsible for the variety of life developments experienced by migrant youth in Austria.

3.2.2. Sources and Main Sites of Integration

Some information on adolescents from migration families can be found in general analyses on migrants, as well as in studies on poverty and social exclusion. Most of these specific studies were carried out in order to evaluate migrant youths' chances for the future and the degree to which they have adapted to the working world; thus, the studies also deal with the importance of schools as socialisation authorities and with the need to gain qualifications to enter the labour market. Another indicator of migrant youth's degree of adaptation into the host country mentioned in the studies is leisure time. On the other hand, the generation dynamic within the family is given little notice despite the finding, by several studies, that family life is of great importance to young migrants. This finding was confirmed by the conversations recorded and analysed for the purpose of this study. Structural conditions and behavioural strategies adopted by young migrants converge to the following main sites of integration:

- In the family (through parent - child interaction, relatives, marriage);
- In the home (residential context);
- In the school system (the whole educational context, including all school types);
- In places of leisure;
- In the job market.

Figure 3: The Children of Migrants - Integration Perspectives and Political Answers

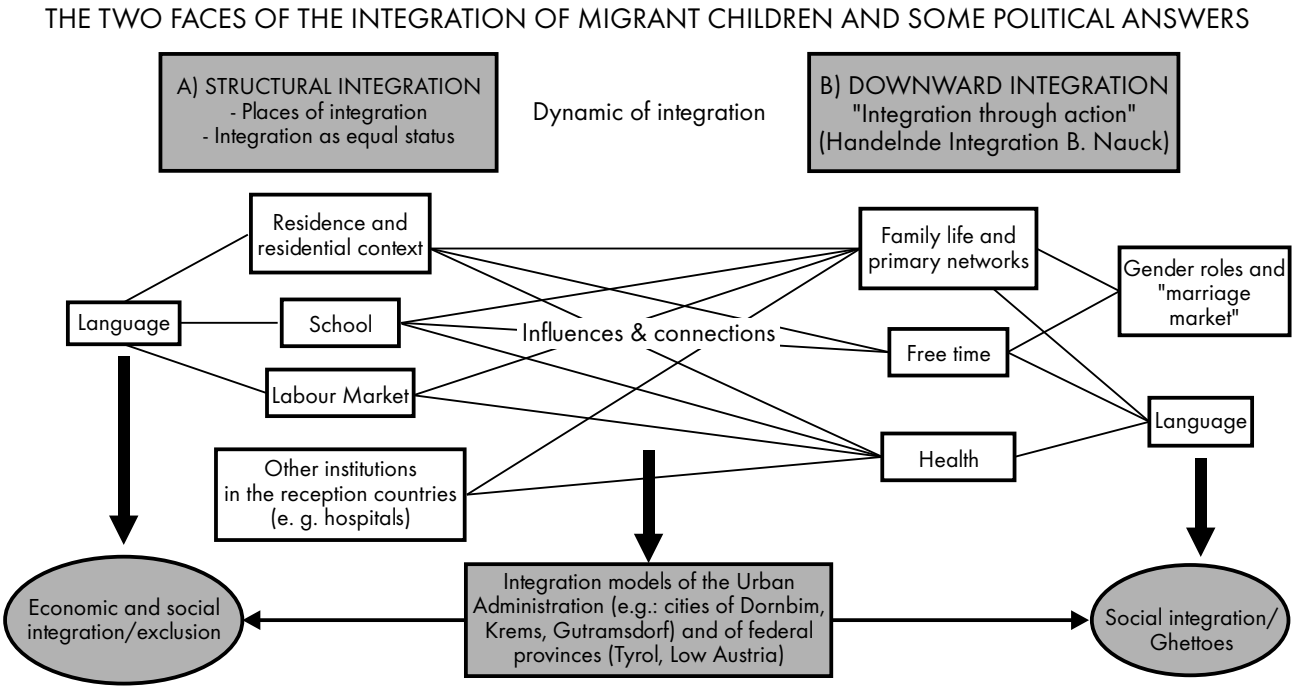


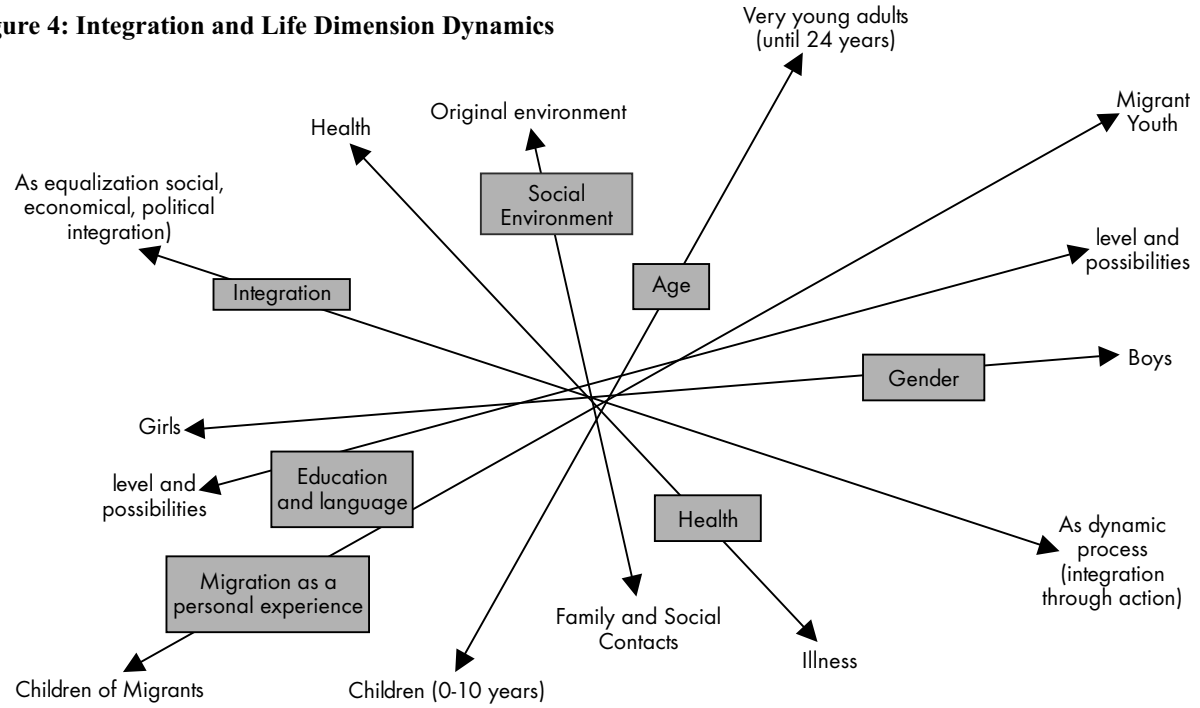
Figure 3 outlines the dynamics and the sites of integration as well as the integration approach employed by the city of Dornbirn. This approach -- as well as some others -- essentially aims to recognise and strengthen opportunities for integration and to reduce factors that hamper the integration of young migrants. In Section 4, the integration approach adopted by the city of Dornbirn will be discussed.

[6] This is a concept of Bernhard Nauck (see a recent summary of his approach in: Nauck, 2000. For the explanation of the concept "integration through action" see: Nauck & Steinbach 2001: 18).

3.3. INTEGRATION PROCESSES: IMPORTANT AREAS

The interviews that were conducted clearly show that there are connections between the structural integration deficits that most migrant families are faced with, family dynamics, and young migrants' integration processes. The interviews focused mainly on the significance of family life, on housing and health problems, on language and school, and on the relevance of gender roles. The subjective views of the migrant children and adults who were interviewed were not addressed explicitly, despite their unquestionable importance for the purpose of analysis: in fact, identification patterns and processes in the development of personal identity as well as individuals' conditions were shown to be significant factors in motivating or blocking the social integration of young migrants. All of these factors are tightly interrelated and appear, at different times, in connection to different life dimensions. For example, psychological factors are clearly connected to age and gender, and certain life stages appear to be linked either to interaction processes or marginalisation strategies.

Figure 4: Integration and Life Dimension Dynamics



3.3.1. Young Migrants and Family Life

Structural Framework Conditions During the 1990s, the level of prosperity among foreigners and their children improved visibly. Nonetheless, unequal structural framework conditions have remained and the number of children and adolescents from migrant families who live in a marginalized setting or that risk being pushed to the edge of society is large. Overall, in Austria, migrants and their children are particularly open to the dangers of poverty and social exclusion (Förster & Heitzmann, 2003: 85; Schütz, 2004: 54-61), which, in turn, affects their situation on the job market since employment conditions in Austria are quite obviously influenced by factors such as nationality and gender (Bacher, 1991). For example, on average, foreign workers earn 26% less than their Austrian counterparts (Gächter, 1998): 5) and are usually employed in jobs that require fewer qualifications (Hofinger et al., 1997: 151, 156). Young migrants under the age of 10 are more seriously affected by poverty due to insufficient family income than any other at-risk group mentioned by researchers on poverty (Bacher, 1997).

These structural framework conditions often generate "very complex exclusion mechanisms" (Gunz et al., 1999: 40) and negatively influence family life. Social workers have spoken of the insecurities that parents and children are faced with in the context of migration and of how these make holding the family together very hard: "Almost everyone… has to fight for survival and the internal structure of the family is often left behind, yes" (EI 1, 205-207). One therapist summarised this atmosphere of insecurity, which she had observed repeatedly over years of experience, in the following way:

> There are fathers who have an unrestricted residence permit and so the wives then come here illegally; some children can move relatively freely around Austria, but then there is the older brother, who came later, and he only has a tourist visa, or something like that! This means that the external framework leaves a great mark on the family and causes incredible differences within the family, that are, in my

> opinion (…), incredibly hard to overcome. And this causes the many conflicts that we deal with in counselling: while one part of the family can feel pretty much secure, another part has no ground to stand on, and yet another part does, somehow, manage to scam its way through (EI 26, 98-106).

These negative phenomena in the life of adolescents from migrant families are closely connected to strict immigration policies regarding naturalisation, family reunification, and work permits (see Section 2). It is clear that these have a very important effect on the structural framework conditions regulating the lives of families.

Family Life A psychotherapist working with immigrant families and their children told the following story:

> I find that, based on my experience, a noticeable division of the family has occurred and that new family structures have developed. Now, there is a great number of single mothers with children -- divorced women from Turkey who live here alone with their children; re-marriages with partners from other countries, some of them with Austrian men and women, but also with women from ex-Yugoslavia and vice-versa; there are all kinds of possible combinations. (EI 26, 19-25)

These behaviours show that it is no longer useful to make general statements about immigrant families and their children, for this social group has become too diverse in terms of lifestyle, family structure, and, especially, in the strategy of its actions. This kind of variety was already noticed in a small country like Switzerland, among second generation migrants (Meyer-Sabino, 1987). Overall, however, the lives of migrants are not generally characterised by problems and the thesis that social deficits result from the culture of origin has been abandoned. In this sense, it would be a mistake to systematically assume a decline in modernisation when analysing the living conditions of immigrant youth.

It is important not to have preconceptions about migrants' parent-child relationships based on prevailing attitudes in the host country because many families are organised in different ways and cater to needs (such as child care or upbringing) differently (Pflegerl & Fernández de la Hoz, 2001: 68-69). Furthermore, the specific framework conditions of migrants in the host country must be considered. During the first phase of migration, in particular, parents can feel overwhelmed by having to raise children without the support network that existed in their home country, especially if the host society's customs are very unfamiliar, inaccessible, or too expensive. This is especially true for women. As early as 1996 it was noted that: "It must be assumed that foreign women are under massive pressure caused by highly stressful social, societal, and financial factors. This can also be seen with regard to the issue of child care and the need to work to survive" (Klotz et al. 1996: 226).

In addition to pressure exerted from external influences, an expert from Dornbirn stated that the way in which immigrant families often raise their children does not help their social integration:

> Even open-minded migrant fathers must be convinced to send their highly talented daughters to a *Gymnasium* (…) Because his opinion is that she does not need this. (…) He has four girls and they will vanish to Turkey and come back, well, wearing head scarves. As for boys (…), machismos are still being reinforced: they can act like they are crazy, this is simply tolerated -- much more so than with girls. And when this is combined with bad integration, little acceptance, and bad grades in school, then it just doesn't look good. So, I think that… For me, a very large part of it is a problem of education that is made up of different factors: few German skills, not feeling accepted, having a small income, that the parents themselves are uneducated: 53% of all migrants are blue-collar workers (…) this is incredibly high - compared to 9% of the native population. (EI/D 2, Z.: 231-245)

This story unveils the traditional concept of what it means to be an adolescent in Turkey, and what the criteria are for raising children in this country, highlighting the gender dimension. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that this idea of gender roles affects family life, society, and spatial order more generally and is not only confined to adolescence. As the testimony above emphasises, however, the integration difficulties experienced by adolescents do not only result from their specific cultural background but, rather, from the combination of this with other socio-structural factors.

In conclusion, behaviour patterns between parents and children that might attract attention in the host country[7] must be analysed from various perspectives. For example, authoritarian measures could be traced back to the social environment of the home country, social class, and/or a psychological compensation effect. Criteria for raising children are the result of an inseparable mix of cultural patterns and social factors -- for example the level of education and experiences of being excluded.

Conflicts Generational conflicts are a natural part of parent-child relations, but they often become particularly prominent during adolescent periods of identity-creation. They also occur when parents and children develop different

[7] From the onset of puberty until they get married, boys are allowed to be wild, fiery, impulsive and a little "crazy". On the other hand, social expectations for girls are entirely different because of the different gender roles attributed to men and women during their formative years (cf. Schiffauer, 1983: 74-76; see also Herwartz-Emden, 2000: 31 - 32).

interests, assessments and behaviours. Studies on inter-generational relationships within migrant families repeatedly show a double profile whereby it is the very intensity and importance of the relationship that give rise to conflicts within the family. Although these factors do affect the integration of adolescents and elucidate migration-specific factors (Barbisch, 2000: 80), the nature of these conflicts resists any generalisation. To give one example among many: psychotherapists and social workers have reported cases where the traumatic experiences of refugee parents from war-torn areas have negatively impacted the way they treat their own children, who sometimes suffer from overly strict treatment and who must sometimes deal with their parents' intellectual absence. Often, this kind of situation compounds strange behaviour patterns such as apathy, passivity, and "acting out".

In many cases, language becomes a factor of strife (Gunz et al., 1999: 54): children's choice to differentiate themselves through the use of German can be seen as a harmless strategy to occasionally escape parental authority, but it becomes problematic when it interferes with communication between children and their parents. It is very common, for example, for children to feel shame because their parents speak German with difficulty. A therapist described the complexity of this situation in a family of academics:

> Children learn German much faster than the parents, and very soon start speaking German with one another. And that becomes an additional reason for why the parents cannot understand their children. Because the children can evade them. One usually thinks of another picture: of parents speaking English so that the kids will not understand what they are talking about. But in this case, the situation is reversed. The children speak German so that the parents do not understand what they are talking about. And this leads to a great feeling of helplessness (…) added to which is a loss of image and a social decline into the depths of the depths. Ah, I mean… they are academics and probably had a relatively good position -- and now they live in such a hole. They are not doing too well. (E, E4: 486-496).

Often, conflicts or tensions result from different life projects within the same family, as becomes apparent in the following story, told by a different psychotherapist:

> And another level of conflict occurs when the parents and children move in opposite directions, so here it is not about moving at different speeds in the same direction, but (…) about parents falling back on tradition and saying: "Now I am so disorientated, which is why I fall back on what I know from my home country." There are also adolescents who do this, but their motives are different from the family's. (…) And there are always very, very individual stories on how this happens. For example, we have two girls in the tutoring programme who go to secondary school and are very smart and very thoughtful, and who have, in the last year, decided to wear a headscarf again, which is something they never did before (their mother at home does not wear one either). [They do this] really as an act of differentiation, not as an act of religious expression. (…) I think that this is a step towards finding an identity, even if they do not yet know what this really means for them (EI 2: 215-233, 246-248).

This passage shows the potential for taking different directions on the basis of ethnic identification processes, both by parents and adolescents. The strategy of action is the same, even if the focus is different because of the age difference: adults do not reveal their biographical roots through migration, (comp. Viehböck et al., 1994: 92) rather the opposite: memories and experiences can be activated all the more strongly, the harder the present is perceived to be; in adolescents, the search for direction occurs in a phase of life in which their own identity becomes defined. What all of this implies is that there is a strong gender dimension to conflicts in immigrant families. In patriarchal families from Turkey, for example, boys' needs are given priority while girls are subject to much stricter social control and often have to deal with fewer education possibilities. Many girls have a hard time with this unequal treatment, as conformed in the results of other studies as well (Id: 136-139; Appelt, 2003: 163, 164).

With regard to the specific issue of the headscarf (much discussed throughout the European Union), the expert interviews show that not all girls who wear it do so of their own accord: tradition sometimes plays a part, and sometimes girls are told to wear a headscarf by their relatives. Of course, because of its strongly symbolic connotations, the headscarf is a complex subject, but its explosiveness lies -- consciously or unconsciously -- in the visible claim on identity and belonging (to the ethnic community as well as to the host country) that it expresses (Cf. Schiffauer, 1997: 154; Karasoglou-Aydin, quoted from Appelt, 2003: 164). Very different needs and interpretations of family roles and of socio-religious tradition converge in gendered behaviour and it is precisely because of its complexity that it resists universal interpretation.

3.3.2. Housing and Health: Indicators of Failed Integration Processes

Housing Environment The housing environment is especially important in the lives of young migrants, for children in particular spend a large part of their time at home. As they get older, the streets, in other words their immediate environment, gains in importance. Foreign children clearly live below the average standard of living experienced by their Austrian peers (Gunz, 2004: 83 - 86): on the whole, the apartments they live in are more cramped and the outside

environment is more exacting. In a 1993 representative survey, 10% of 10-year-old foreign children were dissatisfied with their apartment (Buchegger-Traxler, 1995: 78). A social worker for the Department of Youth and Family in Vienna described the situation of children in a certain family as follows.

> And they have a long history, they moved around a lot in Vienna. And it is always two brothers and the grandparents living together, because together they can only afford one apartment, or one of the brothers with the grandparents or, now, they have an apartment for themselves, but one that you could call a catastrophic apartment. If you told an average Austrian that a family with now almost three children is living in a basement apartment where there is only a small slanting window above, they would say that this does not exist anymore. But it does! (EI 11, 32-40).

In conversations with other social workers, similar descriptions were given again and again. And, although it is true that this group of experts might be particularly prone to emphasising such conditions, the same kind of observations were also made by interviewees with different jobs, thus revealing that immigrants are clearly discriminated in the real estate market (Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2003: 87-88)[8]. Such discrimination is rooted in the correlation of economic difficulties (income and integration into the job market) and specific legal framework conditions. Paradoxically, and as noted above, many migrant families are excluded from social welfare housing and must therefore resort to the free market, where they become easy prey to discrimination and speculation, factors that are frequently compounded by migrants' poor communication skills. As a result, many adolescents from these families live in precarious and endangered provisional housing that does not offer good conditions for integration (cf. Pflegerl & Fernández de la Hoz 2001: 42-46).

These living conditions could still be perceived by the native population as an improvement in the lives of adolescents and their families compared to the general standard in the country of origin, but this is not the case. Quite to the contrary, migrants often experience a decline in living conditions and it is not rare that relatives who join their families in the new country at a later date are shocked by their conditions compared to how they lived before migrating (Ibid: 57).

Health Although it is not easy to estimate the overall health situation of migrants in Austria, a number of quantitative and qualitative studies have raised questions on the generally positive picture painted by the 1999 micro-census. What has become clear, is that migrants and the poorer classes of Austrians suffer from similar health risks. For example, migrants suffer from workplace injuries at the same above-average rate as Austrian blue-collar workers. Furthermore, they are confronted with specific migration-related factors, such as difficulties in accessing health care, in part due to the existence of language and communication barriers with health care personnel in the host country (Amesberger et al., 2003: 171-173, 175, 193; Laubacher-Kubat, 2003: 32; Pochobradsky et al., 2001: 28-29). In order to explain their health situation, behaviour, and preventative measures, other factors such as education and cultural ideas must be considered, but these vary widely within the migrant population.

Compared to Austrians, migrants are less concerned with their health (in terms of nutrition, physical, and mental activity); this is, apparently, related to a lack of education and information on the subject (Pammer 2000) that is, in turn, due to structural conditions pertaining to the living conditions of migrants and to personal experiences of discrimination and social devaluation. The connection between poverty, social marginalisation, and a deterioration in personal health (deficit approach) has been well-documented (Laubacher-Kubat, 2003: 27). It is nonetheless interesting to see the connection between risk factors and migration, and how these have a particular impact on children and adolescents.

The mere fact of living between two cultures does not, in and of itself, constitute a health risk (Viehböck et al. 1994: 171), but the relatively low standard of living connected to migration can increase the chances of falling ill. Young migrants, in particular, are affected by health problems and psychosomatic illnesses as a result of their housing situation. For example, social workers have reported cases of damp living conditions leading to asthma, bronchitis, fungal illnesses, and, sometimes, even to hair loss among adolescents from migrant families (Pflegerl & Fernández de la Hoz 2001: 59). Precarious material conditions, such as poor nutrition and insufficient heating, also affect migrant children due to this group's concomitant tendency to live in relative poverty. While it is true that psychosomatic illnesses are mainly found in adults, interviews with experts also highlighted cases of children with physical and/or psychological problems that range from abnormal behavioural patterns in school to acute psychosomatic disorders among small children in refugee families with traumatic experiences (Cf. Amesberger et al. 2003: 177). In addition, young migrants often suffer from disorders due to frustration at school or at work, as well as to parents' unemployment (Fernàndez de la Hoz & Pflegerl: 19).

The unfavourable housing environment in which many migrant families live also impacts the psychosocial well-being of foreign children negatively (Buchegger-Traxler, 1995: 81), thus making all the more apparent the connection between structural factors and subjective well-being. The kind of social isolation that is often characteristic of migrants'

[8] There are similar experiences in biographical narrations of the first generation: Akin, 2003: 42-43.

lives (Gunz et al., 1999: 50) could, in fact, adversely affect their health. Symptoms are not always clearly visible but often become manifest throughout the years, as with the trauma of isolation experienced by some young women from patriarchal families[9]. A Viennese psychiatrist reported the following case:

> An engagement was celebrated, and indeed, one year later, the 16-year-old girl was brought to Vienna. Of course, she spoke no German - the man who brought her to Vienna barely spoke German, but still… she was brought to Vienna, and from that moment on, a mechanism began that, I would say is characteristic: in a short time, the young woman's expectations were frustrated. What happened is that she did not have more freedom here, but less, because the freedom of movement she had in her village, she didn't have here. Vienna is not a village! (EI 24, 581-589)

This young woman's psychological health problems are directly related to her migration experience: having moved from a rural area to Vienna, she was suddenly confronted with completely different family and social conditions. Interestingly, Erna Appelt mentions another case, of a young Turkish woman who left the big city of Istanbul to move to a rural community in Austria, but whose experience was the same as that of the first young woman: both suffered a loss of freedom (Appelt, 2003: 163). Thus, the location to which they migrated does not seem to have been the main factor; rather, it was factors such as language problems and the loss of community, as well as the whole family's behaviour, that were detrimental.

Some women find it impossible to overcome social isolation. For the young woman mentioned above, life in the host country will continue to be defined by isolation as long as her old community network is not replaced with a new one (see also Six-Hohenbalken, 2001: 70). This is where the importance of meeting places, such as parks, becomes apparent, but it is often difficult for Turkish women from traditional families to enter public spaces. Likewise, working class female migrants from different ethnic backgrounds can also have a hard time making social contacts because of the gender-based division of work that prevails in these milieus.

Women of all ages and their children also suffer disproportionately from family-based violence, although the exact numbers are hard to estimate given that this issue is "absolutely treated as a taboo" (Klotz et al., 1996: 229). When interviewed, experts have occasionally reported the presence of physical punishments (such as slapping or hitting) that were conspicuous to them, without mentioning the specific families. Some of these incidents seem to be connected to different criteria for raising children (some families use corporal punishment as a perfectly routine way of disciplining younger members), so it is clear that education and culture play a part. In other circumstances, however, physical punishment is due to parents' elevated levels of stress connected to escape and migration. In even more extreme cases, the tension between parents and children has become so strong that adolescents try to get out of their parental homes with the aid of representatives from the Department of Youth. This affects both girls and boys and happens when parental control and expectations are perceived as unbearable. The interviews do not indicate the presence of systematic violence between immigrant parents and children, or of child abuse; on the other hand, there does seem to be a higher level of violence between spouses, which affects women as well as children. Such acts of violence seem to often result from the frustrations that men face.

As a gendered analysis underscores, gender aspects are certainly important, but it is not only women who risk social isolation and the burden that comes with it. This is why visits and trips are very important for all migrants, as they have reported themselves (Pflegerl & F. de la Hoz, 2001: 64-68, 72-75). All immigrants feel the need to rebuild a social network in the new country, and this is, obviously, much easier for those who have ties to an ethnic community. Here, the security function of these communities becomes visible and policy-makers interested in promoting integration must keep this in mind while also implementing social communication structures and secure mechanisms for equality so as to avoid ethnic communities turning into social ghettos that reinforce discrimination and territorial segregation (Cf. Giffinger, 2003: 118).

3.3.3. Language: the Absolute Postulate for Integration

Education and language are two decisive factors for integration: education makes vocational qualification possible, helps orientation in a new social context, and is essential in learning the language of the host country. Language, in turn, is a prerequisite for gaining a job qualification in the host country; the more qualified migrants are, the more important language becomes in order to retain or build on their qualification in the host country (Gächter, 1998: 113). On the whole, foreigners have a lower job status as Austrians: they tend to work in more dangerous, physically demanding, unhealthy, and worse-paid jobs than Austrians do. But it would be wrong to conclude that, because of this, their level of education is lower than that of Austrians. Rather, there is a "remarkable discrepancy" between employment and education and vocational training (Gunz et al., 1999: 12). This can develop as a result of different educational systems (Buchegger-Traxler, 1995: 14-15, 78), but also because of social devaluation processes owing to migration (Gächter,

[9] Compare Viehböck & Bratic, 1994: 171-173; European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, 2003: 39.

1998: 111; Fernández de la Hoz & Pflegerl, 1999b: 373; Gunz, 2004: 145). The age of youth at the time of migration (Gunz et al., 1999: 19), as well as socio-cultural factors such as education, gender roles, and position on the job market, influence the learning process of adults. Their language skills also directly influence the quality of life of young migrants. This occurs in different ways, as detailed below.

Transfer of Language Deficits Insufficient German skills are found repeatedly, not only for the so-called second but also for the third generation of children, and are the result of a combination of factors: insufficient language skills of parents or caretakers (frequently grandparents); lower rates of attendance in kindergartens; and ethnic demarcation processes that limit social contact to family members and friends of the same place of origin. In addition, certain educational measures can come into play: it is characteristic for the small children of Serbian Roma families as well as for those from Turkey's rural areas, for instance, not to participate much in conversations with other family members. The immediate region of origin seems, in this case, to be more important that the family's nationality.

In cases where parents - especially mothers - do not speak German, children often become translators. Social workers have reported on situations in which migrant children as young as 10 play an important role precisely because of their linguistic abilities, and who then become involved in serious family problems (such as health care matters, debt problems, or conflicts with authorities). Children who act as interpreters are often overburdened by their role.

New Language Deficits Sometimes, oral deficits are not the result of a transfer of language deficits, but rather from a lack of transfer of language skills between parents and children. Experts from the city of Dornbirn reported on this phenomenon, which in their opinion is widespread:

> There is a phenomenon that I [did not know of] in the past - I have never read about it either - but, in practice, it happens that many - and here I am speaking mainly of migrants with a Turkish background - for example, the mother speaks very good German… she grew up here… very often the father came from Turkey to get married and the children cannot speak one word of German until they enter kindergarten. This phenomenon appears more and more often and is then also reflected in what the kindergartens have reported to us, namely that they have many children with a Turkish background who cannot even say, "I am hungry" or "I need to go to the toilet" … And this is not that far in the past… these are migrants that brought their children here in the 70s. No, that is at least the third generation. The parents grew up here and speak German just as I do - I experience this on a daily basis in my work - they do not write as well, I understand that - but the children do not speak a word of German. This is very, very common. It seems to be the rule rather than the exception. (EI/D2, Z 170-184)

So, as the expert said, there are many children from migrant families, mostly from rural Turkey, who can barely express themselves in German despite the fact that their parents were either born or raised in Austria and speak the language fluently. This makes integration in kindergartens and schools harder, and increases isolation and/ or conflict between schoolmates. This phenomenon cannot be sufficiently explained by the fact that both parents work and must therefore leave the children in the care of other people, such as grandparents, relatives, or neighbours: in other migrant families, in fact, both parents also work and yet German language skills are transferred to the next generation. Ethnic delimitation processes (the language used at home and in free time, the communication media used, family life etc.) must, therefore, be considered, albeit in connection with the strict framework requirements in the host country.

Double Language Deficits Language deficits often have a double profile: it is common for migrant children with few German skills to barely know their own mother tongue. On this issue, a youth representative for the city of Dornbirn stated:

> You can say what you please, but language is simply the absolute prerequisite for integration. That is what I have experienced with children… I have experienced it with adolescents also, where I must say that when it comes to the issue of language and adolescents, they neither speak Turkish nor German properly, and there are no or few possibilities for them to learn either Turkish or German properly; this is truly fatal. This has been my experience, when you ask me about language. And for many years, in the school system… something surely went wrong when adolescents were simply sent to special education schools just because of language deficits. Now we have many migrants - predominantly adolescents - who finished school in one of these special needs schools, but who, because of this, have very, very few means of finding a way into to the working world. (EI/D4, Z. 231-242)

This double deficit not only causes communication barriers within and outside of the family and with acquaintances, it also causes a serious obstacle to learning at school. Keeping alive the mother tongue, on the other hand, strengthens intra-family communication and helps to overcome traumas experienced in childhood (Fischer, 1991:130); in general, it adds to the well-being of those concerned and strengthens their sense of belonging (Carik, 1991: 150). Furthermore, it aids the mental development of adolescents and therefore leads to greater academic success. Today, bilingualism is generally seen as a useful integration prerequisite for children whose mother tongue is not German.

Children's Influence on Their Parents There is no doubt that parents influence their children's language acquisition skills and vice-versa. A study of the city of Steyr showed that the mothers of foreign children enrolled in school had a

clear interest in learning German alongside their children (Gunz et al., 1999: 20); this was also observed by the experts from the city of Dornbirn, who recognised such a situation as an opportunity for the development of integration projects, as is shown in Section 4.

3.3.4. Academic and Professional Training

Academic Training A Europe-wide comparison shows that the professional qualifications of young migrants do not, in general, match those of a given country's nationals (Granato, 1996). This is also the case in Austria: since 1994, deficits have been found in kindergarten and throughout the obligatory school system[10]. During the 2000/2001 school year, 23% of all students attending special education schools were children with a non-German mother tongue, while only 7.6% of all regular high school students did not speak German as their native tongue. In the Austrian school system, which is divided into schools for further education and obligatory schools for general education, a higher concentration of young migrants can be found in the latter (Volf & Bauböck, 2001:180).

In general, non-Austrian students from migrant families tend to be educated in special education schools (Biffl, 2001: 10) and, as shown in Section (Table 2), adolescents from non-EU member countries are concentrated in the lower levels of education. They tend to enter adult life earlier and are less likely than native youth to go onto further education (Perchining, 1995: 126-133; Gojo, 2003a). It is notable, however, that the situation of adolescents from the former Yugoslavia is much better than that of adolescents from migrant families of other origins (Biffl, 2001: 35).

Unfortunately, the reasons for the lower academic status of children from migrant families and the reasons for the differences between various migrant groups have not been studied systematically. Thus, as in any situation characterised by structural disadvantage, it is assumed that a combination of different social factors play a part: structural framework conditions and personal situations probably interact to reinforce negative trends, as in the example of language discussed in section 3.2.4. An apprenticeship is perceived by many youths - not only by those who have insufficient schooling - as another opportunity for continuing education. In reality, even though the number of young migrant apprentices is steadily increasing, only a small percentage of them will be able to benefit from broader employment possibilities. In this context, the issuance of work permits as it is regulated by the Austria's employment authorities is certainly significant (Rose, 1993). With regards to the specific case of young migrants from Turkish families, a correlation was found between parents' marginalized position in different areas of life and children's academic failure and their inability to integrate socially (Dönmez, 2000).

Ethnic Segmentation In Austria, it has not yet been fully established whether integration strategies aimed at young migrants have been able to counteract such conditions and it still has to be investigated whether a "slow, gradual development of ethnic segmentation and stratification despite cultural barriers" has taken place (cf. Seifert, 1995: 163). Interactions in school between young migrants and Austrian youth are diverse and range from open hostility or self-imposed withdrawal to relatively conflict-free coexistence and prejudice-free friendships. Above and beyond generalisations, it is the personal experiences of students within and outside of school that are most relevant (Rose, 1993). A study conducted in Styria on relations between Austrian and non-EU students showed that foreign students were not treated negatively during their university studies or during their leisure activities. However, contacts between the two groups rarely ever developed into personal relationships or friendships, except in cases of romantic relationships or marriages (Egger & Höllinger, 1994: 87). This might, in part, be due to the temporary character of university studies; whatever the reason, it calls to mind the "increasing segregation during higher age" found as a result of investigations carried out in Germany (Filsinger, 2000: 97). In line with these findings, ethnic isolation processes definitely exist among adults. An employee of the Department for Youth stated that:

> "This is something I see often, whether it is families from Poland, Yugoslavia, or Turkey. They mainly make friends with people from their own country, and mostly these are neighbours or the network of friends is made up people from the same area. There are outside contacts, but these are rather loose contacts. Real friendships are rare" (EI 1, 88-93).

This tendency toward isolation is directly related to the migration experience. Immigrants tend to avoid a "strange" social environment (the host society) because it is sometimes perceived as threatening and because it is easier to build communication and orientation processes within a trusted environment, just as it is easier to gain support in a known or at least familiar social circle. From this perspective, it is not surprising that even adolescents from migrant families develop a tendency for isolation. This is also true within the school environment, where it has been observed that interactions between non-Austrian children are, in general, more positive than those between Austrians and non-Austrians. The tendency of young foreigners to group together could thus be interpreted as proof that they feel like outsiders in Austria and that they try to avoid possible confrontations based on prejudice against their culture (Kern et al., 1994; Matuschek, 1989: 561).

[10] See: Gauss et al., 1994

Education and Professional Aspirations Despite the above findings, the situation of foreign children in Austrian schools cannot be defined easily as either totally negative or totally positive. For example, a study of 10-year-olds showed that while migrant children suffer more from fears connected to school (in terms of grades, teachers, etc.) and that they are more often subject to disciplinary measures than Austrian children, they also feel more comfortable in school than their schoolmates (Buchegger-Traxler, 1995: 70-72). Although education is usually highly valued by all social groups, it can lose importance in certain circumstances. One Viennese social worker told the story of an exceptionally talented Serbian Roma girl and her sister, who neglected school because of family responsibilities:

> If someone became sick, the girls had to take their parents' place or watch the children. Then school came second, that was clear. So, the family somehow comes first, everything else is secondary… And there is always something going on in the family, because the relatives have many children and there is always a child that is sick, or someone needs something, and that just simply comes first… They somehow live from one day to the next, and education ranks second, because they really just can't cope with the basic needs (EI 3, EG3: 216-226; 240-244).

This passage illustrates how close the tie is between family organisation and extreme poverty. These people's already precarious financial situation is worsened by migration, so that the adults are caught in a downward spiral: the fewer chances there are for getting an education, the less interest there is in learning (especially among girls, as this story clearly demonstrates), and, therefore, hardly any investment is made in their education. This mechanism strengthens the "inheritance of poverty", and can only be broken with the implementation of decisive integration measures aimed at helping these adolescents.

With regards to educational and professional aspirations, significant differences were found between young migrants and Austrian youth, as well as between girls and boys[11]. This issue also raised the question of parents' expectations concerning their children's future; in general, it can be said that parents try to support their children who, in turn, tend to comply with their parents' wishes on career choice (Viehböck & Bratic, 1994: 70). Sometimes, however, students are not able to benefit from parental support, either because their parents are rather critical and mistrusting of the school system, or because their high expectations are less than beneficial for their children (Viehböck & Bratic, 1994: 51-53). With this in mind, it would seem that an increased effort to provide parents with information is absolutely necessary for promoting children's career opportunities (Mayer, 1994: 94-96).

3.3.5. The Job Market: The Importance of Professional Qualifications

As proven by studies conducted in countries with longer immigration experiences, integration into the job market is an important factor in achieving overall integration into the host society (Vranken 1995, quoted by Estivill et al., 2004: 45). The position that adolescents from migrant families will occupy in the job market depends mainly on two factors: level of education and the (non) existence of discrimination.

In 2001, the Austrian Institute for Economic Research published a detailed integration report connected to economic factors that also took into consideration youths' level of education and degree of qualification. Although the results showed come clear deficiencies, they also showed that some improvement has been made. Between 1998 and 1999, in fact, the percentage of children attending nine years of mandatory education rose slightly (from 85% to 88%), even though the number of 18-year-olds attending a general secondary school (AHS - *Allgeimeinbildende Höhere Schule*) hardly changed. And in the nine years between 1989 and 1998, only a small (albeit growing) percentage of foreign students who passed the school-leaving examination (*Matura*) went on to university (22% in 1998 compared to 19.5% in 1989). In general, foreign adolescents are concentrated in the lowest and highest levels of education; this latter group, however, largely concerns foreign students from the European Union (mostly from South Tyrol and Germany) who come to Austria to study, not to live with their families.

As for differences along gender and nationality lines, it is notable that, at the secondary school level, boys tend to study for technical jobs and girls go for commercial jobs but that gender-related differences are hardly noticeable at the general secondary schools (AHS); a comparison of youth from the two most important regions of origin - the former Yugoslavia and Turkey - shows that the former have a better education profile: they tend to go on to further education more often than their Turkish peers (Biffl, 2001: 9-10).

Differences in the educational achievements of adolescents from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey presumably result from the socioeconomic characteristics of their parents' generation: "Most of the Turkish 'guest workers' have a rural background with a relatively low educational level and thus bring with them unfavourable preconditions for gaining a higher position in the labour market. Three quarters of the Turkish population possesses only primary education and another 15% have completed an apprenticeship. No other immigrant group shows such a low level of education" (Fassmann & Reeger, 2004: 6-7). But these differences are reduced over time: "Social mobility is happening and is

[11] See Mayer's study in Voralberg: (Mayer, 1994: 95)

connected with the length of stay. The longer one lives in Austria and maybe even accepts Austrian citizenship, the bigger the chance of succeeding in ameliorating one's social position. There is some correlation between length of stay in Austria, proficiency in the German language, occupational position, and monthly income" (Ib: 13).

Young migrants often experience the following difficulties in accessing the Austrian job market:

1) In Dornbirn, for example, it was found that migrant youth suffered from general educational deficits that were not so much the result of poverty but, rather, the consequence of insufficient language skills and a non-existing career orientation;

2) The failed integration of young migrants into the job market is also due to the verified existence of discrimination; unsurprisingly, individuals who can be easily identified as members of an ethnic minority are particularly affected by prejudices in the hiring process. Discriminated individuals, as well as their friends and acquaintances, may then feel alienated in their host country and begin to see efforts at integration with scepticism[12];

3) Integration into the job market is particularly challenging for young females from families with strictly differentiated gender roles and a patriarchal structure. Such a phenomenon has been observed primarily within Turkish families from rural regions, whose family structure objects to young females occupying a public space.

Overall, however, the education of children from migrant families should be perceived as an important opportunity for promoting social advancement, overcoming gender-specific divisions in the labour market, and avoiding intra-familial conflicts.

3.3.6. Leisure

Friendships Over half of Austria's foreign population lives in an urban environment (Münz, 2003: 45). Adapting to the city might be especially hard for young migrants who have moved from rural areas, as one Viennese social worker noted from observing some children she looked after:

> It is, indeed, an integration problem, if one comes from a rural area - this is also true for those Austrian families that come from somewhere in the country and then [live] in some densely built [area] in the sixth district, where there are no trees, where there is nothing. These children grew up so differently. They were in Yugoslavia, they were always outside, on the street or something; it was not so dangerous there. Everyone knew them, everyone was watching what they were doing. And there is a difference between taking an apple from a neighbour's tree and stealing something from a store! But often it is hard for people to relate. And then they make up their own adventures, because the apartments are small (EG 8: 364-373).

This testimony highlights how a change in the living environment does not only bring with it material changes (such as an increase in vehicle traffic), but also symbolic ones (thus, the act of "taking" an apple acquires completely different meanings depending on the setting: it can be perceived as totally harmless or as criminal behaviour). Symbolic changes can be easily processed and, if problematic, overcome, as long as communication channels between migrants and the host society remain open.

The often cramped living conditions that characterise immigrant families' housing options also results in young migrants spending much of their time outside the home (Balkanli et al., 1996: 30). As an extension of this, parks sometimes become a form of "extended housing" (Pflegerl/ Fernández de la Hoz, 2001: 64) and young migrants "squat" (illicitly occupy) in public spaces. "Squatting", in particular, can escalate into conflicts between the "squatters" and the neighbouring community: "This is an example of how social inequalities are often misinterpreted by the rest of the population as 'cultural' threats and as 'difference'; and are then met with everyday racism" (Perchining, 1995: 126).

Unlike their Austrian counterparts, foreign 10-year-olds tend to have friends from different countries. These friends are mainly recruited in school and not from their neighbourhoods, as is the case with Austrian children. On the whole, however, migrant children do not feel accepted and feel that they have too few really good friends; they tend to watch more television and their leisure activities are not, on the whole, very varied (going for walks, parties, cinema) (Buchegger-Traxler 1995: 79-80).

In Vienna, girls in particular tend to form smaller groups in public leisure spaces than boys do; these groups are generally homogenous in terms of age, although young migrants may bring their younger siblings along with them. Among adolescents (unlike among younger children), relatives and neighbours seem to play a more important role for forming friendships than school companionships do (Balkanli et al., 1996: 56 ff).

Ten years ago, adolescents from migrant families only had a few resources (such as youth centres) for socialising; this was definitely a problem (particularly for girls), because it reinforced isolation and further restricted contact with

[12] Cf. Herbaut et al., 1996: 49; Pumares, 1996: 177-178.

adolescents from the host country (Matuschek, 1990: 679-681). The problem was exacerbated by insufficient structural factors such as poor living conditions and communication deficits between immigrants and Austrians. Recent interviews with experts have shown clear evidence that, since then, ethnic-based youth scenes have emerged. One therapist was quoted as saying:

> These are classic developments for this age group. In addition to which, there are signs of cultural differentiation: there are cliques made up only of Yugoslavian kids, and then there are children who are only Kurdish, and then others say "We are Alevites." So they are really trying to differentiate themselves; migrant youths do the same thing as our own adolescents. For example, shoes with certain laces means a certain kind of group, and the same shoes with different laces, that's a different group, and so on. And for migrant youths, there are many additional differentiation traits. And these change just a quickly as fashions do!" (EG2, 265-275)

The process of creating these groups includes the phenomenon of "increased segregation with age", which has already been observed in Germany. In this expert's story, reference is made to the field of developmental psychology and to segregation processes connected to adolescence. But these do not fully explain the specific experience of migrant youth: most probably, another relevant factor is the perception of social exclusion. For instance, Gunz found that, in the federal province of Upper Austria, the greater the migrants' perception of exclusion, the more likely they were to orient themselves in the direction of the traditions of their native country (Gunz et al., 1999: 15-16). However, systematic research within this field has not been conducted yet.

Associations and Organisations Migrant organisations are important because they offer direction and because they represent the interests of ethnic communities. In the First Austrian Migration and Integration Report (2003)[13], a few contributions were dedicated to migrant organisations. In general, these are not well known because they have not, with a few exceptions, been well researched. Since the Migration and Integration Report was published, however, some important studies have been conducted: Waldrauch and Sohler have analysed migrant organisations in Vienna and, under the direction of Gerhard Hetfleisch, a detailed database including 447 migrant organisations in Austria (excluding Vienna) is being compiled within the framework of the European Union's EQUAL project[14]. Despite the work underway, the extent of adolescents' participation in migrant associations and organisations still cannot be determined exactly.

Organisations Working for and with Youth Some migrant organisations are meant specifically for adolescents or actively include them. This is the case with religious organisations and sports clubs: to date, the better known ones are Muslim organisations and clubs organised by communities from former Yugoslavia.

Islam is an officially recognised religion in Austria, but only 10-15% of Muslim migrants are active in specifically Muslim organisations. During the late 1990s, as these organisations had more funds at their disposal, they started to turn their attention to children and adolescents so that now they run at least four kindergartens and day care centres, as well as one *Gymnasium* (secondary school). Despite allocating more resources to the younger members of their communities, Turkish Muslims (who run and attend most of the mosques) have witnessed communication problems between their imams and their adolescents, mainly because the religious leaders do not speak Turkish well (Kroissenbrunner, 2003: 383, 385, 392). This difficulty in reaching to youths might also be due to the fact that the Union of Islamic Culture Centres in Austria (IKZ), which encompasses 24 mosques nationwide, tends towards a traditional, orthodox interpretation of religion. The principal aim of the IKZ is to impart youth with a religious and a general education. The Islamist association "Milli Görus", on the other hand, has its own youth section and attempts to organise activities such as theatre and music groups, or IT courses, and to develop strategies against the estrangement of youth (Ibid: 386-388). Eight mosques in Vienna belong to this organisation; their total membership is estimated at 2,000 people.

Organisations run by migrants from the former Yugoslavia are currently especially well known in Vienna. There are about 35 such organisations, and most of them are sports clubs that also organise cultural activities (involving the theatre, music, and literature). About 500 boys play in the twelve teams of the "Yugo-League", but they are usually not allowed to participate in Vienna's amateur league because of a decision to drastically reduce the number of foreign players (Bratic, 2003: 402).

In addition to Muslim or Yugoslavian organisations, there are also women-centred groups that enjoy a clear and specific profile in Vienna, and that offer good counselling and guidance services (Waldrauch & Sohler, 2004: 533, 453-456). Here, the particular needs of girls are taken into consideration. Yet other migrant organisations attempt to support adolescents in school and in their education. This applies to the Romano Centro[15] (Association for Roma), which develops projects in collaboration with Austrian schools, and to the Association of Chinese Organisations in Austria, which has founded its own schools and clubs within schools (Ib: 424-425).

[13] Fassmann, Heinz & Stacher, Irene (2003): Österreichischer Migrations- und Integrationsbericht. Klagenfurt: Drava.
[14] Information for Projekt MIDAS: *http://www.equal-esf.at/new/de/index.html* : 21.11.2004.
[15] *http://www.romano-centro.org/projekte_de.html*: 1.11.2004.

Youth Organisations Although it is known that there are 28 student organisations from a wide spectrum of countries in Vienna, there is, on the whole, much less information on migrant organisations that focus on youth than on those that target the migrant population as a whole (Waldrauch & Sohler, 2004: 535-536). The relative lack of attention paid to youth groups might be due to the fact that its membership is somewhat transitory: it is assumed that many participants will stop being active once they have finished their studies. Some of these organisations are present on the internet, but the expense and high level of skills needed to keep websites running means that they are, to a degree, elitist (Bratic, 2003: 396; MIDAS, 2004: 7). Despite these difficulties, youth groups such as the Viennese clubs ECHO[16] and TOP ONE[17] do try to use the internet as a platform. The main goal of both these clubs is to support second generation foreign youth and to further the self-reliance and participation of their members (Waldrauch & Sohler, 2004: 470-471).

In sum, it would seem that there are only a few organisations for migrant youth, or that they are not very visible. From the perspective of integration, it would seem useful to support these organisations, for this is surely one way of strengthening the link between difference and belonging in the long term.

3.4. SOME KEY POINTS

Gender as a Transversal Dimension The lives of female and male young migrants do not necessarily develop in different directions because of their sex or the gender roles assigned to them, but this is still often the case. Gender not only affects their position within the family, but also their chances for integration in school, on the job market, and in Austrian society. With regards to the specific experience of migration, it should be noted that gender roles, precisely because they are connected to primary socialisation within the family, do not necessarily develop linearly towards a gradual equalisation between women and men in the new environment: in fact, parents sometimes transpose gender-stereotypical expectations on their children because they perceive them as being 'truer' to their cultural background, even when the parents themselves do not adhere to them.

Definite but not Pervasive Socialisation Deficits As mentioned earlier (see Section 3.3.1), the number of migrant children and adolescents who live in a marginalized setting or that run the risk of being pushed to the edge of society is striking. However, not all children are afflicted by this problem. Overall, migrants' lives are not characterised by problems and the thesis that social deficits are the result of one's culture of origin has been abandoned. Thus, it would be a mistake to systematically assume that the living conditions of all migrant youth experience a decline in the new country. The lives of migrant youths and of the children of migrants unfold from an interplay between relevant framework requirements and individuals' action strategies; these can, in turn, be traced back to personal interests, evaluations, and concerns. In the case of children and adolescents, specific developmental psychology processes must be considered in addition to all the other accompanying factors.

Ethnicity: a Relevant but Open Factor Ethnicity is a central element for determining causal factors within social scientific research, but it should also be recognised as a resource for young migrants. Two comments illustrate this further: 1) Ethnicity is often erroneously equated with a nation or with a person's country of origin. Consequently, a multitude of factors (living conditions, family situation, social capital, future perspectives, and behavioural strategies) that are often shared by young migrants from the same country are commonly disregarded (See also Filsinger, 2000:15, 19-20). In fact, the country/region of origin in connection to socioeconomic variables seems to be far more relevant than ethnicity in evaluating integration opportunities and obstacles faced by young migrants. 2) Based on the micro-level perspective offered by various studies, the lives of young migrants appear to be constructions made up of a combination of tradition and modernity (see also Apitzsch, 1996). In this sense, ethnicity can be seen as a dynamic resource and as "an opposite model to ethnicising processes"[18].

The frequent association of culture with nationality (as in: all members of a certain nationality share the same culture) has resulted in two basic assumptions: 1) that migration is a phenomenon that is defined by space; 2), that the *nation* is and has, for centuries, been the most important socioeconomic, political, and symbolic measure of unity in Europe. However, it is necessary to carefully and thoroughly analyse the component of heritage, because its meaning can only be revealed by analysing a given situation and specific interests that have been powerfully established in a certain place (Lösch, 1998).

Ethnicity must not be understood, a priori, as a static variable, but rather as a construction of existing cultural elements, not all of which are rooted in the country of origin. Depending on personal, social, and/or structural circumstances, these elements develop more or less elastically and at varying speeds; through these circumstances, the past, the present, and the future are always tied together. "Ethnicity is not meaningless, but its meaning needs to be individually determined" (Filsinger, 2000: 95, 98). Cultural identities, lifestyles, and ideas are rooted in the past but are subject to a

[16] *http://www.wienr.hilfswerk.at*: 1.10.2004
[17] *http://www.topone.at/*: 1.10.2004
[18] Apitzsch, 1999; See also Perchining, 2003: 370-371.

continuous process of change (Schiffauer, 1997: 156). However, structural framework conditions should not be disregarded. Being aware of this is not only important for a better understanding of the living situations of migrant children, but also of their behaviours and strategies.

4. FURTHERING THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN IN AUSTRIA: INTEGRATION MEASURES - THE CITY OF DORNBIRN

The following report was planned as a survey of the situation of migrant youths, but it is also as an exploration of the political answers currently available for the promotion of youth integration. Because of this, a few suggestions for the development of an integration policy at the provincial and community levels will be presented at the end of the report. The integration model adopted by the city of Dornbirn is explored in special detail and is hereby used as a case study.

4.1. INTEGRATION POLICIES AND RELEVANT ACTORS

As in other EU member states, the debate on migration and integration has been conducted rather silently in Austria (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003: 258) by its three main protagonists: political institutions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and scientists. Before continuing further, it should be noted that the legal framework regulating migration and integration policy in the Republic of Austria was introduced in Section 2 and that the way in which the term 'integration' is used in the social sciences was discussed in Section 3.1.2.

4.1.1. The Role of NGOs and Other Organisations

Austria is a nation with a wide range of NGOs dedicated to matters of migration (see Hemetek, 1998: 254-256) that enjoy a different status depending on whether they operate at the local, provincial, or federal level; they also tend to have different focuses. Although systematic studies on the interaction between NGOs and political institutions have not been carried out yet in Austria, it can be safely assumed that some of these organisations do have an impact on the development of Austrian integration concepts. For example, it was NGOs and integration forums that pointed out the necessity of an anti-discrimination law to counteract explicit and implicit xenophobic behaviour - particularly in work and school environments - as specified in Article 13 of the EU Amsterdam Treaty; specifically, the Ludwig-Boltzmann Institute for Human Rights drafted a bill in 1999/2000 and, in June 2004, the Equal Treatment Act based on that draft was passed[19]. Non-Governmental Organisations can be divided into two main categories (although, in reality, some of them fall into a grey, in-between area): migrant organisations and Austrian civil society organisations.

Migrant Organisations With the exception of one specific association founded by people from the former Yugoslavia, migrant organisations were created relatively late in Austria (Waldrauch, 2003: 639). They seem to be very varied and multifaceted: among them are religious diaspora communities, private schools, sports clubs, counselling institutions, and politically active groups. Most of them are still "invisible", a fact that can be explained, in part, by their goals (Id: 670-671) but mainly by the reality of ethnic segregation[20]. Hopefully, youth with a migration background will, as they gradually become fully-fledged Austrian citizens, become more present in these organisations' decision-making bodies (Id: 647).

Austrian Organisations To take a look at the database of the organisation SOS-Mitmensch[21] is enough to gain an understanding of the wide variety of Austrian organisations whose activities directly or indirectly address migrants and youth with a migration background. In general, two subgroups can be distinguished:

1) Non-denominational associations, whose objective it is to facilitate integration within Austrian society. Some of these organisations are: SOS-Mitmensch, Die Gruppe BAODO (Graz), The Integrationshaus Wien, as well as Asylkoordination Österreich, and there are many more besides;

2) Denominational Christian organisations, which are especially important in Austria because of the country's historical link to Christianity. The most popular ones are: Caritas (Catholic) and Diakonie (Protestant). Minority churches offer social services to their members and other migrants as well, but these are diaspora communities.

These organisations concentrate mainly on offering counselling and guidance services, as well as on lobbying and issuing statements on laws and policy measures (see Section 2). It is clear that all of these associations/ NGOs have gained a great deal of experience and knowledge on the situation of migrant youth, experience that, as will be seen later on, political institutions in the federal provinces and in municipalities are dependant upon.

[19] Gleichbehandlungsgestz (GIBG) BGBl. Nr. 66 23 June 2004
[20] "There are two worlds in Vienna -- one of migrants and one of natives –- that do not mix and that only deal with one another as official trade-off partners in economic relations for much of daily life. Most leisure spheres are s
[21] *http://www.social.at/relaunch/index.php*: 1.10.2004

4.1.2. Political Institutions in Austria

In so far as it is a federal republic, Austria is a country with a very complex institutional system. Integration policies are implemented on three levels: federal, provincial, and municipal.

The Federal Level Since the early 1990s, Austrian legislation has developed a very strict migration policy that is based on the principle of "ius sanguinis" and that regards naturalisation as the "end result of all integration processes", not as a means to integration (Waldrauch & Cinar, 2003: 283). This view is said to be rooted in how the Austrian population perceives foreigners, as they often display a reserved attitude toward immigrants. Austrians' attitudes toward foreigners are very ambivalent: in general, they tend to be more receptive to cultural pluralism than they are to structural integration measures that, for example, affect changes in the job market and political participation. Integration is mostly understood as a one-sided adaptation process (IMAS, 2004: 3-4). Nonetheless, migrants have been increasingly accepted during the past decades (Lebhart & Münz, 2003: 350; Lebhart, 2003: 53-54), a phenomenon that is especially clear in Vorarlberg and Vienna, the federal provinces with the highest proportion of migrants (Lebhart, 1999: 37).

In 2002, the government approved passage of an "Integration Agreement" (see Section 2.1.3.), thus giving a clear signal that the executive branch favoured integration versus new migration. The Agreement is essentially a "contract" between Austrian society and immigrants that foresees, among other things, punitive measures (such as the denial of a residence permit) and certain requirements (such as "German integration classes" for non-EU citizens)[22]. Austrian NGOs received the Agreement with a great deal of scepticism: their reactions ranged from the "disappointment" expressed by the two most important denominational organisations (Caritas and Diakonie)[23], to the open criticism voiced by other organisations. These organisations' scepticism toward the "Integration Agreement" was basically grounded on three reasons: the unilateral character of the measure (before the measure was passed, no dialogue took place between government and migrant representatives, in other words between the "partners" in the agreement - at least none that was made public); the lack of concrete measures for implementing the "agreement" and the transfer of responsibilities to other authorities; and, finally, the coactive character of the regulation.

As shown below, these three aspects - dialogue (partnership with organisations and participation of the concerned persons), feasibility of the measures, and character of the offer - are of central importance for every integration model or project. Although they may be regulated in different ways, they must be observed.

The Provincial and Municipal Levels Austrian federal provinces are responsible for both migration and integration policies but, to date, no uniform understanding of integration has been reached in Austria. Consequently, not all provinces have public offices devoted to integration matters or individuals charged specifically with facilitating the integration process. And those institutions that do exist are included, to varying degrees, in the municipal and provincial administrations.

1) Models of Integration ("*Integrationsleitbilder*") The trend for integration models is a new phenomenon in Austria. The city of Dornbirn, in Vorarlberg, has assumed a pioneering role in this respect. Currently, other cities (Krems and Guntramsdorf in Lower Austria, for example) are also developing integration approaches. On the provincial level, Tyrol is working on the development of an integration concept that is expected to be completed soon[24]. In Lower Austria, the provincial authorities have been promoting the integration of small children in kindergartens for years and work on an Integration Model is underway (its approval is expected for 2005). The federal province of Upper Austria is also working on a concept of integration; moreover, it is going to promulgate an Anti-Discrimination Act (OöADG)[24].

2) Other Institutions Austrian provinces and municipalities are also developing other methods of integration such as advisory boards for foreigners, integration conferences, integration branches, and other ad-hoc programmes.

Advisory Boards for Foreigners are lobbies of migrants whose aim is to provide relevant information to the municipal administration; they are also responsible for dealing with matters concerning non-Austrians. The federal province of Tyrol has an integration advisory board and an integration forum. Styria is the only federal province with a provincial law (passed in 1999) that calls for the establishment of foreigners' advisory boards in municipalities with more than 1,000 non-EU citizens - today, such institutions can be found in the Styrian cities of Graz, Leoben, and Knittelfeld. Foreigners' advisory boards have also been introduced in the Upper Austrian cities of Linz and Steyr.

The city of Vienna has been organising an **annual integration conference** since 1999. The focus here is on providing a platform for information exchange between the city's administration and the representatives of migrants, ethnic organisations, and other NGOs. The institution of the integration conference resulted from the effort of the Wiener Integrationsfond, an institution founded in 1992 by the Viennese provincial government under the slogan: "We are all part of Vienna". Furthermore, in 2002, the city of Vienna launched a programme called "Diversity Management".

[22] *http://www.bmi.gv.at/fremdenwesen/*: 1.10.2004
[23] http://religion.orf.at/projekt02/news/0203/ne020304_integrationsvertrag_fr.htm: 1.10.2004
[24] http://www.tirol.gv.at/themen/gesellschaftundsoziales/integration/wissensgrundlagen.shtml: 20.9.2004
[25] See the bill in: http://www.ooe.gruene.at/themen.php?tid=21984&kat=hintergrundthemen&kid=1185&wo=0&anzahl_a=2: 21.11.2004.

In 2001, an **Integration Branch** was founded in Wels (Upper Austria). The branch, which is subsidized by the local municipality and is managed by the NGO Volkshilfe OÖ, acts as an information centre for migrants, as well as an exchange forum between this and other Austrian institutions (Gojo, 2003: 71).

4.2. THE INTEGRATION MODEL OF THE CITY OF DORNBIRN

Integration models are means of organising general integration policies in a certain socio-political unit (such as a community or a federal province). They are about coming up with ideas for action after having observed a certain social problem, actions that aim at achieving clearly-defined - and therefore assessable - goals that are implemented through various intervention measures (including partial projects). It was decided to use the city of Dornbirn because of the reasons outlined below (Section 4.2.1.).

4.2.1. Seven Reasons for its Value

1. Much of the evidence collected in the course of this study underscored the importance of community-based policies for the integration of migrants. Unfortunately, the local social sphere is, in general, more easily overlooked than the regional or national spheres - placing the focus on Dornbirn is an effort to redress this imbalance;

2. Unlike other possible initiatives and measures (see Section 2.1.1), integration models are coherent intervention measures. The German term for integration model, "Integrationsleitbild", points at a precise interpretation of integration as something that is explicitly chosen and whose criteria deal with operative and assessable measures;

3. The integration approach adopted by the city of Dornbirn is the first and, as of 1 May 2004 (when this study was undertaken), the only community-based integration concept implemented in Austria;

4. The model is based on an integration concept that follows the recommendations of the European Commission (see Section 4.2.2.);

5. The concept is both complex and well-structured, and it involves the implementation of a series of projects used to monitor various strategies;

6. The concept was developed through a rich exchange process, which is also reflected in the procedural character of the integration approach;

7. Dornbirn's integration approach places a strong emphasis on working with young migrants so as to prevent their marginalisation.

4.2.2. Background

The integration model adopted by Dornbirn was created after a long phase of exploration. The insights gained during this phase led to the identification of the model's essential components: a clear and explicit integration concept and a bundle of concrete measures based on the central goals defined by the concept.

The Social Context: the City of Dornbirn Dornbirn, the largest city in the federal province of Vorarlberg, is situated in western Austria, near the border with Switzerland. It is a highly industrialised region that is strategically located because of its borders with Germany, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein. Today, about 16% of Vorarlberg's population was born elsewhere. As for the specific situation of Dornbirn, the Government of the Federal Province of Vorarlberg estimated that, in September 2004, its population counted 43,583 residents[26], over 13% of whom were non-Austrian citizens (7% Turks, almost 6% from the former Yugoslavia, and the remaining from other countries). Recent migration to the city began in the 1960s, when the expansion of the textile industry created a high demand for workers. In time, the existence of an immigrant population became apparent, as did the need for integration policies.

The province of Vorarlberg, as a whole, has no integration model. The county's government has placed the responsibility for planning and steering integration practices on civil associations (such as Aktion Mitarbeit, Femail and Koje) and supports them. This is how the organisation okay.zusammenleben[27], which deals with questions of integration and projects on behalf of the regional government, developed.

The Exploratory Phase and Its Various Stages

1) Preparatory Work and the Perception of Integration Deficits Initially, the situation was rather confused and there seems to have been a lack of coordination between different offices: the city administration's social services department had a report on foreigners; then, in 1999, the integration department was transferred to what was then the Department

[26] *http://www.vorarlberg.at/pdf/bevoelkerung-september-20.pdf*: 21.11.2004
[27] http://www.okay-line.at/: 21.11.2004.

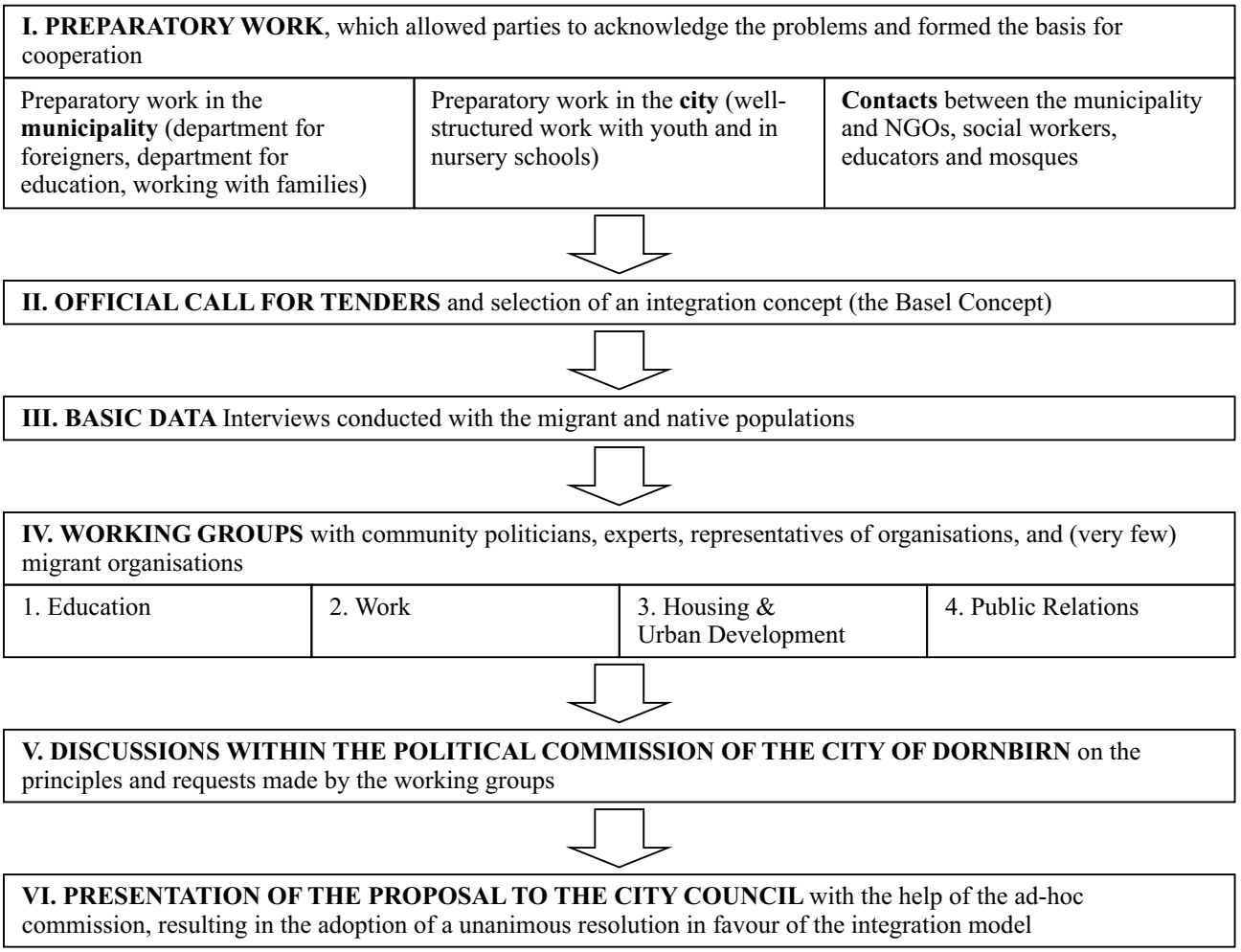
for Education, under the leadership of Dr. Roland Andergassen. But even before that, in 1998, Andergassen and his team had begun to establish contacts with various NGOs and associations, and to visit the local mosques. These contacts and visits made it abundantly clear that it was necessary to start working on integration in a systematic way. It should be noted that, right from its inception, the process for designing the integration model focused strongly on youths and families.

2) The Proposal and Selection of an Integration Concept (Basel Concept) The project was presented to and supported by the city council, which, after some time, started to create an integration model and, parallel to this, a family model. An open call for tenders was made. In the end, two plans were short-listed; one from Vienna and one from the University of Basel. The latter concept was chosen on the basis of economic as well as ideological considerations, a fact that is important because, already at this stage, basic decisions for a certain kind of integration concept were being made.

3) Assessment of the Actual Situation: Basic Interviews Conducted with Migrant and Native Populations In order to best develop the integration model, a representative survey was planned. This was led by the Basel Office for Applied Social Research and Development and undertaken by the Centre for Turkish Studies in Essen; 302 Austrians and 301 immigrants were interviewed. The information collected supplied socio-demographic indicators and even gave some insight into respondents' attitude on integration-related issues (Güngor & Ehret, 2002: 12). According to experts from the city of Dornbirn, the survey collected valuable information on themes such as "well-being", "work situation", "the family", "housing", and "leisure activities".

4) Organisation of the Three Working Groups After the survey, the city administration held an informational meeting and invited approximately 150 people, including representatives of the Turkish and ex-Yugoslavian communities. Subsequently, an advisory council on integration was created under the leadership of Kenan Gungör. Representatives of different social and interest groups -- such as ethnic communities, Austrian institutions (Chamber of Commerce, Labour Market Service), political authorities of the city and the federal province of Vorarlberg, NGOs, religious institutions (Caritas), and the city administration -- took part in this committee. Unfortunately, the participation of ethnic organisations was very weak.

Figure 1: City of Dornbirn: The Development of an Integration Model



5) Discussion of the Principles and Requests of the Working Groups in the Context of a Political Commission Later, four working groups were formed to deal with a variety of topics: health and social issues, education, work, city development and housing, and public relations. These working groups developed policies and made provisions.

6) Presentation of a Proposal to the City Council With the Help of the Ad-hoc Commission and Adoption of a Unanimous Resolution for an Integration Approach The working groups' policies and provisions were then collected and decided upon in a political ad-hoc Commission. The whole, final, package was then submitted to the city council as a suggestion. Consequently, the city council unanimously decided in favour of the integration model. All in all, the process took almost one year to complete.

4.2.3. Characteristics of Dornbirn's Integration Model

Political Engagement The model was legitimised in Dornbirn through a city council resolution, which gave it authority. This characteristic distinguishes this integration model from other political integration measures that have little follow-through because the leading individuals or committees do not have the authority, or have only the partial authority, to enforce the desired measures. Furthermore, the creation of a concept through a non-partisan accord gave the work continuity. The other side of the coin was that political consensus came with certain restrictions. Political integration, for example, whose importance is continuously being referred to by the European Commission[28], was not to be pursued - at least not explicitly - precisely because it would be impossible to sustain consensus. The question of whether a straight line is always the shortest path between desired goals and their realisation remains an unanswered dilemma in political practice.

The Cornerstone: A Clear and Explicit Integration Concept Dornbirn's integration model was developed to achieve the following goal: to integrate all of the city's inhabitants as much as possible on a structural, social, and cultural level. First and foremost, this calls for countering structural discrimination (Güngor & Ehret, 2002: 3). This approach highlights two characteristics in particular:

1) General Character: Integration efforts should not be directed solely at migrants but, rather, at the general population. Integration models should be a means of strengthening social cohesion in the city, which means that it is not about developing specific social-policy measures for immigrants, but, rather, about fighting or preventing social inequalities and "ethnic segmentation" (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003: 47). It is about the fundamental recognition of the value of a pluralistic society and about building cohabitation on the basis of principles of equality (civil rights, access to social services, and political rights). These basic principles of the European Commission have been expressed at greater length and detail by its Economic and Social Committee, which defines the sum of these values as "civic integration"[29].

2) Pragmatism: Here, the accent is placed on the economic and political feasibility of the measures (Güngor & Ehret, 2002: 4). Pragmatism has shown a very positive side: in the process of designing the integration model, resources and manpower that could enrich and help carry out the model with specific experience and skills were sought in the city itself. In this way, partnerships and participation became part of the foundations from the very beginning. This approach was especially successful with regard to the work carried out with children and adolescents, thanks to a long tradition of these two groups, and of families, working with the city.

On the basis of this integration concept, the Dornbirn model developed in accordance with **three guidelines**:

1) An Integrative Approach: Integration was understood as a cross-sectional task involving all areas of the city, which is why, in Dornbirn, no specific integration department for ethnic minorities was created. Instead, an attempt was made to push social integration into the "mainstream" through all administrative departments, although it is true that one in particular is charged with coordinating the measures: the Department for Education and Integration. Thus, it is hoped that integration will gradually take shape in the form of a bundle of different projects of various durations, emphases (e.g. language courses for mothers, integration into the job market for youths, health programs), partnerships, and beneficiaries.

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[28] The Commission has emphasised the need for a "holistic approach" that "takes into account not only the economic and social aspects of integration but also issues related to cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, participation and political rights" (EC, 2003: 18). Ensuring equality with respect to work conditions and access to services, together with granting civic and political rights to longer-term migrant residents brings with it such responsibilities and promotes integration (Cf also: CE, 2002: 19).

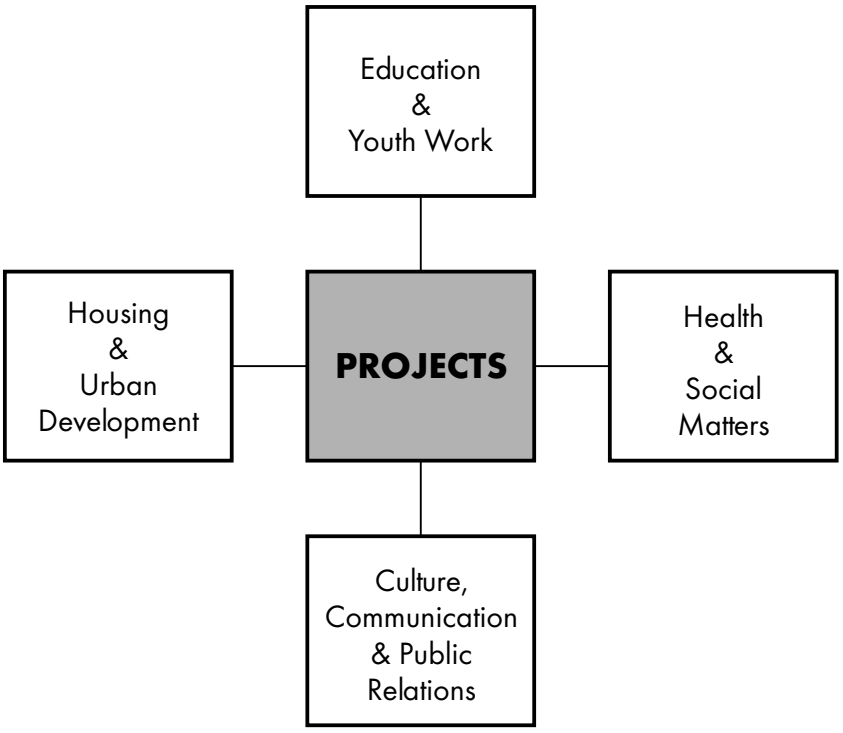
[29] "The concept of integration put forward in the present opinion is defined as 'civic integration', and is based on bringing immigrants' rights and duties, as well as access to goods, services and means of civic participation progressively into line with those of the rest of the population, under conditions of equal opportunities and treatment. (…) Cultural diversity will be approached in a different way in each country, in accordance with the model in use, but this must not impact upon the principle of equality of rights and duties. In other words, whatever immigrants' cultural patterns may be, they do not detract from their status as persons who must have the same rights and duties as everyone else. Cultural diversity cannot serve as a pretext for questioning the rights of immigrants" (EC, 2002:2-3).

2) Pre-emptive Orientation: The goal of the measures was not to adopt a deficit-oriented social policy but, rather, to counter the causes of inequality, which is a main reason why adolescents and children, with their families, are given central importance in the integration model.

3) Open Access: Integration is hereby intended as a social communications process and as a means for promoting personal responsibility (hence the focus on support instead of on requirements). This touches on a very controversial point, namely the question of how successful integration models are and whether "closed" (obligatory) or "open" (voluntary) approaches are better (Mahnig & Niederberger, 2000: Section 4, 3-4). Some integration models are understood as social contracts between two parties: the (host) society and the (immigrant) individual. In this interpretation, individuals who want access to social services are then expected to "make the social contribution that is within their means"[30]. This is the kind of example used by proponents of coactive integration measures. Nonetheless, it is far from clear how effective or authoritative such an approach is: first, it neglects to consider that immigrants are often the most interested in their own linguistic, economic, and social integration (as the example provided by Dornbirn clearly demonstrates) (Güngor, 2002: 13, 14); secondly, coactive integration measures run the risk of acting not as a bridge between social groups but as a way of alienating them from one another.

Development of the Integration Model: Determining Certain Areas of Action Experience has shown that good, solid models require a development phase in which the social environment (its needs, resources, limitations) is studied in detail. This implies: 1) exploration work (investigations), and 2) communication and exchanges with youths and the institutions that represent or work with them. Although only the second point focuses explicitly on young migrants, there are many interconnections throughout all researched areas (for example, in the areas of "integration as a cross-sectional task" and "pre-emptive orientation"). Other areas of possible emphasis concern work with women and families. As a result of the above considerations, a number of areas for targeted intervention were selected, as demonstrated in the graph below (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Dornbirn's Integration Model: Main Areas for Targeted Intervention



As the graph also shows, these thematic areas do not stand alone: they are connected to each other because individual projects necessarily affect other areas of life and other groups. Projects aimed at improving mothers' health, for example, directly influence the lives of children and adolescents; similarly, housing projects can ameliorate prospects and communication possibilities for all family members.

Within these areas, projects developed in sometimes planned, sometimes unforeseen ways: in general, the projects were designed and implemented in stages (e.g. first, German language courses were organised for mothers, but the subsequent identification of language difficulties among small children led to the organisation of language classes for mothers together with their children); the scale of some projects were reduced (e.g. the construction of the Islamic

[30] Compare, for example, with the concept of the city of Zurich (Zürich, 1999: 6).

cemetery) or, in some cases, abandoned altogether (e.g. the introduction of voting rights at the municipal level). Projects were structured in a pre-emptive manner, which means that the focus is on the intermediate term; youth work is, therefore, of particular importance. This orientation does not only correspond well with the overall concept of the integration model, but it further facilitates working on difficult issues such as the tendency towards ghetto formation.

4.2.4 A Few Examples of Working With Youths

Language Development in Kindergarten In the autumn of 2004, a group started a language class for parents and children in a kindergarten; not all of the participants, however, attended with their children: while one section of the class was composed of adults with their offspring, another section participated without. Most of the participants were Turkish parents; in fact, Turks form the largest immigrant group in Dornbirn and also seem to have the greatest language deficits (greater that those of families from the former Yugoslavia). This project proposed a solution to a problem that experts in Dornbirn had noticed, namely the increasing number of young children who speak almost no German. It was found that these children's learning process - not only with regard to German - could be effectively supported if their parents' German skills were also improved. Furthermore, the parents' presence at school is a powerful signal of how important the host country's language is.

Tutoring in Elementary School In 2003, elementary schools offered tutoring in German, English, and mathematics to about 30 children. An expansion of this service to other schools is planned. The tutoring sessions take place twice a week and last two hours, with the state paying half the costs and the parents paying the other half. In line with the city's integration concept, this project was not developed specifically for migrant children but for all socially disadvantaged children.

Project MIRAMAX In 2004, a project on the theme of "Home and Being Foreign" was developed within the framework of "MIRAMAX" (which enjoys the support of the European Union). Although it is expected that Project MIRAMAX will be implemented in Dornbirn's secondary schools, there a number of other projects currently operating in other communities in Vorarlberg.

Introduction of Foreign-Language Books in Municipal Libraries Also in 2004, a project was implemented to support the development of immigrants' mother tongues through the lending and city libraries of Dornbirn. Both kinds of institutions are working on increasing their stock of foreign-language books. It should be noted that the goals of this initiative differ somewhat from those of other initiatives: first of all, it aims to expand a public service so that all of the city's residents can profit from it and come into contact with municipal institutions; second, those responsible for implementing the integration model have acknowledged the correlation between supporting German and supporting immigrants' mother tongues: with immigrants, and especially with children and school-age youths, the two - or more - languages are not in competition; to the contrary, they reinforce each other. The biggest problem for immigrant youths and their adult relatives arises when they are not able to speak any language well, for this weakens their overall education and communication prospects.

The Education of Parents The city of Dornbirn is currently working on providing parents with education possibilities in the framework of a joint project with the provincial authorities of Vorarlberg. The importance of parents' involvement in their children's education was also noticed in this case. In particular, it was observed that parents often lacked information on job prospects available to youth, which is why the Equal Project was designed and implemented in 2004: the project foresees the organisation of a series of events through which parents are informed on the school system in general and on what job possibilities are available to adolescents. Thus, parents are better able to support and give their children direction and advice.

The Dornbirn Youth Workshops The Dornbirn Youth Workshops are a work and education project for young people who have been unemployed for a long time. Within the framework of this project, temporary jobs are offered to about 90 adolescents every year and, during the period of employment, craft-specific qualification and social-pedagogic guidance are made available. The goal is to bring young people back into the job market as experts. The Youth Workshops are also a place where adolescents and young adults from Dornbirn often have their first positive work experiences and where they are imparted with lasting associations of success with work. Here, young people are integrated into the establishment and prepared to meet future job requirements. Through these projects, youths are educated on many different aspects that will be useful to them in the labour market. For example, they learn to work together with other young people, and receive job-specific training and information. The workshops do not only supervise young people, but also look for ways of putting them in contact with companies; some of these companies are clients of the workshops and, sometimes, they employ adolescents that work there. Although the workshops are largely self-financed, they also receive funds from social and political institutions (the job market services of Vorarlberg, the federal province of Vorarlberg, the city of Dornbirn, as well as project-related support from the city of Hohenems and the municipality of Lustenau).

Other projects for youths with migration backgrounds are not carried out directly by the city of Dornbirn, but rather by okay.zusammenleben, an institution that belongs to the Aktion Mitarbeit association and that deals with questions of integration in the province of Vorarlberg[31]. For example, Okay.zusammenleben is pursuing a theatre-based pedagogic project for youth on the question of cohabiting in a diverse society and a tutoring project for elementary school students.

4.3. SOME IMPORTANT RESULTS

4.3.1. Dornbirn's Integration Model

Dornbirn's integration model was only implemented one year ago. Although a fair amount of experience has been gained by the people implementing the project, it is still too early to assess the full success of the measures, whose effects are planned to be long-term. In any case, the integration model has proven to be a valuable instrument because it is clearly defined, preventative, applicable, participation-based, and complex.

Clearly defined: A clear purpose allows for assessments to be carried out and for movement into different directions if need be.

Preventative: Preventative measures aim to get at the root of integration obstacles, not only to implement a few palliative measures.

Applicable: In the implementation of projects developed within the framework of the integration model, existing human and material resources were recognised and used. Applicable measures build on existing activities, thus enabling more accurate diagnoses and greater savings.

Participation-based[32]: A participation-based approach relies on a broad range of co-designers. Although this often makes the creation process slower and more complex, cooperation and a broad-based participation, coupled with institutional networking and political consensus, create a solid basis for agreement, which in turn increases the degree of motivation of those concerned and leads to differentiated intervention measures.

Complex: This kind of complexity derives from a multi-layered structure of factors that allows for a negotiation of youths' integration along a number of geographic and social points and that, therefore, substantiates itself in a bundle of different intervention measures.

4.3.2. Some Theses

1) Integration concepts do not suffice by themselves: they need to be made operational and action-oriented policies need to be substantiated;

2) No single integration measure can be accepted as the "best" one. To a large degree, the quality and efficiency of interventions depend on the following factors: a clear and explicit integration concept (consensus of objectives); a thorough analysis of the context (definition of the problem and of the legal and economic intervention possibilities open to the municipality; identification of the social environment); the establishment of a broad base of political consensus and social acceptance;

3) Community-based intervention strategies are particularly efficient in smaller cities because they are easier to manage. Furthermore, the community's problems are better known, personal contacts are available, and it is relatively easy to identify the weaknesses and strengths of various intervention options;

4) Community-based integration approaches also have limitations: for example, they may be restricted by responsibilities assigned to other political levels or they may suffer from a low degree of competence in the context of job market regulation;

5) Current activities should be built upon to enable improved diagnoses and savings (the construction of synergies): for example, this does happen through the work done by youth in Dornbirn, the collaboration with kindergartens, and the health courses for women, including younger women;

6) In accordance with the guidelines issued by the Economic and Social Committee of the European Commission, the areas of language, health, and housing should be prioritised in promoting the integration of young migrants[33];

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[31] *http://www.vision-rheintal.at/visionrheintal/projekt/kooperationen/okay_zusammenleben.htm*: 1.11.2004

[32] "While priorities will vary between countries and regions, integration policies need to be planned within a long-term, coherent overall framework, and at the same time they should be responsive to the specific needs of particular groups and tailored to local conditions. They depend on the establishment of partnerships between a wide range of stakeholders and need adequate resources. Members of the immigrant communities concerned, including women and persons enjoying international protection should take part in the conception, development, organisation and evaluation of programmes and policies affecting them" (EC, 2003: 18).

[33] Cf. EC, 2002:2, 1.5 and 1.6.

7) In terms of migrant youth integration, working with families is extremely important. In Dornbirn, this is particularly relevant for the integration of young women;

8) In Dornbirn, the situation of most young migrants and their families is not so much affected by economic poverty but, rather, by an educational deficit that hits young migrants from rural Turkey especially hard. This justifies the focus on projects that emphasise language and education;

9) Education should not only be seen as a means to gain qualifications in view of employment but as a way of developing communication skills that can assist in the resolution of conflicts within the family and the urban environment;

10) The implementation of an integration approach always involves conflict. However, it is necessary to differentiate between those that ought to be avoided (e.g. a debate over headscarves) and those that should be tackled (e.g. the denial of specifically ethnic sports facilities). In many cases, the solution lies on a tightrope stretched between the interests and concerns of the local populations and those of the immigrants. Well-prepared public relations measures proved to be highly efficient in Dornbirn.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This report on the "Integration of Young Migrants in Austria" has dealt, in particular, with integration initiatives that have been implemented by governmental institutions (at the level of local communities and federal provinces -- see Section 4); it is precisely on these initiatives that the following recommendations are based on.

1) In Austria, numerous institutions and individuals have worked on the integration of young migrants, for years. Among them are ethnic organisations, NGOs, schools, parents, social workers, scientists, religious congregations, as well as Austrian institutions. Despite this high level of activity, time has come for governmental institutions - especially local and regional authorities - to become even more involved. Specifically, these governmental institutions should be tasked with enhancing the processes of social exchange with the aim of establishing clear guidelines for commonly-accepted integration initiatives as well as with promoting them on a political level. In addition, they should support and coordinate the private initiatives undertaken by civil society;

2) The maintenance of a high degree of social cohesion in Austrian society is a precondition for ensuring the successful integration of all migrants. Thus, the special importance of the social integration of young migrants becomes evident: they represent the future of the country. Focusing on integrating youths means putting an end to inherited poverty and social exclusion, and strengthening migrants' identification with the receiving country (*Aufnahmeland*). Integration work should be prevention-oriented. In other words, initiatives should not be implemented only when the behaviour of children and youngsters draws attention -- much more effort needs to be put into providing an environment characterised by equality of opportunity and self-determination from the start;

3) Research has proven that the integration of young migrants is a process with many dimensions. According to experts in the field, the areas most in need of action are: education and language, living conditions and environment, health and access to the labour market. But gender issues also have to be taken into careful consideration in carrying out any kind of integration project, since the obstacles and opportunities for successful integration faced by boys and girls are often very different and must be assessed from different perspectives;

4) Integration models *(Integrationsleitbilder*) are, unlike other possible initiatives, coherent intervention measures that aim to coordinate different players and projects. This makes them well-suited for achieving synergies and optimising human and financial resources. Moreover, these are aspects that play an especially crucial role in dealing with the integration of young migrants because they can reinforce the impact of very diverse measures (such as health classes for women, language classes for small children and their mothers, parents' schools, extra-curricular youth work, theatre classes, cooperation with businesses, etc);

5) Although there is, a priori, no such thing as perfect integration work, some initiatives certainly work better than others. The most successful are based on a well-defined integration concept, in other words on a concept that is based on a clear idea of integration with respect to the individual and society at large. In the long run, it is this clarity of vision that creates coherence as well as broad-based acceptance among political players;

6) The best integration measures are usually the result of a long process of careful observation of the social framework in which they are to be applied and of exchanges between on-site, relevant actors. Engaging in such a process is the only way to:

- identify specific deficiencies and areas for action;
- understand the interests and capabilities of the people involved and to make optimum use of their strengths;
- enable the transfer of experience and knowledge between actors;
- create the social basis for a broad political consensus;

7) The best kind of integration concepts for fostering the development of such an environment are those that are implemented on a local and regional level. At the same time, there is no doubt that their impact is enhanced by exchanges and the formation of networks on an intra-regional level, for this is how valuable information on initiatives, materials, and projects are gained;

8) A broad political consensus is necessary for guaranteeing the sustainability of integration work. In fact, this element of continuity has been constantly emphasised in this research report, especially in the context of young migrants. However, precisely because of the attention given to continuity, other well-recognised goals of integration are sometimes discarded (such as the right to political participation). This issue has been and will continue to be problematic for some time to come: while continuity needs a pragmatic approach, the individual goals of integration need coherence;

9) Well-targeted integration policies need to be supported by intense media campaigns designed to inform the public of successful initiatives, provide young migrants with a platform to get their voices heard (whether through the press, the radio, etc.), and heighten the level of social communication within communities or regions;

10) Every community, in every region, suffers either from a lack of integration or from insufficiently high-quality integration initiatives (for example, there is a dearth of good public and private youth work, active neighbourhood initiatives, certain NGOs, schools, people with practical experience, private individuals starting ad hoc initiatives, etc.). Wherever poor-quality integration initiatives exist, they could be used as a basis for improvements launched by governmental institutions. Such an approach would make a wider variety of projects available and, at the same time, contribute to eliminating various obstacles to the successful integration of young migrants;

11) Encouraging the independent coordination of different players has proven to be crucial for the integration of young migrants. Most important among these are the coordination efforts of existing migrant organisations; unfortunately, these are not present everywhere and are often almost invisible. Wherever there are no ethnic organisations, cooperation efforts with migrants must run via informal channels;

12) Above all, integration policies should aim at improving language and general education, especially in the case of young migrants. With regards to language, the effort must be doubled so as to promote both German and the mother tongue (see also point 13 below);

13) Studies on linguistics have found that it is essential to promote children's mother tongue as well as the acquired language. Doing so not only enhances communication between family members, but also strengthens the process of identity development in young migrants. Although Austria does provide special German classes jointly with classes in the mother tongue, the offer will need to be expanded to meet future demand;

14) Fluency in the German language is one of the single most important preconditions for successful integration. The already large and growing number of children in elementary school whose mother tongue is not German and who have a poor command of their adopted country's language underscores the need for implementing special measures to help them acquire the linguistic skills they will need to succeed in school and, later, in the world of work. Such measures could include the following:

- Initiatives that target linguistic deficiencies before the children even enter school, whether in kindergartens or elementary schools; or other initiatives such as those developed in the city of Dornbirn, where mothers are offered language classes together with their children;
- In the case of children who have not started school yet, every effort should be made to involve the parents in an appropriate way. For example, classes designed for mothers (parents) together with their children could help to decrease fears, mitigate prejudices, and even make it possible to pass on valuable information to the adults (on additional initiatives in the community and/ or region, for example);
- Since learning German as a foreign language is a process that is likely to span the entire period that a child is required to attend school, it should be promoted by offering German language classes;
- Special attention should be paid to the specific disadvantages and problems experienced by children who immigrate during the obligatory school years. These children, in fact, usually need special initiatives to help them to graduate from school and access the labour market;
- Specific measures that promote the language skills of women are not only important for their own social integration, but they also have positive effects on the integration of young migrants due to the special role of women within the family;
- Well-constructed and clear textbooks for German as a foreign language make a lot of sense for young migrants as well as for their parents, for they can facilitate individuals' smooth integration into the structures of the receiving country. Moreover, they could also be fruitful in strengthening communication within the family. At the moment, however, there appears to be a lack of appropriate textbooks for foreigners with a low level of education;

15) Projects that help young migrants with a low level of education to access the labour markets should also be prioritized. In that respect, direct cooperation with businesses has proven to be helpful;

16) Parents with a low level of education often need to be convinced of the importance of giving their children a sound education, and this is especially true for young girls from families with a patriarchal and traditional background. Hence, initiatives are needed to inform migrant families about the importance of an appropriate academic education and professional training in the European Union today. Furthermore, young migrants and their families should be given guidance with respect to available professional opportunities, in cooperation with the relevant authorities;

17) High-quality youth work relies on the interaction of various forms of initiatives, such as:

· the classic youth work in associations;

· informal platforms, such as youth information centres, meetings, and performances;

· projects aimed specifically at youths;

· channels for youths' participation.

18) Since it is usually much easier to reach boys than girls (especially if the latter come from families with a traditional, patriarchal background), new forms of youth work that is supportive of girls need to be created and developed;

19) The active participation of young migrants in any of these projects is crucial, and initiatives that promote individual self-expression (such as theatre groups or radio programs) are the most valuable because they provide youths with the opportunity to get their voices heard in the society in which they live.

The social cohesion of our future European societies depends largely on the successful integration of migrants. This is especially true of today's migrant youths, whose integration cannot be attained without the collaboration of all concerned forces (be they political, societal, or private) and actors (institutional or individual). The world of politics and political institutions must move forward. Much will depend on the local situation, on the kind of initiatives that will be implemented by local authorities, and on the ability these authorities have to initiate processes and cooperate with different groups in the general population and with institutions.

METHODOLOGICAL ANNEX

THE TEAM

The team that collaborated on this report is composed of: Mag. Margit Appel, a political scientist; Dr. Lieselotte Wohlgenannt, a sociologist; and Dr. Paloma Fernández de la Hoz, a social historian and migration researcher. Mag. Appel took on the investigation of Austria's legal and policy framework (Section 2), Dr. Wohlgenannt was responsible for analysing the statistical overview (Section 1.2), and Dr. Fernández de la Hoz was responsible for the rest of the text.

A QUALITATIVE STUDY - WORK SCHEDULE AND METHODS

Specific Sources

The main source for identifying factors of relevance to the integration of youth migrants were the expert interviews. The empirical part of this report (Sections 3 and 4) was elaborated based on the following sources:

1) An existing database of 22 interviews with various individuals who are in regular contact with young migrants and migrant children due to their occupational position. Among these experts were: social workers employed by the Magistrate for Youth and Family; teachers and educators; refugee counsellors; and health sector employees. The interviews were conducted by the leader of the Austrian research team together with Mag. Pflegerl in 1998-2002/2003 specifically for use in this project on the integration of migrant families. The interviews supplied important information about the lives of young migrants in Austria that was not previously available.

2) Interviews with experts from the City of Dornbirn in August 2004: these consisted of four new interviews with individuals responsible for the integration concept in the City of Dornbirn (Vorarlberg). Individuals with different competencies and varying degrees of expertise were selected in order to enable a complex perspective of the integration concept and its inner logic. This was possible due to existing contacts with individuals in the municipality.

Working With Interviews - Conducting "Narrative" Interviews The second half of August 2004 was dedicated to carrying out the four interviews with experts from the City of Dornbirn. Each of the interviews lasted, on average, two hours. They were recorded with a voice recorder and are currently being transliterated; each interview is expected to result in a transcript document of 30-35 pages. For methodological reasons, the interviews were conducted in a team. After the interviews a form was compiled, thus allowing interviewers to record their first impressions.

The interviews were particularly important for better understanding the following points:

- The context in which the concept was developed (what the needs and the social situation were, for example);
- The ideas on which the desire for integration were based upon;
- The context that led to the crystallization of the integration concept (analyses, interviews, consultations, collaboration, objectives, etc.);
- The role of the different participating individuals (politicians, social workers, etc.);
- Current perspectives (first results, difficulties, etc.);
- Anything else that may have been important to the interviewee.

The interviews were unstructured (as is characteristic of qualitative research methods), because they were meant to inspire a relatively free-flowing account by the interviewees. Hence, only two questions were posed in the course of the interviews.

Outline of the Four Interviews in the City of Dornbirn Although unstructured, the interviews consisted of three parts:

Narrative Part This part was based on the two questions posed by the interviewers. Opening question: "Please describe your contribution to the development of the integration concept of the City of Dornbirn and elaborate on the context of your work with young migrants and their integration." Second question: "Please tell us about the project and the processes that you have experienced, and also about the collaboration with young migrants."

Immanent Questions This part was dedicated to non-specific implicit interview topics -- such as comments that seemed relevant to the interviewer and that were raised as additional observations.

Extrinsic Questions This part was structured in the form of actual questions that followed the narrative part in order to obtain further information (e.g. questions about the addressed projects and the role of protagonists or institutions, as well as additional information about the city's youth population).

Processing the Interviews Immediately after the interviews, a first document was drafted: the interviewers exchanged their impressions about the interview and noted them down. Following transcription of the recorded conversations, the texts will be processed in two stages:

1) Topical Analysis: The conversations are going to be coded according to a list of topical fields that are relevant to integration, with the help of the Maxqda programme. The first group of expert interviews has already been processed and a specific code system has been developed for the four additional conversations in the City of Dornbirn;

2) Sequential Analysis: This second step is based on an analysis developed by Ulrich Overmann[34] and has already been used by Mag. Johannes Pflegerl and Paloma Fernández de la Hoz in carrying out research on migration and integration. However, since sequential analysis methodology is both time-consuming and labour-intensive, it was only applied to certain sections of the text.

[34] Overmann, Ulrich u.a. (1979), Die Methodologie einer "objektiven Hermeneutik" und ihre allgemeine forschungslogische Bedeutung in den Sozialwissenschaften. In: H.G. Soeffner (Hrsg.), Interpretative Verfahren in den Sozial- und Textwissenschaften: 352-434.

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IOM International Organization for Migration
OIM Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations
OIM Organización Internacional para las Migraciones

European Commission Project:

"Dimensions of Integration: Migrant Youth in Central European Countries"

Country Report on the Czech Republic

By

Dušan Drbohlav, Jan Cernik, and Dagmar Dzurova

INDEX

1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1. HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THROUGH THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Historically, international migration movements through Czech lands[1] (the Lands of the Czech Kingdom, the Czech part of Czechoslovakia, and the modern-day Czech Republic) have been much more concerned with emigration than immigration. Between 1850 and 1914, in fact, the area of the current Czech Republic experienced a net emigration of about 1.6 million inhabitants (Stehovani, 1995). The main migratory flows were headed in the direction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and, of course, across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World (mainly to the United States). In the second half of the 19th Century, the bulk of emigrants came from the fairly poor regions of southern and south-western Bohemia: clearly, the most important "push" factor propelling emigration was linked to unfavourable economic conditions due mostly to a harsh geography and climate and to inadequate land tenure conditions. At this point in time, political factors did not play a key role in migration at all.

At the very beginning of the 20th Century, however, an important change occurred: quickly industrialised areas (including the capital city of Prague), not only rural areas, began to contribute to emigration flows[2]. Emigration became a stable trend and the transformation of Czech migrants into "settlers" in destination countries (notably, the United States) became a typical feature of the transnational Czech migration scenario of the time[3]. Emigration continued to dominate over immigration throughout the 1920s and 1930s, even after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of Czechoslovakia: during this time (1920-1939), the country experienced a net emigration of about as many as 90,000 inhabitants (Stehovani, 1995).

It should be noted that the new state became "binational" for administrative/ political reasons (i.e. because of the establishment of Czechoslovakia), not because of large-scale migration: by 1921, in fact, Germans represented as much as 30.6% of the whole population (Kucera, 1994)[4]. The capital city of Prague was particularly multicultural, with significant Jewish and German minority communities.

While socioeconomic factors were clearly crucial in promoting emigration during this period, the situation started changing at the end of the 1930s, when political factors became increasingly important. The most glaring example of how politics became such an important factor affecting international migration trends can be seen in the new geopolitical regime that arose in the aftermath of the Second World War, a war that caused mass migration movements throughout the whole of Europe. Between 1945 and 1947, some 2,820,000 Germans were transferred and expelled (in three organized and unorganised waves) from Czechoslovakia back to Germany. Thus, the number of Germans in the Czech Republic shrank from 3,000,000 on 1 May 1945 to 180,000 on 22 May 1947 (Stehovani, 1995). This exodus was only in part balanced by the immigration of Czechs returning from abroad, some of whom had emigrated just before the War while others had emigrated long before. Hence, in the post-war period, the Czech Republic became a very homogeneous country from the point of view of ethnicity and nationality: 94% of the population was Czech. Notwithstanding the country's specific relationship with Slovaks, this homogeneity strengthened over time as the German community, which had represented the largest minority, lost importance due both to natural decrease and emigration.

Czech transborder migration movements during the Communist were of a very specific nature and suffered a form of "deformation". Conforming with the governing regime, which in many aspects isolated pro-Soviet block countries from the rest of the world[5], meant that such movements were far from "natural" and that they were, to a large extent, limited to illegal/ undocumented emigration. Although deformed, the country's trend towards emigration (instead of immigration), which was so typical and had prevailed during the previous 150 years, continued.

Two important political events -- the Communist rise to power in 1948 and the Soviet army's occupation in 1968 -- and their aftermath, caused two huge waves of emigration from Czech lands (see more in Kucera, 1994). The 1970s and 1980s were also characterised by emigration: during each of these two decades the Czech Republic experienced a net loss of 30,000-40,000 inhabitants. Political reasons for emigration were often accompanied by economic motives, for people were eager to find countries where they could improve their living standards (political and economic reasons were, in fact, closely interconnected). In sum, it is estimated that the Czech Republic lost some 420,000-440,000 people between 1948 and 1990[6].

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[1] In the present study, migration movements are traced back to the 19th century.
[2] For example, many more qualified/ skilled workers started emigrating to the United States.
[3] While an average of 56% of Slovak emigrants returned from the United States to their mother country, only 8% of Czechs did so (Nugent, 1995).
[4] Germans started migrating to Czech lands as early as the 13th century. By the 1920s, however, most of them lived in districts bordering with Germany.
[5] Inter alia, the regime imposed a strict regulation and control of its citizens' international movements.
[6] These figures reflect the trend in other European Soviet-block countries: it is estimated that formerly socialist/ communist "Eastern Europe" lost more than 14,000,000 people between 1950 and 1993 through international migration movements in the direction of the more developed Western World (Fassmann-Münz, 1995).

As for their personal characteristics, it appears that most of these Czech emigrants were young and healthy, that many travelled with their families, that most were economically active, that their average age was 35, and they tended to be either skilled or semi-skilled (see Kucera, 1994). Males prevailed over females (by a ratio of around 2:1). The districts near the country's western border with Germany and Austria and the capital city of Prague, along with some other highly urbanized areas, were the main "motors of emigration".

Czech lands did, however, also experience immigration. As mentioned above, a large influx occurred in the wake of the Second World War. In addition, it also manifested itself in the form of individual temporary workers who came as part of intergovernmental agreements between Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries (under so-called "international aid cooperation" schemes mainly involving Poland, Vietnam[7], Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, Angola, and North Korea - see Bouskova, 1998; Drbohlav, 2003). This form of immigration, as with many other aspects of the Communist era, was tightly regulated. Very often, immigrants who participated in the schemes were segregated or "ghettoized"; they were not very visible and were confined to working only in certain plants, factories, or locations. Permanent immigration to the Czech Republic was rather marginal and mainly concerned some Bulgarians and Greeks who came in the 1940s and 1950s (Broucek, 1998; Uherek, 2003). One exception concerned the inflow of Slovaks[8] but, at the time, this inflow was domestic, not international.

The 1989 Velvet Revolution brought about a totally new era. Since then, the country has gone through a deep political, economic, and social transition. The complex endeavour to "normalize society" and to develop the country into a mature, parliamentary democracy based on a free market regime was crowned by the Czech Republic's accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004. Of course, these deep changes have also affected the international migration issue in the Czech Republic (Drbohlav, 2004)[9]. While there are some (but not even that many) studies on the international migration process in the Czech Republic and on its immigrant/ emigrants (see Drbohlav, 2004), and despite some "unadorned statistical data", no investigation has yet been carried out on foreign children. This issue remains, to a large extent, terra incognita.

1.2. A FOCUS ON IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AND YOUTH

1.2.1. An Assessment of Data Availability

By contrast to foreign university students, on whom a relatively large body of information exists (Cizinci, 2002 and other yearbooks), very limited data has been produced on foreign children of primary and secondary school age in the Czech Republic; likewise, there is very little information on the degree to which they have adapted to Czech society, whether in quantitative or qualitative terms. During the 2001-2002 academic year, however, the state started collecting, via the Czech School Inspection, "hard" data on some basic parameters relevant to children, like, for example: ethnic background as defined by language and citizenship; age; sex; stay status (whether they were asylum seekers, refugees, had obtained asylum, held a permanent residence status, or held a visa valid for a period exceeding 90 days); type of school and its location; educational results, etc. Currently, such information is collected, processed, tabulated, and distributed by the Institute for Information on Education (IIE) (Krajska, 2001; 2002; 2003). This database (collected data starts with the 2002-2003 academic year) represents the only available source for conducting important statistical studies (Cizinci, 2002; 2003). However, regularly-collected state statistics (based on a so-called "on-going registration" system) that are used to record the issuance of residence permits also supply data on foreigners by age categories (Pohyb, 2003[10]). This latter breakdown and the accompanying tabulation do not, however, allow to draw connections between individual children/ youths and school-related aspects (as the above-mentioned statistics do); moreover, they do not give additional information on children's families or on their socioeconomic and socio-demographic backgrounds. And although the Ministry of the Interior does have the ability to connect available data on all foreign family members, such information is not released to the public. Some improvements in this sense could be made if the Central Population Register (which also collects data on foreigners) were not only used by the Ministry of the Interior but also by the Czech Statistical Office. Negotiations on the issue are currently underway.

The Census represents another possible source of information on foreign children and youth. Unfortunately, data on foreigners in the Czech Republic collected by the 2001 Census is relatively useless since more than one third of foreigners were not counted. To sum up, except foreign university students for whom there is a relative wealth of data, it is difficult to get reliable and important information on foreign pupils in the Czech Republic. Although the database managed by the IIE is

[7] Poles and Vietnamese represented the most numerous immigrant communities, with the highest estimate reaching several tens of thousands depending on what particular period is taken into account (see more in Bouskova, 1998).

[8] During the Communist era, the Czech Republic steadily gained Slovak immigrants (measured via net migration). This trend, however, slowed over time so that by the 1970s and 1980s net migration loss for Slovakia amounted to only approximately 3,500 a year.

[9] Rather than remaining a country primarily characterized by emigration, the Czech Republic quickly became a transit and immigration country when, on 31 December 2003, it recorded the presence of 240,421 legal foreigners (Horakova-Macounova, 2003).

[10] This yearbook, for example, sorts emigrants and immigrants by age (various age categories) in connection to 1) their motives for migration, and, 2) their individual countries of origin and destination (Pohyb 2003 and Table 8 below).

valuable, there are still no long-term studies and many other important hard quantitative and especially qualitative data touching on aspects of children's adaptation processes are missing. As this report will demonstrate, such data can be gained through special surveys.

1.2.2. Immigrant Children and Youth – What Do We Really Know?

Unless stipulated by the law, foreigners in the Czech Republic enjoy the same rights and duties as Czech citizens with regards to education, for the right to education is upheld by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Cizinci, 2003). While the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (MEYS) is responsible for educating foreigners, the kind of education provided is governed by several regulations[11]. Primary and secondary education is provided free of charge to: holders of permanent residence permits, holders of short and long-term visas, people who do not hold a visa but who have been granted asylum, and holders of stay sufferance visas or temporary protection visas[12]. Foreign university students enjoy the same conditions as Czech students, but they must pay for undergraduate, graduate, or doctoral studies if these are taught in a foreign language (if a given university even runs such programmes).

How many foreigners attend schools and universities in the Czech Republic? Who are they? Where are they concentrated? Below, available data is used to outline some general patterns and to set a framework for carrying out a more specific and detailed survey (see below). Although the numbers to date are not very big, they are far from negligible: during the 2002-2003 academic year 3,083 foreign children attended kindergartens nationwide; 12,770 attended primary schools; 3,592 attended secondary schools; 385[13] attended higher professional schools (roughly equivalent to some colleges); and 11,401 attended universities on a full-time basis (IIE). As shown in Table 1, the ratio of foreign to non-foreign university students in the Czech Republic was higher than among students attending primary and secondary schools (foreign university students represented 5% of the whole university population in the Czech Republic). While Vietnamese and Ukrainians formed the largest immigrant groups in primary schools, in secondary schools these two nationalities were matched by an important presence of Russians and Slovaks. Slovaks, who constituted two thirds of all foreign students, clearly dominated over other foreigners at universities in the Czech Republic (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage of Foreign Students at Czech Schools and Universities by Citizenship - 2002-2003/ 2003-2004

Country of Citizenship	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools		Universities[1]	
	2002/ 03	2003/ 04	2002/ 03	2003/ 04	2002/ 03	2003/ 04
Slovakia	12.2	11.7	13.5	15.0	67.0	-
Vietnam	26.6	31.5	12.5	14.7	1.0	-
Russia	9.7	8.5	16.8	16.1	2.9	-
Ukraine	23.7	25.4	21.4	21.8	2.6	-
Poland	1.6	1.2	3.8	2.9	0.9	-
Germany	1.1	0.9	3.5	3.0	0.6	-
Other	25.2	20.8	28.5	26.5	25.0	-
% of Foreigners in Total Student Body	1.1	1.3	0.5	0.6	5.0	-

Source: Krajska, 2003; Krajska, forthcoming
Note: [1] Data for 2003-2004 is not available

An in-depth look at primary schools confirms the predominance of Russians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Vietnamese among the foreign student body: children of those nationalities form 77% of all pupils - see Table 2). Furthermore, it should be noted that females make up about half of the student body and that, in general, more pupils with a permanent residence permit attend primary schools than pupils with temporary residence permits, although Russian children represent an exception. While it is true that refugee children play a somewhat marginal role, their relative numbers are significant among Russians, Slovaks, Belarussians, and Armenians.

About one quarter of all foreigners attending primary schools are concentrated in Prague, and about half of them are from Russia. The number of pupils with a permanent residence status roughly equals that of pupils with temporary residence status (Table 3).

In looking at foreigners at secondary schools, representatives of Russia, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Vietnam prevail once again;

[11] See, for example, Instruction No. 10 149/2002-22 on the Provision of Compulsory School Attendance of Asylum Seekers in Asylum Facilities, Instruction No. 21 153/2000-35 on the Provision of Czech Language Courses for Refugees, Instruction No. 21 836/2000-11 on the Education of Foreigners at Basic Schools, Secondary Schools, and Higher Professional Schools, including Special Schools (Cizinci, 2003). For university students, see Act No. 111/1998 Coll. On Higher Education Institutions (Higher Education Act).
[12] The same financial compensation is set for both foreigners and Czech citizens educated at higher professional schools and at reform and correctional school facilities (Cizinci, 2003).
[13] Given the negligible number of students attending higher professional schools, this data will be omitted in further analyses.

Table 2: Foreign Students at Primary Schools in the Czech Republic, by Residence Permit and Sex, 2003-2004 (countries represented by more than 100 pupils)

Country of Citizenship	Total Pupils	Pupils (%)	Females	Permanent Residents	Temporary Residents	Refugees
Armenia	225	1.7	103	101	83	41
Bulgaria	139	1.1	68	84	51	4
Belarus	178	1.4	89	89	70	19
China	151	1.2	81	51	99	1
Croatia	112	0.9	42	81	30	1
Germany	119	0.9	55	100	19	0
Kazakhstan	254	2.0	123	167	73	14
Mongolia	235	1.8	131	64	164	7
Moldova	157	1.2	78	65	84	8
Poland	157	1.2	71	129	28	0
Romania	152	1.2	77	122	29	1
Russia	1,091	8.4	529	454	489	146
Slovakia	1,599	12.3	742	973	522	94
Vietnam	4,036	31.1	1,882	2,753	1,281	2
Ukraine	3,268	25.2	1,556	1,954	1,247	65
USA	107	0.8	50	68	39	0
Serbia & Montenegro	166	1.3	87	95	67	4
	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	12,973	100.0	6,155	7,810	4,647	500

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

Table 3: Foreign Students at Primary Schools in Prague, by Residence Permit and Sex, 2003-2004 (countries represented by more than 50 pupils)

Country of Citizenship	Total Pupils	Pupils (%)	Females	Permanent Residents	Temporary Residents	Refugees
Armenia	78	2.3	31	32	43	3
Belarus	50	1.5	25	23	26	1
China	98	2.9	53	32	66	0
Croatia	66	1.9	24	47	18	1
Kazakhstan	85	2.5	36	48	34	3
Russia	544	16.1	270	212	327	5
Slovakia	312	9.2	147	188	122	0
Vietnam	611	18.1	290	389	222	0
Ukraine	895	26.4	428	337	531	27
Serbia & Montenegro	94	2.8	57	48	45	1
	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	3,385	100.0	1,623	1,650	1,676	57

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

the numbers of females and of temporary residence permit holders roughly equal the number of males and permanent residence permit holders; and the number of refugees in secondary schools is even less important than in primary schools (Table 4).

A greater number of foreign pupils in secondary schools than in primary schools are concentrated in Prague (slightly more than one third). Russians move ahead of the Ukrainians at this level (Table 5).

One important analytical perspective is the measurement of relative burden. In this particular case, this means looking at how many foreign pupils there are in primary and secondary schools per 1,000 inhabitants in different regions in the Czech Republic (Table 6). With regards to primary schools, the Karlovarsky region (with a relatively high burden of Vietnamese), Prague (Ukrainians, Vietnamese, and Russians), and the Pardubicky region (Vietnamese) have the highest ratio of immigrants to natives in the local population. Moravian regions, on the other hand, have the lowest, with Vysocina recording the lowest figure of all.

When dealing with foreign pupils at secondary schools, Prague (with Russians, Ukrainians and Slovaks) and the Karlovarsky region (mostly Vietnamese) once more have the highest proportion of immigrants; on the other hand, the regions of Stredocesky and Olomoucky, together with Eastern Bohemia and Southern Moravia, represent areas with the lowest concentration of foreign pupils. To summarize, these spatial patterns correspond to what has been found generally when analyzing international migration in the Czech Republic: "There is an East-West migratory gradient indicating the

Table 4: Foreign Students at Secondary Schools in the Czech Republic, by Residence Permit and Sex, 2003-2004 (countries represented by more than 100 pupils)

Country of Citizenship	Total Pupils	Pupils (%)	Full-timers	Females	Permanent Residents	Temporary Residents	Refugees
Armenia	99	2.7	94	48	61	24	14
Bosnia & Herzegovina	50	1.4	50	28	43	6	1
Bulgaria	68	1.9	64	42	48	20	0
Belarus	64	1.7	64	24	32	28	4
Croatia	61	1.7	60	31	55	6	0
Germany	111	3.0	110	44	51	60	0
Kazakhstan	144	3.9	139	83	95	42	7
Poland	111	3.0	106	65	101	10	0
Russia	581	15.9	577	280	346	218	17
Slovakia	561	15.3	507	259	330	231	0
Vietnam	532	14.5	531	232	426	106	0
Ukraine	792	21.7	756	424	518	259	15
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	3,658	100.0	3,532	1,813	2,364	1,227	67

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

Table 5: Foreign Students at Secondary Schools in Prague, by Residence Permit and Sex, 2003-2004 (countries represented by more than 30 pupils)

Country of Citizenship	Total Pupils	Pupils (%)	Full-timers	Females	Permanent Residents	Temporary Residents	Refugees
Armenia	33	2.5	32	19	22	9	2
Bulgaria	35	2.7	32	23	25	10	0
China	31	2.4	31	13	16	15	0
Croatia	31	2.4	31	17	27	4	0
Kazakhstan	51	3.9	48	29	22	24	5
Russia	337	25.7	335	170	191	141	5
Slovakia	184	14.1	154	92	110	74	0
Vietnam	121	9.2	120	48	93	28	0
Ukraine	238	18.2	224	136	142	91	5
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1,309	100.0	1,247	676	799	487	23

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

more significant role of international migration in western parts of the country compared to eastern ones" (Drbohlav, 2004). What we have found here is that, logically, children and youths follow their parents.

Almost 14,500 foreign students, at all levels of the educational system, registered to study in the Czech Republic in the 2003-2004 academic year[14] (Table 7). Due in part to close historical and cultural ties, Slovaks constituted a large portion of this foreign body. In terms of absolute numbers of foreign students, Slovaks were followed by Russians, Ukrainians, Britons, and Greeks, although these numbers were much smaller compared to the number of Slovaks (Cizinci, 2003). Most foreign students attended Charles University in Prague, as well as other universities in other big cities, for example in Brno, but also, albeit in much smaller numbers, in Ostrava, Olomouc, Plzen, Hradec Kralove, and Ceske Budejovice. Females represented about half of all students. Almost 6% of foreign students paid for their studies, since they were taught in a foreign language (mostly in English). Most foreigners studied one of the social sciences (mainly economics), medicine and pharmacy, and the technical sciences (mainly engineering). Undoubtedly, the category of foreign university students is better covered, statistically speaking, than the category of foreign children and youth. Thanks to the availability of some time series (since the 1990s) and of more detailed and structured pieces of information, it is possible to conclude that the increasing numbers of foreign students at universities in the Czech Republic point to a really dynamic phenomenon: while only 3,721 foreign students registered during the 1996-1997 academic year, the number of new enrolments and graduates has grown every year since then (Cizinci, 2003).

Table 8 shows important information on the percentage of children and youths representing selected foreign groups (by citizenship), subdivided by age. Such a picture implicitly reveals the extent to which representatives of certain countries of

[7] Poles and Vietnamese represented the most numerous immigrant communities, with the highest estimate reaching several tens of thousands depending on what particular period is taken into account (see more in Bouskova, 1998).

Table 6: Foreign Students at Primary and Secondary Schools in the Czech Republic, by Most Important Citizenship and Region, 2003-2004

Region	Pupils in Primary School Total (Pupils per 1,000 inhabitants)	Pupils in Secondary School Total (Pupils per 1,000 inhabitants)
Prague	**3,385 (2.9)** Ukraine 895, Vietnam 611, Russia 544	**1,309 (1.1)** Russia 337, Ukraine 238, Slovakia 184
Stredocesky	**1,100 (1.0)** Ukraine 353, Slovakia 194, Vietnam 152	**275 (0.2)** Ukraine 82, Slovakia 43, Russia 42
Jihocesky	**532 (0.9)** Ukraine 160, Vietnam 151, Slovakia 86	**228 (0.4)** Germany 46, Ukraine 41, Slovakia 25
Plzensky	**717 (1.3)** Vietnam 322, Ukraine 176,Slovakia 68	**168 (0.3)** Ukraine 55, Vietnam 44, Slovakia 15
Karlovarsky	**1,033 (3.4)** Vietnam 596, Ukraine 135, Russia 89	**204 (0.7)** Vietnam 93, Ukraine 34, Russia 26
Ustecky	**1,237 (1.5)** Vietnam 495, Ukraine 233, Slovakia 159	**342 (0.4)** Vietnam 85, Ukraine 81, Russia 52
Liberecky	**403 (0.9)** Ukraine 114, Vietnam 90, Slovakia 56	**136 (0.3)** Ukraine 43, Slovakia 20, Russia 12
Kralovehradecky	**1,042 (1.9)** Ukraine 747, Vietnam 86, Slovakia 59	**112 (0.2)** Ukraine 40, Slovakia 22, Vietnam 15
Pardubicky	**1,093 (2.2)** Vietnam 844, Ukraine 80, Slovakia 72	**86 (0.2)** Ukraine 27, Slovakia 17, Russia 10
Vysocina	**232 (0.4)** Vietnam 55, Ukraine 55, Mongolia 44	**81 (0.2)** Ukraine 23, Vietnam 11, Slovakia 10, Armenia 10
Jihomoravsky	**888 (0.8)** Vietnam 264, Ukraine 156, Slovakia 143	**265 (0.2)** Slovakia 54, Ukraine 50, Vietnam 39
Olomoucky	**318 (0.5)** Vietnam 91, Ukraine 67, Slovakia 56	**92 (0.1)** Ukraine 35, Vietnam 12, Slovakia 11
Zlinsky	**276 (0.5)** Slovakia 85, Vietnam 50, Ukraine 42	**116 (0.2)** Slovakia 52, Ukraine 16, Russia 14
Moravskoslezsky	**717 (0.6)** Vietnam 229, Slovakia 215, Poland 67	**244 (0.2)** Slovakia 65, Poland 49, Vietnam 42

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

Table 7: Number and Percentage of Foreign Students at Universities in the Czech Republic, by Academic Specialization, Sex, and Source of Payment, 2003/2004 (universities or faculties with more than 200 foreign students, all forms of study including full-time, distance, and combined)

University/ Faculty	Total Students	Percentage of Students	Number of Females	Number of Self-payers
Charles University (CU), Prague	4,532	31.3	2,214	820
The results for Charles University as a whole are composed of the following 9 faculties:				
I Medical Faculty - CU	1,706	11.8	553	191
Maths-Physics Faculty - CU	579	4.0	124	0
Philosophy Faculty - CU	447	3.1	311	1
Social Science Faculty - CU	432	3.0	210	11
Law Faculty - CU	415	2.9	229	0
Medical Faculty Hradec Králové - CU	325	2.2	134	212
Medical Faculty Pilsen - CU	284	2.0	104	147
III Medical Faculty - CU	241	1.7	137	99
Faculty of Science - CU	200	1.4	102	3
Other universities:				
MU Brno	1,706	11.8	908	126
VSEPrague	1,541	10.6	875	2
CVUT Prague	966	6.7	178	50
UP Olomouc	932	6.4	563	83
VUT Brno	565	3.9	90	57
VSB-TU Ostrava	447	3.1	188	18
TU Liberec	445	3.1	304	17
VS J.A. Komenskeho	386	2.7	303	0
Bank Institute Prague	365	2.5	227	0
	...	...	...	...
Total	14,489	100.0	7,146	1,220

Source: Internal materials of the Institute for Information on Education

origin do (in the case of primary schools) and may (in the case of secondary schools and universities) make use of the educational system of the Czech Republic. The fact that the migrant category analysed is closely tied to a specific kind of temporary, economic migration might also indicate that Vietnamese, Russian, Serbian & Montenegrin, and Chinese economic immigrants in particular -- because they have higher numbers of children with them -- might be planning to settle in the Czech Republic for a longer time than other foreigners.

Table 8: Percentage of Foreigners Legally Staying in the Czech Republic (who have been resident for longer than 1 year) by Source Country and Age Group, 2001

Country of Citizenship	Ages 1-14	Ages 15-19	Ages 20-24	Total
Ukraine	6.3	2.2	8.8	100.0
Slovakia	4.9	2.5	14.3	100.0
Vietnam	18.7	3.4	4.1	100.0
Poland	1.9	1.2	2.6	100.0
Russia	13.3	7.7	5.5	100.0
Germany	3.9	2.2	1.7	100.0
Bulgaria	5.6	2.5	4.2	100.0
China	11.4	3.0	5.0	100.0
Serbia & Montenegro	13.0	3.2	4.0	100.0
United States	8.8	2.4	3.6	100.0

Source: Based on Cizinci 2002 (see Drbohlav, 2004)
NB: Absolute figures (total) decrease from Ukraine (44,194) to the United States (2,532)

2. THE POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. THE POLICY FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 The Governmental Perspective

The political framework for the integration of foreigners in the Czech Republic was established by the "Conception of the Integration of Foreigners" (henceforth, the Conception), a document that the Czech Government passed into law on 11 December 2000. The Minister of the Interior was, until 2003, entrusted with coordinating and supervising activities aimed at achieving these aims, and an advisory body called the "Committee of the Ministry of Interior for the preparation and implementation of the policy of the government of the Czech Republic in the area of integration of foreigners and the inter-community development" (henceforth, the Committee) was established. Representatives of the Czech government's social partners, the civil sector, the academic community, and the territorial administration took part in the Committee. The general aim of the Interior Ministry's Committee was to supervise the implementation of the Conception's principles, and its actions primarily consisted in negotiating projects presented by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and in evaluating the materials available to the ministries and other public administration entities. In accordance with the government's decision No. 126 of 11 February 2004, coordination for the achievement of the aims of the Conception was transferred to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MLSA); moreover, an MLSA Committee was formed and materials were developed for the "Situation Analysis and the Status of Foreigners".

The changes that have been made to the institutional framework for the integration of foreigners are largely connected to the integration of the Czech Republic into the European Union and to the consolidation of EU immigration policy. Even before 1 May 2004 (date of accession to the European Union), the Czech Republic had already accepted a number of harmonising legislative changes affecting both foreigners' residency conditions within its territory and the institutional framework for their integration. Changes to the political framework for the integration of foreigners represent a movement away from pilot activities towards creating a broad-based integration policy and towards an evaluation of the situation aimed at ensuring the practical implementation of the principles and aims of the Conception. A number of steps towards specifying the partial objectives of integration policy were already taken during the period of transition in 2003.

The ministries that took part in the Committee were charged with developing plans for integration policies for the period 2004-2006. The MEYS elaborated a document entitled "Developing a Plan for Integration Policies for the Period 2004-2006", which presents basic data (up to 30 September 2002) on foreign children and adolescents in the Czech educational system and the fundamental rights of foreigners in the area of education. This material was mainly aimed at the children and adolescents of foreign parents. The specific objectives and requirements of the 2003 MEYS Plan are the following:

- To incorporate into the law (especially into the Schools Act, see below) the MEYS' methodological guidelines concerning the education of foreigners at all levels of the education system, except for at universities;
- To recommend pedagogical faculties (in universities) to integrate Czech as a foreign language into their study programmes;

- To make the problem of foreigners, of multicultural education, and of the teaching of Czech as a foreign language a priority in the further training of teachers in regional pedagogical centres;
- To ensure the collection of necessary statistical data;
- To monitor the situation (through inspections) of foreigners' education in primary and secondary schools in the Czech Republic;
- To continuously coordinate research in the area of foreigners' education and to evaluate experiences from abroad;
- To support the updating and development of textbooks and of national and regional programmes, thus ensuring an effective information system.

The main tool for ensuring the implementation of these objectives, apart from legislative activities, is to support regional and national programmes by NGOs and individual schools. Each year, the MEYS announces a grant (which has, since 2004, become a subsidy) for activities sustaining the integration of foreigners (including the integration of asylum seekers). Examples of these activities are listed in Section 2.3.1., entitled "Practical Examples". The implementation of the selected aims falls either under the competence of the MEYS or under the competence of agencies of this ministry (postgraduate education of teachers, thematic inspection in the schools and collection of statistical data, etc.). Moreover, the MEYS also coordinates the educational programme of children of asylum applicants and, as a part of integration programmes, the teaching of the Czech language to refugees. Within the Ministry, there is also a working group for the integration of foreigners; its role is to implement the abovementioned activities, focusing in particular on the selection of projects and on the drafting of legislative changes. However, the MEYS does not include a specific board or person who is responsible, on an exclusive and full-time basis, for ensuring the implementation of policies for the integration of foreigners.

In addition to governmental institutions, certain specific issues concerning the integration of foreigners fall under the aegis of the Czech Government's Committee for Human Rights. More precisely, this Committee includes a board for the rights of foreigners and of minorities that deals with the integration of foreigners (the Committee is, in turn, part of the Office of the Government of the Czech Republic). Furthermore, in 2003, the Czech parliament established a subcommittee on migration.

2.1.2. The Local and Regional Perspective

It is evident that at the state administration's central level, efforts are being made to specify some of the integration policy's aims and to diversify the means of implementation. Despite these efforts, there continues to be an absence of regional coordination and of implementation at the local level. MLSA representatives argue that there is a lack of legislative measures granting regions and townships greater competency and ensuring a deeper level of participation. Nonetheless, the Association of the Regions and the Union of Townships do have representatives sitting on the MLSA's Committee for the Integration of Foreigners, which is, among other things, charged with developing an "informative" manual "for use by regions and municipalities, that concerns resources for financing projects aimed at promoting the integration of foreigners". The same board was also partially successful in inviting selected municipalities to cooperate in implementing relevant policies.

2.1.3. The Perspective of Non-Governmental and Non-Profit Organisations

Projects that aim to support the integration of foreign children are carried out, in part, by the non-profit sector. Usually, these projects provide standard advisory and assistance services, such as assistance in registering the child of foreign parents in school or in finding medical treatment for the child. These advisory and assistance services are mainly provided, free of charge and throughout the Czech Republic, by five NGOs and two church organisations (the Catholic Charity and the Deaconry of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren).

These church-affiliated organisations, NGOs, and non-profit organisations carry out a number of activities targeting asylum applicants or asylum holders. While the area of integration is not being sufficiently addressed, the area of asylum continues to be the predominant area of activity of non-profit organisations working on migration. This is in part due to the fact that the Czech Republic is, to a considerable degree, a transit country. Nonetheless, NGOs have also opened the target group of their activities to include immigrants in general, as demonstrated by the decision to direct integration activities and projects that were previously only available to asylum applicants to a much wider group of people.

In fact, a number of non-profit organisations now acknowledge the Czech Republic's gradual shift away from being a transit country to becoming a destination country. As a result, they have started carrying out activities supportive of the integration of foreigners permanently settled in the Czech Republic. It should be noted that Czech NGOs can profit from experience gained in a different, yet comparable area: following the expected decrease in the number of asylum applicants and the increase of foreigners residing permanently in the country, these organisations will shift their focus to the field of

integration. Moreover, there are already dozens of programmes in the Czech Republic aimed at the social inclusion of Romani children and adolescents; the staff and logistic capacity employed in these programmes could also be used in activities supporting the integration of children and adolescents of foreigners.

2.2. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

In principle, foreigners have the same rights and obligations as Czech citizens. The bill of fundamental rights and freedoms, which is part of the Constitution of the Czech Republic, establishes the right to education (regardless of citizenship) and the inadmissibility of discrimination. The universal applicability of the rights and duties in the bill is further confirmed in the legal code of the Czech Republic. In connection to the education of foreigners, however, several different legal approaches regarding foreigners and Czech citizens exist, and there are several categories of foreigners.

Some general legal provisions that affect the status of foreigners (and of foreign children in particular) in the Czech Republic are: Act No. 326/1999 Coll. [on Residence of Aliens in the Territory of the Czech Republic], which establishes conditions of entrance and residence; the decision on family reunification, which pertains to children of foreigners who apply for (either temporary or permanent) residence permits for the specific purpose of family reunification; the obligation for foreign parents of Czech-born children to apply for a relevant visa for the child with the Foreign Police and the Frontier Police (Hervertová, 2004). Importantly, it should be noted that, in the Czech Republic, it is the principle of "ius sanguinis" (law of blood) that determines whether a child gets Czech citizenship or not: in other words, the child's citizenship depends on the citizenship of the parents and not on place of birth (Čižinský, Doma v ČR, 2004). More specific measures are outlined in the following sections.

2.2.1. Pre-School Education

Foreigners do not have the right to free pre-school education, and the exact amount of the fee is decided by the relevant local authority.

2.2.2. Primary and Secondary Education

Foreigners must attend school during the obligatory school years, just like Czech children. Children under 15 years of age are entitled to free primary school education. The education system in primary and secondary schools is still determined by Act No. 29/1984 Coll. [on the System of Primary Schools, Secondary Schools, and Higher Professional Schools], henceforth referred to as the "Schools Act". This Act is expected to be replaced with a new School Act in January 2005, which will include several amendments: for example, it will oblige parents to demonstrate that they are legally resident in the country at the moment of the child's entrance in primary school; this represents a stricter measure compared with the present situation.

2.2.2.1. Language Assistance to Children Entering Primary School It is in this area that the differences between categories of immigrants become obvious: in fact, while legal amendments will oblige the district administration office to provide EU children with free preparatory classes conducive to entrance into the primary school system (including the teaching of the Czech language and of basic facts on the Czech Republic) and with support for teaching the language and the culture of foreigners' country of origin, these benefits are not extended to third country (non-EU) nationals. Exception is made when the children in question belong to an officially recognized ethnic minority: in this case, free education in the mother tongue is provided.

The new legal measure includes the former methodological directives through which the Ministry for Education attempted to help foreigners who completed their primary school education abroad to enter secondary schools by excusing them from the written part of the Czech language test in the entrance examination, but it now requires that the children's knowledge of the language be tested orally. A similar shift from directive to new School Act concerns the classification of the subject "Czech language": foreign pupils are not to be graded in the first year of primary or secondary school attendance.

No law or regulation deals with helping children who are citizens of third countries with learning the language, with the exception of children of asylum applicants and asylum holders (Čižinský, 2004). Hence, it still seems necessary to implement individual language-preparation programmes for the children and adolescents of foreigners. Currently, the absence of such programmes is stimulating the development of particular tutoring programmes in schools with a higher percentage of foreigners (see Section 2.3.1. Practical Examples).

2.2.3. Universities and Higher Professional Education

The educational programme of foreign university students is determined by Act No.111/1998 Coll. on Higher Education Institutions, which allows foreigners to study in state schools under the same conditions as Czech citizens. Foreigners even hold the same status on the question of fees: in the Czech Republic, no fees are levied for education by state or public universities, provided the teaching is in Czech. When classes are carried out in a foreign language, each school establishes, without exterior pressure, how much they will charge. The Act on universities also contains a decision on the country's adherence to relevant international treaties.

These are the only limitations set on universities for establishing criteria on the kind and number of students they admit. The decision to accept or refuse documents attesting to successful completion of secondary education (the main condition for getting admitted to any university entrance examination), falls entirely within the self-governing competence of universities.

2.2.3.1. Recognition of Foreign Degrees and Diplomas The MEYS' Decree No. 332/1998 Coll. and the Amendment to Decree No. 385/1991 Coll. legislate on the equality of foreign degrees with Czech degrees and sets criteria for their validation in the Czech Republic. The most urgent priority is to deal with diplomas and reports issued in countries signatory to the Treaty on the Recognition of Equality and Incorporation of Certificates Issued by Foreign Schools. Should a foreigner (or a citizen) present a diploma or a report from a signatory country, s/he may apply for the validation of equality of the diploma with the Regional Authority. Should the country of issuance not be bound by any international validation treaty with the Czech Republic, the holder of such a diploma must apply (through a more complex procedure) for "nostrification" (validation) of their academic qualification with the same Authority (Hervertová, 2004).

University credentials are recognised by Act No. 111/1998 Coll. on Higher Education Institutions (Higher Education Act) and by bilateral and multilateral treaties (e.g. the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region, adopted in Lisbon in 1997). The procedure for recognising foreign university diplomas falls within the self-governing competence of public schools, with the exception of graduates from universities in certain Eastern European and Central Asian countries, in which case the procedure is of competence of the MEYS.

2.2.4. Laws Governing the Integration of Foreign Children and Adolescents

- Act No. 326/1999 Coll. on Residence of Aliens in the Territory of the Czech Republic
- Act No. 29/1984 Coll. on System of Primary Schools, Secondary Schools, and Higher Professional Schools (School Act)
- Act No. 564/1990 Coll. on State Administration and Self-Government in Schools
- Act No. 76/1978 Coll. on School Facilities
- Act No. 111/1998 Coll. on Higher Education Institutions (Higher Education Act)
- Act No. 71/1967 Coll. on Administrative Proceedings, as amended
- MEYS Decree No. 385/1991 Coll. on Recognition of Equivalence and Conditions of Certificates Issued by Foreign Schools
- MEYS Decree No. 332/1998 Coll., amendment to Decree No. 385/1991 Coll., see above.

In January 2005, the new School Act will become effective.

2.3. SUPPORTING THE INTEGRATION OF FOREIGN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Despite the undeniable progress that the Czech Republic has made in the field of integration since the end of 2002, policies in this area still contain contradictions, mostly with regards to a discrepancy between theory and practice. On the theoretical level, integration policies uphold a number of multicultural features, such as "equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up immigrants' diversity" (Castles, 1995). On the practical level, the law on the Residence of Aliens (Act No. 326/1999 Coll.) places heavy administrative requirements on foreigners. In the Czech Republic, the waiting time for receiving a permanent residence permit that would grant foreigners a relatively equal status with citizens is 10 years, which is still among the longest in Europe; the 15 years required by foreigners before they can apply for Czech citizenship is also well above the European average. For foreign applicants, these waiting times represent a period of uncertainty and unequal status in Czech society, during which they are virtually at the mercy of local officials (not always excessively tolerant) or of mediating agencies of doubtful reputation. This situation, characterized by a pro-multicultural theory that exists side-by-side with a practice of segregation, does not affect foreign children to the same extent as it does adults. But the partial absence of a policy framework coupled with limited experience in the practice of children's integration have formed

an environment in which the future problems are only just now beginning to arise, as are the possible means of dealing with these problems. Below are examples of project activities designed to favour the integration of foreign children and adolescents; above all, they are examples of what usually happens as opposed to representing best practices. It should be noted that none of the projects have been carried out for more than two years, which means that it is difficult to evaluate the full degree of the projects' success.

2.3.1. Practical Examples

For the purpose of this overview, a project is defined as a continuous activity aimed at achieving preset targets outlined in either a project document or a contract with the submitter, with transparent financial sources and a proper budget.

Project Name	**Support for Extra Czech Language Lessons**
Organisation/ Institution	Bambus Community, Prague
Date of Pursuance	2004
Project Target	To improve Czech language skills among Vietnamese children who have problems with Czech at school, in order to facilitate their further education.
Target Group	Vietnamese children, aged 4-12
Methods/ Techniques	Lessons in small groups with Czech teachers.
Submitter	Children's parents pay for the lessons

Project Name	**Children's Multiethnic Group**
Organisation/ Institution	Centre for Migration Issues
Date of Pursuance	Since 1 January 2004
Project Target	To provide children enough room for expressing their own culture and to mediate the Czech culture to them at the same time. The work with children is focused on mutual communication, cognition and coming together, on developing creativity, fantasy and temperament.
Target Group	Children who regularly join the "Women's Multiethnic Group" with their mothers. They are children (and sometimes teenagers) of foreign parents living in the Czech Republic with a variety of stay permits. Children might come from foreign families that have been granted asylum in the Czech Republic or from families that are still seeking to gain asylum. A specific group is composed by children from mixed marriages between a Czech national and a foreigner. The target group also includes Czech children whose mothers are interested in the "Women's multiethnic group".
Methods/ Techniques	A "multicultural meeting" between the children takes place every Friday. An assistant devotes time to children from different parts of the world, respecting their cultural uniqueness while making them familiar with Czech habits at the same time. The assistant organises various cultural, sporting, and social activities for them (such as various creative activities, drama therapy, etc.). Activities aimed at improving children's knowledge of Czech are emphasised.
Submitter	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports

Project Name	**Welcome Summer, "Christmas Star" and Other Clubs of Friends**
Organisation/ Institution	Meteorologická Primary School, Prague 4
Date of Pursuance	Since 2000
Project Target	To promote interaction between Vietnamese and Czech children. In other words, to support mutual communication, cooperation, and friendship; to teach them how to cooperate and not to discriminate between Czechs and Vietnamese; to teach children that all people are equal and deserve equal opportunities and conditions.
Target Group	All Vietnamese children enrolled in the primary school and their Czech classmates.

Methods/ Techniques	Vietnamese and Czech children jointly prepare and then participate in various activities (for example theatrical performances, athletics tournaments, ceramics and paintings exhibitions, etc.). They also visit friends' clubs together.
Submitter	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports

Project Name	**Come Play With Us**
Organisation/ Institution	KamenaPky Primary School, Brno
Date of Pursuance	Since 2002
Project Target	To promote the integration of foreign children into their (new) Czech surroundings; to facilitate their entrance into school; to help them be well informed about problems they may encounter in attending school in a foreign, since most of the children (and even their parents) usually do not know Czech when they start going to school.
Target Group	Children of foreign parents, aged 6-11
Methods/ Techniques	Methodological papers are used to provide children with basic vocabulary (e.g.: "What does your teacher look like?" or "Describe your classroom." or "What are you wearing?" etc.). The school club focuses on foreigners, on extra Czech language lessons, and, especially, on conversation skills. Trips around Brno are organised to familiarise the children with the new environment, since it is expected that this will be their home for some time.
Submitter	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, and the South Moravian Region

Project Name	**Extra Czech Language Lessons for Vietnamese Pupils**
Organisation/ Institution	Meteorologická Primary School, Prague 4
Date of Pursuance	Since 2000
Project Target	To teach Vietnamese children Czech in order to enable their further education in Czech schools. Other goals are: to integrate Vietnamese children, to support equal opportunities, and to eliminate xenophobia.
Target Group	All Vietnamese children enrolled in the primary school.
Methods/ Techniques	Extra Czech language lessons are given to small groups (2-3 children) in the afternoon, after school.
Submitter	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports

Project Name	**Discover the Life in the Country Where You Live (title of publication for primary school pupils)**
Organisation/ Institution	Fortuna Publisher
Date of Pursuance	2002
Project Target	To give children of foreign parents information on day-to-day life situations in the Czech Republic (e.g. how to make a phone call, how to give a present, how to greet, etc.) that facilitate their integration into the majority society easier.
Target Group	Children of foreigners, aged 6-11
Methods/ Techniques	The main idea of the project is to familiarise the children with local customs in order to facilitates their integration.
Submitter	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports

Project Name	**Pilot Project - Active Selection of Qualified Foreign Workforce**
Organisation/ Institution	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
Date of Pursuance	Since 2003

Project Target	To promote the integration of foreign experts interested in working in the Czech Republic and to offer equal employment opportunities to such experts (keeping in mind the possibilities and needs of the host country).
Target Group	Highly qualified citizens of Bulgaria, Moldova, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Croatia, and foreign graduates of Czech universities irrespective of citizenship.
Methods/ Techniques	The Czech Republic allows the selected, qualified employees to apply for permanent residence after 2.5 years (in general, immigrants can apply for permanent residence only after 10 years). Successful candidates are allowed to settle in the Czech Republic together with their family members, who would also obtain permanent residence.
Submitter	Government of the Czech Republic

These projects can be sorted into three categories:

1. Community projects based on promoting social interaction between Czech citizens and foreigners;
2. Projects focused on preventing social and linguistic disadvantages for foreign children within the Czech educational system;
3. Projects aimed at producing informational material.

The first group of activities influences **the process of integration on a general basis**. These "community projects" attempt to provide foreigners with social relations and to thereby form mutual need networks with the host society. One of the projects is carried out by an NGO, while the other is managed by an organisation belonging to the Vietnamese community. There exist other, more or less spontaneous, activities of this type in the Czech Republic, which are often carried out by foreign community representatives as well as by church associations (see, for example, Prague's Jewish Community and some evangelical congregations). Several ethnic organizations (Chinese, Vietnamese, Armenian, Ukrainian, and others) carry out educational activities for children. The fact that these activities are, to a certain extent, subordinate to the dictates of each community's identity politics does not mean that they do not favour integration. The issues most frequently dealt with are: the preservation of language and traditions; the presentation of a positive image of the community in the wider society; and the supply of practical, concrete advice to facilitate daily life for the community's members.

The second group of project activities aims to address concrete problems such **as language and social disadvantages** experienced by foreign children within the Czech educational system. These activities are being implemented by two primary schools with a large number of foreign children in Prague. These projects include pedagogical activities with the students and teacher-training in multiethnic education (carried out by pedagogy faculty members at Czech universities); making children familiar with different cultures is a complementary activity, whose main target group is the host society.

The third category includes the **production and dissemination of informational and instructional material for children**. Some examples of textbooks are:

Co už umím (What I already know): A rather didactic teaching aid, it is useful for getting a basic understanding of Czech; it is aimed at Vietnamese, Russian, and Ukrainian-speaking pupils under 10 years of age who have no previous knowledge of Czech (subtitle - Listening and Watching Czech). Fortuna: 2001, Prague.

Základní kurz Českého jazyka pro Vietnamce (Basic Course of Czech for Vietnamese [Speakers]): A textbook of Czech grammar for Vietnamese speakers issued by the ethnic organisation Club Bambus. The textbook is used mostly for giving beginners their first orientation in Czech grammar and for acquiring knowledge of the necessary grammar terms. Club Bambus : 2003, Prague.

Thematic Dictionaries (in mathematics, Czech, science, humanities): The authors claim that these dictionaries are for pupils studying at the second level of primary schools, but that they are also useful for secondary schools students. SPN: 2002, Prague.

Učíme se česky (Learning Czech), Roubalová, E.: A comprehensive textbook of the Czech language that was originally meant as a textbook for foreign students at Charles University, it is also useful for children in the higher classes of primary school and for adults. Karolinum: 2004.

2.3.1.1. Activities Carried Out by the State In addition to the "Pilot Project - Active Selection of Qualified Foreign Workforce" currently being implemented by the MLSA's Department for Migration and Integration of Foreigners, the MEYS has prepared a project (entitled "An Open Opportunity"), that aims to broaden post-graduate education opportunities on multiculturalism for teachers. The project will be implemented by regional pedagogical centres in cooperation with pedagogical faculties at Czech universities.

2.3.1.2. Activities Carried Out by NGOs The non-profit sphere also carries out projects whose partial aim is to support the integration of foreign children. These activities usually include standard consulting and support services, such as providing assistance for ensuring children's school registration or in helping to find medical care. In the Czech Republic, these kinds of services are provided by the following organisations: the Centre for Foreigners' Integration, the Organisation for Aid to Refugees, the Counselling Centre for Refugees, the Centre for Migration Issues, the Society of Citizens Assisting Migrants, and Caritas.

All non-profit and non-governmental organisations pursue a series of activities targeted at asylum seekers. This is, in part, due to the fact that the Czech Republic has mainly been a transit country for migrants. Many non-profit organisations, however, are beginning to realise that the Czech Republic is increasingly viewed as a final destination country by migrants and are starting to adapt their focus to include activities supportive of integrating foreigners permanently residing in the country.

3. FACTORS AND INDICATORS RELEVANT TO ADAPTATION - EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

As the above overview suggests, there is ample room for further research and scientific activities that contribute to an analysis of an area that has, so far, gone relatively unrecognized. The main goal of the present research is – on the example of Post-Soviet and Asian (Vietnamese and Chinese) foreign children/ youths in Prague - to show what the current situation is in terms of foreign children's degree of adaptation into Czech schools and, consequently, into Czech majority society. Moreover, the goal is to identify any relevant problems and to recommend some remedies or ways for either improving or solving the problems. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were applied, as were basic and some form of applied research activities. In fact, this study fits the criteria set out by the Integration Policy Plan of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports[15] (Informace, 2003).

In sum, this study has designed a multi-faceted approach that can contribute to many of the above mentioned aspects of adaptation. What the research does not tackle, however, is the rather specific issue of asylum seekers and their adaptation into society. Despite acknowledging the problems experienced by this category, the study purposefully concentrates on more stable immigrant groups who have been in the country for some time and who have established relations (for certain obvious reasons) with the majority population[16]. Starting with the fairly scarce information that has already been gained in the field (Drbohlav, 2004), this study will follow up and elaborate on the following propositions:

1) There are some differences in how successful individual ethnic communities are in learning Czech and, consequently, how successful they are in integrating into Czech society (Asian groups, and the Vietnamese in particular, are the most successful). Some socio-demographic differences have also proven to be important (for example, in relation to children themselves, there is the gender dimension; in relation to the children's parents, there are factors like their educational level and professional position);

2) There are indications that the degree of knowledge of the Czech language and the degree of integration may be conditioned by some other factors like: the openness or closure of a community and its possible support mechanisms; the degree of adherence to the culture of origin; the location of the immigrants' country of origin; the amount of former experience with the Czech environment; future plans; an attitude and interest in "VIPs" (such as a school director) both by the immigrant community and by people in the school (Drbohlav, 2004).

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS, MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What we are doing below – juxtaposing well-known theories to migratory/ adaptation realities in the Czech Republic – is based on one basic postulate: that the Czech Republic has, to a large extent, brought its migratory/ adaptation patterns closer to those of the more developed democracies. These changes concern quantitative aspects as well as the nature and the whole development of migration policies and practices; they also concern "the conditionality of migration and, consequently, some of the theoretical concepts that explain some important migratory features; qualitative aspects in terms of mutual relationships among immigrants; the socio-economic development of the destination country; and subjective attitudes of the majority population towards minority groups" (Drbohlav, 2002).

[15] The Plan was designed in July 2001 in accordance with the whole conception of immigrants' integration into the Czech Republic (Instruction No. 18 809/01-22, following text).

[16] In this regard, asylum seekers in the Czech Republic are rather a different group. Their level of "adaptation" is specific and provisional since 1) they live in asylum centers and 2) only a very limited number of them will have a chance to stay in the country and participate normally in the life of society. Furthermore, there is the fact that, from the very beginning, many asylum seekers' families do not choose the Czech Republic as a final destination country.

In the case of the Czech Republic, the application of theories originating from the post-Communist world seems appropriate (see also Drbohlav, 1997). Although some "verifications" have been done in this regard, there continues not to be body of research (including in the application of concepts and theories) that one can lean on when analyzing foreign children and youths' migration and adaptation processes, either in the Czech Republic or in Central Europe at large[17].

In this study, the quantitative research (which is further complemented by qualitative material) is based on questionnaires that concentrate upon several theoretical and conceptual frameworks; in turn, these serve as a sort of a framework and are "tested" through the subjective assessments, perceptions/ feelings, and objective statements on the existing reality of respondents (predominantly foreign children and youths). In other words, it is the respondents who inform us what their (and their families') lives in the new society look like in a broader social context; it is they who tell us how they go about adapting into Czech society. In some cases, we were able to get some more objective parameters pertaining to their unique personal qualities/ abilities (as assessed by their teachers).

First, a fairly complex approach was taken whereby immigrants' adaptation was seen as a complicated political, administrative, economic, social, psychological, and geographical process -- as a game that is played out both internally (by the immigrant him/herself) and externally (between the immigrant and the host society) at various hierarchical levels that range from the individual and the state to the whole world. In accepting such an approach, it is possible to adhere to Heckmann's (1999) concept, in which it is argued that: "integration [understood in its broadest sense -- authors' note] means an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a change in individual characteristics, a building of social relations and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification by immigrants towards the immigration society"[18]. In analysing the results of the survey carried out for the current study, and in trying to understand adaptation as a complex process (see above), an attempt was also made to decompose it into its individual components. Of course, such attempts had to be adjusted to the target group, in other words to children and adolescents.

Second, the application of a "segmented assimilation model" when analysing a meso-(immigrant group) level makes it worth looking into which sector of Czech society a particular immigrant group manages or chooses to "assimilate". In line with this model (which originates in the United States -- see e.g. Zhou, 1997; Portes-Zhou, 2000), the following reasonable questions arise: 1) Does the "immigrant group's growing acculturation and parallel integration into the middle-class" actually take place? or, 2) Is there a second path "leading straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation to the underclass", or, 3) Does a third model predominate, one that "combines rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and solidarity" (Portes-Zhou, 2000)? Yet another option is possible (although it has not been defined by the segmented assimilation model), through which a particular immigrant group adapts completely into Czech society. Of course, there is still another question in the air: is one particular path typical of a particular immigrant group? If so, what is behind such behaviour?

Third, it is also possible to refer to Berry's concept of acculturation options (Berry, 1992) when looking at the micro (individual) level. Berry outlines four acculturation options that "are available to individuals and to groups in plural societies". These options are based on two issues: whether it is considered valuable to maintain cultural identity and characteristics and, at the same time, whether it is considered valuable to maintain relationships with other groups. Depending on the answers that are given to these two questions, immigrants' strategies will result in either integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization (see Berry, 1992).

Finally, the migratory/ adaptation reality of the immigrant groups in the Czech Republic will be commented upon in relation to some aspects of institutional theory (see Massey et al, 1998), which highlights the importance of institutional structures as "supporters" of migration movements and of migrants' active presence in new host societies.

To summarize, several main research questions have been formulated and an attempt will be made to answer them. The questions include: Who are the Post-Soviet and Asian (Vietnamese and Chinese) foreign children/ youths who have immigrated into the Czech Republic during the last 10 years? What are their and their families' basic socio-demographic, socioeconomic and geographical characteristics? What do their lives in the new host country look like? What is their mode of adaptation? What factors explain the success or failure of their adaptation? What problems do they have in adapting into Czech schools and Czech society? Can some remedies (via policy recommendations) be found to improve their level of inclusion into Czech schools and society?

[17] A comparative study was recently done in Europe, called "Integrating, 2004"; for further inspiration, see, for example, the consistent body of work based mostly on US experience: Portes, 1996 and 1995; Rumbaut-Portes, 2001; Booth-Crouter-Landale, 1997; Schmid, 2001; Board, 1995; Alba-Handl-Müller, 1998; and many others.

[18] Heckmann (1999) defines four kinds of "integration": 1) *Structural integration* means the acquisition of rights and the access to positions and statuses in the core institutions of the receiving society by the immigrants and their descendants. 2) *Cultural integration* or acculturation – refers to processes and states of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of individuals. Acculturation primarily concerns the immigrants and their descendants, but it is an interactive, mutual process that changes the receiving society as well. 3) *Social integration* is defined when membership of immigrants in the new society in the private sphere is reflected in peoples' private relations and group memberships (social intercourse, friendships, marriages, voluntary associations). 4) Membership in a new society on the subjective level shows in feelings of belonging and identification, particularly in forms of ethnic and/or national identification: *identificational integration*.

3.2. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

A structured, standardized, but complex questionnaire was used to target migration and adaptation issues for immigrants moving to the Czech Republic. The respondents of the questionnaire were foreign children and youth living in the capital city of Prague[19] (see Annex). From the very beginning, it was planned that three different foreign groups would be contacted: a) Citizens of Vietnam and China; b) Citizens of the European part of the former Soviet Union: the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus; and c) Citizens of Western Europe (which includes the 15 EU members states before 1 May 2004, plus Switzerland and Norway), the USA and Canada. Moreover, three different age categories and three different types of schools were selected: children aged 10-15 (in elementary school), adolescents aged 16-18 (in secondary school), and young adults aged 19-28 (in university). The last prerequisite was that respondents must have stayed in the Czech Republic, more or less uninterruptedly, for at least three years.

The sampling method was "purposive", organized, and systematic. The Institute of Information on Education provided a database that listed 15 schools of all three types with the largest foreign communities (in absolute terms)[20]. A research team sent letters or directly contacted the schools' directors informing them about the project and asked for their cooperation. The directors were given between one to two weeks to study the survey; often, they would ask parents' permission to include their children in the survey. During this phase, the geography students from the Faculty of Science at Prague's Charles University came into play and started working as "mediators" and research organisers (September-November 2004); in this role, they arranged a meeting, went to schools, and distributed questionnaires to the foreign children and youths who had been selected -- in other words, those who had met the criteria and who had been given permission by their school directors and parents to take part in the survey. Once selected, the respondents gathered in a classroom and were given approximately 50 minutes to fill in the questionnaire, "under the supervision" of the older students[21]. Afterwards, class teachers or school managers added other data concerning individual students' level of absenteeism, their behaviour, talent, health status, and abilities in terms of academic grades. The same procedure was applied to selected Czech students, who represented a control group. Moreover, one sheet of paper with 12 thematic blocks reflecting various issues closely tied to migratory and adaptation situations were sent through the respondents to their parents; the latter were kindly asked to respond – either via a letter to be sent back to the school through the children or, more directly, via e-mail to the organisers of the survey. The university students were contacted individually[22], mainly through their dorms.

True to the adage that "research work is usually a compromise between initial ambitions and feasible operations" (Dixon-Leach, 1993), the research team's initial intentions had to be modified somewhat due to problems. Thus, while 25 schools were invited to participate in the survey, only 13 (52%) ended up actually taking part in it. The reasons for this are: 1) some directors refused to participate from the very beginning (sometimes without giving any reasons or because they felt that the issues tackled by the survey were "too intimate"); 2) some directors or school managers were not sure whether to participate and unjustifiably prolonged time (during which they ostensibly "negotiated" with the research team); 3) some directors, despite agreeing with the survey, invited pupils/ students who, in fact, did not qualify for the research; 4) the number of "available" respondents from Western Europe and North America was too small, particularly among the older age categories; 5) the number of responses collected from respondents' parents was negligible: of 80 parents who were contacted, only 9 (11%) responded and sent back their views on their experiences.

Having reconsidered the situation (and after having invited several more, mainly international, schools), the research team changed strategy: the survey was rearranged and reduced with the hope that it would produce reasonable results; the decision was taken not to include university students and Western immigrants into the survey; on the other hand, an attempt was made to increase the samples of Post-Soviet and Asian immigrants aged 10-18; finally, the two age categories were aggregated into one sample.

Hence, in the end, the sample (N=127) analysed was composed of two groups of foreign children/youths: 1) Post-Soviets (N=45), 2) Asians (Vietnamese and Chinese, N=35) and a "control/ reference group" of Czechs (N=47). The respondents attended the following schools:

- Elementary school Angelova 3183, Praha 12
- Elementary school Bronzova 2027, Praha 5
- Elementary school Generala Janouska 1006, Praha 9
- Elementary school Vybiralova 964, Praha 9

[19] Our questionnaire was inspired by other questionnaires developed by the Europäisches Forum Für Migrationsstudien (efms), the John Hopkins University, Michigan State University, Florida International University, and San Diego University, all of which have tackled similar issues.

[20] Except for universities, also a breakdown of enrolled pupils/students by their citizenship was at our disposal.

[21] In one case, the school only allowed to distribute questionnaires at the school and pupils were supposed to fill them in at home and then to bring them back.

[22] In this case, there were no official contacts with universities as such established, only a general manager of dorms at Charles University was informed and agreed with doing a research there.

- Elementary school Meteorologicka 181, Praha 4
- Elementary school "Campanus", Jirovcovo namesti 1782, Praha 4
- Elementary school Novoborska 371, Praha 9
- Secondary school J. Heyrovskeho, Mezi Skolami 2475, Praha 5
- Secondary school Rakovskeho 3136, Praha 4
- Secondary school "Euroskola Praha", Tupolevova 525, Praha 8
- Secondary school Na Vitezne plani 1160, Praha 4
- The English College, Sokolovska 320, Praha 9
- The British International School, K lesu 2, Praha 4

To summarize, the selection of respondents followed neither random nor quota sampling. Nevertheless, it was felt that the sample was diverse enough since pupils/ students of different types of schools, from various Prague districts, and both sexes were included in the sample. Although it is not really possible to generalise, it was also felt that new, so far uncovered and important pieces of information on the migratory and adaptation realities of the two key foreign immigrant groups in the Czech Republic[23] (Slovaks excepted) were gained.

A) The main philosophy used in the analysis[24] (descriptive statistics) aimed to uncover patterns and to comment upon ascertained facts (structured in frequencies tables) and to compare the situation (given parameters) between all three groups and also between the two foreign groups formed by Post-Soviet and Asian citizens (association was measured for two-way tables – citizenship versus other variables). Hence, cross-tabulations and the Chi-square Test were used for this purpose and results were pinpointed and commented upon while reflecting on whether a significant relationship is confirmed ($p<0.05$) or not ($p>0.05$).

B) Subsequently, a correlate analysis (Pearson's correlation coefficient) was done on two data sets (Post-Soviet versus Asian group).

C) Factor analyses were attempted to identify underlying variables that explain the pattern of correlations within a set of observed variables (again, Post-Soviet versus Asian group) - see more below.

3.2.1. Main Socio-demographic, Socio-cultural, Psychological, and Geographical Characteristics of the Respondent Population

Table 9 sorts respondents according to citizenship and age. It should be noted that of the 45 Post-Soviets who were questioned, 29 had a Russian passport, 14 had a Ukrainian one, and 2 had Moldavian one. Of the 35 Asians, 29 were Vietnamese and 6 Chinese. Only pupils who were attending either elementary or secondary schools and who were under 19 years of age were included in this sample, with children aged 13 and 14 being the most numerous. The smallest age group was formed by pupils above 15 at secondary schools[25]. Regarding age structures, there were no significant differences between the two foreign groups ($p=0.191$), although the Czech control group had slightly more respondents among 11 and 13 year-olds.

Table 10 shows that there were no huge disparities between the two foreign samples in terms of sex structure either ($p=0.564$). The Czech control group did not differ either ($p=0.239$).

Table 9: Respondents by Age and Citizenship

Age	Post-Soviet	Vietnamese-Chinese	Total
10	2	1	**3**
11	2	5	**7**
12	3	7	**10**
13	6	6	**12**
14	10	8	**18**
15	6	3	**9**
16	7	4	**11**
17	6	0	**6**
18	3	1	**4**
Total	**45**	**35**	**80**

Table 10: Respondents by Citizenship and Sex

Sex	Post-Soviet	Vietnamese-Chinese	Total
Male	21	14	35
Female	23	20	43
Total	44	34	78

[23] Currently, these immigrant groups are, after Slovaks, by far the most numerous in the Czech Republic: as of 31 December 2003, 62,282 Ukrainians, 12,605 Russians, 3,261 Moldavians, 2,655 Belarussians, and 29,046 Vietnamese were staying legally in the Czech Republic.
[24] All analyses were carried out using the SPSS (SPSS Inc., Chicago, USA) statistical package.
[25] Some "older foreign children/ youths", despite their higher age, may still attend a basic school.

Table 11 brings together several basic kinds of information regarding respondents' absenteeism rate, health, abilities, qualities, traits, and the intensity of contacts between parents and school. This data, which was collected into questionnaires by teachers or other school staff, might (hypothetically) prove to represent important explanatory variables for research into adaptation processes. With the exception of absenteeism rates, which could not be evaluated due the small number of respondents, the data showed only minimal differences (in most cases $p>0.05$). What is notable, however, is the fact that, in general, foreigners do not have worse results than the Czech control group, even with regard to the Czech language, a subject for which significant differences between non-natives and natives might be expected. Some of the differences that were recorded (concerning children's health, unique abilities, and whether they are extroverts or introverts) were really minimal. On the other hand, statistically significant differences between the two foreign groups were found in mathematics, with Asians showing a higher rate of success vis-à-vis Post-Soviet respondents ($p=0.015$; 41% of Asians received grade 1, the best result, whereas only 14% of Post-Soviets achieved the same).

Table 11: Behaviour Patterns by Citizenship (Indicated by School Staff), in percentages

Behaviour Pattern	Czech	Post-Soviet	Vietnamese-Chinese	Total	No.
Absenteeism	49.57	74.85	16.50	55.31	42
Health	1.48	1.42	1.46	1.45	115
Mathematics	2.11	2.44	1.78	2.14	121
Czech language	2.09	2.46	2.28	2.26	115
Average grade	1.66	2.0	1.76	1.82	74
Unique abilities	2.21	2.29	2.29	2.27	83
Behaviour	1.04	1.29	1.07	1.14	116
Contacts	2.00	2.43	2.79	2.36	95
Extrovert v. introvert	2.46	2.41	2.46	2.44	104

Absenteeism: number of hours in absolute terms
Health: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = excellent and 5 = very bad
Mathematics grades: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = excellent and 5 = fail
Czech language grades: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = excellent and 5 = fail
Average grade for all subjects: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = excellent and 5 = fail
Unique abilities/ talent: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = unique and 5 = totally lacking unique abilities
Behaviour: on a scale from 1-3, where 1 = excellent and 3 = fail
Intensity of contacts between parents and school/ parents' interest in their children's work: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = the most intense level of contact and 5 = no contact at all
Extrovert v. introvert: on a scale from 1-5, where 1 = most extrovert and 5 = most introvert

It is important to note that the two foreign groups do not show significant differences in terms of their length of stay in the Czech Republic ($p=0.098$), as shown in Table 4: both groups, in fact, appear in all the three time periods (1991-1995, 1996-1999, 2000-) with a relatively significant representative group. Also notable is the fact that none of the foreign children were born in the Czech Republic; since these individuals obviously immigrated at a very young age, it would be fair to say that this research is concerned with the "1.5 generation" of immigrants.

Table 12: Period of Immigration by Citizenship

Year	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1991-1995	13	34.2	12	41.4	25	37.3
1996-1999	17	44.7	6	20.7	23	34.3
2000-	8	21.1	11	37.9	19	28.4
Total	38	100.0	29	100.0	67	100.0

The places where respondents live are, to some extent, spatially related to the schools that were included in the survey. In the case of some elementary, secondary, and international schools, however, there may not be such a relationship. Post-Soviet immigrants tended to live in the following city districts, in descending order: Prague 5 (10 respondents), Prague 4 (7), Prague 6 (5), and Prague 9 (4); others lived in other districts and one respondent even lived in a suburban area beyond Prague's administrative borders. Asian immigrants, on the other hand, tended to concentrate in the following districts: Prague 4 (14) and neighbouring Prague 12 (3), Prague 9 (7), and Prague 5 (4). The others lived scattered throughout the city.

As for religion, there are significant differences between the two groups ($p=0.008$), the most important being that only 24% of Post-Soviet are atheists, compared to 69% of Asians (the rate among Czechs climbs to 85%). These differences are also reflected in attendance at places of worship ($p=0.001$): while 40% percent of Post-Soviet respondents claimed they did not attend any place of worship, as many as 82% of Asians said the same.

Most of the young foreigners who answered the questionnaire possessed permanent residence permits (63% of Post-Soviets and 87% of Asians) and many had been granted a visa for a stay exceeding 90 days (20% of Post-Soviets and 10% of Asians).

3.2.2. Family and Housing

Significant differences (p=0.044) were found among the respondents with regards to family composition. First of all, the proportion of families in which the two parents lived together with their children in Prague was greatest among Asians (86%), then declined among Czechs (66%), and was the lowest among Post-Soviets (62%); nonetheless, the differences between the two foreign samples were not significant (p=0.123). Of Czech respondents, 15% adopted a "stepfather solution" to complete the family picture, a solution that was not at all typical for the foreigners. In contrast to Czechs and Asians, a relatively high rate of Post-Soviets live "only with my mother," a situation that, as other results indicate, does not necessarily signify a family breakdown. For example, a significant number of fathers in Post-Soviet families continue to live and work in the country of origin while the core family unit is based in Prague. When looking at the total number of people that respondents live with, here too, significant differences appear between the three groups (p<0.001): Post-Soviet family units tend to be smaller (58% of respondents live with two family members) than those of Czechs and Asians (79% and 86% of whom live with more than two family members).

Significant differences also characterised the type of housing, especially between that inhabited by Czechs and foreigners (p=0.017); there was little difference, however, between the kinds of homes that foreigners live in (p=0.135). About 20% of Czech respondents lived in a detached, one-family house; while the rate for Post-Soviets was only slightly higher (23%), as many as half of Asians live in similar conditions. What emerges from the findings is that immigrants tend not to concentrate at the micro level: only 7% of respondents lived in houses designed to accommodate more than one family in which foreigners represented 50% or more of the whole. Moreover, 56% of Asians and 44% of Post-Soviets stated that fewer than 10 foreigners lived nearby (within a 5-minute walk). Despite these findings, some respondents indicated that some districts, areas, and places have become characterised by a significant concentration of foreigners: Praha 5 (Stodulky, Luziny, Nove Budovice), Prague 9 (Cerny Most), and Prague 4, 12 (Modrany, Libus). In these areas, the numbers of foreigners (at walking distance from respondents' home) ranged from 50 to 500. These results were also supported by the picture drawn by Czech respondents.

With regards to home ownership, results point to the existence of deep disparities between the Czech control group and the immigrant groups (p=0.027): maybe somewhat surprisingly, whereas only one third of the Czechs owned their apartment/ house (the rest rented it), as many as 51% of Asians and 61% of Post-Soviets did so[26], with no significant differences between the two foreign groups, p=0.423. This willingness to undertake such an investment might be a sign that the two foreign groups have become more stable and that they intend, to a large extent, to settle in the country or to remain for an extended period. Additional information (provided below) on the Post-Soviet respondents, however, tends to make such a conclusion problematic.

3.2.3. Parents' Level of Education and Position in the Labour Market

The level of education achieved by respondents' parents also shows significant differences, both between each of the three groups (p=0.01, respectively, p<0.001) and between the two foreign groups (p=0.08, respectively, p=0.01). While Post-Soviet children seem to have the better educated parents, it is Asians who recorded the lowest level of educational achievement. In fact, only 3% of fathers of Post-Soviet children had gone no further than elementary schooling; the rate among Czechs is 8% and among Asians as high as 25%. Correspondingly, 65% of Post-Soviet children had fathers with a university degree, while only 45% of Czechs and 46% of Asians could claim the same. Furthermore, 11% of Post-Soviet respondents' fathers had a Ph.D. or another form of post-graduate/ advanced degree. As shown in Table 13, respondents' mothers followed more or less this same pattern.

Table 13: Level of Education of Respondents' Mothers by Citizenship

Level of Education	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elementary	1	2.3	0	0.0	6	23.1	7	6.4
Secondary	30	69.8	16	39	15	57.7	61	55.5
University	12	27.9	22	53.7	5	19.2	39	35.5
Post-Graduate	0	0.0	3	7.3	0	0.0	3	2.7
Total	43	100.0	41	100.0	26	100.0	110	100.0

[26] However, one could also question whether the respondents, especially the very young ones, were able to accurately answer such a question.

It is notable that Czech and foreign fathers (the difference between the two foreign groups is of only p=0.859) occupy significantly different positions in the Czech labour market (p<0.001)[27]. In general, the Czech sample was much more likely to be composed of employees than of employers: Czechs, 55%; Post-Soviets, 16%; and Asians, 9%. In contrast, only 10% of Czech respondents' fathers and 24% of Post-Soviet and Asian fathers employed other employees (in a very wide spectrum of jobs). Regarding respondents' mothers, 16% of them, on average, declared they were housewives (this was true for 13% of Czechs, 17% of Post-Soviets, and 18% of Asians). Among the foreigners, only two Post-Soviet women were unemployed and looking for work.

There was no significant difference in terms of fathers' job satisfaction, either among the groups (p=0.202) or between them (p=0.118) (see Table 14). Clearly, more respondents gave a positive evaluation of their job than a negative one.

Table 14: Level of Job Satisfaction According to Citizenship (Respondents' Fathers)

Level of Job Satisfaction	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very Satisfied	13	32.5	13	34.2	16	47.1	42	37.5
Quite Satisfied	15	37.5	19	50.0	9	26.5	43	38.4
Not Unsatisfied	10	25.0	6	15.8	9	26.5	25	22.3
Quite Unsatisfied	2	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.8
Total	40	100.0	38	100.0	34	100.0	112	100.0

Similar patterns emerged with regards to the mothers' level of job satisfaction, but in this case there was a significant difference between the two foreign groups (p=0.034): on the whole, Asian mothers claimed a greater degree of satisfaction with their work than Post-Soviet mothers did.

3.2.4. Linguistic Abilities

The two groups of foreigners do not differ much in their knowledge of written and spoken Czech (p=0.194, p=0.232). In fact, results in both categories were very good: 46% of all foreign respondents demonstrated they could write Czech "excellently" or "very well", and 71% attained the same level of proficiency in spoken Czech. Given that the two foreign groups immigrated to the Czech Republic at more or less the same time, this is a great success -- particularly for the Asian group, whose mother tongue is very different from Czech and was, therefore, faced with a major challenge.

Table 15: Knowledge of Written Czech by Citizenship

Level of Proficiency	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	11	24.4	10	29.4	21	26.6
Very Good	12	26.7	3	8.8	15	19.0
Good	13	28.9	14	41.2	27	34.2
Just Sufficient	7	15.6	7	20.6	14	17.7
Fail	2	4.4	0	0.0	2	2.5
Total	45	100.0	34	100.0	79	100.0

Table 16: Knowledge of Spoken Czech by Citizenship

Level of Proficiency	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Excellent	26	59.1	13	37.1	39	49.4
Very Good	7	15.9	10	28.6	17	21.5
Good	6	13.6	8	22.9	14	17.7
Just Sufficient	5	11.4	4	11.4	9	11.4
Total	44	100.0	35	100.0	79	100.0

An analysis of respondents' knowledge of their mother tongue revealed that there were no real discrepancies with regards to writing (p=0.326): in all, 46% of all foreign respondents said they had either "excellent" or "very good" knowledge of the written language. However, differences did appear with regard to oral skills (p=0.01): while 80% of Post-Soviet respondents said they could speak "excellently" in their mother tongue, only 37% of Asians could claim the same level of proficiency. Moreover, 100% of Post-Soviet respondents and 86% of Asians stated some knowledge of one or more foreign languages.

[27] Again, the same pattern is characteristic of respondents' mothers.

3.2.5. Family Relationships

No significant differences were recorded (either between all three groups or between just the foreign groups) in the frequency with which fathers devoted their spare time to the following activities with respondents: 1) Helping with homework/ school preparation; 2) Carrying out household chores together; 3) Discussing personal problems. Mothers, on the other hand, appeared to spend much more time with their children and, in particular, to devote more time to discussing personal problems: on average, mothers from all three ethnic groups spent twice as much time on this activity than the fathers. The results of the research showed that foreign mothers spend roughly the same amount of time preparing their children for school and helping them with their homework ($p=0.699$), but also that there is a difference in behaviour between the foreign and Czech samples and in comparing all three groups ($p=0.015$). Although it would be inaccurate to say that foreign mothers ignore their children, Czech mothers seem to be much more active in this regard: three quarters of Czech mothers engage with their children in this way, while only 41% of Post-Soviet mothers and 40% of Asian mothers do the same.

A similar pattern emerged with regards to time spent carrying out household chores. As for mothers' availability to discussing their children's personal problems, Post-Soviet mothers demonstrated even greater concern than Czech mothers ($p=0.026$). Asian mothers too, however, showed considerable attention: the survey results showed that 40% were open to discussions either "very often" or "often".

There were no major differences in answering questions relative to the closeness of families ($p=0.604$ among the groups, $p=0.734$ between the two groups of foreigners): 53% of respondents claimed that their family was "very" close and a further 32% said that they were "quite close"; only 8% answered that they were "not very close".

Connected to the issue of family closeness is that of the frequency and severity of domestic disputes, particularly between respondents and their parents. The survey showed that migrant families have greater rates of domestic inter-generational conflicts than Czech families: while the two foreign groups responded in a very similar way ($p=0.555$), Czech respondents gave significantly different answers ($p=0.022$). Disputes appeared to be quite unusual among the latter population, with 30% of Czech respondents claiming that there were no conflicts and the other two-thirds claiming that while disputes did take place, these were "small and rare". Among the foreign groups, 29% of Post-Soviets said that "yes", such disputes did take place and a further 7% admitted that their family experienced large, frequent disputes; 20% of Asians also said there were disputes but only 3% (1 person) said that the disputes were large and frequent. In contrast to parents, no big problems emerged between respondents and their grandparents ($p=0.269$ between the three groups, $p=0.396$ between the foreign groups). Naturally, the quality of the relationship may depend or be heavily influenced by the frequency with which respondents come into direct contact with their grandparents.

This is also true of relations between respondents and their parents: the survey, in fact, revealed that not all children live with both parents or that they may not do so for large portions of time. For example, 27% of Post-Soviet fathers and 9% of Asian fathers were said to live abroad (mostly in their countries of origin); and 7% of Post-Soviet fathers but no Asian fathers lived somewhere else in the Czech Republic. As many as 91% of Asian respondents said their fathers were with them in Prague (and, very probably, lived in the same household as their children). As for the Czech sample, 81% of respondents' fathers were said to be in Prague (the differences among the three groups was of $p<0.001$)

The same pattern is characteristic of siblings. For example, 35% of Post-Soviet respondents said their eldest sibling was abroad (this was only true for 7% of Asians) (a difference equal to $p<0.001$ was recorded between all three groups and a difference of $p=0.011$ between the two foreign groups). In other words, these results show that Post-Soviet families are typically divided into two sets: the first is composed of a mother and her child/ children and is permanently resident in the Czech Republic; the second includes a father and another child/ children[28] who tend to stay in the country of origin. In all three ethnic groups, it is clear that mothers are more likely than fathers to live with their immigrant children (differences are of only $p=0.275$ between all three groups and of $p=0.530$ between the two foreign groups): only 11% of Czech respondents, 13% of Post-Soviet respondents, and 6% of Asian respondents were living in Prague without their mothers.

Much larger dissimilarities exist concerning the place of residence of respondents' grandparents: whereas most Czech respondents' grandparents are spread throughout the country (the first grandfather mentioned by 46% of the respondents was said to reside in Prague and 44% outside the capital but always in the country; 10% lived abroad), the vast majority of grandparents of Post-Soviet and Asian respondents were abroad (87% and 89% respectively). However, any foreign grandparents in the Czech Republic also lived in Prague, and it is very probable that they lived in the same household as the respondent's family. Thus, while differences among the three samples are significant ($p<0.001$), they are not between the two foreign groups ($p=0.760$). With regards to grandmothers, the pattern was very similar[29]. It is notable that the second pair of grandparents mentioned by the respondents was even more likely to be abroad than the first couple.

[28] As shown below, some siblings may even live in the country of origin alone, without any kind of parental supervision.

[29] Concerning the presence of "first grandmothers" compared to "first grandfathers", Post-Soviet respondents were more likely to have their grandmothers with them in Prague than their grandfathers (18% versus 13%), while the opposite was true among the Asian sample (11% versus 9%). Overall, however, the differences were not huge and the absolute numbers were too low to allow the drawing of accurate or definitive conclusions.

No significant dissimilarity appeared with regards to the frequency with which respondents saw their relatives: concerning the father, the difference among all the groups was of p=0.271, while that between the two foreign groups was of p=0.092; concerning the mother, the difference among the groups was of p=0.465 and between the two foreign groups of p=0.579. Most striking was the finding that 14% of Post-Soviet respondents said they saw their fathers "yearly" and that 7% said they saw them "less than once a year". And, in line with the results mentioned above concerning respondents' relations with their brothers and sisters, 26% of Post-Soviet children claimed they saw their "first sibling" once a year and 7% saw them even less frequently than that. Just how spread out and disjointed Post-Soviet families are was also documented in connection to data collected on grandparents: 71% of Post-Soviet respondents said they saw their "first" grandfather once year, and 14% said they saw him less than once year; with regards to the frequency of contacts with their "first" grandmother, the respective figures are 56% and 22%.

Table 17: Frequency of Contacts Between Respondents and Their Fathers

Frequency	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	35	79.5	26	60.5	30	85.7	91	74.6
Weekly	2	4.5	4	9.3	2	5.7	8	6.6
Monthly	3	6.8	4	9.3	0	0.0	7	5.7
Yearly	2	4.5	6	14.0	1	2.9	9	7.4
< Once a Year	2	4.5	3	7.0	2	5.7	7	5.7
Total	44	100.0	43	100.0	35	100.0	122	100.0

The number of relatives who live abroad and geography are two factors that clearly influence how often respondents travelled to their mother's country of origin (see Table 18). Although neither immigrant group seemed to have very intense contacts with this country, Post-Soviet respondents appeared to visit their country of origin more often than Asians did, most probably due to the relative vicinity of Post-Soviet nations (p=0.055).

Table 18: Frequency of Contacts With Mother's Country of Origin, by Citizenship

Frequency	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Several times a year	4	9.3	3	9.7	7	9.5
Once a year	19	44.2	6	19.4	25	33.8
Once every several years	11	25.6	17	54.8	28	37.8
Never	9	20.9	5	16.1	14	18.9
Total	43	100.0	31	100.0	74	100.0

3.2.6. Other Social Relationships

There were no significant differences in how often the two foreign groups came into contact with Czechs and other immigrant ethnic groups (p=0.494, p=0.736). In fact 41% of Post-Soviets and 29% of Asians said they socialized with Czechs "very often"; the same degree of intensity characterised contacts with other immigrant groups for 50% of Post-Soviets and 42% of Asians. The survey used for this research asked further questions aimed at understanding better the degree to which foreign "contact keepers" cooperated with Czechs and other immigrants, as well as whether they advised and/ or helped one another. The answers showed that there were no significant discrepancies between the groups (p=0.732, p=0.524), with both groups stating a fairly low degree of cooperation and mutual help: 18% of Post-Soviets declared a that they cooperated with Czechs "very often" and 23% characterized their relations with other immigrants in the same way; for Asians, the figures were even lower: 16% and 12% respectively.

A closer look at more personal relationships, however, revealed something slightly different: with regards to best friends (not including relatives), the two foreign groups did not diverge significantly in their choices (p=0.143). Asian respondents claimed that 40% of their best friends were Czech and 40% came from their mother's ethnic group, while 20% of their best friends came from other immigrant groups. In the case of Post-Soviet respondents, however, 43% of best friends were Czech, 36% were of another foreign group, and only 21% were Post-Soviets like them. Despite the slight discrepancies, these results indicate that the both foreign groups are fairly well-integrated into Czech society, at least as far as interpersonal relations go.

As for the site of the meeting between foreign respondents and their best friends, no big difference exists there either (p=0.337). Most frequently, such meetings either took place in school (this was true for 56% of Post-Soviets and 62% of Asians), or in and around respondents' homes (32% of Post-Soviets and 21% of Asians).

In addition to giving information on their best friends, respondents also disclosed how many really close friends they had among Czechs, people from their mother's ethnic group, and other foreigners. The results showed weighted averages as follows: for Post-Soviets: 6, 7, 6, respectively, and for Asians: 11, 8, 3, respectively. In other words, while both foreign groups seem to have established more or less the same number of contacts with representatives of their mother's ethnic

group, a greater proportion of Vietnamese children compared to Post-Soviet children had made friends with Czechs, but a greater proportion of Post-Soviets had ties with other foreigners. In any case, however, the results were not drastically different: p=0.097, 0.301, and 0.183, respectively.

3.2.7. Adherence to Traditions

Both foreign groups seemed to adhere to the traditions and customs of their country of origin (understood as a complex of factors that includes, but is not limited, to food, holidays, religious observance, clothing, music, artistic products, etc) to the same degree (p=0.527): a strong attachment to such traditions was typical for 34% of Asians and 22% of Post-Soviets, with a further 40% and 42%, respectively, answering that they considered adherence to their traditions important "to some extent". The survey asked questions that specified exactly how important keeping up traditions was for the family but also for the respondent personally (see Table 19). Again, no significant differences appeared between the foreigners (p=0.578), but some divergence was recorded along generational lines: younger family members clearly thought traditions were less important than their older relatives did.

Table 19: Importance of Adhering to the Traditions of Parents' Country of Origin, by Citizenship

Importance of Traditions	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very important	5	11.4	4	12.1	9	11.7
Important	14	31.8	15	45.5	29	37.7
Indifferent	19	43.2	12	36.4	31	40.3
Unimportant	4	9.1	2	6.1	6	7.8
Totally Unimportant	2	4.5	0	0.0	2	2.6
Total	44	100.0	33	100.0	77	100.0

3.2.8. Participation in Civil Society Organisations

In general, all families mentioned in the survey, no matter whether Czech or foreign, showed a low level of participation in the host country's organizations, associations, interest groups, or similar entities: only 15% of Asians, 9% of Czechs, and 5% of Post-Soviets said they were active in such work.

3.2.9. Identity and Lifestyle

Interestingly, only very small percentages of respondents felt they were "identity-less" in the sense that they felt like they belonged nowhere and that they were neither Czech nor members of their parents' country of origin. Only 14% of Post-Soviets and 9% of Asians said they felt like this either "very often" or "often" (p=0.567). Many more (43% of Post-Soviets and 37% of Asians) said they never had such feelings.

At the same time, very few foreigners -- 16% of Post-Soviets and 9% of Asians -- identified strongly as Czechs (both groups answered similarly, p=0.214). A significant proportion of them also said that they perceived themselves as "not very" Czech (47% of Post-Soviets and 23% of Asians) but even more (52% of Post-Soviets and 56% of Asians) strongly felt that they were a member of their parents' country of origin. The issue of identification with a specific country was also raised by a sports-related question that asked which team would deserve respondents' support in a match between a Czech team and a team from the interviewee's country of origin. Replies showed that Post-Soviets were much more likely to support a team from their country of origin than Asians were (see Table 20).

Table 20: Responses to: "Who would you support in a sports match between the Czech Republic and your mother's country of Origin?" By Citizenship

Responses*	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	28	62.2	11	33.3	39	50.0
II	3	6.7	2	6.1	5	6.4
III	10	22.2	10	30.3	20	25.6
IV	1	2.2	8	24.2	9	11.5
V	3	6.7	2	6.1	5	6.4
Total	45	100.0	33	100.0	78	100.0

* *I: I would certainly support my mother's country of origin.*
II: I would probably support my mother's country of origin.
III: I would support my mother's country of origin one time and the Czech Republic the next.
IV: I would probably support the Czech Republic.
V: I would certainly support the Czech Republic.

Another possible indicator of immigrants' affiliation with a certain country over another could be the frequency with which they choose to watch Czech or foreign television channels (in their family's mother tongue). Answers showed significant differences between the two foreign groups (p=0.043): whereas 30% of Post-Soviet respondents said they "almost always" watched Czech television programmes, only 6% of Asians agreed[30].

Thus, it is obvious that the Post-Soviet respondents included in our sample had stronger ties to their culture (in the broadest sense of the word) than Asians. This attitude closely reflects the fact that the Post-Soviet population, unlike the Asian community, tends to consider its stay in the Czech Republic as probably "more provisional" than permanent; this may explain why they continue to cultivate a lively interest and to develop contacts with their countries of origin.

3.2.10. Discrimination

When asked whether they had ever felt any generalised hostility or animosity from Czechs, respondents from both foreign groups answered in a similar fashion (p=0.797) and tended to agree that the host population was, to varying degrees, hostile towards them (see Table 21).

Table 21: Perception of Hostility/ Animosity from Czechs, by Citizenship

Perception of Hostility	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No, not at all	12	30.8	8	24.2	20	27.8
Not really	7	17.9	8	24.2	15	20.8
Somewhat	10	25.6	8	24.2	18	25.0
Yes, to a degree	7	17.9	8	24.2	15	20.8
Yes, very much	3	7.7	1	3.0	4	5.6
Total	39	100.0	33	100.0	72	100.0

However, when respondents were asked whether they had ever personally experienced humiliation, injustice, or any kind of specific discrimination due to their foreignness, significant differences between the two groups did emerge (p=0.040): whereas only 9% of Asians claimed to have ever experienced any form of humiliation, as many as 23% of Post Soviets said they were the targets of discrimination; and while 14% of the Post-Soviet respondents in our sample felt severely discriminated against, no Asian claimed the same humiliation.

In order to gain a better insight into this particular aspect, interviewers asked a number of open-ended questions on the topic; respondents then recounted specific examples of where, how, and by whom they were discriminated. These stories show clearly that discrimination triggered by ethnic and/or racial factors (and mainly manifested through verbal insults) is a generalised problem in Czech society[31]. Most respondents said they were discriminated against at school, by their schoolmates (usually older pupils and often during the foreigner's first few months in the new school or class), but also, albeit exceptionally, by their teacher(s). Respondents also told of incidents of open, public discrimination in places such as streets, shops, public transport, and sports clubs. The general hostility that Czech society has demonstrated towards these foreigners reflects the findings of other studies, which also attest to the fact that Czechs perceive Vietnamese and former Soviet Union citizens as the most unpopular of immigrant groups (see more in Drbohlav, 2004).

3.2.11. Feelings of Self-Esteem and Depression Also included in the survey was a very simplified question on self-esteem and another on depression (both are based on a complex operationalization of adaptation measures – see, for example, Zhou, 2001). In neither case was there much of a difference between the answers given by two foreign groups (p=0.200, p=0.654). Overall, 87% of respondents either disagreed completely or somewhat disagreed with the sentence "I do not have much to be proud of". When asked about what concrete steps a respondent could take to build his/ her career in the future (the question referred primarily to whether the interviewee intended to attend and finish a university course), no significant differences were found between the two foreign groups (p=0.096): 86% of Post-Soviet and 63% of Asian respondents declared their intention to gain a university degree. On the other hand, significant differences did emerge among the three groups (p=0.009), for only 47% of Czechs stated similar intentions. Nonetheless, as many as 96% of Czechs, 95% of Post-Soviets, and 87% of Asians thought that they would be able to fulfil their goals by the time they are 30 years old (the difference among the groups was of p=0.320; between the two foreign groups, p= 0.263).

[30] It should be underscored that some factors affecting the outcome of this question cannot be controlled by the respondents: for example, it is much easier for Post-Soviets to access television programmes from their countries of origin than it is for people from Vietnam to access Vietnamese television. Unfortunately, it was impossible to separate these factors in carrying out the research.

[31] The problem of discrimination was also documented in respondents' answers to the following open-ended question: "What should be done to improve the lives of foreigners (including children) residing in the Czech Republic?"

With regard to the question on depression, the situation was not so unambiguous: among foreigners (the answers given by the two groups were aggregated), 41% of respondents stated they had "never" experienced strong feelings of anxiety (depression), 28% said they experienced it "rarely" (less than once a week), and 25% said they felt depressed "sometimes" (once or twice a week).

3.2.12. Perception of Social Status and Adaptation Respondents' perception of their family's wealth and social status compared to that of Czech families was almost identical among the two foreign groups in the survey (p=0.706) (see Table 22). The overall picture was very homogenous: 93% of all respondents categorised their families as either "rich" or "neither rich nor poor".

Table 22: Perception of Wealth Compared to Czech families, by Citizenship

Perception of Wealth	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very rich	0	0.0	3	7.1	1	3.0	4	3.3
Rich	11	23.9	11	26.2	7	21.2	29	24.0
Neither rich nor poor	34	73.9	27	64.3	23	69.7	84	69.4
Poor	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	3.0	2	1.7
Very poor	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	3.0	2	1.7
Total	46	100.0	42	100.0	33	100.0	121	100.0

As for how the economic situation of respondents' families changed over time (in other words, when asked whether their families have become more or less wealthy since their arrival), the overall picture was a positive one, with no significant differences (p=0.285). In fact, as many as 47% of Post Soviets and 61% of Asians said that their family's situation "has improved" and a further 24% of the former and 21% of the latter thought that it "has improved significantly".

Complex questions like "Are you generally satisfied with your involvement in Czech society?" and "Are you are generally satisfied with your life?" were also asked. In both cases, the two foreign groups answered positively (p=0.375, p=0.488) (see Tables 23 and 24). Furthermore, approximately 70% of Post Soviets and 80% of Asians declared that they were either "satisfied" or "very satisfied" -- clearly, there is a close correlation between foreigners' level of satisfaction with their involvement in Czech society and their level of satisfaction in their own lives.

Table 23: Level of Foreigners' Satisfaction With Their Involvement in Czech Society, by Citizenship

Level of Satisfaction	Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very satisfied	12	28.6	6	17.6	18	23.7
Satisfied	17	40.5	18	52.9	35	46.1
Not unsatisfied	9	21.4	9	26.5	18	23.7
Unsatisfied	1	2.4	1	2.9	2	2.6
Very unsatisfied	3	7.1	0	0.0	3	3.9
Total	42	100.0	34	100.0	76	100.0

Table 24: Level of General Satisfaction With One's Life, by Citizenship

Level of Satisfaction	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very satisfied	14	29.8	16	38.1	9	26.5	39	31.7
Satisfied	26	55.3	16	38.1	17	50.0	59	48.0
Not unsatisfied	6	12.8	9	21.4	7	20.6	22	17.9
Unsatisfied	1	2.1	1	2.4	0	0.0	2	1.6
Very unsatisfied	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.9	1	0.8
Total	47	100.0	42	100.0	34	100.0	123	100.0

3.2.13. The Future Table 25 documents where respondents said they would like to live at the age of 30. Opinions differed greatly both between all three groups (p=0.07) and between the two foreign groups (p=0.029). Despite the divergences, three main facts emerge from these findings: First, and as already stated above, the Asian population seems to be more firmly rooted in the adopted country than the Post-Soviet population (34% of Asians stated they would like to be in the Czech Republic when they are 30 years old, while only 23% of Post-Soviets expressed the same desire). Second, respondents tended to choose between one of three destinations: developed European countries, developed non-European countries (mainly the United States and Canada), or the respondents' country of origin. Three, Czech youth expressed a much greater desire for mobility compared with the older generation.

Table 25: Ideal Region of Residence at 30 Years of Age, by Citizenship

Ideal Region of Residence*	Czech		Post-Soviet		Vietnamese-Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	11	23.4	9	20.9	6	18.8	26	21.1
II	13	27.7	1	2.3	5	15.6	19	15.4
III	6	12.8	15	34.1	4	12.5	25	20.3
IV	8	17.0	14	31.8	8	25.0	30	24.4
V	9	19.1	5	11.4	9	28.1	23	18.7
Total	47	100.0	44	100.0	32	100.0	123	100.0

* *I - Where I am now*
II - Somewhere else in the Czech Republic
III - Somewhere in Europe, outside the Czech Republic
IV - Somewhere else in the world
V - I do not know

3.2.14. Conclusion

Although it was not possible to extend the survey to large numbers of respondents or to apply probability sampling methods that would have permitted "statistically significant" generalizations, the overall research and the results it generated were deemed worthy of interpretation. Moreover, they undoubtedly represent an important contribution to better understanding foreign youths' migration and adaptation processes in the Czech Republic.

Interestingly, the survey's results underscored that there are few differences between the experiences of Asian and Post-Soviet immigrants who came to the Czech Republic and settled in Prague between 1991 and 2001[32]. These two groups revealed similar perceptions and opinions, and any differences that do exist seem to stem from some cultural differences, and from the variety of pragmatic behaviour patterns and strategies applied by foreigners in arriving in the new country. All in all, both groups claimed to be quite satisfied with their lives and with the degree of their involvement in Czech society; moreover, most of them stated that their (and their families') situations have improved rather than deteriorated over time. Also important is the fact that no serious social problems were identified by the respondents. The fact that children in both foreign groups showed an ability to adjust quickly to new circumstances (and new school environments) is an additional measure of relative social ease. Of course, it helps that the parents support their children by establishing quite good contacts with schools and by placing a strong emphasis on education.

In seeking ways of facilitating their adaptation into Czech Republic, Post-Soviet immigrants clearly benefit from similarities between their mother tongue and Czech (since they all belong to the Slavic family of languages), as well as between the cultures of the two countries; on the other hand, Vietnamese immigrants can rely on the network established by compatriots who came to Czechoslovakia during the 1970s and 1980s (in the framework of so-called "international aid among socialist countries"). These generally favourable scenarios should not, however, belittle the barriers to integration represented by frequent encounters with Czech xenophobia and discrimination.

With specific regard to migration and adaptation processes, there were some important differences between the two foreign groups that should be highlighted. The most obvious is that the Post-Soviet population in our sample seemed to be far less firmly rooted in Czech society than its Asian counterpart. This fact is backed by many clues: for example, many more Post-Soviets posses visas that are valid for more than 90 days (instead of permanent residence permits); they tend to have smaller and more split/ incomplete family units; they travel more often to their country of origin; they identify more strongly with their country of origin; and tend to have an excellent command of their mother tongue more frequently than Asian immigrants do.

The survey also found out that neither foreign group shies away from socializing with Czechs and/ or other immigrants. However, such contacts have, so far, been rather superficial, as proven by the fact that they rarely lead to mutual assistance or cooperation. Moreover, Asians tend to hold their own community as a reference point marginally more than Post-Soviets.

With regards to immigrants' impact upon the host country, the results of the research pointed to the development of positive effects, especially in economic terms: while Post-Soviets enrich the Czech Republic and its labour market, in particular, with a very high level of human capital (mainly in terms of education), Asians have become well-known for their business activities and entrepreneurial drive. And while it is undoubtedly true that foreigners in the Czech Republic are very active on the employment front, it is also true that they are not very active in any kind of civil society or other kind of social organisation/ association. But, then again, nor is the average Czech citizen. This might have something to do with a common Communist heritage, which discredited all institutional bodies in the eyes of the people.

[32] Note that elected respondents were required to have been in the Czech Republic for at least three years.

3.3. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH: CORRELATE ANALYSIS

3.3.1. Main Findings

A correlate analysis (see Pearson's correlation coefficient) was done for two data sets of respondents: Post-Soviets and Asians. In this follow-up analysis, the variables L3[33] ("Are you generally satisfied with your involvement in Czech society?") and L4 ("Are you generally satisfied with your life?")[34] were juxtaposed with others with the aim of shedding some light on the conditionality of the adaptation process[35]. Pearson's correlation coefficient measures a linear association (L3 and L4 versus 35 variables). Tables 17 and 18 demonstrate the most significant associations (p= or <0.05).

Regarding the Post-Soviet group (Table 26), satisfaction with respondents' involvement in Czech society is associated with six variables. On a scale of decreasing importance, these are: 1) the small degree of mutual cooperation and help extended between respondents' families and other immigrants; 2) the small degree of humiliation/ discrimination felt by respondents; 3) the greater tendency to support Czech teams as opposed to teams from the respondents' country of origin in matches/ sports events; 4) the greater tendency towards extrovert behaviour; 5) the more pronounced perception of an improvement in family living standards over time and 6) the greater frequency of contacts with Czechs.

Post-Soviets' satisfaction with their own lives, on the other hand, is significantly tied to five variables -- as before, they are listed in decreasing order: 1) the greater frequency with which Czechs are mentioned as the respondents' best friends; 2) the greater tendency towards extrovert behaviour; 3) the closer the respondents' families; 4) the worse the knowledge of respondents' mother tongue; 5) the lesser frequency with which they watch television programmes in the respondents' mother tongue.

Interestingly, these findings go somewhat against the "mainstream model" that resulted from some of the descriptive analysis: instead of confirming Post-Soviet immigrants' distance from and shallow integration into Czech society, these statistics point to a general satisfaction with their situation in the new country and, at the same time, an attachment (not a refusal) of the culture of the country of origin. On the other hand, a more sophisticated correlation analysis shows us that Post-Soviet youths who are heavily involved in Czech society adopt classical assimilationist behaviour patterns: they reject close ties to their country of origin, choosing instead to adopt a Czech lifestyle (see the same patterns e.g. in Alba-Handl-Müller, 1998).

Table 26: Pearson Correlation Coefficients (R): L3 and L4 Versus Other Selected Variables. Post-Soviet Respondents (No.=45)

Variables	R *	Significance
L3		
G7	0.332	0.032
G10	-0.593	0.000
H6	-0.364	0.018
J2	-0.368	0.018
L2	0.336	0.032
Extrov	0.359	0.027
L4		
E3	-0.309	0.046
F7	0.346	0.027
G1	0.424	0.007
I3	-0.307	0.048
Extrov	0.424	0.008

* *Correlation is a technique for investigating the relationship between two quantitative, continuous variables. Pearson's correlation coefficient (R) is a measure of the strength of the association between the two variables. Positive correlation indicates that both variables increase or decrease together, whereas negative correlation indicates that as one variable increases, so the other decreases, and vice versa.*

Table 27: Pearson Correlation Coefficients (R): L3 and L4 Versus Other Selected Variables. Asian Respondents (No.=35)

Variables	R*	Significance
L3		
F3	0.358	0.038
G1	0.375	0.029
K2	0.373	0.033
M1	0.639	0.000
L4		
K2	0.350	0.046
M1	0.520	0.006

* *Correlation is a technique for investigating the relationship between two quantitative, continuous variables. Pearson's correlation coefficient (R) is a measure of the strength of the association between the two variables. Positive correlation indicates that both variables increase or decrease together, whereas negative correlation indicates that as one variable increases, so the other decreases, and vice versa.*

[33] The "variables" cited equate to the questions asked in the survey – see Annex.

[34] A significant relationship was ascertained between L3 and L4 variables. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that these have slightly different meanings: the first refers more specifically to adaptation while the second is both more complex and more general.

[35] For the purpose of multivariate analysis, all the (independent, explanatory) variables were recoded as "binary variables". For how they are connected, see the Annex and symbols 1 and 0.

Concerning the Asian data set, the results are different. The level of satisfaction that respondents feel with regard to their involvement in Czech society is significantly associated with four variables. In decreasing order of importance, these are: 1) the greater tendency towards atheism than towards religiosity; 2) the greater frequency with which Czechs are mentioned as respondents' best friends, 3) the lesser the feeling of depression; 4) the more spare time fathers devote to discussing personal problems with respondents.

The level of satisfaction with respondents' own lives is significantly tied to only two variables. In order of decreasing importance: 1) the greater tendency towards atheism than towards religiosity; and 2) the lesser the feeling of depression. Thus, it would seem that the Post-Soviet picture is more heterogeneous; with Asians, it is very clear that the religious factor plays a very important role in how satisfied respondents are with their adaptation into and with their general lifestyle in the Czech Republic. In particular, it appears that non-atheists are unhappy with both the level of their involvement in Czech society and with their lives in general. One simple explanation might be that Czech society does not offer them a sufficiently "spiritual" climate[36].

Regarding the two foreign groups, no relationship was found between the two variables and the sex of the respondent. Similarly, it was found that the involvement of respondents (in both groups) in Czech society and the satisfaction they felt with their lives did not depend on the length of respondents' stay in the Czech Republic or to the period in which they immigrated. (Table 27)

The above analysis proves a couple of important facts that may also be useful in the design of appropriate policies. First, that respondents' successful involvement in Czech society and the satisfaction they feel with their lives do, indeed, vary according to the ethnic background of the immigrants in question: in fact, while a variety of factors of crucial importance determine whether the adaptation process of Post-Soviet respondents is successful, altogether different factors affect the success of the process for Asian respondents. Second, these factors can be categorized into various "types": while factors connected to relationships[37] seem to be the most important, psychological, economic and identificational factors also play a part.

3.4. QUANTITATIVE SURVEY: FACTOR ANALYSIS

3.4.1. Main Findings

As with the correlate analysis discussed in the previous section, this approach was applied separately to both Post-Soviet and Asian respondents. Factor analysis, however, is a method that attempts to identify, in a more intricate and sophisticated way, the underlying factors capable of explaining the correlations between a set of observed variables. In fact, factor analysis reduces data and identifies a small number of factors that explain most of the variance observed in the input questionnaire dataset. Linkages between the 36 selected areas (the variables provide information on different facets of the lives and the adaptation process of respondents and their families) were examined. The examination focused on the areas of the questionnaire that were deemed most important by the respondents. In applying the principal component approach, three significant factors were extracted from each of the two subsets. The results revealed that in both subgroups, the 36 areas were condensed into three main components (see Tables 28 and 29) which, combined, explained more than 44% and 50% of the input data's total variation, for Post-Soviets and Asians respectively[38].

In the Post-Soviet case, the most important factor (Factor 1) is the one that gives the best description of the variation of the original 36 areas of life from the point of view of their significance, which amounts to more than 18% (see Table 28). Factors 2 and 3, on the other hand, show lesser degrees of variation (15% and 10% respectively). It should be noted that Factor 1 is mostly composed of variables reflecting "family relations and family behavioural patterns". It is also positively linked with respondents' general level of satisfaction with their lives (factor loading for L4=0.595) and their involvement in Czech society (factor loading for L3=0.400), which are the issues this research was primarily interested in. Hence, an analysis of the results given for Factor 1 indicates that relatively high levels of success are dependent on: strong family ties (F7), a weak tendency for respondents to adhere to the traditions of their parents' country of origin (G6), a weak tendency to watch television in the language of respondents' country of origin (I3), an evident improvement in the living standards of respondents' families over time (L2), a tendency for respondents' closest friends to be Czech (G1), respondents' belonging to a family with both parents present (C1), a high degree of contacts with Czechs (G7), and a lower reliance on mutual cooperation and help between respondents' families and other immigrants (G10). Importantly, the picture that results from this factor analysis fits perfectly with the one given by the correlation analysis.

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[36] The Czech Republic, for many years, been called an "atheist island" due to the exceptionally low level of religious sentiment in the general population; most Czechs who do believe are Roman Catholic.

[37] The word "relationships" is hereby understood in the broadest sense of the term: it includes both family relations as well as relations with other immigrants groups and the majority society, at all hierarchical levels.

[38] The conclusions reached may have somewhat limited validity due to the small number of analysed cases and difficulties with the sampling method. Further problems may have been caused by the wish to take into account a very wide mosaic of explanatory variables.

Table 28: Factor Analysis for 36 Areas of Life: Post-Soviet Respondents

Total Variance Explained			
Factors	**Initial Eigenvalues**		
	Total	**% of Variance**	**Cumulative %**
1	6.753	18.759	18.759
2	5.573	15.481	34.240
3	3.542	9.838	44.078
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis			

Rotated Component Matrix (Factor Loading)

	Factors		
	1	**2**	**3**
F7	**0.688**		
G6	**-0.685**		
I3	**-0.672**	0.377	
L2	**0.635**		0.486
G1	**0.605**		-0.319
C1	**0.603**		0.494
L4	**0.595**	0.255	-0.414
G7	**0.590**	-0.490	
G10	**-0.589**	-0.427	-0.471
H5	-0.576	0.412	
M1	-0.565		
H4	0.560		
H6	-0.543		0.477
C3	-0.511	0.292	-0.476
E4	-0.462	-0.339	0.442
D8	0.390	0.281	
G4	-0.373		
D7			
F3	0.286	**0.720**	
L3	0.400	**0.657**	
J2		**-0.656**	
C6	0.431	**-0.626**	
F6		**0.609**	
Extrov	0.350	**0.587**	
L1		**-0.564**	-0.334
E2		**-0.531**	
M1		0.521	0.289
J1		-0.471	
F12		0.447	
E1		-0.429	
H2	-0.313	0.403	-0.352
G8		-0.379	
K2			
E3			**0.821**
G9			**-0.540**
K1	-0.432		**0.539**

Table 29: Factor Analysis for 36 Areas of Life: Asian Respondents

Total Variance Explained			
Factors	**Initial Eigenvalues**		
	Total	**% of Variance**	**Cumulative %**
1	8.164	22.679	22.679
2	5.335	14.819	37.498
3	4.382	12.172	49.670
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis			

Rotated Component Matrix (Factor Loading)

	Factors		
	1	**2**	**3**
E4	**-0.810**		
E1	**0.756**		
F12	**0.743**		0.486
J2	**0.738**	-0.306	
K1	0.697		
G8	0.655		
E3	-0.650		0.445
G10	0.638	0.277	0.322
G9	0.638	0.277	0.322
L1	0.629	-0.300	
C6	0.629		-0.517
Extrov	0.590	-0.512	
F6	-0.584		
F3	-0.553	0.383	0.364
G1	0.528		-0.296
D7	0.500	0.301	
C1	0.434		
L4	-0.364	0.335	-0.333
K2		**0.831**	
I3		**-0.795**	0.401
L3		**0.720**	
G4		**-0.705**	
L2	0.344	-0.627	
E2	0.463	-0.551	-0.328
H2		0.531	
H4	0.420	0.473	0.298
C3		0.463	
H6	-0.254	0.294	
J1		-0.396	**-0.723**
F7			0.696
M1	0.405	0.367	-0.664
H5	0.257		0.576
D8	0.338		0.551
G7			0.347
N1			0.310
G6			

Concerning Asians, Factor 1 also gives the best description of the variation of the original 36 areas of life in terms of their significance; in this case, the variance amounts to over 22% (Table 29). And, as with the Post-Soviets, the other two factors explain much less variation (15% and 12% for Factors 2 and 3 respectively). Factor 1 is negatively linked with the following variables: degree of satisfaction with one's life (factor loading for L4= -0.364) and with one's involvement in Czech society (factor loading for L3= -0.052). Other variables also had a significant impact on the results; for example: a weak oral knowledge of the mother tongue (E4), a fairly good knowledge of written Czech (E1), relatively frequent visits to the country of origin of respondents' mothers (F12), and the fairly strong perception of being humiliated or discriminated against (J2).

Despite providing less information on variance, Factor 2 was also very important for the purposes of this study because it too shed light on respondents' degree of general satisfaction with their involvement in Czech society (factor loading for L3=0.720) and, albeit to a lesser extent, also with their lives (factor loading for L4=0.335); this time, however, "successful

adaptation" was shown to be accompanied by: a rather weak feeling of anxiety/ depression (K2), a weak tendency to watch television in the language of respondents' country of origin (I3), and a relatively weak tendency for respondents to adhere to the traditions of their parents' country of origin (G4). Overall, the results of this factor analysis confirmed those collected in the correlate analysis. As in the case of Post-Soviets, the successful adaptation of Asian respondents is reliant on the at least partial breaking down of exclusive ties with immigrants' own cultural heritage. This, however, is far from being a linear process (see variables in Factor 1).

3.5. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH: RECOMMENDATIONS

As all the analyses indicate, the degree of respondents' involvement in Czech society and of satisfaction with their lives varies according to ethnic background. Despite some common aspects, there are crucial factors that determine whether immigrants' adaptation is successful or not. Thus, although common goals and broad-based strategies should indeed be formulated, policies must take into account the different backgrounds and experiences of the various ethnic groups currently residing in the Czech Republic. Furthermore, policymakers should be aware of the different factors that come into play: while some of these factors are connected to interpersonal relationships (both at the family and community levels), other are more closely linked to psychological, economic, or identificational issues. Hence, it is crucial to recognize: 1) those factors that immigrants bring with them to the host country and that necessarily affect their behaviour from the very moment of their arrival; 2) those factors that develop at a later stage as a direct result of foreigners' adaptation process[39]. Moreover, it is important to identify which factors can be changed by policies (e.g. the degree to which foreigners participate in the social life of the host country); which are much more difficult to change (e.g., the broader, contextual ethnic environment in which children/ youths operate at the micro level); and which are not at all affected by public policy-making (e.g., certain individual psychological parameters).

Given the above caveats, the results of this study conducted in the Czech Republic with selected Post-Soviet and Asian respondents allows us to formulate the following recommendations, aimed at facilitating these immigrant groups' adaptation into Czech society:

1) Efforts should be made to combat discrimination (racism and xenophobia) throughout the country and at all hierarchical levels, through both preventive and punitive measures. The national education system should be adapted to include multicultural and/ or intercultural elements[40] with a view of teaching pupils/ students greater openness, thus better preparing them to confront an increasingly heterogeneous, globalised world. This means designing and distributing new textbooks and new educational tools, as well as supplying greater support to pedagogical staff (for example, by providing them with more seminars, preparatory courses, etc)[41]. Ideally, it would also be very useful to have at least one expert on multicultural issues in each school who could help solve adaptation problems and support foreign children's integration into schools and society; in this role, they could also teach classes on tolerance and respect for different ethnicities and cultures[42]. Such experts might also operate (as consultants, for example) within the broader public administration structure.

2) The families of foreign children and youths should be supported, for it has been shown that relatives (parents in particular, but not only) have the potential of playing a very significant role in facilitating students' adaptation in the Czech society. Such support could be extended to whole immigrant communities (see also below).

3) Foreigners should be assisted in obtaining a suitable placement on the Czech labour market. Post-Soviets, in particular, view a solid economic situation as a crucial component of their adaptation into the host society. As a related issue, foreigners' participation in public organisations, leisure groups, and sports clubs, for example, should be endorsed through targeted information, advertisements, "recruitment drives", and the like.

4) In respect for the religious diversity that foreign groups bring with them, more space and facilities should be given over to places of worship and religious congregation. While it is true that the study found that immigrants adapt better if they break away, at least to a degree, from their "old" traditions, it is also important to minimize friction between the host and the incoming society and not to provide ground for resentment and hostility on the basis of denied rights to freedom of creed and assembly.

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[39] For example, is depression a consequence of problematic relations between foreigners and the majority society, or is it tied to inborn personality traits that have nothing to do with immigration? Likewise: Are some relationships the result of reactions to new realities, or are they the result of deeply-rooted customs in certain immigrants' cultural milieu?

[40] Our results also documented that it is sometimes very difficult is to understand different cultures. For example, while the tendency to be an extrovert is, among Post-Soviets, a quality that leads to greater satisfaction with life and greater involvement in Czech society, this was not found to be true for the Asian sample. A possible explanation for this surprising outcome is that Czech teachers are not able to accurately assess how much of an extrovert of introvert a given Asian student actually is.

[41] "A study of the curricula of education systems and legislation or other official sources relating to education in European countries reveals that the aim of the intercultural approach embody three main dimensions, as follows: that of learning about cultural diversity, the international dimension and the European dimension" (see more in Integrating, 2004).

[42] Not specifically in relation to a multicultural education, there is a good practice, for example, in some of old EU member states, or, in the USA where even individual teachers may have their own "assistants" at their disposal.

3.5.1. Links to Concepts and Theories

Concerning the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that were utilised in conducting the research, several conclusions may be drawn:

1) Albeit somewhat sporadically, use was made of the theoretical integration framework developed by Heckmann (1999), which identifies four main areas of integration: structural, social, cultural, and identificational. In particular, the Post-Soviet and Asian samples seem to fall behind in terms of the latter two aspects; in fact, they do not seem to have made much "change in individual characteristics", nor to have developed strong " feelings of belonging and identification … towards the immigration society" (Heckmann, 1999). Moreover, it seems unlikely that Post-Soviets, in particular, will be able to make such changes in the foreseeable future.

2) Despite some problems faced by children of both foreign groups in adapting to Czech society, it is noticeable that they all tend to follow the segmented assimilation model, in other words a path of "growing acculturation and parallel integration into the middle-class of the majority society" (Portes-Zhou, 2000). Respondents' families seem to be doing well and, if the positive results gained at school by the respondents themselves are any indication, it is probable that the children will enter the Czech labour market in a similar or better position than their Czech counterparts. However, as a previous survey on adult Vietnamese immigrants into the Czech Republic has shown (Drbohlav and Ezzeddine-Luksikova et al., 2004), a third mode might even be preferable, one that "combines rapid economic advancement with the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and solidarity" (Portes-Zhou, 2000).

3) With regards to Berry's concept of acculturation options (Berry, 1992), it appears that both Post-Soviets and Asians generally "consider it valuable to maintain cultural identity and characteristics and, at the same time, to maintain relationships with other groups" (Berry, 1992). According to this assessment, the overall approach seems to be aimed at integration. On the other hand, this research shows that respondents who are very successful in getting involved in Czech society and who are also satisfied with their lives tend to apply a kind of 'assimilationist behavioural model', since they reject close ties to their mother culture whilst demonstrating strong allegiance to Czech people and society.

4) It has been clearly demonstrated that respondents do not socialize with the host society through institutions (i.e., their institutional involvement is marginal), nor do they use institutions as an instrument for intensifying communication among themselves.

3.6. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Partly-structured, open-ended interviews based on a questionnaire were carried out for the qualitative work; experts dealing with foreign children/youths' adaptation were targeted as respondents. Each interview contained three blocks of questions: the first dealt with the conceptual perception of how foreigners were integrating in the institution where the respondent was working; the second block of questions was about how foreigners actually integrated; and the last block gave respondents the space to give their subjective evaluation or perception of the situation of foreigners' children and adolescents. The balance between first two blocks depended on the position or specialisation of the respondent. The value of this interview was in its ability to outline fundamental points (or problems) of the integration of children and young foreigners in the Czech Republic, both in theory and in practice.

This part of the research included 15 respondents, nine of whom were staff members (teachers and managers) working in Prague schools with an above-average percentage of foreign pupils. Two of the respondents were Czech government employees: the first is head of the sub-department of the Integration of foreigners of the MLSA and the second respondent worked in the governmental structures as an officer of the MEYS and was responsible for the integration of foreigners. One of the respondents was a sociologist whose focus was the applied sociology in education of Vietnamese children, another was a Vietnamese student at the Czech University, and the last respondent was the head of the Vietnamese community's organisation in Prague.

Currently, the integration of young foreigners in the Czech Republic is perceived as a clear problem for education, especially in primary schools. Here, the specific problems of children and young foreigners are not distinguished from the problems experienced by all foreigners living in the Czech Republic. At secondary and tertiary schools, the problem is not so important simply because foreigners do not form a sizeable group at these levels (see the General Overview): not only are there few of them, but they tend to be scattered among a greater number of educational institutions[43]. Experts in the Vietnamese community were addressed due to the following reasons: Firstly, the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic has undergone a significant population increase; Secondly, Vietnamese is a language that is in no way similar to Czech -- in this respect, Russians, Ukrainians, and Slovaks (the other main immigrant groups) have a distinct advantage. The two representatives of the Czech Government brought supplementary information concerning the conceptual development in the integration of children of foreigners.

List of Participating Experts:

- MEYS representative, head of the Integration of Foreigners Unit (Expert No.1)
- MLSA representative, Integration of Foreigners Unit (Expert No.2)
- Mezi Skolami elementary school representative (Expert No.3)
- Meteorologicka elementary school representative (Expert No.4)
- Angelova elementary school, two representatives (Expert Nos.5 & 6)
- Vybiralova elementary school representative (Expert No.7)
- Generala Janouska elementary school representative (Expert No.8)
- Euroscola Letnany elementary school representative (Expert No.9)
- Ke Katerinkam elementary school representative (Expert No.10)
- Club Bambus organisation representative (Expert No.11)
- University student (Expert No.12)
- Applied sociologist (Expert No.13)
- Campanus elementary school representative (Expert No.14)
- Bronzova elementary school representative (Expert No.15)

The objective of conducting qualitative research on the integration of children and young foreigners was the identification of basic problems and of realistic solutions to overcome them.

3.6.1. Integrating Foreign Children: the Most Significant Problems

Almost all experts listed above considered children over 10 with little or no knowledge of the Czech language as the most problematic group. In contrast, teachers and school directors distinguished two groups of children who were "without problems": 1) Children who know Czech from having attended Czech nursery schools, and 2) Children who do not know the language but who started attending Czech schools from the first grade.

3.6.1.1. The Language Issue School headmasters and pedagogical staff agree that the greatest difficulties with language are experienced by children older than 10 with no previous exposure to the Czech language. The problem is most severe when the child's first language is not one of the Indo-European languages (in the Czech context, that would be mainly Vietnamese) and difficulties are compounded because these children often do not get the necessary practice at home.

Although it has been recognised that individual schools may implement different methods for dealing with the language barrier, the problem of which class to place the children is a persistent one. Most commonly, children with language problems are enrolled one year below their current educational level (Expert No.8). The advantage of this approach lies in the opportunities it gives children to integrate socially into a community of peers and in the fact that the children do not remain behind, thus prolonging their stay in primary school; the disadvantage of this approach is that it does not fully address the language barrier and that children continue to struggle with insufficient Czech-language skills. Some schools initially place new students who do not speak Czech in grade three (the essential year for learning Czech), and then place them in a higher class according to their individual abilities (Expert No.7). That approach deals with the language issue much better, but the advantage of incorporating the child into the school is lost.

A much rarer option consists of placing foreign children in a special class designed for individuals with learning and behavioural difficulties (Expert No.7), or in classes with a greater emphasis on foreign language education[44] (Experts No. 5 & 15). An even more exceptional option is that offered by certain schools through the provision of individual Czech language tutoring, financed with MEYS subsidies (see Section 2.3.1. Practical Examples). When available, these courses are provided by four teachers working with four groups of children, each composed of four to five pupils of a similar age; lessons usually take place after regular school hours, four times a week (Expert No.4).

3.6.1.2. Communicating with Parents Pedagogical workers and school headmasters have reported that they often meet with problems in communicating with parents, and that these sometimes display arrogance or exert pressure on the teaching staff. These conflicts may, possibly, be the result of cultural differences and/ or different perceptions of the function of education (Experts No.7 & 14). In conversations with school representatives, three approaches for solving this problem were presented:

1) The first approach relies on the mediation of one or more representatives of the relevant ethnic community and on the action of a pedagogical assistant who is also a member of the immigration community (Experts No.4, 5, 8, & 10).

[43] Except Slovaks in the Czech universities. That case is the specific effect of historical fact that Slovaks and Czechs were together in the Czechoslovak state, and similarity of their languages.

2) The second approach is the standard approach: it relies on parents' active involvement in school activities and on the constant insistence that the administrative procedures set out by the Czech educational system must be followed and respected (Expert No.3).

3) The community-based approach usually finds a place in all schools, although on an unstructured basis (it is only applied in a conscious manner in some primary schools that specialise in languages), and basically consists of involving all members of the local community in multicultural activities within school (Expert No.5).

3.6.1.3. Inconstant School Attendance Almost all primary school staff who were contacted for this study noticed a recurring, albeit not very common, phenomenon: the tendency of foreign pupils not to attend a single school for very long. Respondents cited this tendency as resulting from problems with the behaviour and education of foreign children, especially those from former Soviet countries (Russia, Ukraine, and Chechnya) (Experts No. 14, 7, & 3). The reason the parents usually give for taking children out of school is a return to the home country, but such statements become questionable when children are then seen close to their place of abode. Having taken their children out of one school, parents sometimes allow them to register in a different school, with the expectation that the situation will improve[45].

Headmasters and teachers try to prevent children from joining and leaving different schools through engaging in frequent and intensive communication with parents. Should parents decide to take the child out of the school anyway, and if teachers suspect that the child will only go to a different school, the only thing they can do is to contact their colleagues in other neighbourhood schools and pass their experience on to them; they may even suggest a strategy that might eventually lead to keeping the child in the new school and preventing further fluctuations (Experts No.14 & 3).

3.6.1.4. Gaps in the Educational System at the Regional Level The Czech educational system is such that it pushes teachers and school directors to look for support (in the form of informational material, text books, etc.) in regional education offices. However, since the implementation of integration policies is not a mandatory task for public administration employees at the regional-level, such support is not generally forthcoming. As a result, teachers and directors in schools (outside of the large cities of Prague and Brno) have severely criticised the lack of quality textbooks: they know that these books exist but that they are not being distributed, nor is their use in schools being promoted. In order to contrast such gaps in the educational system, the following solutions have been proposed:

1) The Department for the Integration of Foreigners at the MLSA asked the regional governments and municipalities for leading-edge commissions to be charged with the integration of foreigners (these were established in 2002[46]) and is preparing to issue instructions for representatives of local and regional self-government bodies concerning the application for funds in support foreigners' integration (Expert No.2).

2) The new Education Act is expected to include regional-level provisions regarding the integration of foreign children; as a result, regional bodies will be obliged to provide language classes to the children of EU member state citizens.

3) A specialist in the applied sociology of education has followed the tendency to institutionalise the education of foreign children "from the bottom up" in some of the Czech regions; in addition, he has said that the role of teachers involvement at the regional level should be promoted, for some of them are said to be acting as initiators in trying to establish preliminary course for foreign pupils (especially for Vietnamese children). Both teachers and school directors are feeling the lack of local institutional bodies dedicated to the methodical support of the MEYS (Expert No.13).

4) Some of the headmasters involved in this study asked for regional education offices to be responsible for coordinating the education of foreign children. For example, the director of a school in Prague with a high percentage of Vietnamese children suggested that regional bodies should identify schools able to provide targeted support and with experience in dealing with immigrants; these schools should then be recommended to foreign parents (Expert No.4).

3.6.1.5. Integrating Vietnamese Youth The Vietnamese community represents a specific group within the larger set of so-called third country (non-EU) citizens. Vietnamese immigrants' membership in this group means that there are additional problems faced by Vietnamese youth and children integrating into Czech society. Some specialists (Experts No.11 & 13) claim that the main problem lies in the temporary character of the daily economy of Vietnamese families living in the Czech Republic, for most of them are involved in the sundry trading of textile and consumer goods: since the Republic's accession to the European Union, labour laws have become stricter and thus made the present model of Vietnamese economy no longer

[44] These possibilities are especially popular with schools which have one of these education programmes at their disposal.
[45] According to one respondent, these children are in a great extent accepted by the Russian school by the Russian Embassy in Prague.
[46] Commissions were established in response to an initiative of the Ministry of the Interior, but their impact was neither consistent nor enduring, mainly because local and regional offices were clearly unwilling to participate in the implementation of the integration policy.

practicable because so many of the traded goods do not comply with EU standards (Report on Activity, 2004). In fact, the increasing harshness of regulations and the gradual criminalization of these kinds of activities may be driving some Vietnamese immigrants away from the Czech Republic and back to Vietnam or on to other countries (Expert No.12)[47]. At the same time, some members of the Vietnamese community seem to be adapting to changing realities: in fact, a trend has been noted whereby the Vietnamese are starting to open up small, family-owned Asian bistros (Expert No.12).

Also in relation to the world of work, it appears that many young and very young Vietnamese immigrants are actively involved in the daily economy of their family, which is considered a negative factor in terms of these youths' future integration into the Czech labour market (Expert No.7). Trading in kiosks, in fact, and selling second-class (often even counterfeit) goods is not viewed as a very efficient way of utilising knowledge gained in Czech schools.

In addition, experts have identified some social problems. For example, Vietnamese youth are not exempt from social pathogenic phenomena such as drug addiction, gambling, prostitution, and human trafficking (Report on Activity, 2004). Another phenomenon that is perceived as a problem is the rapid loss of knowledge of the mother tongue (Experts No.11, 4, & 13).[48] In other words, young Vietnamese are facing the difficult task of (consciously or subconsciously) choosing between several possible integration strategies.

3.6.2. Conclusions

There is no doubt that the successful integration of foreign children and adolescents in the education system requires all levels of public administration to cooperate and coordinate their actions. To date, some attempts have been made: for example, the structure of the Czech education system does allow for a partial implementation of national-level policies (such as those for the integration of foreigners) in primary and secondary schools. Moreover, these schools are usually harmonised by the municipalities, while the Regional Authorities function as coordinators. At the same time, pedagogical centres (MEYS agencies specialised in teachers' postgraduate education) work at the regional level, while the MEYS's political and legislative functions are limited to the state level.

A good deal of cooperation was also shown by the school teachers and headmasters who participated in this study: not only did they state their willingness to cooperate, they actually proved such readiness by organising appropriate activities (usually in response to a specific situation, but also based on a given school's experience)[49]. Thus, it is clear that different levels of administration can and sometimes do work in unison: greater efforts should be made to strengthen such cooperation so as to make the implementation of relevant policies all the more effective.

3.6.3. Recommendations

1) In addition to strengthening cooperation between different levels of administration, it would be beneficial to reinforce relations between schools (through their directors and teachers) and the parents of foreign students. School staff could also work on establishing contacts with representatives/ members of local ethnic organisations located near the schools.

2) It would also be extremely useful to bring together people who have experience with integration (e.g.: MEYS officials, teachers/ school directors from schools with a high proportion of foreign pupils, etc), and to encourage all kinds of schools to take part in discussions. Such a platform is needed because the implementation of integration strategies (and theories) has become visibly fragmented. Its main objectives should be to collect best practices, to harmonise and publicise them, and to thus improve the whole system; at the same time, adequate sources of information on these issues (such as web sites, new textbooks, periodicals, etc) should be created and widely distributed.

3) Keeping in mind the specific reality of the lives of many Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, official bodies (such as the relevant ministries) should pay greater attention to the current transformation of this group's economic activities. As already mentioned, their modus vivendi based on the sale of cheap goods on makeshift stands or in markets has had to change due to new EU regulations; clearly, this is a good moment for state and municipal authorities to step in and influence the reshaping of their traditional economic niche by, for example, informing them of alternatives.

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[47] Many families are considering returning to Vietnam (some have already done so) or leaving for other countries (former Yugoslavia, former Soviet Union, or the Near East) where the trade of textiles and other consumer goods is more profitable. These trends mainly affect children because they are often more integrated in Czech society than their parents.

[48] Sociologist Kocourek goes so far as to state that Vietnamese children purposely do not use Vietnamese when speaking among themselves, but that they prefer to use Czech (Expert No. 13).

[49] It should be noted that schools seldom find enough financial support to promote their activities, despite two exceptions in the subsidy procedure of the MEYS.

4. OVERALL SUMMARIZATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research on the adaptation processes of two groups of foreign children/ youths (45 Post-Soviets and 35 Asians[50] aged 10-18 who migrated to the Czech Republic between 1991 and 2001 -- the so-called "1.5 generation") brought several findings. First of all, there were not many significant differences between the two foreign groups and the Czech control group, whether concerning academic grades or perceptions and opinion related to their lives and the lives of their families. Second, both foreign groups claimed they were generally satisfied with their situation in the Czech Republic and most of them even stated that their family's status has improved since arrival. Third, most foreign respondents viewed their family as "rich" or "neither rich nor poor" compared to the average Czech family. Four, and most importantly, the survey did not identify any serious social problem at all. Finally, both foreign groups and the Czech control group demonstrated a very marginal involvement in institutional structures of any kind.

Overall, the surveyed foreigners proved that they were quickly able to adjust to new conditions and, in fact, both foreign groups seemed to socialize fairly well both with members of the Czech majority group and with other immigrants (although it is true that, to date, such contacts have been rather superficial). Despite the lack of serious social problems and a degree of multicultural interaction, however, it is abundantly clear that foreigners in the Czech Republic are struggling to overcome widespread xenophobia and discrimination in the majority society.

While it is true that there are many more similarities between the answers given by the Post-Soviet and Asian samples, there were also some differences. It is certainly worth noting that Post-Soviets seem to be less firmly rooted in the country than Asians; this relative "rootlessness" is shown in many ways: for example, their families are more often incomplete or divided, with some members residing in the Czech Republic and others in the country of origin. Another difference lies in the two groups' participation in the labour market: while Post-Soviets tend to make use of their high educational status within a rather wide spectrum of economic activities[51], Asians are well-known for their relative independence and entrepreneurial drive.

The findings of the study's quantitative (see above) and qualitative research (based on 15 interviews[52]) lead to the following policy recommendations. In order to improve foreign children and youths' adaptation into Czech schools and society, it would be useful to:

1) design specific sub-policies (sub-practices) aimed at the different immigrant groups/ ethnicities present in the Czech Republic;

2) combat discrimination, xenophobia and racism in the majority population;

3) launch a new type of a complex intercultural education system (this means, among other things, preparing new helpful textbooks and teaching aids as well as ensuring their effective distribution and utilization); when designing it, all levels of public administration should cooperate and coordinate their actions (importantly, relations between regional and local levels seems to be very significant);

4) systematically organise effective Czech-language courses for foreign children/ youths (again, with the help of a coordinated, cooperative effort from all levels of state administration);

5) show greater respect for the breadth and depth of foreigners' religious beliefs;

6) better support foreign families and promote the potentially crucial role they play in furthering their children's education (including, for example, by informing them about school "strategies", activities, and programmes);

7) make better and greater use of foreigners' human and cultural capital (this includes paying more attention to the current transformation of Vietnamese economic activities in the Czech Republic).

This study represents a first attempt (and functions, therefore, as a sort of introduction) to penetrating more deeply into foreign children/ youths' adaptation processes in Czech schools and society. Additional studies should be carried out soon and contribute to developing both theoretical and practical knowledge in the field. While it is true that few problems have arisen so far (see also Kalabova, 2003), some important shortcomings and deficiencies have been identified (Kalabova, 2003 and some of the results that have emerged from this study) and need to be confronted. A preventive strategy is undoubtedly much more effective than a remedial one; similarly, a pro-active approach is much more desirable than one that is merely reactive and that relies on emergency, ad-hoc measures.

[50] A control group of 47 Czech pupils also participated in the study.
[51] This is in contrast to many of their compatriots who circulate or stay only for a short time throughout the whole Czech Republic and are active mainly in manual auxiliary work (see e.g. Drbohlav, 1997).
[52] Based on 15 interviews with school teachers and managers, government employees, representatives of ethnic communities, and one representative of academic sphere – all specialists in the field of foreign children/youths' adaptation processes.

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ANNEX: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SELECTED FOREIGN CHILDREN AND YOUTH AT SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN PRAGUE

Prerequisites to qualifying:

1) Age: 10-15 (lower secondary school), 15-19 (higher secondary school), 19-28 (University);

2) Country of Citizenship: a) Vietnam, China; b) Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus; c) Western Europe (EU before 1 May 2004 plus Switzerland and Norway), United States, Canada;

3) A more or less an uninterrupted stay in the Czech Republic for at least 3 years.

Name of School (including address):
Tel.:
Class/grade:

Contact person (teacher, for example):
E-mail:

Name of Respondent: (only so that we may connect family members; this information will be deleted when processing the data):

Interviewer:
Date of interview:
Case Number:

I – CLASS-TEACHER, ADMINISTRATION OFFICE

A) EVALUATION: POTENTIAL AND RESULTS Academic year 2003/2004

Absenteeism (number of hours) in absolute terms and the most frequent reasons for it:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Use the Grading System Used in Czech Schools (1-5):

	Grades (1-5)
Health (1 = excellent, 5 = very bad)	
Mathematics	
Czech language	
Average grade	
Unique qualities/ abilities, talent (1= unique, 5 = completely not unique)	
Behaviour	
Intensity of contacts between parents and the school, parents' interest in their child(ren)'s work (1= very intense contacts, 5 = no contacts at all)	
Extrovert (1) versus introvert (5)	

II - RESPONDENT

B) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

B1) Sex

1) M
2) F

B2) Age (completed years) _____

B3) Where were you born (country)? _____

B4) Where was your mother born (country)? _____

B5) What is your mother's citizenship? _____

B6) Where was your father born (country)? _____

B7) What is your father's citizenship? _____

B8) What is your citizenship?

B9) What type of a residence permit do you have?

1) Permanent residence permit
2) Visa for a stay exceeding 90 days
3) Asylum seeker status
4) Refugee status
5) Other (please specify) _____

B10) If you were not born in the Czech Republic, when (year) did you immigrate? _____

B11) With whom did you come to the Czech Republic? (Please give details if you were not born in this country)

_____

C) FAMILY STRUCTURE AND HOUSING

C1) Who do you live with?

1 1) With both parents
0 2) With a father and a stepmother (or another woman)
3) With a mother and a stepfather (or another man)
4) Only with my father
5) Only with my mother
6) Alternately with a father and a mother (they are divorced or separated)
7) With another adult person
8) Other (please specify) _____

C2) Apart from your parents, who else lives in your apartment/house?

1) Brothers (own brothers, step-brothers), how many _____
2) Sisters (own sisters, step-sisters), how many _____
3) Grandmothers/ grandfathers, how many _____
4) Aunts and uncles, how many _____
5) Other relatives, how many _____
6) Other people, how many _____

C3) Altogether, how many people live with you? _____

C4) Do you live in an apartment/house that is owned by your family, or is it rented?

1) We own it
2) We rent it

C5) Do you have your own room in this apartment/house?

1) Yes
2) No

C6) Do you live _____

1 1) In a separated house for one family?
2) In a house for more families, where there are no other foreigners, besides you and your family?
0 3) In a house for more families, where several foreigners live, besides you and your family?
4) In a house for more families, where probably the same number of Czechs and foreigners live?
5) In a house for more families, where foreigners represent more than half of people who live there?
6) In a house for more families, where only foreigners live?

C7) Please estimate how many foreigners (number) live within a 5-minute walk of your home: _____

C8) Where do you live?

1) In Prague (name of neighbourhood and number of district): _____
2) Outside Prague (name of a municipality): _____

D) ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

D1) What is your father's highest academic qualification?

1) Elementary
2) Secondary school diploma
3) University degree
4) Ph.D. or other advanced degree