„Differenzverhältnisse" – Schriftenreihe des Centers for Migration, Education and Cultural Studies (CMC) an der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg

Herausgegeben wird die Reihe von Rudolf Leiprecht (diversitätsbewusste Sozialpädagogik), Martin Butler (Amerikanistik), Karen Ellwanger (Materielle Kultur) und Paul Mecheril (Migration und Bildung).

_____

Historische und gesellschaftliche Prozesse führen zur Herstellung von Unterschieden und Unterscheidungen, die in unterschiedlicher Weise macht- und bedeutungsvoll werden können. Dabei geht es auch um soziale Kategorisierungen und um soziale Gruppenkonstruktionen (etwa um Vorstellungen und Praxisformen zu sozialer Klasse/Schicht, Ethnie/Nation/Kultur, Geschlecht/Sexualität, Behinderung/Beeinträchtigung oder Generation/Alter), und meist sind die Einteilungen entlang solcher Unterschiede für die davon betroffenen Menschen mit Benachteiligungen und Einschränkungen bzw. – gewissermaßen auf der jeweils ‚anderen Seite' – mit Privilegien verbunden.

Die Beiträge der Schriftenreihe beziehen sich auf solche Differenzverhältnisse und thematisieren sie kritisch aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven: Texte aus den Erziehungs- und Bildungswissenschaften (z.B. Sozialpädagogik, Migrationspädagogik), den Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften (z.B. Anglistik/Amerikanistik, Germanistik/Deutsch als Zweitsprache, Materielle Kultur) oder den Sportwissenschaften, wobei interdisziplinäre Verbindungen und transdisziplinäre Überschreitungen vielfach vorkommen und sich als weiterführend erweisen.

Kiyoshi Ozawa

The Underrepresentation of Male Youth with a Migration Background in Higher Education in Germany

"Voices of Society"
vs.
"Voices of Youth"

Contents

Vorwort

Mit einiger Bewunderung habe ich über einige Jahre hinweg beobachtet, wie Kiyoshi Ozawa den schwierigen Weg in der Wissenschaft zwischen und mit unterschiedlichen lebensweltlichen und wissenschaftlichen Kontexten und mehreren Sprachen – japanisch, englisch und deutsch – gestaltete, wobei die alltägliche Sprachvarietät jeweils noch um fachwissenschaftliche Varietäten zu ergänzen waren. Ohne Zweifel: Er hat seinen Weg gefunden, Erhebliches dabei geleistet und für die Entwicklung von Theorie und Praxis einen überaus hilfreichen Beitrag geliefert.

Inhaltlich-thematisch befasst sich Kiyoshi Ozawa in der vorliegenden Arbeit mit der ungleichen Teilhabe im Bildungssystem von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund, sobald es um eine ‚höhere‘ formale Bildung geht. Dabei konzentriert er sich vor allem auf männliche Jugendliche.

Ausgehend von einem komplexen Ursachen- und Wirkungszusammenhang, mit dessen Berücksichtigung Kiyoshi Ozawa beansprucht, ‚Vorgaben‘ und ‚Voraussetzungen‘ für Beteiligung und Erfolg im System formaler Bildung auf struktureller, institutioneller, diskursiver und interaktiver Ebene im Blick zu behalten, wendet er sich vor allem den Interpretationen, Umgangsweisen, Bewältigungsformen, Reaktionen etc. von betroffenen Jugendlichen zu. Vor diesem Hintergrund formuliert er eine Reihe von Forschungsfragen, deren Ausgangspunkt die Frage nach den Vorstellungen und Haltungen (attitudes) von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund zu Männlichkeit und ihren Umgangsweisen damit (doing gender) im Kontext von Schule und Bildungserfolg bildet. Ein besonderes Forschungsinteresse liegt dabei in dem Aufspüren von Handlungsmöglichkeiten auch unter schwierigen Bedingungen.

Die organisierende Idee seiner Arbeit, „voices of society“ und „voices of youth“ als zwei Perspektiven vorzustellen, stützt sich auf eine Art ‚Rahmentheorie‘. Kiyoshi Ozawa bezieht sich hier auf das Theoriekonzept „Soziale Repräsentation“ von Serge Moscovici: Dieser Theoriefolie zufolge greifen Individuen bei eigenen ‚Weltsichten‘, Deutungsmustern, Interpretationen etc. auf Bilder und Vorstellungen zurück, die in Diskursen (z.B. in den Massen-

medien) repräsentiert sind, und sie interpretieren diese, wandeln sie ab, passen sie bereits vorhandenen eigenen Mustern an, korrigieren vorhandene Bilder u. U., etc.). Dabei gehen in die sozialen Repräsentationen oft auch wissenschaftliche Erklärungen von bedeutsamen Phänomenen ein, wenn auch meist in ‚übersetzter‘, ‚vereinfachter‘, ‚bildhafter‘ Form.

Dies gilt auch für die ‚Erkenntnisse‘ und ‚Ergebnisse‘ zu männlichen Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund und ihren Bildungserfolg bzw. für die entsprechenden ‚Erklärungsmuster‘. Liegen den ‚Ergebnissen‘, ‚Erkenntnissen‘ oder ‚Erklärungsmustern‘ quantitative Daten zum Beispiel zu Verhaltens- und Sichtweisen von Jugendlichen zugrunde, dann werden sie, so Kiyoshi Ozawa, in der Öffentlichkeit oft höher bewertet als solche, die auf qualitativen (verbalen) Daten beruhen, zudem scheinen sie medial einfacher darzustellen zu sein. Offenbar sind sie ‚machtvoller‘ und haben mehr ‚Wirkung‘. Gleichzeitig sind solche Repräsentationen allerdings meist *subjektferner* und laufen Gefahr, zu stereotypisierenden Zuschreibungen und Gruppenkonstruktionen beizutragen.

Kiyoshi Ozawa versucht deshalb, sich in kritischer Perspektive mit entsprechenden Forschungen, die in der Tradition quantitativer Einstellungsforschung operieren, auseinander zu setzen. Er bezeichnet diese als ‚voices of society‘, auch, da er vermutet, hier eher *vielfach sozial geteilte Sichtweisen* zu finden [und diese Sichtweisen in soziale Stereotype über männliche Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund münden und auf Seiten dieser Jugendlichen Bedrohungsgefühle auslösen können (stereotype threat)]. Gleichzeitig möchte er Jugendlichen eine Stimme geben, da diese oft kaum Zugang finden zu den sozialen Repräsentationen bzw. ihre Stimmen nicht ‚gehört‘ werden. Er greift dabei auf qualitative Methoden zurück und wertet sechs themenfokussierte Interviews mit männlichen Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund aus. Die Ergebnisse seiner Auswertung präsentiert er als ‚voices of youth‘.

Kiyoshi Ozawa sieht diese Gegenüberstellung als eine Art provozierende ‚Notlösung‘ [„a thought provoking and ‚exedient structure‘“ (S. 16)]. Er weist explizit darauf hin, dass er für beide Seiten weder Homogenität behauptet (er benutzt hier stets den Plural, außerdem fehlen im Englischen günstiger Weise die Artikel, die oft Vereinheitlichung suggerieren) noch die Ergebnisse seiner eigenen Interviewauswertung als ‚unverstellte‘ oder ‚authentische Stimme‘ von Jugendlichen sieht, da er selbst als Forscher erhebend, interpretierend und rekonstruierend mit dem ‚verbalen Datenmaterial‘ befasst war.

Zudem hat Kiyoshi Ozawa als Untersucher auf *beiden* Seiten bei der ‚Erzeugung' solcher ‚Stimmen' mitgewirkt und ‚kennt' gewissermaßen ihre jeweilige ‚Vielstimmigkeit', auch wenn diese von machtvollen Prozessen des ‚öffentlichen Hörens' durchzogen ist: Er war zwischen 2009 und 2011 als „scientific assistant" in das durch *Pro Niedersachsen* (Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur) geförderte Forschungsprojekt *Lebenssituation und Lebensgestaltung von männlichen Jugendlichen mit Migrationsgeschichte* des damaligen IBKM (Interdisziplinäres Zentrum für Bildung und Kommunikation in Migrationsprozessen) involviert und war hier bei der Erhebung und Auswertung quantitativer und qualitativer Daten beteiligt.

Im Vergleich der „voices of society" und „voices of youth" werden die Unterschiede der Forschungsmethoden in den immanenten Logiken, den Schlussfolgerungen zu den Ergebnissen bis hin zu den sprachlichen Stilmitteln überdeutlich. Im Vergleich zeigen sich allerdings auch ähnliche Ergebnisse. So wird beispielsweise übereinstimmend davon ausgegangen, dass ein Mehr an Diskriminierung und Bedrohung durch Stereotype nicht nur zu Gefühlen der Exklusion führt, sondern auch zu Misserfolgen bezüglich formaler Bildung. Gleichzeitig wird deutlich, dass durch das Bemühen qualitativer Methoden, individuelle Sinnzusammenhänge zu ermitteln und aufmerksam gegenüber Prozessen und Verläufen zu sein, das jeweilige ‚Außen' und ‚Innen' besser nachzuvollziehen und zu rekonstruieren und in seiner ‚Verschränkung' für das jeweilige Subjekt eher zu ‚entschlüsseln' ist. Die Ansatzpunkte für ein veränderndes Handeln können genauso wie die notwendigen Momente für Unterstützung hier eher sichtbar werden.

Insgesamt hatte sich die Untersuchung von Kiyoshi Ozawa und seine originelle und kreative Herangehensweise also gelohnt. Und lohnend ist auch die Lektüre des Textes, der daraus entstanden ist: Für Forscherinnen und Forscher, die über ihre Methoden reflektieren wollen genauso wie für Theoretikerinnen/Theoretiker zu und Praktiker/innen in (sozial-) pädagogischen Handlungsfeldern.

Rudolf Leiprecht
Oldenburg, im November 2015

Foreword

I have observed with great admiration over the years how Kiyoshi Ozawa has managed to maneuver along a difficult path between the different contexts of the scientific world and life environments using multiple languages: Japanese, English and German. He not only uses three languages but also masters the academic discourses. Without a doubt, he has found his way; he has accomplished great things and made a very helpful contribution to the further development of theory and practice.

The content and theoretical discourse of Ozawa's work deals with the unequal distribution of education, and in this case the focus is on the higher education of youth with migration background. More specifically, he focuses on male youth with migration background.

The starting point for his work is a complex cause-and-effect relationship, which is maintained as the basic premise and structure throughout his book. Ozawa seeks to identify the "requirements" and "preconditions" for participation and success in higher education. In doing so, he keeps a keen eye on the structural, institutional, discursive and interactive aspects of education and the system thereof, and puts an emphasis on the interpretations, handlings, behaviors, solutions and reactions of those youth who are involved. Based on this theoretical background, research questions are formulated that ask the youth for their ideas and attitudes on masculinity and 'doing gender' in the context of school and how these influence educational success. The main area of interest in his research is the possible steps that the youth can take within their range of capability to overcome difficult circumstances.

The organizing idea of his work is to introduce the two perspectives: "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth", which are then constructed on a theoretical frame. This frame is the theory of "Social representation" from Serge Moscovici, which explains that the individuals' world outlook, patterns of association, interpretations etc. are created and applied as guidelines by pictures and images that are represented in these discourses (e.g. mass media). Furthermore, the individuals interpret those pictures, modify them, adjust

them to their already acquainted views and in some cases correct their existing images. Those social representations are often derived from scientific explanations of meaningful phenomenon, however in many cases it is a simplified, "translated" "pictographic" form. This also applies to the findings and research results on male youth with migration background and their school success. Respectively, those findings, results and patterns of explanations are based on quantitative data that analyze the behavioral patterns and perceptions of youth, for example. Quantitative results, according to Ozawa, are more valued by the public than those results based on qualitative (verbal interview) data and they seem easier to present as well. Apparently they are more powerful and have more effect. At the same time, those representations are more distanced to "subjectivity" and run the risk of feeding stereotypes about groups.

Therefore, Ozawa presents a critical perspective on the results that are in the tradition of quantitative research that investigate the attitudes of youth. He names this part "Voices of Society" and assumes not one but various socially shared perspectives [and those perspectives become stereotypes of male youth with migration background which turn into threats that the youth could feel (stereotype threat)]. At the same time, he wants to give the youth a voice since their opinions are barely present in the social representations, and as a result their voices are not heard. Thus, he uses qualitative methods and analyses six theme-focused interviews with male youth with migration background and gives them a voice. The results are then presented as "Voices of Youth".

Ozawa describes this contrasting juxtaposition as a provocative compromise ["a thought provoking and "expedient structure""(p.16)]. He explicitly points out that he does not claim homogeneity and always uses the plural form of voice to avoid the definite article which might create it. He also does not claim that the results of his interview analysis and interpretation is an 'undisguised' or 'authentic voice' of the youth, since he himself was involved in collecting the data, interpreting it and reconstructing the 'verbal data' as a researcher. Furthermore, Ozawa was involved as a researcher and thus was on *both* sides of the 'production' of those 'voices' and knows in a way the diversity of voices even though these voices are influenced by the powerful forces of public opinion. He was involved in the research project: *Lebenssituation und Lebensgestaltung von männlichen Jugendlichen mit Migrationsgeschichte,* conducted by the former IBKM (Interdisziplinäres Zentrum

für Bildung und Kommunikation in Migrationsprozessen) funded by *Pro Niedersachsen* (Niedersächsisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kultur) from 2009 to 2011 as a scientific assistant and collected and analyzed quantitative and qualitative data.

The comparison of "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" clarifies the differences in the research methods, immanent logic, argumentation for the results and the language forms/styles that are used. However, there are also similar findings in this comparison. For example, one consensus is that discrimination and threat through stereotypes leads not only to feelings of exclusion but also to failure in the educational field. At the same time, it becomes clear that efforts to identify individual contexts and causalities and paying attention to processes and developments, in other words the efforts in qualitative methods, help to understand and reconstruct the 'outside' and 'inside' and 'decrypt' the 'entanglement' of the particular subject. In this way the starting points for a change in behavior as well as the right moment for support become more visible.

Overall, Kiyoshi Ozawa's research and original and creative approach were worthwhile. They are also useful for researchers that would like to reflect on their methods, as well as for theorists and practitioners in the field of social education.

Rudolf Leiprecht
Oldenburg, im November 2015

1 Introduction

Due to an increasingly global world, which brings with it frequent migration movements and the settling in immigration societies – such as in Germany, integration strategies are becoming ever more important. Moreover, recent discussions on integration have shifted towards the education and integration of second and third generation immigrants, often with a focus on school performance. The consistent lower school performance of students with a migration background [1] in the German school system has been documented by various studies (cf. Autorengruppe Bildungsbericht 2008; Flam 2009). The PISA and TIMSS studies have ascertained that students from migration background families achieve lower results in school and are disadvantaged in school (2004; Flam 2009). On a higher than average basis, students with a migration background repeat a year and are over-represented at the 'lower' secondary schools (Hauptschule) and special needs schools [2] (Sonderschule) (Kornmann 1999: 106–109). Furthermore, it is exceptional for migration background students to be recommended to the 'higher' secondary school type (called Gymnasium) (cf. Diefenbach 2004: 21ff.). To make the matter more complicated, other studies show that girls and female adolescents (with or without a migration background) perform better at school than males (cf. Boos-Nünning & Karakaşoğlu 2005; Budde 2008). Correspondingly, males are underrepresented at Gymnasiums. These findings make it necessary to question the reasons for the unequal distribution of education and the lower performance, in general, of male youth with a migration background in Germany. The studies and researchers mentioned above acknowledge institutional and structural discrimination as one reason for the lower performance, and this research and dissertation fully acknowledges the massive and hardened structure of education that creates such an unequal distribution of education.

---

1   The term 'migration background' is used in Germany for people who are immigrants or descendents of immigrants. The term foreigner is avoided since many of the persons with a migrant background hold a German citizenship and are Germans.

2   Special needs schools are for mentally or physically handicapped students, and for those who are retarded in their social, emotional development and learning.

However, the focus of this research is male migrant youth, their life situation within those circumstances and how they deal with it.

1.1 Main objective of research

The main objective of this research is to identify the actions that male youth with a migration background can take to change the unequal distribution of education within the range of capabilities and their situation. The receiving society recommends many 'actions' to achieve better school results, however many of them do not consider the circumstances and the range of actions of the male youth with a migration background. To identify the actions that migrant youth can take, it is necessary to understand why 'male youth with a migration background' (will be often abbreviated as 'migrant youth') are under-represented at higher education.

Factors pertaining to a particular school (includes teachers, etc.), the education system in general, government or the society at large could be some of the causes for the low participation of male migrant youth at higher educational institutions. There are many indications and even evidence that the school system in Germany produces a form of institutional discrimination in this regard (cf. Gomolla 2005; Flam 2009). Many migrant youth are concerned about this inequality (some even say oppression), but their opinions are often not heard. Therefore, this research focuses on the male migrant youth and tries to give them a voice. However, this research is not trying to place blame or 'search' the causes of lower performance by male migrant youth. As mentioned earlier, institutional discrimination and the fact that it plays a major role in inequality is acknowledged, but the premise is that both 'sides', the school system and the male migrant youth, are contributing to and constructing the inequality. Furthermore, the interrelatedness of the school system, male migrant students and the performance of the students is very complex, and there is no single cause or person/system to blame.

The emphasis of this study is to 'find' solutions that can be enacted by male migrant youth, because a change of the circumstances (e.g. school system), should start with the activity of the students, starting with a change within the individual. A change in the attitude and lifestyle of migrant youth can greatly influence how they perceive society and their migration background. This in turn often triggers a change in the behavior of the youth, such as how they deal with the school environment and family situation, and can eventually

lead to a better school performance. In other words, the attitude of migrant youth towards society and school can influence their future. The attitudes of being a 'migrant' (migration background) and of male (masculinity) are thoroughly explored in this study. One´s migration background can influence values and future perspectives that have an impact on their decisions. The concept and practice of masculinity and how schools react to it is interesting to investigate since male migrant youth are less represented than female youth with a migration background at higher education. Therefore, the two main aspects that are investigated are the masculinity and migration background of male migrant youth. Furthermore, events or circumstances in their lives that influenced their 'migrant attitude' and 'masculinity attitude' will also be investigated. Reflecting upon and considering these aspects is very important because understanding the situation better helps to finally develop an effective action that can be taken by the male migrant youth.

Two sub-objectives will be investigated to help find possible actions that can be taken by the migrant youth:

The first sub-objective is to identify what structures or problems in their lives (unique to migrant youth) hinder them to challenge a higher educational degree. It is an attempt to identify any 'outside' factors that affect the youth's decision making that leads to the abandonment of attaining upper-level education and to lower performance. Outside factors/the environment (discrimination, isolation, family separation, etc.) and the relationship with attitudes of male migrant youth are identified to get a better understanding of how they feel about inequality or discrimination and how they deal with it. It will also provide insights on the attitude of male migrant youth and how they view their own position in society, their migration background and cultural belonging.

The second sub-objective is to identify the effects of masculinity of male migrant youth on school performance, and how their ideal of masculinity leads to ambivalent behavior that is triggered by seeking respect from peer group members or teachers, which subsequently sometimes leads to self-destructive behavior (cf. Frosh et al. 2002).

The two sub-objectives will try to identify the events in life that enforce 'migrant attitude' and 'migrant masculinity' that lead to lower performance at school and eventually to giving up on higher education. After identifying these events and causes for lower performance, coping strategies and actions

that can provide solutions that are suited for migrant youth will be introduced and developed. Part of the solution is to identify those factors, events and persons that can support the male migrant youth to perform well in the school system.

The main focus and purpose of the two sub-objectives is to inspire and give new ideas for counter actions that can be taken to raise the motivation of the youth and ultimately lead to better performance.

This research will try to achieve these objectives by answering the following questions:

- What actions (within the range of possibilities) can be taken by the migrant youth to change the underrepresentation of male migrant youth at higher education?
- How do 'migrant masculinity' and 'migrant attitude' influence school performance and decision making regarding their own future?
- What are the factors that influence/create 'migrant masculinity' and 'migrant attitude' and what limits the range of actions that can be taken by male youth with a migration background?
- How much do the circumstances (receiving society, school system, discrimination) influence values, perceptions, decisions and attitude of the migrant youth, and how do they deal with the circumstances?

By answering these questions, this dissertation shall try to see the resistance or adopting strategies concerning institutional discrimination to identify ways of encouragement and action, which can lead to empowerment of male youth with migration background and ultimately to fully revealing their potential.

1.2 Structure of the paper

This paper is divided into four main parts:
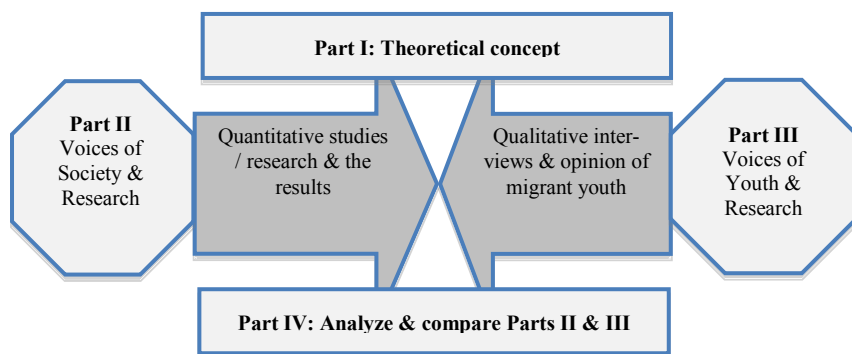
Part I 'Theoretical concept' introduces various theories that try to explain the underrepresentation of migrant youth at higher education. Furthermore, different perspectives on this discourse and different approaches to deal with the situation are presented. This part will give an overview of the problematic situation that the migrant youth have to deal with.

Part II 'Voices of Society and Research' deals with the current state of research by presenting the current theories on masculinity and migration background and the effects on school performance. Furthermore, three re-search papers on youth that deal with migration, masculinity and school performance will be presented, and I was involved in one of the three researches conducted by IBKM[3] as a scientific assistant. The aim of Part II is to clarify the current debate and opinions that are prevalent in society.

Part III 'Voices of Youth' presents the opinions and perceptions of male migrant youth in Germany by using qualitative research consisting of interviews. In addition, unclear aspects in the quantitative research will be investigated in the qualitative section. The qualitative interviews were also conducted by IBKM and I was involved in these interviews as well. This indi-

---

3   IBKM is an abbreviation of: Interdisciplinary Center of Education and Communication in Migratory Processes.

vidual and additional research section was conducted in a narrative form to identify their understanding of belonging, masculinity, family, school and environment that they are put in. It presents an introduction on their perceptions of their life situations. Narrative style is well suited to investigate the current topics that youth are interested in an explorative way. It is a portrait-interview with six youth, who have migration background. This interview will narrow down the focus from their general life situations to their individual school settings. It will give a detailed explanation of the school situation and their perceptions on their future and themselves in society. Furthermore, problem-centered, in-depth interviews were conducted dealing with their aspirations for higher education. These interviews were recorded, transcribed and thoroughly analyzed. In addition to the quantitative interview, the in-depth interview helps provide a better picture of the data raised and a better understanding of migrant youth. This concludes Part III: 'Voices of Youth' of my research.

Part IV reflects on the results of Parts II and III. It is a comparison between the second part and the third part, between the results of the quantitative study and the qualitative study and a comparison of the 'common' opinions and the opinions of migrant youth. In the analysis, both research results will be examined. Contradicting and conforming points will be analyzed there.

1.3 Theoretical background and internal logical structure

My dissertation has a very unique structure since "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" are put in opposition to one another, which might create a picture that "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" are contradictory. However, the purpose of this structure is to give those people in society who are marginalized and not 'heard' and recognized a "Voice". Therefore, the method of comparing and putting two "Voices" in opposition was chosen to emphasize the "Voices" of the marginalized.

This dissertation deals with male youth with migration background. Generally speaking, such children and youth are still in a developmental stage and also have to deal with the question of how to integrate into society. One noticeable aspect in this process of integrating and taking part in society is that certain socially constructed 'groups' associated with class, ethnicity, culture and gender are marginalized. Those marginalized youth are restricted in their future perspective and life. In Germany, those marginalized youth are, on

average, male youth with certain migration backgrounds. For instance, youth whose parents emigrated from Turkey, Albania, the Middle East or eastern European countries. Therefore, these particular youth who are still in the process of developing and 'integrating' encounter the headwinds of segregation, disadvantage and marginalization.

It is also worth noting that dominant representations of those youth in the media and public are associated and fixed with characteristics such as: 'deficit', 'dangerous', 'macho' and many other negative images. There is a dominant and biased perception. The studies by KFN (Kriminologisches Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen e.V.) and IKG (Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung), which will be introduced in this dissertation, are examples of creating a biased perception. However, the youth concerned are barely heard or represented. In addition, those representations by the media somehow give the feeling that "it is their fault that they are in this situation" and legitimize biased actions such as segregation.

My paper will also deal with the aspect of biased representation of the youth in the media. Thus, the internal logical structure of this paper, which is to confront "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth", is applied. The theoretical background and reason for this unique structure is the concept of social representation. Leiprecht argues that this concept focuses on the content and meaning of information and deals with the 'interpreted meaning' of information and its impact on a social level. It is a theory of constructivism and deals with how knowledge is constructed and conditionalized. Therefore, the meaning of issues, actual situations, happenings, objects, groups or behaviors is not acknowledged as it is, but has various ways of interpretations, perspectives and understanding. People realize through constructions that are formed from common representations and deal with those issues, actual situations and so on (Leiprecht 2001:8). Moscovici, who is the founder of this concept, argues that social representation is not only in the thoughts and ideas of individuals, but also 'in the world outside', for example, in newspapers, laws, school textbooks, on TV and so on (Moscovici 1988: 214). These various media spread and construct social representation. Therefore, the dominant pictures in the media that are presented in public on youth with migration background are an element of social representation.

It is then noticeable and sometimes even remarkable that social representations of specific youth are often backed up with scientific research results. Especially quantitative research results are more often cited by the media.

Apparently, this method of scientific research is allegedly believed to be objective and representative. Statements based on quantitative data seem more reliable and seem to have more validity compared to qualitative research. Therefore, quantitative research results have a better standing and are more valued by the media. Furthermore, the formats in which quantitative research results are presented, such as "X% are this or that" or "the majority is 'this' way", are well suited and very convenient for short articles and news headlines. Therefore, it is easier to present and apply quantitative results in the field of media work. Unfortunately, those very simplified representations that depict the situation based on numerical results can provide a misleadingly logical pattern of situations and causality patterns, which can readily create stereotypes. This stereotype often hinders the migrant youth to act as free as they would like to, and creates some kind of mental frame that is created in the minds of the youth. Furthermore, those pictures created by quantitative research methods are quite far from the subject[4] and can also be different from the individual realities.

Although the media prefers to use quantitative research results, the results are not necessarily presented to the public in their entirety. Often times, the results of quantitative results on social matters and attitude are only a selection of the whole, and the statements of the researchers are adjusted to suit the current dominant public opinion presented in the media. Therefore, it is a question of what exactly is received and heard, and what is heard is selected with certain criteria, such as the content and message of certain quantitative research result. An example of this is the research by Leiprecht and Lagerfeldt, in which only a small part of the quantitative research results depict the male migrant youth as prejudicial towards homosexuality (Leiprecht/Lagerfeldt 2014). However, that result 'suits' the dominant public opinion and therefore is presented with more emphasis by the media.

The theory by Holzkamp on "subjective possibility-room" is another theoretical background that supports the structure of my dissertation. This theory will be explained thoroughly in chapter 7, but the summary is that it explains the possible actions of the migrant youth against social representations that frame and limit the actions of the youth. Holzkamp argues that subjects (youth)

---

4   The word "subject" in English can be misunderstood in many ways such as "the object", but in this dissertation it is close to the meaning of "the individual". See also the explanation of "subject" in chapter 7.

think and act within this frame or "possibility-room", but everything outside this room is not within their range of thinking or acting. However, the "possibility-room" is expandable, which means that the range of thinking and acting expands and there is a possibility to think and act also outside the frame. Therefore, the theory of the expandable "possibility-room" gives chances for the youth to break through the frame, which is constructed by social representation. The internal logical structure of this dissertation is that the theory of social representation depicts the 'frame' and limitation of the migrant youth and the theory of "possibility-room" shows the possible actions against this frame. Based on this idea and theoretical background, the structure "Voices of Society" vs. "Voices of Youth" is created.

The migrant youth are qualitatively interviewed to explore the possible actions and already practiced methods of expanding the room or break through this frame. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research is closer to the subject[5] and the results are often presented in complex sentences and explanations of processes, developments and constellations. Ideally, the research results and the cases described can be seen as suggestions and can be applied to some other cases, but the person concerned, who faces similar situations should decide if it is applicable to themselves or not. Qualitative results are mainly individual cases and should be thoroughly considered before making any general statements or extrapolations, since they clearly do not have full applicability to other cases. A generalization according to frequencies or statistical numbers is not the aim or function of qualitative research, but rather solutions on an individual level. However, even individual cases or so called 'typical cases' in qualitative methods can lead to stereotyping through simplified descriptions or generalizations based on one case.

In my dissertation, I would like to present the quantitative results of social matters and attitudes as the "Voices of Society". This attribution is well suited for society since quantitative research is rather far from individual situation and the subject, and often leads to generalizations. Furthermore, it easily becomes a social representation and develops into simplified and stereotyped pictures and images. Nevertheless, it is clear that quantitative research in itself is by no means a homogeneous or uniform "Voice", nor does it reach the media or public with a single uniform message. Quantitative results have complex research results and have many messages, but once it reaches the

---

5   See footnotes Nr. 4.

media, it is confronted with the dominant pictures and images that are in the foreground. As a counter balance to this, I would like to present the qualitative research results of social matters and attitudes as the "Voices of Youth". This attribution is also well suited, since qualitative research is rather close to individual situations and the subject, and those individual cases can be imposed on other individuals, so the forms of generalizations are on an individual level.

This structure of "Voices of Society" versus "Voices of Youth" is a thought provoking and 'expedient structure'. However, I do acknowledge that this 'expedient structure' and opposing two "Voices" can be misunderstood in a way that youth are seen as subjects outside of society or not part of society, which of course is not the case, nor is it my intention to claim it. The characteristics of human beings are the interrelatedness to society and the bonds that are made within their living conditions. The youth are no exception, and are interwoven with the society on an essential level. However, in practical daily life, there are processes in society (with historical and geographical influences) where some people and certain youth are marginalized. The result is that those people have fewer opportunities for their future, less access to important commodities and restricted participation in current discourses.

I am also aware that this 'expedient structure' could leave the impression that two homogeneous voices are put in opposition to one another because it is presented in a dichotomized structure. But this is not the case. The aim is to avoid dichotomizing by pointing out tendencies and situations in "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" that contradict with the dominant pictures and show different/deviant patterns and behaviors. There are many different opinions within the "Voices of youth" and "Voices of Society", thus there is no homogeneous or consistent "Voice". This is one reason, why the plural form of "Voice" "Voices" is used in "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth".

To conclude, I would like to point out that with both quantitative and qualitative research methods, researchers are always working with interpretations of data and results, and my research dissertation is no exception to this. Therefore, I will attempt to clarify the reasons for certain subjective interpretations that I make so that my presentation and arguments are documented, traceable, verifiable and plausible as much as possible.

Part I – Theoretical concept

The purpose of "Part I" is to acquaint with existing theoretical concepts on educational inequality to give an insight into the current discourse and an overview of different approaches that explore the unequal distribution of education. Current problems of the migrant youth are presented, and different theoretical concepts that developed from international studies on masculinity, migration, language, social capital and discrimination are introduced. The concept of hegemonic masculinity by Connell, the idea of monolingual habitus by Gogolin and theories on social capital by Bourdieu and Coleman are depicted, which will give some explanations on the lower performance of male youth with migration background at school. Many approaches and theories are introduced that give insights on the discourse and those diverse theoretical concepts help to obtain an overview of the discourse and situation.

All those theoretical concepts provide suggestions on why educational inequality occurs, but it can also create stereotypes, which might cause anxiety in a person and become a pressure for the migrant youth. At the end the theory of stereotype threat is stated as summary of "Part I" to explain the effects of stereotypes on the performance of individuals. This theory claims that a person will tend to underperform in a manner consistent with the stereotype, when this person is confronted with his own negative stereotype. Furthermore, intervention methods of stereotype threats are also introduced. Based on those various theoretical concepts and understanding, further analysis will be conducted in "Part II" the quantitative study and "Part III" the qualitative study.

2   Current 'problems' of migrant youth

2.1   Perspective of society and studies

The discourse on migration and education is heated and many opinions on the solution of educational equality for migrant youth exist. One perspective looks at which actors (students, families and teachers) or organizations/institutions (schools, pre-schools, school districts and ministries) are responsible for lower school performance. Often the school gives away the responsibility to the students, their families and/or 'blames' their cultural or socio-economic background. This perspective often argues that lacking German language competence is the cause for lower performance (Esser 2006). The argumentation is that schools realize meritocracy, i.e. valuing the performance of students along neutral criteria and supporting each student in an adequate way. In this argumentation bad school performance is the responsibility of the students and/or their families, and the school is just an organization offering fair chances. However, this argumentation is criticized as not giving enough support to the students, because schools do not try to systematically change and equalize the deficits of lower performing students with migration background. In this perspective, the weak performance of migrant youth is no coincidence, but a socially produced problem. Furthermore, arguments that 'migrant specific' masculinity causes rebellious attitudes and disrespect towards female teachers and subsequently causes lower performance also takes the approach of 'blaming' the migrant youth. These perspectives represent one major approach, which searches for the reasons for lower performance of migrant youth and their families.

A contradictory or additive perspective argues that no factor creates bad school performance on its own, but it has to be introduced, interpreted and performed by the actors in a certain manner to make it meaningful. In simple terms, the other approach to explain the unequal school performance is the assumption of discrimination (Gomolla & Radtke 2002). Who creates and influences the school performances of the students? Moreover, the question is how the school system reacts to certain differences of abilities. Does the

school system try to minimize deficits of the students or does it ignore them? Several studies (Weber 2003; Gomolla 2005; Binder 2004; Sauter 2007) in Britain and Germany show that two distinct principles of making differences lead to discrimination (see Mecheril 2004). The two principles are discrimination through equal treatment and through unequal treatment. One kind of discrimination is realized when all students have the same content and method in the classroom without considering differences in language skills, learning abilities, personal interests and social differences. Discrimination is realized when the same criteria of evaluation and evaluation standards are practiced without considering those aspects. Discrimination can be defined as the result of processes in which different groups of students are not supported in an adequate way to get good school grades (Macpherson Report 1999). Another method of discrimination is when students are seen from an ethnic, cultural or class-deficit perspective, and are not estimated and promoted as equally as 'German students'. Teachers do undervalue the migrant youths' abilities and the teachers are structurally not made responsible for the compensation of students' low performances. In this context, special classes or specific schools (Förderschulen[6]) can be recommended to the migrant youth. In addition, those students are still perceived negatively in society and experience obstacles in gaining access to higher education (Liebig 2009). These perspectives 'blame' the society at large for the lower performance of migrant youth. Although this perspective plays an important role in lower performance, it will not be thoroughly discussed in this paper. The main subject of study is the migrant youth themselves with a strong focus on their migration background and masculinity.

2.2   Masculinity and lower performance

In recent years, the number of female students at universities has outnumbered male students in Germany. Discussions attempting to clarify this phenomenon start from assumptions of superior female intelligence and end with 'recent' changes in the labor market and social structures which favor females. One aspect that is discussed in this paper is the idea of masculinity and masculine identity, and that it is not compatible with good school performance or that it distracts learning. Many researchers draw attention to the

---

6   Förderschulen is a school catering for students who have special educational needs due to severe learning difficulties, physical disabilities or behavioral problems.

contemporary forms of masculinity, which often manifest in violence or abusive behaviors towards oneself and others (eg. Frosh 1994, 2000; Jukes 1993; Seidler 1989). This self-destructive behavior often hinders male youth from achieving better grades at school. Willis' study (1977) of white working-class young males claims that masculine cultures are violent, misogynist and anti-school. The combination of masculinity and school performance is commonly believed to be a mismatch. The following chapter will go into depth on why ideas of masculinity hinder better school performance.

2.2.1   *Hegemonic masculinity*

What is masculinity? The idea of masculinity differs from person to person, culture to culture and time to time. The research and theoretical ideas suggest that masculinity does not simply naturally occur, but rather is constructed in social interactions and achieved through cultural resources (Frosh et al. 2002). Nevertheless, literature on masculinity identifies a 'dominant' form of masculinity, which is referred to in the area of masculinity, gender and identity as hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness and the subordination of gay men. Furthermore, it influences males' understanding of how they have to act in order to be 'acceptably' male. Connell further argues that hegemonic masculinity is important to the fantasy of many males and that they often position themselves in relation to it, even if they critique or subvert it. Many researchers continue to draw on the concept of hegemonic masculinity because it captures the power of this masculine ideal for many males (Gilbert & Gilbert 1998; Wetherell & Edley 1998). In another study by Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002: 75), the analysis of interviewed boys verified the existence of hegemonic masculinity as a powerful idea that regulates their behavior and that different masculinities are produced through performances that draw on the available cultural resources. Bruner (1990) has a supplemental argument to this, saying that every society produces stories of how lives should be lived within the culture. The study of Frosh et al. (2002: 76f.) that interviewed schoolboys, found out that within the area of school, hegemonic masculinity requires attributes such as 'hardness', antagonism to school-based learning, sporting prowess and fashionable style. They identified three aspects of masculinity in their study:

1. Popular masculinity involves 'hardness', sporting prowess, 'coolness', casual treatment of schoolwork and being adept at 'cussing' dominance and control.
2. Some boys are more masculine than others. This involves both racialised and class consciousness
3. By doing masculinity, boys maintain their differences from girls and homosexuals (and so avoid doing anything that is seen as what girls/ homosexuals do) (Frosh et al. 2002: 77).

Many definitions and arguments exist to explain hegemonic masculinity, and educators make pronouncements that take it for granted that there are problems with male youth, especially with migrant male youth and their masculinity. The three points mentioned above play a major role in my paper to explain the lower performance of migrant youth.

2.2.2   *Hegemonic masculinity and effect on school performance*

Male youth have lower grades than female youth at school. One explanation for this phenomenon is that hegemonic masculinity is not compatible with schoolwork. Arnot, David and Weiner (1999) argue that the educational demands have shifted and increased. Ways of expressing masculinities have become less compatible with the gaining of educational qualifications, at a time when it is increasingly important for them to do so because fewer unskilled jobs are available. On the contrary, ways of expressing femininities seem more compatible with good educational performance. Arnot et al. (1999) also mention that male youth have struggled more than female youth to adapt to major changes in contemporary society, especially the shift in traditional patterns of male employment and the skills required to meet new occupational demands. German employment standards and educational demands have increased, and obtaining a job with a degree from a lower school type such as Hauptschule is very difficult, especially in recent years. A decade ago, a degree from Hauptschule would lead to a craftsmanship job, but now a higher degree from Realschule or even Gymnasium is required. One explanation for lower performance is that male youth cannot keep up with the change of demands that occurs in school and society. However, this does not explain how hegemonic masculinity directly effects school performance. A more reasonable explanation is that hegemonic masculinity is not compatible with good school performance.

Why is hegemonic masculinity not compatible with good school performance? Mac an Ghaill (1994) came to the result that the boys who worked hard because they aspired professional jobs were considered effeminate by other boys and teachers. This conclusion was verified by the previously mentioned study (Frosh et al. 2002). For a larger group of boys, being clever or intelligent is not really masculine, and many male youth try to avoid being labeled by other boys in pejorative terms. Male youth are continually and actively negotiating how to position themselves in relation to popular and unpopular masculinity. This creates a hierarchy of popularity, and higher popularity is the pursuit of most male youth. Being good at school is considered unpopular and being good at sports is considered popular (Frosh et al. 2002: 197f.). Popularity simply means to be 'bad' at school and is therefore not compatible with good school performance. A simple example is that boys who consider school as a place to do serious schoolwork could lead to them being bullied.

In addition, Frosh et al. found out that an important part of being popular entailed the resisting or challenging of adult authority in the classroom. This opposing attitude by some male youth is a means to establish higher popularity, status and hegemonic masculinity which have to be constantly re-established by repeated demonstrations of insouciance and misbehavior (Frosh et al. 2002: 200ff.). In this study, boys reported that certain teachers could not provide a sufficient learning environment, because boys perceived that they could wield power over teachers. Particular teachers are seen as soft, were threatened or even overruled by popular boys so that they could not provide an adequate learning environment. Boys reported that they like teachers who keep order and let them talk while working and allowed them to make jokes. Furthermore, they were very much against teachers they perceived as being unfair (Frosh et al. 2002: 218ff.). This oppositional attitude by male youth is one cause for a disharmonious teacher-student relationship, which sometimes results in disfavoring male youth by teachers. The analyses of students' narratives (male & female) in the study verify that some teachers disfavor male students (Frosh et al 2002: 219). Frosh et al. state that: "Since boys gain masculine status from 'back chatting' or 'dissing' teachers, engaging with students may well be a frustrating task for many teachers of boys. It is perhaps, then, not surprising that some boys' (and girls') narratives indicate that teachers appear to favor girls" (Frosh et al. 2002: 219).

Furthermore, a characteristic of 'popular' male youth is that they do not enjoy schoolwork, avoid working hard and are not afraid of confronting teachers or attacking other boys. Those male youth do not gain prestige from school achievements, but prestige from making other boys laugh and by dominating them. This strategy of maintaining popularity may provide an excuse for not having to try hard in school, and hence, having to face possible failure (Katz & Buchanan 1999). An example is: "I could get an A grade, but I am just too lazy"; or, "If I really want to do it I can do it, but I don't think it's important". It is also an avoidance strategy of male youth to not be too good at school, so that they aren´t labeled as 'nerds'. One boy in Frosh's study explained how uncomfortable it is to be considered a 'nerd' and how much effort it takes for boys who do well at school to construct a portrait of themselves outside that definition. Furthermore, the study by Frosh et al. also states that being good at schoolwork is only tolerated by other boys if there are mitigating factors such as being good at sport, being able to laugh at oneself and accept others laughing at them (Frosh et al. 2002: 210). All these arguments explain why good school performance is not compatible with hegemonic masculinity.

2.2.3   *Masculinity, migration and the effect on school performance*

As stated in the previous chapter, hegemonic masculinity does have an effect on school performance, but how do migration and masculinity relate to each other and influence school performance? German male youth practice hegemonic masculinity as well and do not end up at Hauptschule and Sonderschule as often as migrant male youth. The assumption is that the 'different' form of hegemonic masculinity is not understood and accepted by many teachers and institutions. Many scholars like Anthony Giddens (1999) argue that there are many more influences that need to be considered when people migrate. Migration is not simply a person moving from one country to another, but migrants also bring their culture, values and also masculinity that they had practiced into their new environment. What is considered masculine in one culture might be feminine or even strange and not appropriate in the receiving culture. Joachim Kersten (1997) shows in his research that masculinity is practiced differently in Japan as in Australia and other western societies, and explains the behavior, habits and values that are inhibited in the practice of Japanese hegemonic masculinity. This study exemplifies that an explanation for different forms of masculinity is required in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Although second and third generation migrant youth are familiar with the masculinity practiced in Germany and also practice 'German masculinity', they are also confronted with non-German masculinity at home; they grow up with it and eventually practice it in a modified, hybrid form. Birol Mertol (2009) explains in his study with five male youth with Turkish background in Germany that modern and traditional ideas are mixed in the education by male youth with Turkish background. The masculinity practiced by migrant youth is neither typical German nor typical Turkish, but a hybrid form. This 'hybrid masculinity' will be explored in this chapter and why it affects school performance. I will call this 'hybrid masculinity' the 'migrant masculinity'.

'Migrant masculinity' is homogenized and loaded with negative images in the media, such as honor killings, high criminal rates, aggression and violence against women. Furthermore, 'migrant masculinity' is considered to be one cause for lower school performance. Reading those sentences creates assumptions that migrant youth have the 'wrong masculinity' and this is responsible for lower school performance. However, another perspective is that the 'wrong' – or I would just prefer 'different' – masculinity is not understood and accepted by many teachers and institutions, and therefore creates misunderstanding between teachers and students. Just as lower language competence is often related to lower intelligence, alleged misbehavior or uncommon behavior can be related to disrespect or rebelliousness. This misunderstanding of teachers has influence on the grading of the students. Mertol comes to the conclusion that teachers should reflect on their own understanding and concept of masculinity and whether they have an inferior view or deficit-oriented view on 'migrant masculinity'. A deficit-oriented view means that the difference is considered as deficit and not as an additional resource, and being 'not normal', lacking common sense or in other words 'common masculinity'. This negative image is often imprinted in the heads of teachers and in society. A teacher having a negative image of a student will change the expectations and how the teacher enhances the student. A study of the University of Queensland verified that teacher-student relationships are essential for good school performance. They claim that there is very strong evidence that it is the quality of teacher-student relationships and the quality of the classroom pedagogies that are factors in achieving good educational outcomes (Lingard et al. 2002). 'Migrant masculinity' does not promote a better teacher-student relationship and therefore adversely affects the school performance of migrant youth.

2.3 Migration and lower performance

How much does migration background influence school performance? How much is migration background made relevant on school performance and in school? Many studies verify that students with migration background are over-represented at Hauptschule, and only few manage to achieve a university degree (cf. Autorengruppe Bildungsbericht 2008; Flam 2009). Some researchers argue that language skills of migration background students are insufficient and that this leads to lower performance (Esser 2006). Further opinions are that their parents are not aware of how the educational system functions or of the rights of students, or that the parents did not receive a higher education themselves and therefore don't encourage their children to aim for higher education and that the children themselves consequently do not try to gain a higher educational degree. The previously mentioned statements sort of 'blame' the migrant youth and their families. In the following chapter I will try to clarify the arguments of how 'insufficient' language competence is made relevant and eventually leads to lower school performance. Nevertheless, there is also the perspective that searches for the reasons of lower performance of migration background students in society and the institutions. The assumption of discrimination in many different forms is a major point of view (cf. Gomolla 2005; Flam 2009). However, this aspect will not be thoroughly discussed in my paper.

2.3.1 *Migration and language*

Many debates are held to explore the reasons of low school performance of youth with migration background, and one major argument in Germany is that having migration background leads to lower German language competence and that leads to low school performance. Hartmut Esser (2006) represents this argument that 'insufficient' language competence in German is the cause for lower school performance. He argues that language competence is an essential human capital and necessary for educational achievement and that it leads to obtaining a job and finally to successful integration. Furthermore, he argues that language is the key to utilize social capital and other skills, and is thus a prerequisite for employment and economic integration (Esser 2006). It is this latter understanding of language that forms the basis for the German government and schools to demand immigrants and people with migration background to acquire the German language. This understanding that immigrants and the dominant population consider language a

prerequisite for good performance in school and successful integration has spread and become a consensus among the German population.

Many studies verify that second generation migration background students have lower German language competence when they enter elementary school and during their educational career (IGLU, PISA, NEPS). It is understandable that first generation migrants often have lower German language competence. However, why do second and third generation migrants who were born here and grew up with two languages have lower German language competence? Linguists explain this phenomenon with learners' inherent conditions that influence children's language performance (reference below). The length of exposure to a language and the age the child first came in contact with the language (age of onset) is significant to the child's language competence (Thoma & Tracy 2006; Wenzel et al. 2007; Rothweiler 2006). Therefore, children with migration background in the second and third generation who spoke a different language at home before entering kindergarten or school have different inherent conditions and have lower language competence. However, this could imply that children with migration background had less time to learn a language and does not necessarily measure their intelligence. It is understandable that less input, less usage and less study time result in lower competence, but why does lower language competence in German lead to lower school performance? Schools are institutions to educate children and promote their cognitive skills and access their intelligence and not only language competence. A study by the University of Frankfurt and IDeA (Individual Development and Adaptive Education) states that children with migration background have lower German language competence, however, they also indicate that their cognitive skills are equal (2010). In this study, children had the task to explain a picture. They learned that children with migration background do not have as developed a vocabulary in German and/or make semantic mistakes. However, the children with migration background recognized the picture correctly and could explain the picture as well as children without migration background. Their cognitive skills and understanding were equal to those without migration background. An example is a picture of a squirrel that is eating nuts on top of a tree. They could perfectly explain the picture, but they did not know the vocabulary 'squirrel', so they used 'cat like animal' or 'small, red, long-tailed fox' instead of 'squirrel'. Another study, by Inci Dirim (2007), shows that children with migration background know and can use the vocabulary from different languages. Dirim argues that

children with migration background could perform well at school if the testing person is able to know and accept answers in different languages.

If language competence in German is irrelevant to cognitive skills and intelligence, why does it influence school performance? A widely held belief of language is that it is an indicator of intelligence or that the purpose of language is to manifest thoughts and ideas, but this is a wrong perception. Many scholars criticize this understanding of language and one of them is Dirim. She gives an example in his study by citing a woman who says: "When people hear me talk with an accent, people believe that I also think with an accent." (Dirim 2010) Another critique comes from Chomsky, a renowned linguist who states: "I don't think there is any scientific evidence about the question of whether we think only in language or not. But introspection indicates pretty clearly that we don't think in language necessarily. We also think in visual images, we think in terms of situations and events, and so on, and many times we can't even express in words what the content of our thinking is. And even if we are able to express it in words, it is a common experience to say something and then to recognize that it is not what we meant, that it is something else" (Chomsky, interviewed by Wiktor Osiatynski 1984). From this understanding, it is not only lower language competence that leads to lower school performance.

The TIES project, which is an international project dealing with the education of second generation immigrants, states that language competence could be made irrelevant for school performance if the school system simply changed. They claim that three factors are important to introduce in order to make language competence irrelevant and thus support the students. These three factors are:

1. All-day school
2. Individual didactic
3. Continuous educational system to the 9th grade.
   (see Herzog-Punzenberger et al. 2011)

The current debate on language competence and success at school in Germany has triggered an over-focus on language competence, which accelerates a misunderstanding of the functions of language. Language is often seen as a skill/capital and is used to measure intelligence and school performance. Esser's idea, which is the widely held consensus, is that language competence helps to do well at school, to obtain a degree and that it leads to a job

and ultimately to successful integration. But this premise has been refuted. In spite of solid language fluency, many youth with migration background cannot attend higher education institutions and work at jobs corresponding to their capacities and qualifications because there appears a certain kind of ethnic/racial discrimination in the educational field and labor market. Therefore, some scholars try to explain the causality of lower language competence and lower school performance by stressing the responsibility of the school system realizing processes of institutional discrimination considering aspects of early selections and inadequate promotion of migration background students, inadequate teaching in mother tongues and misinterpreting German language competence as low intellectual abilities or developmental delays (Brizic 2007; Bauböck & Volf 2001; Gomolla 2010; Mecheril 2010; and Dirim 2010). They argue that there is a habitus-expectation-dissonance between the habitus of some migrant children and the middle class monolingual expectation of the teachers, who are not willing, not qualified or not able to recognize different habitus in a positive manner.

German language competence is allegedly believed as essential for success at school. However, this high requirement of 'perfect' German language competence can lead to disadvantaging migration background students who speak two languages or more very fluently, but are not 'native' speakers. This narrow view of intelligence, relating language deficit with intelligence or not accepting other languages and using/considering only one language as relevant at school, is defined as monolingual habitus (Gogolin 2008).

2.3.2 Monolingual schools and multilingual individuals

What is monolingual habitus and what effects does it have on the educational environment? And, more importantly, how does it affect the performance of students with migration background? Habitus is a complex concept, but it could be understood as a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata and dispositions (Bourdieu 1977: 17ff.). The particular contents of the habitus are the results of the objectification of social structure at the level of individual subjectivity. Bourdieu elaborates on the notion of habitus by explaining its dependency on history and human memory (ibid). For instance, a certain behavior or belief becomes part of a society's structure when the original purpose of that behavior or belief can no longer be recalled and becomes socialized into individuals of that culture (ibid). Monolingual habitus is the mindset that only one language, the German language in this

case, is allowed in classrooms. The school is historically an institution that has the purpose to teach the official language of a nation to create a homogeneous language (Dirim & Mecheril 2009).

Furthermore, many teachers perceive 'non-perfect' German as a sign of lacking intelligence. Dirim (2010) claims that people speaking with an accent are perceived as people who also think with an accent and are not intelligent. Gogolin elaborates on this and says that teachers recognize the multilingual environment that the students are set in and that language competence is not equal to intelligence; however, the monolingual habitus dominates the actions of the teachers. Teachers plan a lesson considering the heterogeneous backgrounds of the students, but still act according to a homogeneous concept of class because they still believe in a common (language) history and commonality. Understanding the circumstances and knowing how to act 'correctly' cannot simply overrule habitus (Gogolin 2008: 34). Bourdieu argues that changing a habitus requires confronting history and that history alone enables us to free ourselves from history (Bourdieu 1985: 50). It is necessary to change our subconsciousness, which is constructed by our history, and change the inner structure and values that unconsciously control our actions. Thus, it is understandable that monolingual habitus has an influence on the actions of teachers and consequently on the school performance of multilingual students.

In Germany and especially in larger cities, the percentage of migration background youth has increased enormously and a change in demographics, especially the demographics of students, has occurred, and multilingual classrooms are very common. A cultural and linguistic change within the classroom setting triggered by migration can be recognized. Although this change is constantly evolving, the educational system and schools have not yet adapted to it. Ingrid Gogolin conducted a study on monolingual habitus in the German school system and how it affects the teachers and students. She questions whether schools have to be monolingually organized, have education conducted in the German language only and whether that is the purpose of education. She came to the conclusion that the education system in Germany, which was developed in the 19th century, is designed for monolingual individuals and disadvantages multilingual individuals. Gogolin states that this monolingual habitus of education restricts the competence necessary to handle complex schoolwork in a multilingual environment. The monolingual habitus is very present within the minds of teachers, and as a result it hinders

many multilingual students to reveal their potential in school (Gogolin 2008: 30ff.).

The monolingual habitus affects students because teachers misunderstand multilingualism as lacking German language competence since the students have to learn two or more languages at once. It is considered a possible source of problems and delays in language development[7]. However, Bialystok argues that bilinguals have advantages in executive control and a crucial cognitive ability, but disadvantages in linguistic ability. He explains this with the logical explanation that bilinguals generally control a smaller vocabulary in each language than a comparable monolingual (Bialystok 2009: 53). Many studies and researchers that were previously mentioned (e.g., Brizic 2007; Gomolla 2010; Mecheril 2010; Dirim 2010) verify that language competence cannot be used to measure cognitive skills or intelligence. However, many researchers and studies argue the causality of lower language competence and lower school performance (e.g., Esser 2006; PISA; IGLU). One explanation to clarify this argument is the concept of 'Bildungssprache' or 'academic language'.

2.3.3   'Bildungssprache' as an additional barrier

'Bildung' means education and self-formation (see Lederer 2011), and 'sprache' means language, however, it does not mean the language of educated people. 'Bildungssprache' is a special language used and applied in the educational environment and is more an educational tool, believed to be necessary for school success, rather than simple language ability. It is a set of 'unwritten rules' in language use that is required from 'successful students'. This unwritten language rule is applied in school assignments, textbooks and exams. In the English speaking discourse, 'Bildungssprache' is often referred to as 'academic language'. Halliday (1994) defines academic language as having different formal rules that are applied according to the setting in the academic field; it is not simply the vocabulary that is specific to an academic field, but also the syntax and structure of the text. Other researchers define academic language as the distinct type of language used in classroom settings, which has been fairly well established as a variable that increases the

---

7   It is a common understanding that bilingualism leads to lower language competence. Lexica and dictionaries represent this understanding, for example 'Meyers kleines Lexikon Pädagogik', 1988.

learning difficulties of migrant students. Several factors are associated with causing this interference with learning, including the vocabulary, syntax, structure, content and cognitive demands of academic language (Solomon & Rhodes 1995). As mentioned earlier, bilingual students have a more limited vocabulary than monolingual students. Therefore, a major barrier to student comprehension of texts and lectures is low academic vocabulary knowledge. Academic vocabulary is not the technical vocabulary of a particular academic discipline such as 'transmigration' or 'age of onset'. Academic vocabulary is used across all academic disciplines to teach about the content of the discipline. Underprepared students are unfamiliar with words like evaluation, hypothesis, assumption and capacity. However, it does not mean that migrant students do not have the cognitive skills to understand those concepts. Teachers with a monolingual habitus, however, assume students comprehend such academic vocabulary, but such vocabulary is not often used in the everyday spoken language of many students. Furthermore, academic lectures and texts tend to use longer, more complex sentences than are used in spoken language. Karakaşoğlu soglu and Boos-Nünning learned that among migrant female youth, writing skills are poorer than listening, reading or speaking skills (Karakaşoğlu soglu & Boos-Nünning 2005: 214ff.). Producing language, such as speaking and writing, is in general more difficult than consuming language in the form of listening and reading. They determined that more than 90% feel confident in listening and reading, approximately 85% feel confident in speaking and less than 80% feel confident in writing. In an academic environment, examinations are conducted with the productive part of a language, and writing skills in particular are examined, with grades being given according to those skills. There are rarely examinations in listening and reading skills, although they are part of language skills as well. 'Bildungssprache' is therefore focused on writing skills, which implies that they are examined in the weakest field of language skills.

German schools as well as the national government require migration background students to acquire the German language. Furthermore, mastering this special form of language 'Bildungssprache' is also required by the educational institutions. The migration background student is confronted with an additional barrier; Germany in particular has a very high 'Bildungssprache'-barrier due to the strong monolingual habitus. Christensen and Segeritz (2008) compared the differences in reading comprehension between non-migrant students and second generation migrant students in Germany and the UK. In the UK there was almost no difference in reading comprehension

between second generation migrants and non-migrant students. Germany, on the other hand, had a significant reading comprehension difference between non-migrant and second generation migrants. The difference was 12 times greater than the difference in the UK (Christensen & Segeritz 2008). I would like to emphasize that second generation migrant students were born in the country and received the same (language) education as non-migrant students. The circumstances before entering kindergarten, the age of onset and length of exposure to a language are all only slightly different to non-migrants. Therefore, the barrier of 'Bildungssprache' can be assumed to play a major role in this huge difference between the UK and Germany. This barrier hinders many migration background students from performing well in school and correspondingly hinders their opportunity to attend higher education institutions and schools. Seen another way, the chance to receive a higher education is narrowed down at the very start of one´s education via an inadequate 'Bildungssprache', as it has a significant influence on one´s further educational career.

2.3.4   *Language as a tool for discrimination*

Language can be misused to differentiate, segregate and eventually discriminate against people. As long as communication is accomplished, small language mistakes can be disregarded because language is a means of communication. However, even if language competence exists and communication is accomplished, the barrier called 'Bildungssprache' must be overcome. The demand to acquire the language 'perfectly' hinders participation in both society and school. Rather than lowering the language barriers to solve the inequality of participation, the choice to demand more from migrant youth to meet the 'conventional' requirements is often preferred (see Esser 2006).

Why and how is language used as a tool to discriminate? Sik, a researcher from Hong Kong, which is a multilingual society, gives many examples of how language-based discrimination is enacted and provides theories on subtle language discrimination (Sik Hung Ng 2007). He argues that low competence in the second language provides the linguistic justification for legalized discrimination, making it seemingly rational on the grounds that language competence is necessary for performing well on the job. In addition, by appealing to the instrumental roles that language plays (or is believed to play) in economic productivity, lawmakers project an image of rationality to the discriminatory law. This reinforces barriers to jobs and can be legally justified on the

basis of language requirements to exclude particular groups. Once legalized, the language requirement provides a 'stowaway' for more subtle discrimination against other target groups, and it also acquires the potential of a legal cover for illegal discrimination in other forms (Sik Hung Ng 2007: 108). Sik researched linguistic discrimination to the workplace; however, this same structure occurs in the school environment. Gomolla gives examples of occurrences of discrimination in the setting of a school environment (Gomolla in Scherr & Hormel 2010). Gomolla argues that intended or unintended discrimination can occur when:

− permission to enter elementary school is required
− a student is sent to different school types (ex. Förderschule, Hauptschule)
− information on school systems/support systems is given
− school rules are explained and practiced at school
− grades are given (Gomolla 2010).

A teacher who does not want migrant youth to obtain good grades or enter higher education can invoke the language competence rule to justify (legally) that it is not the students' migration background that disqualifies them, but their failure to meet the language requirement. Sik further argues that in this way, discrimination against migrants is veiled under the cover of the language requirement, which in turn is made possible because language, being inextricably linked to migration background, can provide a legally safe haven for (indirect) discrimination to be targeted at migrants. Many outward forms of language-based discrimination are, deeper down, a legal camouflage for other forms of discrimination that are in themselves unjustifiable under the law or in terms of human rights (ibid: 108).

These examples show that intentional discrimination can be executed and justified, however, unintentional or unconscious discrimination can also be practiced. This unconscious discrimination is the action taken by teachers influenced by their monolingual habitus in their minds. Sik recognizes 'unconscious' discrimination as well and says that language deficit may lead to beliefs about personal character, social status or capacity for teamwork. Furthermore, not being fluent, having an accent and using nonstandard grammar are often regarded as indicators of low intelligence and are believed to cause misunderstanding, disharmony, and social unacceptability. Often, such beliefs are derived from social myths shared in society. This form of language-based discrimination, mediated by myths, is practiced by 'true believers' and not by discriminators. Accordingly, its remedy would have less to do with

anti-discrimination laws, but more to do with public education and persuasive communication (ibid: 109). 'True believers' have a similar definition as the teachers that have a monolingual habitus in their minds and behavior, defined by Gogolin earlier (see chapter 2.3.2.). Because no legislation or school rule can prescribe to whom to give good grades, teachers are left alone with determining the grades. Therefore, it can be assumed that the problems of lower performance of migrant youth, allegedly resulting from lower language competence, are not only ascribed to a language 'deficit' but also reflect a subtle language-based discrimination.

2.3.5   How language-based discrimination is enacted

Language is a powerful medium for enacting discrimination. Sik gives examples of how subtle forms of language-based discrimination is enacted. One example is that legal language is difficult to read and comprehend to such an extent that most people are effectively excluded from participation. Professional dominance by lawyers and judges, coded in specialized professional language and ways of communicating, is routinely enacted through language. The Plain English movement against excess in legal language is testimony to the widespread frustration of not being able to comprehend, express and conduct business in one's own language (Sik Hug Ng 2007: 111). This shows that even within the native community, exclusion exists. Migrants with their 'non perfect' language ability are even more excluded from other communities and society. A simple issue or conversation can be made extremely complicated by using terminologies, and this impedes migrants from participating. Another example of language-based discrimination is a group conversation that involves monolinguals and bilinguals. Speech in the mono-language means social inclusion, whereas speech in a language known only to the bilinguals would exclude the monolinguals. Sik argues that in general, discrimination in multilingual settings is linguistically enacted by switching to a language in which some people, but not others, are more competent (ibid: 111). In both the monolingual and multilingual society, the choice of mutual effort to accomplish understanding instead of exclusion is required, and there are several techniques (accommodation theory, repetition etc.) to avoid miscommunication and discrimination. Therefore, if one desires, language as a medium to communicate can be easily turned into an enactment of discrimination.

Many believe that poor language competence leads to educational inequality; however, the problems are intertwined and complex. Not all problems have their cause in a language deficit and/or are ascribable to a language deficit. The problems not ascribed to a language deficit will remain even after the students with migration background are fluent. Therefore, it is important to address problems that are not ascribed to a language deficit but are believed to exist (by 'true believers'). Creating common ground, understanding and support from the teachers is required. However, gaining support and creating common ground to remove prejudicial attitudes often implies a change in the distribution of capital, which is not welcomed by the people in power. Bourdieu's basic concern was unequal access to resources and differentials in power, and the ways in which these fed into class formation and the creation of elites. He understood social capital to be the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1983b: 249).

Bourdieu says: "The educational market is strictly dominated by the linguistic products of the dominant class and tends to sanction the pre-existing differences in capital" (Bourdieu 1991: 62). There is a concern that migrants' linguistic capital is limited through educational institutions. Furthermore, language teaching and educational systems imbued with the negative ideology/image (which includes how migrants are viewed in society, how lan guage 'deficit' is viewed by native speakers and that non-native speakers are disadvantaged in the wider society) must be acknowledged (Siegal 1996: 356). Prejudicial attitudes may lead to ignorance, arrogance and ultimately to discriminatory behavior. This means that high competency in a language will not necessarily lead to the recognition of skills or improve the grades of students with migration background. This prejudicial attitude practiced by 'true believers' (teachers with monolingual habitus) deconstructs the causality of effort (language acquisition) and reward (better grades). Thus, the motivation to put effort into learning something can be diminished. Discrimination ultimately destroys the causality of investing in one capital to gain other capital, and robs the motivation to continuously put effort into accumulating human capital in the form of education. Furthermore, the practices of 'true believers' (discrimination) is enforced by school systems and didactic systems that overvalue certain languages (West European languages) and discriminate against others. In the next chapter, the relationship of capital will be explained.

2.4   Social capital and lower performance

This chapter will deal with how economic, social and human capital influences education and how migration influences capital. Three major scholars, Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam (Bourdieu 1983a; Coleman 1994; Putnam 2000) define the concept of capital in three various ways, but there are some disagreements in the academic community over the categorization of these definitions. Capital in the form of financial wealth is regarded as economic capital; technical skills, or intelligence, is considered human capital; and networks in society are often described as social capital. This paper will refrain from the categorizing arguments, and will instead try to focus on social capital and its relationship to educational success. Furthermore, the aspect of migration-phenomenon has raised the question of transmitting capital one-to-one to a new country. For example, bringing along economic capital from one country to another is very difficult. It does not simply mean to exchange money, but bringing the devaluation of capital. Economic capital in the form of housing, property and other investments that need to be maintained are often 'forced' to sell below market prices due to time pressure caused by the migration movement. Human capital, such as skills, is often validated using a university degree, which is not always recognized and accepted by the receiving society. Furthermore, social capital is often 'lost' because migrants often move to a place where they typically have few friends. Therefore, migration and capital influence one another greatly, and this chapter will attempt to clarify the relationship between those two disciplines.

Bourdieu expanded the concept of capital from economical capital to social and cultural capital. He introduced the concept of the unequal distribution, stabilization and reinforcement of not only economical but also social and cultural capital. He argues simply that those who have capital will accumulate more and those who have less capital cannot accumulate more or might even lose some. Furthermore, equal distribution of capital is not welcomed by those who are in possession of it, and therefore it is very difficult to achieve, especially between the migrant and native. He further argues that different forms of capital are interrelated and can reinforce or weaken each other (Bourdieu 1983b: 180ff., 1991: 62ff.). An example of interrelatedness is shown by PISA and other studies using the German sample, which reveal that lower socio-economic households often result in lower school performance (PISA 2009; Shell 2009). Gogolin states that there is an extraordinari-

ly strong tie between social capital and school success (Gogolin 2009). Further examples show that lower linguistic capital can lower the expectations and recognition of the skills of even a doctor, although being an expert. Another example is students who have lower linguistic capital, which typically results in poor school performance, and subsequently lowers their human capital. There are many more examples; however, in this paper I will focus on the interrelatedness of social capital and educational success and how migration influences social capital.

2.4.1   Social capital and its functions

One reason believed to be the cause of lower performance at school lies in lower social capital. To describe the relationship between social capital and lower school performance, the definition of social capital must be clarified. What is social capital? Three definitions from Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam can provide an idea:

> **Bourdieu**: "Social capital is 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." (Bourdieu 1983b: 249)

> **Coleman**: "Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure." (Coleman 1994: 302)

> **Putnam**: "Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense, social capital is closely related to what some have called 'civic virtue.' The difference is that 'social capital' calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital." (Putnam 2000: 19)

In general, all three scholars understand social capital as some kind of network and human-to-human relationship. This relationship (social capital) has an important function for the well-being of an individual, although it is not easily measurable like economic capital (money) or human capital (degree).

Field's central thesis of social capital is that relationships matter and social networks are a 'valuable asset'. Interaction enables people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other, and to knit the social fabric. A sense of belonging and the concrete experience of social networks (and the relationships of trust and tolerance that can be involved) can bring great benefits to people (Field 2003: 1f.). The meaning of social capital is an essential part of integration. A strong social tie between people increases information and a sense of belonging. The focus on social capital in terms of integration is often unattended, because the focus on language skills as the essential 'skill' for integration is 'propagated' in Germany. The reason for a segregated, closed community such as a 'China Town' or 'little Istanbul' is allegedly found in the lack of language competence; however, the reason could be low social capital as well. Beem argues that trust between individuals thus becomes trust between strangers, and trust of a broad fabric of social institutions becomes a shared set of values, virtues and expectations within society as a whole. Without this interaction, on the other hand, trust decays. At a certain point, this decay begins to manifest itself in serious social problems and the concept of social capital contends that building or rebuilding community and trust requires face-to-face encounters." (Beem 1999: 20)

Putnam gives further examples of functions and the importance of social capital. He argues that:

- Social capital allows citizens to resolve collective problems more easily and people often might be better off if they cooperate, with each doing his or her share.

- Social capital greases the wheels that allow communities to advance smoothly. Where people are trusting and trustworthy, and where they are subject to repeated interactions with fellow citizens, everyday business and social transactions are less costly.

- Social capital widens our awareness of the many ways in which our fates are linked. When people lack a connection to others, they are unable to test the veracity of their own views, whether in the give or take of casual conversation or in more formal deliberation. Without such an opportunity, people are more likely to be swayed by their worse impulses.

- The networks that constitute social capital also serve as conduits for the flow of helpful information that facilitates achieving our goals. Social capital also operates through psychological and biological processes to

improve people's lives. Community connectedness is not just about warm fuzzy tales of civic triumph. In measurable and well-documented ways, social capital makes an enormous difference to our lives.

(Putnam 2000: 288ff.)

Putnam's conclusion is that the possession of social capital holds great significance in terms of human well-being (Putnam 2000). Field believes that social capital brings a sense of belonging and great benefit to people (Field 2003). Halpern argues that social capital is the foundation for an economy of regard, and is a better measure of national wealth than conventional economic indicators. Furthermore, he gives examples and evidence that communities with a good 'stock' of social capital are more likely to benefit from lower crime figures, better health, better economic growth and higher educational achievement (Halpern 2009). The functions of social capital have a major influence on human capital such as educational achievement, and the teacher-student, teacher-parent and parent-student relationships belong to social capital as well. The relationship between social and human capital is explored in the next chapter.

2.4.2   *Social capital and educational success*

This chapter will explore the relationship between social capital and human capital. The definition of human capital was equated with educational success so far; however, it includes more than just education. Sullivan and Sheffrin state: "Human capital refers to the stock of competences, knowledge and personality attributes embodied in the ability to perform labor so as to produce economic value. It is the attributes gained by a worker through education and experience." (Sullivan & Sheffrin 2003: 5) Coleman gives a comparison that depicts human capital quite well: "Just as physical capital is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in a new ways." (Coleman 1988: 100) Both definitions include aspects of education, knowledge, skills and experience.

There are many scholars and studies claiming that social capital influences educational success. Putnam argues that child development is powerfully shaped by social capital. Trust, networks and norms of reciprocity within a child's family, school, peer group and larger community have far reaching effects on their opportunities and choices, educational achievement, behavior

and development (Putnam 2000: 296ff.). The World Bank states that there is evidence that schools are more effective when parents and local citizens are actively involved: "Teachers are more committed, students achieve higher test scores, and better use is made of school facilities in those communities where parents and citizens take an active interest in children's educational well-being." (The World Bank 1999) Those examples show how one capital can reinforce another capital, in this case it is the social capital that influences human capital and subsequently results in educational success, just as stated in chapter 2.4. But how does social capital influence human capital? Which particular properties of social capital are important and how is it employed?

Why does low social capital lead to lower performance at school? Coleman did research with high school students, analyzing the effect of lower social capital available on sophomores and dropout rates at school. He says that the forms of capital are interdependent, such that one social relationship or orga-nization that is initiated for one purpose is also available for appropriation for other purposes and can aid others, thus constituting social capital available for use (Coleman 1988: 108). For instance, a social organization intended to help immigrants learn the German language can be helpful for parents to acquire knowledge about the school system. This kind of specific knowledge can help the children attain a higher education. Coleman sees information as one form of social capital that inheres to social relations. He claims that "In-formation provides a basis for actions, and one means by which information can be acquired is the use of social relations." (ibid: 104) This is just one example of the effects that social capital has on human capital, and it shows that the 'capitals' of the family or 'family background' have a major influ-ence on the children's education.

Coleman sees 'family background' as a factor in one´s educational success, and breaks it down into three components:

– Financial capital
– Human capital
– Social capital.

Financial capital is the wealth of the family providing physical resources: a room at home for studying or materials to learn from. Human capital is the parents' education and provides the cognitive environment for the child that aids learning. Social capital is the relationship between the child and the parents, and the time spent with the child on intellectual matters (ibid: 109f.).

In Coleman's research he encountered families that bought two textbooks needed by the child. Investigation revealed that the family purchased the second copy for the mother to study in order to help her child do well in school. The human capital of the mother was low, which means she had not received a higher education degree, but the social capital available for the child's education was very high. This example illustrates the importance of social capital within the family and for a child's intellectual development. Human capital possessed by the parents strongly affects the development as well, but it may be irrelevant to outcomes for children if the parents are not actively involved in their children's lives, or if their human capital is employed exclusively at work or elsewhere outside the home (ibid: 110f.). Coleman argues: "[…] if the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or small amount, of human capital." Therefore, human capital of the parents alone does not profit the child because social capital is missing. The effect of lacking social capital can lead to lower performance and consequently to the dropping out of school.

The social capital that is valuable for the educational development of youth does not reside solely within the family. In the community, social relationships that exist among parents and relationships with the institutions of the community are helpful as well. Coleman discovered that if the parents have some kind of relationship with other parents, the dropout rate decreases (Coleman: 1988). For instance, a religiously-based school surrounded by a community based on the religious organization has more social relationships with other parents and their families. The result of his research was that the dropout rate of Catholic-based schools is one-fourth of that of public schools and one-third of other private schools (ibid: 114). These examples of parent-child relationships and religious schools indicate that social capital is important for the education of youth. Furthermore, it shows the interrelatedness of social capital and human capital.

2.4.3 Migration and social capital

In the previous chapter, the importance of social capital for educational success was shown, and one reason for the lower performance of migrant youth can be assumed to result from lower social capital. Studies in Germany confirm that migrants have less socioeconomic capital compared to 'Germans'

and often live in enclave communities with fewer social relationships, implying lower social capital. This chapter will explain the reasons why migrant youth have lower social capital. Furthermore, it will also give details to the reasons of lower social capital of second and third generation migrants. Most migrant youth were born in Germany, speak German fluently, make friends in kindergarten and school, have many social relationships and are able to accumulate social capital. So,why do second and third generation migrant youth have less social capital? The reason can be inferred from capital theories and migration theories, and these can help to give some explanation of this phenomenon.

Capital theories have the basic premise that an investment in capital results in a benefit for the person that made the investment. Investing in stocks or property accumulates economic capital, and investing in education accumulates human capital. In both cases, the person who invests the time and resources in building up capital reaps the benefits; however, most forms of social capital are different. The investor in social capital is not necessarily the sole benefactor in a social structure, as all those who are part of such structure benefit (Coleman 1988: 116). Because of the indirect and non-transparent causality of investment and benefit, social capital is often not attractive for investment. Therefore, the investment in economic capital and human capital is prioritized over social capital. For example, the decision to move from one community or country to another so that one can take a better paid job is pursuing economic capital; but social capital consists of relationships between people, and moving from one community to another may include an extensive loss of those relationships and social capital. Coleman states: "[…] because the benefits of actions that bring social capital into being are largely experienced by persons other than the actor, it is often not in his interest to bring it into being. The result is that most forms of social capital are created or destroyed as by-products of other activities." (ibid: 118) The value of social capital is often underestimated, and most of the Turkish immigrants who came to Germany as so-called guest workers and 'Aussiedler' had similar motives of migration: most of them came to pursue financial security, thus they came to accumulate economic capital. They prioritized economical capital and 'gave up' social capital. These economic reasons and practiced values eventually caused many to migrate, and these values are also passed on to the next generation. It is very common that religious beliefs, traditions and in general the values practiced in the family are also practiced by the children. These values, the mind set or the habitus of prioritizing economic capital can possibly

be the reasons for the second and third generation migrants' underinvestment in social capital.

Migration and moving from one place to another can result in a 'loss' of social capital, and any further underinvestment in it only reinforces the situation. Migrant youth are provided with less social capital and may have the habitus to underinvest in social capital. If the migrant youth grew up in an enclave community, this 'enclave environment' is maintained. Thus, expanding their views and investment becomes more difficult. Bourdieu argues that reinforcement of the existing distribution of capital is practiced, and changing this is very unlikely. Changing one´s habitus and mindset, and distancing oneself from already existing ideas and views is the key to increasing the social capital of migrant youth.

2.5   Stereotype threat as summary of theoretical section

In this chapter I will introduce a concept called 'stereotype threat' which summarizes the theoretical chapters 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, masculinity, migration and social capital. Each chapter will be reflected upon using the theory of stereotype threat, and the essential message will be crystallized. Finally, a conclusive opinion and theory will be developed and presented. This chapter will also provide a summary of the criteria for my interpretations in the following chapters.

2.5.1   Stereotype threat

Steele, a social psychologist, first outlined the theory behind stereotype threat. Steele states in an interview conducted by College Street Journal that his basic premise is that a person's 'social identity'– defined as group membership in categories such as age, gender, religion and ethnicity – has significance when 'rooted in concrete situations', those settings in which a person is treated according to a specific social identity. He came to the conclusion that when a person's social identity is attached to a negative stereotype, that person will tend to underperform in a manner consistent with the stereotype. He attributes the underperformance to a person's anxiety that s/he will conform to the negative stereotype. The anxiety manifests itself in various ways, including distraction and increased body temperature, all of which diminish performance. He said that while racism exists, stereotype threat is a far more

pervasive barrier, and a person's fear of being negatively stereotyped creates a general level of discomfort (Steele Interview 2004).

In another study by Steele and Aronson in the USA on African Americans and their intellectual performance, they claim: "Stereotype threat refers to being at risk of confirming, a self-characteristic and a negative stereotype about one's group" (Steele & Aronson 1995). They came to the conclusion that stereotype threat reduces the performance of individuals who belong to negatively stereotyped groups. It can lower the intellectual performance of African Americans due to the stereotype that they are less intelligent than other groups. Although this study is in the context of the USA, this schema can also apply to migrant youth confronted with negative stereotypes in Germany.

Because people who have contact with migrant youth 'believe' that they are less intelligent, migrant youth are confronted with the anxiety that they might confirm the negative stereotype. It may occur whenever an individual's performance might confirm a negative stereotype; and most people are vulnerable to stereotype threat if they encounter a situation in which the stereotype is relevant. Furthermore, individuals show stronger stereotype threat effects when they want to do well on a task, identify strongly with the stereotyped group, or expect discrimination due to the negative stereotype. Repeated experiences of stereotype threat can lead to a vicious circle of undermined confidence, poorer performance and loss of interest in the relevant area of achievement (Steele & Aronson 1995)**.** Aronson, Good and Harder did a study in the USA on reducing the effects of stereotypes and argue: "Importantly, it is not necessary that a student believes the stereotype to feel the burden. He or she need only be aware of the stereotype and care enough about performing well in the domain (e.g., on a test, in math class, etc.) to want to disprove the stereotype's unflattering implications." (Aronson et al. 2000: 114) In other words, even if male migrant youth do not believe that they have lower school performance, the teachers' expectations still have an effect on them.

Aronson, Fried and Good conclude that stereotype threat appears to undermine academic achievement primarily in two ways. Firstly, it can impair performance by inducing anxiety. In many cases, levels of anxiety were significantly higher under the condition of stereotype threat. Secondly, it appears to undermine achievements through 'disidentification', the psychological disengagement from achievement hypothesized to help students cope

with stereotype threat and underperformance in a given domain (Aronson et al. 2002). It simply means that students distance themselves from domains that they are not good at. Many researchers note that to promote and maintain self-esteem, students tend to identify with domains in which they can excel (e.g., Eccles & Wigfield 1995; Harter 1990). Other researchers support the argument and claim that to sustain self-esteem, one needs to either succeed in a domain – if one can – or disidentify from the domain if success is elusive (e.g., Aronson, Blanton & Cooper 1995; Steele 1992). Aronson gives examples of disidentification forms, such as devaluing a domain in response to negative outcomes. An example is a student proclaiming that "math is for nerds" in response to receiving a poor grade. This response can easily develop into a chronic disengagement and disidentification from math or other subjects (see Major & Schmader 1998). This process of stereotype threat has a major influence on the school performance of migrant youth that are confronted with negative images, misunderstandings and prejudicial attitudes. There are not many teachers that associate migrant youth with good school grades and performance, and this stereotype threat is a barrier that needs to be overcome. Steele verifies this statement and says: "Because identification with academics is assumed to be crucial for success in college or school, any force or set of forces that frustrates this psychological engagement can be a serious barrier to achievement." (Steele 1997)

The stereotype threat barrier can be minimized or even eliminated by combating the prevailing stereotypes. In terms of migrant youth, common stereotypes are 'lower' intelligence, 'rebellious' masculinity, 'poor' language competence and 'lower' capitals. Attempts to diminish stereotypes are essential for integration and should be encouraged. However, these subtle stereotypes are notoriously resistant to change and confronting the actor of stereotype threat often ends in denial and/or conflict. In addition, teachers and other persons that practice stereotype threats are often not aware that they are doing so. Therefore, I reasoned that in addition to combating stereotypes, another strategy would be necessary to solve this problem of stereotype threat: it is the attempt to inoculate students against stereotype threat and the effects of lower school performance. However, the process of inoculation is not to make male youth aware of stereotypes, because most of them know that stereotypes/discrimination exist. Furthermore, inoculation is not to tell them "You are fighting against discrimination, so you have to work much harder than the Germans to get the same grade." Instead, inoculation against stereotypes is to understand the structure of stereotypes and use the characteristics

to convert the energy in a way that benefits the male migrant youth. Aronson, Fried and Good have an almost identical approach to dealing with stereotype threat. They state that: "Negative effects might be meaningfully attenuated by encouraging students to change the way they think about intelligence itself." (Aronson et al. 2001) They propose that underperformance and the devaluing of academic achievement will be lessened if stereotype targets are encouraged to see intelligence as modifiable.

2.5.2 Intervention of stereotype threat

The solution to stereotype threat and lower performance at school lies not only in acknowledging stereotype threat but also in changing the mindset of the migrant youth. In other words, their understanding and estimation of intelligence, as well as their understanding of their own capacity and capability have to change. Whether a student thinks or believes that s/he can become intelligent or not has a major influence on school performance. In the discourse of stereotype threat, the concept of intelligence plays a major role in intervening against stereotype threat. The discourse on what intelligence is and how it can be measured is very broad and opinions vary. Nevertheless, the question relevant to stereotype threat is whether intelligence is expandable or fixed. Scholars like Sternberg (1996) have researched these matters and claim that it is somewhere in between: intelligence can be expanded to some degree, but there are limits to its plasticity. Irrespective of the 'truth', Dweck (1999), in his research on intelligence, shows that what a student thinks about intelligence can have a powerful effect on the achievement. Aronson, Fried and Good conclude from Dweck's study that whether students hold an 'entity theory' (view intelligence as fixed) or an 'incremental theory' (view intelligence as malleable) determines the goals they pursue, how they respond to difficulty, and how well they do at school (Aronson et al. 2001: 115).

If migrant youth believe that intelligence is fixed and not expandable, they can easily lose motivation to improve school performance because the hope to perform well and succeed is very low. It is almost like saying that your capacity is 50 and you need 80 to be successful, therefore you cannot accomplish the task and be successful. And there are many factors that 'claim' the capacity of migrant youth to be 50, such as language deficit, lower social, cultural, economic capital and 'lower' intelligence. All of these lead to the assumption that the school performance of migrant youth must be poor,

which creates a stereotype threat. On the other hand, if migrant youth believe that intelligence is expandable, they can confront this hurdle with an attitude of readiness. It should be easier to believe in themselves and believe that they can manage tasks in school if they put enough effort into it to expanding their intelligence.

The different views of intelligence were researched, and according to the results, "Students who hold an entity view of intelligence tend to pursue 'performance goals'." (Dweck 1999; Dweck & Leggett 1988) "These students are concerned with demonstrating their intelligence and prefer tasks that will verify that they are smart and capable. In contrast, students who hold an incremental view of intelligence tend to pursue 'learning goals.' They tend to be more concerned with learning new concepts and improving their competence. When tasks become challenging, entity theorists tend to become debilitated and disengaged, whereas malleable theorists appear to experience less anxiety, put forth more effort, and increase their engagement." (Dweck 1986, 1999; Nicholls 1984; Utman 1997) (cited by Aronson et al. 2001: 115) Furthermore, Aronson even concludes that entity theorists, when in a predicament, have the impression that they are intellectually limited and have little or no hope for improvement. Another aspect is that they tend to choose easier, success-assured tasks.

Aronson et al. argue that students derive part of their power to undermine intellectual performance and motivation because they imply a self-threatening and inalterable deficiency – a fixed lack of intelligence (Aronson et al. 2001: 115). Put simply, they 'believe' they are not smart enough and not equipped with the necessary capacities and capabilities to accomplish academic success. Importantly, the mind-set imposed by stereotype threat may be strong enough to overwhelm an individual's own implicit beliefs about intelligence (Aronson et al. 2001: 115). Therefore, just teaching migrant youth about the concept of stereotype threat is not sufficient to solve the problem. In addition, claiming that those stereotype threats are not true is also not contributing to the solution since "it is not necessary that a student believes the stereotype to feel the burden. He or she needs only be aware of the stereotype and care enough about performing well in the domain." (Aronson et al. 2000: 114) It is wise strategically not to oppose stereotypes, but rather to tell the youth the 'fact' about intelligence – that it is expandable. Aronson claims that one way to help students resist responding to stereotypes would

be to convince them that their abilities are expandable (Aronson et al. 2001: 116).

Therefore, an effective counter action would be an educational concept that claims the intelligence to be expandable and encourages the migrant youth to reveal their 'unlimited' potential of intelligence and capacities. The ideas of expandable intelligence and being endowed with the necessary capabilities to solve the problems at hand and attain success in school unburdens the students and can motivate the students to invest in schoolwork, regardless of the stereotype threats practiced by society. Furthermore, teachers need to hold the same view of intelligence to assist the migrant youth and other students.

This concept of stereotype threat and intervention can easily be applied to the male migrant youth in Germany, who are confronted with the negative images of being male, 'doing masculinity' and practicing a different 'migrant' masculinity. Furthermore, being a migrant, 'doing migrant' and practicing 'different'/migrant values is attached to a rather negative image. Chapter 2 introduced many theories that contribute to a rather negative image and which can easily lead to the stereotype that male migrant youth perform worse in school. Many theories and studies intentionally or unintentionally state that many male migrant youth have the tendency to perform worse in school and subsequently cannot achieve a higher education degree. Thus, those associated images become stereotype threats and, thus making the concept of stereotype threat very applicable to the male migrant youth in Germany.

2.5.3 'Value creating education'

Stereotype threat can lead to the wasting of human potential and limit capacity. However, what kind of education is required so that migrant youth can fully expand their intelligence and overcome stereotype threats? As stated in the previous chapter, an educational concept that promotes malleable intelligence, pursues 'learning goals', focuses on learning new concepts and improves their competence is required rather than setting 'performance goals' and demonstrating their intelligence based on these goals. The educator Makiguchi developed an educational concept in Japan called 'value-creating pedagogy', which comes close to these requirements. Daisaku Ikeda, who wrote on 'value-creating pedagogy', states: "Central to his (Makiguchi's) formulation of this pedagogy is the tenet that all children should be afforded the opportunity to develop their potential limitlessly, and to lead fulfilling lives

undeterred by the destructive influences in society." (Ikeda 2010: 51) Makiguchi argues that education should shift from the transmission of knowledge to a process of learning to learn. He writes: "Education is not the piecemeal merchandising of information; it is the provision of keys that will allow people to unlock the vault of knowledge on their own. […] It would rather place people on their own path of discovery and invention." (Makiguchi 1983, vol.6, 285) This approach is far from 'performance goals' and quite similar to 'learning goals' and learning new concepts. He further argues that a change of perspective is required in that we should not view "learning as a preparation for living, but enable people to learn in the process of living." (ibid: 212)

Central to 'value-creating pedagogy' is the theory of value. This theory is somewhat close to the theory of capital accumulation by self-improvement; how capital influences academic success and that increasing capital is essential to success (see chapter 2.4.). However, one difference between the capital theory and the creating value theory is that regardless of the existing capital and circumstances, the best outcome or the highest value should be created rather than 'the acceptance of low capital, which leads to school failure'. Makiguchi considers creating value not simply as creating better school performance, but also creating motivation, inspiration and hope to encourage students to reach their goals. He argues that value arises from the relationship between the evaluating subject and the object of evaluation. If either changes relative to the other, it is only obvious that the perceived value will change (ibid: vol.5, 236). Therefore, he sees a significant value in the change of students and that it can change the teachers and the environment as well. Makiguchi argues that regardless of whether something adds to or detracts from, advances or hinders, the human condition is the criterion for value, with the goal to enable students to engage in value creation. Enabling the students to create value, change their situation and become an active participant in their environment is a process of empowerment. Nevertheless, he not only focuses on students and their responsibility, but also considers the role of the teacher and the environment, criticizing the authority oppressing the students and misguiding them as well.

This value creating pedagogy can be an effective method against stereotype threat, because it understands intelligence, capacity and capability as expandable and malleable. In other words, it is an educational method that holds the 'incremental theory (the view that intelligence as malleable), and students

who practice this 'value creating pedagogy' can improve their capability regardless of the existing stereotype threats. Furthermore, a male migrant student who exceeds the expectations (stereotypes) of a teacher, particularly a teacher who might have thought that this student could never achieve a higher educational degree, might change his view of other male migrant youth and might begin to think that male migrant youth can in fact obtain a higher educational degree. Overall, this can change teachers' understanding of intelligence and eventually assist the migrant youth and other students.

2.5.4   Empowerment of migrant youth and change of mind

It is necessary that intelligence be viewed as expandable and thereby effectively work against stereotype threat, and that the students themselves be active contributors to success in school. In other words, a change in mindset is necessary to change the situation. This can lead to an empowerment of youth that eventually changes the unequal distribution of education. However, the downside is that this form of empowerment focuses on the individual, which would be rather time consuming as it's an endless endeavor to change every person attending a school. Therefore, it seems more effective to focus on the educational system, the structures and the policies in order to change the situation. However, this can be refuted as Ikeda states: "Even if there is an agreement on policies, unless an increasing number of people embody and practice these in their lives, the realities will not change. In other words, if polices, laws and ethics bear little connection to the individual lives, and are seen as merely a set of guidelines to be passively followed – including obligations imposed externally, they will not enable us to respond robustly to changing circumstances. They will be abandoned in the first crisis." (Ikeda 2010: 43) This is also the main reason why I focused on migrant youth in my research, rather than on the teachers, the school systems and the government.

It is important to change the perspectives that migrant youth have towards themselves and society, but the perspectives of society towards migrant youth and the practice of stereotype (threats) have to change as well. Although these facts are commonly acknowledged, the focus is still on migrant youth and their perspectives. An example is the perspective which sees bilingualism as a 'language deficit' in two languages rather than as an additional skill and language capital. There are still many migrant youth that acknowledge bilingualism as a deficit, and this view has to change by the migrant youth themselves. This kind of change has to occur at a more profound level to overcome problems with

migration and the lower school performance of migrant youth. It is a simple idea, yet requires a difficult change of perspective since the society at large is accustomed to judging how well people fulfill socially-prescribed roles in comparison to others, and migrant youth are no exception.

I would like to conclude the theoretical section of Part I with a poem by the Danish poet Esther Gress, which nicely encapsulates my theory:

> "If you want to change the world
> you must change man.
> If you want to change man
> you must make him want to change."

Part II – Voices of Society and Research

Part II, which consists of chapters 3 to 5, will introduce three quantitative research analyses on youth. Each analysis has a different objective, focus and viewpoint. However, all of them differentiate their results between 'youth without migration background' and 'youth with migration background'. Therefore, all three analyses are suitable to depict the life situations, opinions and perceptions of 'youth with and without migration background'.

The social psychologist Serge Moscovici sought to investigate how scientific theories circulate within common knowledge, and what happens to these theories when they are purported to be true by the lay public. Moscovici developed the concept of social representation and argues that within a society, certain images, ideas, knowledge, lay-theories or interpretation systems influence group construction, circumstances and behavior. Social representation means to have a simplified picture, projection, and representation of a socially shared knowledge of a subject (see Moscovici 1988: 214). The theories are further referred to as a "system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and second, to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history." (Moscovici 1973) Moscovici argues that social representation is not only in the thoughts and ideas of individuals, but also 'in the world outside', for example, in newspapers, advertisements, laws and school textbooks, on TV, the Internet and so on. These various media spread social representation, and eventually the image of migrant youth is constructed. Often information for the mass media is provided by scientific research, and consequently that information can form and construct an image of migrant youth. Many quantitative research results are used to form and support a lay theory. These results are often presented as the 'common' situation and many people 'believe' these results and act subsequently. It becomes the 'common' understanding of certain situations and problems. Because of these reasons, I have put the three quantitative analyses in Part II "Voices of Society".

3 KFN quantitative research

3.1 Introduction to and objectives of this research

KFN is the abbreviation for 'Kriminologisches Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen', which means 'Criminal Research Institute Niedersachsen'. As the name indicates, the research focuses on crime and violence. KFN is concerned about the delinquent youth that might form and influence society in the future when they are adults. Therefore, this specific research aims to search for the causes and solutions (as preventive measures) of youth violence. The main research objective is to explore how different aspects and situations of life relate to violence. KFN focus on experiences that youth have with violence, the relationship of integration and violence, and how the consumption of media relates to violence. Questions on many aspects and situations of youth, such as education, free time, family situation, place of residence, masculinity, religion, drugs/alcohol consumption, etc. were asked to search for the reasons for violence. New surveys were conducted in 2007 and 2008 in Germany, followed by two reports in 2009 and 2010. Although the method of data collection always has an impact on the outcome, I will not go into detail on the methods of the research. The main purpose of presenting this study is to introduce the results and its conclusion, and to present a 'common' opinion of the situation – a picture of migrant youth that was created and reflected by this study. The institute KFN and Christian Pfeiffer, who led this project, are highly respected in the public. The results of this study were published by German magazines/newspapers, and Pfeiffer regularly appears on TV talk shows and is often cited in the media (Focus, Bildzeitung, ZEIT, taz). For example, one headline of ZEIT ONLINE newspaper read: "Muslim youth = Violent youth?" (ZEIT ONLINE: 8.6.2010) And there are more examples in the Internet. Since this research has a lot of resonance with the public, it is suitable to present it as one powerful voice in the discourse of migrant youth.

3.2   Results of the research

The questionnaire consisted of 43 pages and approximately 100 questions. Male and female students with migration background in the ninth grade were questioned. The total number of students is 6893, with an average age of 15.5 years, of which 49.1% are male and 50.9% are female. Data of youth without migration background from another nearly identical study by KFN is used as a comparison group, but only the identical questions were analyzed. The further results and interpretations that are done are based on these numbers. The approximately 100 questions and their answers were compared; indices were constructed and cross tabulations were applied to analyze the results. The statistical data were analyzed and interpreted with a focus on:

- experience with violence
- integration
- media consumption.

In the following three chapters, I will present the summary and details of the three aspects: experience with violence, integration and media consumption. Afterwards I will re-trace their interpretations and how Pfeiffer et al. came to certain results and conclusions about youth with migration background. These summaries are interpretations of statistical data, with indices being constructed by their interpretations. Comparisons of data were done according to their interpretations, therefore the results and summaries are interpreted results.

3.2.1   Interpreted results of 'experience with violence'

The analysis of 'experience with violence' aims to explore how personal experience relates to individual violent behavior and the causes of violence. The research conducted by KFN discovered that youth with migration background have more frequent contact with violence in the forms of delinquent friends and domestic violence, and have more contact with different forms of violence in school. In brief, they experience more violence than 'German youth'. In addition, KFN found that male youth tend to be more violent than female youth, and 'non German youth'[8] tend to be more violent than 'Ger-

---

8   KFN uses the term 'German youth' for youth without migration background and 'non German youth' for youth with migration background. This term implies that they do not consider the migrant youth that were born in Germany or living in Germany as 'Germans'. Youth with migration background who possess German citizenship are legally German, but

man youth'. This means that male youth with migration background have the most experience with violence and are the most 'violent' (KFN Report 2010).

The next goal was to explore the causes for the violence and learn why youth with migration background experience more violence. In searching for the causes, KFN primarily focused on religion. They analyzed the amount of violence committed for 'religious' reasons, and the results showed that being highly religious could prevent youth from delinquent behavior; however, youth who have an Islamic religion as their faith raise the inclination towards violence indirectly (KFN Report 2010: 9). This means that very 'religious' Muslim youth are the most violent. These conclusions result from the following data and interpretations:

14.2% of the youth without migration background who are not religious and living in former-West Germany behaved violently at least once in the 12 months preceding the research. In contrast, 6.6% of very[9] religious Catholic youth and 6.4% of very religious Protestant youth without migration background living in former West Germany behaved violently. KFN explains this phenomenon by arguing that very religious youth without migration background do not agree and identify with violence-oriented masculinity, consume less violent media and do not have contact with delinquent friends. The numbers clearly show the difference between religious and non-religious youth without migration background living in ex-West Germany. On the other hand, KFN claims that 7.7% of the slightly[5] religious Muslim youth and 10.2% of the very religious Muslim youth committed five or more violent acts in the 12 months preceding the research. From those numbers and interpretations, the simple picture/social representation is created that the more religious a Christian is, the less violent s/he is, and the more religious a Muslim is, the more violent s/he is. KFN's research presents the religious youth without migration background very positively, whereas the youth with migration background, especially the Muslim migrant youth, are presented

---

by calling them 'non German youth', KFN plunders their status and identity as Germans. However, many youth with migration background have a German citizenship or consider themselves as Germans. KFN uses 'German youth', but because of those reasons the term 'youth with migration background' or 'migrant youth' to abbreviate 'youth with migration background' will be used in this chapter.

9   The terms 'slightly' and 'very' are used because the questionnaire used the same terms to ask the youth about religiousness. The youth themselves "categorized" their religiousness.

very negatively according to the data they generated and interpreted. However, there are a few aspects of the research that need to be questioned.

One questionable aspect is: Why do youth without migration background in former East Germany have different outcomes than those in former West Germany? KFN did not mention the results of the former East German youth without migration background or interpret them, but a look into the data of former East German youth without migration background clearly states that the results are different. For instance, very religious Christian youth without migration background are more violent (15.0%) than the slightly religious youth without migration background in former East Germany (10.9%) (KFN Report 2010: 110). These results can be interpreted as follows: the more religious a Christian without migration background in former-East Germany is, the more violent s/he is. Why are the results of former East and West German youth without migration background different? Is it due to the economic/financial differences of former East and West Germany[10]?

One possible explanation is given by Karayaz, who led the research on migrant youth in Oldenburg. He argues that the authors of the KFN report did not differentiate the results according to social class[11], educational level and economic situation. Although KFN did acknowledge that migrant youth and Muslim youth are disadvantaged in terms of social, educational and economic background, those aspects were not considered in finding the causes of violence. KFN simply compares youth without migration background and youth with migration background, but many of the youth without migration background are in a relatively privileged position in class relations and many of the youth with migration background are in a relatively non-privileged position in class relations. So in a sense they compared the privileged class with the non-privileged class.

Another aspect that can be questioned is the 'result' that Muslim youth are more violent than other youth. KFN argues that Muslim youth are more violent based on the result that very religious Muslim men accept and identify more with violence-oriented masculinity compared to very religious Christian men. Karayaz argues that these results come from questions that ask for the *agreement* to certain behaviors in extreme situations and not the behaviors

---

10   Ex-East Germany has a higher unemployment rate and lower average income than ex-West Germany. More people in ex-East Germany have a lower socio-economic background.

11   Social class consists of educational level and financial situation.

themselves. Karayaz further explains that qualitative research on values and attitudes verifies that perception, and that ideal images of masculinity/femininity are 'only' images and not always put into action as imagined. Those values could influence the results of the questionnaire, although they do not reflect their behavior but rather only their imagination (Karayaz 2011 dissertation). As a matter of fact, many questions were quite extreme and designed in a way that the youth were 'forced' to identify themselves as either very masculine and violent or weak and peaceful. The youth were 'forced' to answer by making compromises in those questions and as a result do not reflect the reality. Here is one example: "Men should be permitted to possess a gun to protect their family or belongings[12]." (KFN questionnaire 2010: 6)

3.2.2 Interpreted results on 'integration'

KFN's analysis of the aspect 'integration' aims to explore the relationship of violence and level of integration; but the question of how to categorize the level of integration is up to debate, and suitable criteria to measure integration are a matter of interpretation. KFN used Esser's integration theory to categorize the integration level, and he explains integration as a successive and chronologically ordered process (Esser 1980: 231). He identifies four integration processes that are required by migrants in order to integrate. They are:

1. Cultural integration
2. Structural integration
3. Social integration
4. Identifiable[13] integration.

Esser argues that integration begins with cultural integration, which includes acquiring the necessary knowledge to act and interact in a meaningful manner in that culture. The competence to speak the language is an essential cultural competence (Esser 2000: 272, 2001: 8). Esser considers cultural integration as a pre-condition for the next process, which is structural integration. Structural integration means to have a social position in society, such

---

12 Original German words: "Männern sollte es erlaubt sein, Schusswaffen zu besitzen, um ihre Familie oder ihr Eigentum zu beschützen."
13 The word 'identifiable' is not exactly the same word used in German, but the closest. The German word is "Identifikative".

as a position at work, and for those who are not working it is the educational achievement (Gymnasium degree, B.A. or M.A. degree). He argues that educational success often leads to 'higher' positions at work and therefore determines structural integration. Acquiring rights by receiving German citizenship is also a criterion of structural integration (Esser 2000: 272). Social integration, which is the next integration level, implies interaction and social relationships between the migrant and the receiving society. By this, Esser means contact with 'Germans'[14] in the neighborhood as well as 'German' friendships or marriages with 'Germans'. The last integration level is identity integration, which is a question of attitude towards the receiving society. It questions whether someone identifies with the society and considers themselves and the society as one collective identity. Examples are national pride, the feeling of being part of Germany or whether one considers him or herself 'German' (IKG 2010: 58ff.).

KFN applied this integration theory for their study to analyze and categorize the integration level, and developed four additional criteria to determine the integration level. The four criteria are:

1. The usage of German (language) in different contexts (at home with parents, with friends, etc.)
2. Desired educational level
3. Contact with German friends
4. Self-perception as a German.

Questions were designed to correspond and relate to those four criteria. The answers were then analyzed and indices constructed. The results using the four criteria showed that the level of integration differs according to the migration background, and youth with Turkish migration background have the 'lowest' integration level (KFN report 2010: 13). KFN states that the youth with Turkish migration background believe more often than other groups that segregation from the Germans without migration background is necessary; they also communicate less in German, do not strive for higher education, have the least number of German friends, and few consider themselves as Germans (KFN report 2010). The fact that youth with Turkish migration background are the 'least' integrated was analyzed in relationship with violent behavior.

---

14 Esser considers 'Germans' as those without migration background.

KFN researched the theory that 'less' integration leads to more violence by comparing the 'less' integrated youth with the 'highly' integrated youth with Turkish migration background, and came to the conclusion that the 'less' integrated youth with Turkish migration background committed more violence than those who were categorized as 'highly' integrated. As percentages, 11.0% of the less integrated and 1.5% of the highly integrated youth with Turkish migration background had committed violence more than once. The conclusion is that integration level and violence have a significant relationship, and thus their hypothesis 'less integration = more violence' was partly verified[15]. KFN explains this phenomenon with: 'less' integrated youth do not receive a higher education and do not have contact with Germans without migration background. This explanation is justified by the reason that higher education and contact with Germans without migration background leads to intensive contact with positive role models, because higher educated people and Germans without migration background do not typically grow up in poverty, experience less domestic violence and largely condemn violence (ibd: 79). These results and the subsequent explanation create the picture of 'more integration = less violence'. Therefore, KFN argues that an effort to integrate youth with migration background is an effective method for preventing violence.

KFN's conclusion on 'integration and violence' is that 'less' integration = more violence. However, there are a few aspects that can be questioned regarding this conclusion. One questionable aspect is the four aforementioned criteria that determine the integration level, because not all of them are effective for 'measuring' the integration level. For example, the criterion 'usage of German language' tries to measure the level of cultural integration by measuring competence in German, but all of the interviewed youth go to a German school, could read the questionnaire and are competent in German[16]. Being bilingual and talking to friends and family in another language on some occasions is not equal to incompetence in German. The criterion 'desired education' tries to measure structural integration by measuring the desired level of education and the attainment of citizenship, but having a German passport and receiving a higher education is not the same as higher integration. The

---

15 Only partly verified, because some migrant groups did not show the same tendency.
16 The questions were written in German and conducted at German schools. Therefore, it can be assumed that they can read and understand the questions. This implies that they are competent in the German language.

criterion 'contact with Germans' [17] tries to measure social integration by measuring the amount of German friends without migration background, but considers youth with migration background as 'non German' [18] friends. This 'measurement' is not suited for defining the amount of 'German' friends because many of the 'non German' friends are second or third generation migrants who are integrated into society and are Germans. The criterion 'self-perception as a German' tries to measure the level of identification integration by measuring the identity as a 'German'. However, self-perception is influenced by the 'judgment' of others who do not perceive them as 'Germans'. KFN acknowledges this fact and states that 'others' often consider migrant youth who come from Asia, Africa, Arab countries and Turkey as 'non German'. Thus, this criterion is not suited for measuring integration.

The criteria for determining the level of integration are questionable, and some of the conclusions that KFN presented are contradictory – or at least further analysis should be done before accepting such conclusions. For example, KFN presents the youth with Turkish migration background as the 'least' integrated group, but do not consider that they are the most discriminated group and that this fact can influence the level of integration. KFN found that youth with Turkish migration background have the highest rate of unfair treatment by teachers in school – nearly 50% of them had experienced discriminating statements (KFN 2010 report: 13). The most discriminated group is also the 'least' integrated group, and interesting to note is the high negative correlation of 'level of integration' and 'level of discrimination'. Experiencing discrimination influences identity integration because it makes it more difficult to identify with being 'German' if they are 'discriminated' against by Germans. Structural integration is also influenced by discrimination, since unfair treatment in school has an influence on the grades of the students, and as a consequence, influences their educational goals. Thus, my hypothesis is that there is a significant relationship between the 'level of integration' and 'level of discrimination', though KFN does not examine this point. KFN does state that the migrants' strong relationship and identification with their own group and their daily experiences might be a possible cause for them to feel

---

17 See page 43, footnotes number 2. 'Germans' used by KFN refers to Germans without migration background.
18 See page 43, footnotes number 2. 'Non German' used by KFN refers to Germans with migration background.

unwelcomed (KFN report 2010: 14), but KFN does not consider discrimination as an important factor that can influence the level of integration.

3.2.3   *Interpreted results on 'media consumption'*

The analysis of 'media consumption' aimed to explore how the extensive consumption of media influences school grades and how it influences violent behavior, especially how the consumption of violent media influences violent behavior. KFN investigated the amount of time that the youth spend with different kinds of media, and on average they spend close to 7 hours a day watching TV, using the Internet and playing computer games, and only 30 minutes on reading. Male youth spend even more time with media than female youth. After this data was generated, KFN categorized the results according to the educational level to determine whether 'lower' educated youth do consume more media. The results show that there is no significant difference in media consumption between 'higher' educated youth and 'lower' educated youth. However, KFN claims by citing other studies that media consumption has an influence on school grades, although the data they generated did not verify this conclusion. With regard to the consumption of violent media, 'lower' educated youth watch more violent movies and play more violent games. Based on this, KFN concludes that violent media consumption has a significant relationship to violent behavior, and 'lower' educated youth are more violent.

The results on the consumption of media were also categorized into different migration backgrounds, and there is not much difference in the amount of media consumption and violent media consumption between youth with migration background and youth without migration background. One contradicting point is that youth with migration background consume the same amount of media and violent media as youth without migration background, but the youth with migration background are more violent. Why are youth with migration background more violent although they consume the same amount of violent media? This fact raises some questions and shows that some of the conclusions and theories of KFN contradict each other. Did KFN not claim that violent media consumption leads to violent behavior, and that youth with migration background are more violent? Although KFN points to the significant relationship of violent media consumption and violent behavior, they do not question why youth with migration background are violent in spite of the equal amount of violent media consumption.

This chapter on media consumption categorized and analyzed the results according to: youth with migration background vs. youth without migration background and 'low educational level' vs. 'high educational level'. Most of the comparisons and analyses were based merely on those two aspects. The comparison between youth with and without migration background showed that there is not much difference in the amount of media and violent media consumption. With regard to educational level, 'lower' educated youth consume more violent media and are more violent. However, KFN confuses this result with the previous result on 'integration and violence' and argues that youth with migration background are more violent instead of arguing that 'lower educated' youth are more violent. Although their data on 'media consumption' showed that youth with and without migration background consume the same amount of violent media, they refer to the data from 'integration and violence' and disarrange the conclusion. KFN presents the result as if more violence is due to having migration background rather than arguing that 'lower' education is the cause. It might be interesting to compare the 'lower' educated youth with migration background with the 'lower' educated youth without migration background and the 'higher' educated youth with migration background with the 'higher' educated youth without migration background. Comparisons and analyses should be conducted with similar objects; however, KFN compares two different categories. Therefore, further analysis should be conducted before coming to a final conclusion.

3.3 Conclusion on KFN's research

KFN tried to find the influences and causes that lead to delinquent thoughts and behavior by analyzing the integration level, experience with violence and media consumption. Their aim was to search for certain 'inputs' or 'non inputs' in the lives of youth that would cause delinquent thoughts and behavior. After conducting the interviews and gathering all the answers, they categorized the results into three aspects for analysis and compared them. The three aspects are:

‒ gender (female vs. male),
‒ migration background (with migration background vs. without migration background), and
‒ level of education ('higher' education' vs. 'lower' education).

The idea was to investigate whether those aspects have an influence on violent behavior and whether there are some specific '(non) inputs' or circum-

stances for someone who is male, has a migration background or a 'lower' educational level. Some of the results showed differences between the variables compared and some did not, but a closer look into the results and comparing those results revealed that results from one aspect contradicted with the results from another aspect. The logical conclusion of a study should be: if A = B and B = C, then A = C; but A = C does not apply in this study.

One explanation for this contradiction is that the comparison 'with migration background vs. without migration background' does not consider the educational background of the youth without migration background. Most of the youth with migration background are 'lower educated' and most of the youth without migration background are 'higher educated', therefore the comparison 'with migration background vs. without migration background' becomes a comparison of 'lower educated vs. higher educated' youth. The statement that youth with migration background are more violent could also be explained by the fact that most of the youth with migration background have 'lower education'. Another aspect that was not considered is the economic background of the youth. The comparison 'lower educated vs. higher educated' does not consider the economic situation of the 'lower educated'. Most of the 'lower educated' youth are economically insecure and most of the 'higher educated' are economically secure; therefore, the comparison 'lower educated vs. higher educated' becomes a comparison of 'economically insecure vs. economically secure'. The statement that 'lower educated' youth are more violent could also be explained by the fact that most of the 'lower educated' are economically insecure. In other words, the cause for violence could be the insecure economic situation or even the poverty of the 'lower educated' and not 'lower education'. Further aspects that were not considered include the legal situation of youth that don't have a German passport, and therefore have fewer rights and less security. Thus, the comparison 'youth with migration background vs. youth without migration background' can also turn into a comparison of 'youth with fewer rights vs. youth with more rights'.

KFN acknowledges the fact that many of the youth with migration background are 'lower' educated and economically insecure and even presents those results using their data, but they do not consider these aspects in their analysis. KFN alleges that having migration background is the cause for delinquent thoughts and behavior, but they do not consider the financial situation and educational level of youth with migration background. Furthermore, they ignore the aspect of discrimination in school, which can lead to

'lower education', and they also ignore discrimination at work or the difficulty finding work, which can lead to an insecure economic situation. The experience with discrimination, which is a form of delinquent behavior resulting from delinquent thought, can influence the delinquent thoughts and behaviors of the youth with migration background. However, this aspect is not considered in their analysis, although KFN acknowledges discrimination and has data on those matters.

As mentioned, comparisons should be conducted using objects with similar conditions. Further categorization that includes the economic background as well as considering the aspect of intersectional effects between different aspects, such as experienced discrimination, should be considered before coming to a final conclusion. My critique of KFN's research is the 'incomplete' analysis as well as the analytical methods employed, which had a major influence on the outcome. Additionally, some questionable methods were used, such as those questions in the questionnaire that systematically directed the answers in a certain direction. Although mentioned in the beginning that the methods and questions are not relevant, per se, to my paper, the need to point out those aspects is necessary in order to avoid the possibility of believing that those results present the 'truth'.

The result of this quantitative research is part of 'Voices of Society' and contributes to a social representation, which is re/produced by this study. The re/produced portrayal by this study is that male youth with migration background who adhere to Islam have a higher inclination towards violence, and that youth with migration background perform worse in school than youth without migration background. The reason for the negative result is allegedly believed in being male, being a migrant, and being a Muslim. Being male is negative because masculine values cause/justify violence. The Muslim male migrant is even more negative since they have a strong tendency to be violent because of their strong belief in 'certain/violent migrant masculine values'. The 'less integrated' migrant youth are very violent, 'uneducated' and have many delinquent friends. The conclusion of this study reinforces a negative image/social representation of migrant male youth. The first voice in 'Voices of Society' presents male migrant youth negatively, blames them and does not find the cause of violence in the society, environment or school.

4 IKG quantitative research

4.1 Introduction and objectives of this research

The Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence (IKG) conducts theoretical and empirical analyses on the different forms, dimensions and causes of conflict and violence. Wilhelm Heitmeyer is the founder of IKG and is a professor of sociology and specializes in group-focused enmity. He developed the theory that disintegration in various forms is the cause for group-focused enmity and conflict, and this research attempts to verify his theory (IKG 2010). Disintegration, according to Heitmeyer, leads to the shortage of material commodities, social acceptance and personal integrity. He argues that disintegration can be viewed from two perspectives: one is the objective and the second is the subjective perspective on disintegration (IKG 2010: 4ff.). For that reason, he collected two sets of data in this research; the quantitative data was used to understand the quantitative (objective) view, or to be more precise, the intersubjective view, and the qualitative data was used to reconstruct the subjective view on disintegration and its effects.

By using such data, this research has two major objectives:

- to investigate how much prejudice and resentment (especially anti-Semitism) is present within the youth with and without migration background,
- to investigate how prejudice and resentment occur, and what the causes are for prejudice and resentment in one's social life.

Prejudice and resentment can hinder building social relationships between people and groups and can bear potential for conflicts. IKG tries to investigate the circulation and causes of prejudice and resentment because effective preventions to avoid conflicts can only be introduced based on that knowledge (see Heitmeyer's longitudinal study: Deutsche Zustände, 2002–2010, published every year). Put simply, IKG tries to investigate the thoughts and ideas of youth with and without migration background, including why the thoughts of prejudice and resentment occur. The sociologist Elizabeth Doyle McCar-

thy says: "The human mind is conceived as an activity; mental attitudes and knowledge are always linked with action." (McCarthy 1996: 4) The actions of a person are determined by his or her ideas and thoughts, thus to investigate the 'origin' of conflict, starting with the thoughts and the 'origin' of thoughts of the youth is logical.

IKG started their research with the hypothesis that:

- experiences with discrimination, disadvantage and disintegration have a significant correlation with thoughts of prejudice and resentment,
- the act of raising the value of their social identity has a significant correlation with devaluing others and the practice of prejudice and resentment.

(IKG 2010: 4)

The hypothesis is that experiencing discrimination is the cause for practicing discrimination. In more simple words, 'I do what others do to me' or 'I discriminate because others discriminate against me'. The act of devaluing is also the reaction to experiencing the devaluation of one's own group/social identity. In simple terms, 'Because others devalue me, I will devalue others', and 'By devaluing others, I raise my value'.

The attempt by IKG to depict ideas and thoughts was quite difficult, but to obtain clear results, IKG especially focused on youth with migration background that came from social contexts influenced by Islam. They presumed that those youth (Muslim youth) had experienced more discrimination/ disintegration, and therefore expected more reactions and clear results (IKG 2010: 4). Furthermore, IKG argues that many studies document discrimination against youth with migration background, but only few studies investigate the difference between Christian and Muslim youth with migration background (ibid: 6). However, IKG does not explain the link between migration background and religious devotion or even how religious devotion is defined. For example, IKG categorized all youth with Turkish background as Muslims, but not all of them are religious, and some might practice other religions. IKG also draws comparisons to youth with German, Russian and Polish backgrounds, but do not categorize those youth as Christians. Further unclear definitions are the youth with Kurdish background, who could be Turkish, Arabic, or any other nationality and can be categorized in many different social groups. It is clear the study has some contradictory points, nevertheless, the studies and data by IKG are considered to be reliable, are cited by other scholars, and Heitmeyer often appears on German TV news shows such as 'Tagesschau'.

Thus, this research is suitable to present as the 'common' opinion of the situation and picture of the migrant youth.

4.2   Results of the research

This research started in 2008 and ended in 2010, followed by a report in December 2010. The result of the quantitative research consists of questionnaires with 2404 female and male students attending the ninth, tenth or eleventh grade, thus the age ranged from 15 to 17 years. The questionnaire was conducted in four different German cities[19] and at different school types[20], and youth from nine different backgrounds[21] participated. The questionnaire was 28 pages long with approximately 70 questions and was conducted during one regular school hour (probably 45 minutes[22]). The qualitative research consisted of 42 individual interviews and 20 group discussions. However, the qualitative research focused on Muslim youth and gathered data only from youth with either Turkish or Arabic background, therefore the qualitative data will be excluded and only the quantitative data will be presented in this paper. The results are constructed by interpretations of statistical data, the indices are constructed by their interpretations, and comparisons of the data are done according to their interpretations. Therefore, the results and summaries are interpreted results.

4.2.1   Interpreted results on the presence of prejudice and resentment

The first objective of this research was to investigate how much prejudice and resentment exist within youth with and without migration background. IKG tried to answer this question by asking about their attitudes towards certain groups and ideologies, such as Punks, Germans, migrants, sexism, homosexuality, Islam, anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism. They found that prejudice and resentment are present within the youth, but that the degree and object of prejudice/resentment differ according to their migration background. IKG categorized nine different backgrounds and analyzed which background

---

19   The four cities are: Berlin, Bielefeld, Cologne and Frankfurt/Main.
20   Gesamtschule, Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule, Berufschule
21   The nine backgrounds are: Polish, ex-Soviet Union, Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, South European, other Muslim background and other countries.
22   IKG did not mention the exact amount of time given, thus it is unclear; but most schools in Germany have 45 minutes for a school hour.

has a significantly high prejudice or resentment towards a certain group or ideology.

The nine backgrounds are:

1. German youth without migration background
2. 'Aussiedler'[23] youth with Russian background
3. 'Aussiedler' youth with Polish background
4. Youth with Turkish background
5. Youth with Kurdish background
6. Youth with Arab background
7. Youth with Southern European background
8. Youth from countries with Islamic background[24]
9. Youth with other backgrounds.

(IKG 2010: 16)

Results revealing significantly high prejudice and resentment against Jews were documented by youth with Muslim background[25]. Especially the youth with Arab background had more anti-Semitic attitudes than the other youth, but it was in the context of Israel and its politics. For example, 41.5% of youth with Arab background agreed fully to the question 'Jews become more unsympathetic because of the Israeli politics.'[26] 25.6% of the youth with Turkish background and 25% of the youth from countries with Islamic background agreed fully as well. The German youth without migration background in comparison had 2.9% answering it with 'I fully agree.' (IKG 2010: 24) Other questions on Israel-related anti-Semitism were asked as well, such as the question "Because of the politics that Israel practices, I can understand well that people have something against Jews."[27] In this question, 43.9% of the youth with Arab background, 21.3% of the youth with Islamic back-

---

23 'Aussiedler' are people of German ancestry. Their ancestors had migrated abroad, and they (the children or grandchildren of the emigrants) have come back to Germany. German law allows persons of German descent living anywhere in the world the right to return to Germany and to claim German citizenship.
24 Countries with Islamic background means: those countries where the majority practices Islam or where Islam is the state religion.
25 Muslim background includes youth with Turkish and Arab backgrounds and youth from other countries with Islamic background.
26 German original question is: "Durch die israelische Politik werden mir die Juden immer unsympathischer." (IKG 2010: 24)
27 German original question is: "Bei der Politik, die Israel betreibt, kann ich gut verstehen, dass man etwas gegen Juden hat." (IKG 2010: 24)

ground and 21.1% of the youth with Turkish background answered with 'I fully agree.' Of the German youth without migration background, only 2.1% answered this question with 'I fully agree.' (ibid: 24) IKG claims, based on these results, that youth with Muslim background have more anti-Semitic attitudes in the context of Israel. However, IKG also cites Heyder/ Schmidt/ Iser and states that a critical positioning towards the politics of Israel has nothing to do with anti-Semitism (ibid: 23). The contradicting point is that IKG first states that Muslim youth are more prejudicial because they are more critical against the politics in Israel, but then refutes it by stating that political attitudes against Israel have nothing to do with anti-Semitism. These contradicting arguments confuse the reader and make it difficult to understand why IKG presented these results in the first place.

Questions on anti-Semitism in the context of religion were also presented, but the difference between the youth with Muslim background and other groups is not as wide as the 'political' anti-Semitism (ibid: 25). For instance, 22% of the youth with Arab background answered "I fully agree" to the question "In my religion, the Jews are the ones who do mischief in the world."[28] 13% of the youth with Turkish background and 16.9% of the youth from countries with an Islamic background answered "I fully agree" to the same question (ibid: 25). Results of classic anti-Semitism[29] were also presented. Classic anti-Semitism includes discrimination of Jews based on negative stereotypes, such as "Jews control the world" and that "Jews themselves are responsible for their massacre because of their behavior" (IKG: 22). Regarding the classic form of anti-Semitism, 35.8% of the youth with Arabic background answered "I fully agree" to the question "Jews have too much influence in the world." 21.9% of the youth from other countries with Islamic background and 20.9% of the youth with Turkish background answered this question with "I fully agree". 2.1% of the of youth without migration background as well as the youth with Russian background answered "I fully agree" to this question, and 7.8% of the youth with Polish background answered it likewise.

'Muslim youth' are presented as the most anti-Semitic, but German youth without migration background have a secondary anti-Semitic[30] attitude as well. Secondary anti-Semitism includes the neglecting or devaluing of crimes

---

28 The German original question: "In meiner Religion sind es die Juden, die die Welt ins Unheil treiben."
29 Original German word: „Klassischer Antisemitismus".
30 Original German word: „Sekundärer Antisemitismus".

on Jews, and that Jews take advantage of their position as victims (IKG: 22). 'Secondary anti-Semitism', according to IKG, is significantly high and special among the youth without migration background (ibid: 25). 20.2% of the youth without migration background fully agree to the question "I am fed up hearing about the injustice done to the Jews."[31] Youth with Turkish background answered with 12%, youth from countries with Islamic background answered with 18.8%, and youth with Arab background answered with 22% agreeing fully to the question. However, the youth with Polish background have the highest percentage with 26.7% (ibid: 25).

In conclusion, anti-Semitism is present and most of the youth with Muslim background (especially those with Arab background) associate Jews with Israel because of the geographical closeness. The German youth without migration background associate Jews with the Holocaust of the Nazi Regime because of the crimes of the 20th Century. All other youth did not or could not associate significantly with this topic (IKG 2010: 18ff.). This shows that background, in this case the historical and geographical background, influences the attitudes of (some) youth towards anti-Semitism.

Another finding from this research is that the German youth without migration background have significantly high pejorative attitudes towards Muslims, and some have Islamophobia (ibid: 18). Islamophobia is a prejudice against, hatred for or irrational fear of Islam or Muslims, and some scholars argue that Islamophobia is a form of intolerance alongside Xenophobia and anti-Semitism (Roald 2004: 53). IKG understands the pejorative attitudes and Islamophobia of the German youth without migration background in connection with their discriminative actions, and accordingly the discrimination that the youth with Muslim background had to experience (IKG 2010: 18). This shows that attitudes and thoughts have a significant influence on the actions of the youth. It is worth noting that IKG did not categorize the German youth without migration background as Christians, although they did categorize the youth with Turkish background as Muslims.

In addition to anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, other forms of prejudicial attitudes are present among the youth, especially by the 'Aussiedler' with Russian background and the youth with Muslim background. Youth with Russian and Muslim backgrounds show that they have ideas of (racial) hier-

---

31   Original German question: "Ich bin es leid, immer wieder von den Verbrechen an den Juden zu hören."

archy according to social groups. Approximately 20% believe that some social groups are (genetically[32]) superior to others[33]. However, 7.4 % of the German youth without migration background also have ideas of racial hierarchy (IKG 2010: 19). IKG explains that the higher presence of prejudice and resentment by the youth with Russian and Muslim background is caused by their own experience with prejudice and resentment (IKG 2010 18). What's confusing about this comparison is that one categorization is religious (Muslim youth) and the other is a national or ethnic category (Russian). Nevertheless, IKG analyzed the data and states that the youth with Russian and Muslim backgrounds face more discrimination and disadvantages, and also experience more failure in school such as repeating a class, being recommended to lower school types or even dropping out of school (ibid: 4).

Although the categorizations Muslim and Russian are vague, IKG's hypothesis was verified that experiences with discrimination, disadvantages and disintegration have a significant relationship with thoughts of prejudice and resentment. It is a retraceable and logical causality that if discrimination has been 'learned' and has been an educational 'input', that the 'output' is prejudicial attitudes and discrimination is practiced. In other words, 'one can only give back those things that one has learned'. IKG came to this (theoretical) 'conclusion' because they analyzed the data and saw that certain social groups experience more prejudice, and those same social groups also have more prejudicial attitudes. The 'logical' explanation using the principle of causality by IKG, however, is too superficial and does not consider the full complexity. More factors must play a role because the German youth without migration background did not experience discrimination, disadvantage and disintegration, but still have prejudicial attitudes against Muslims. Another contradiction is that female (youth) who experience (gender) prejudice should have more prejudicial attitudes and practice more prejudice, but this is not the case. IKG, however, does not give any logical explanations for those contradicting matters and did not even mention those aspects in their report. Another critique is that IKG did not explore the aspect of gender, structural/ institutional discrimination or discursive discrimination in this particular research.

---

32 'Genetically' is translated from the German word: "von ihrer Natur her anderen überlegen."
33 Original German question: "Einige Völker sind von ihrer Natur her anderen überlegen."

Despite some contradictory points and missing aspects, the answer to the first question and primary objective of this research "Is prejudice and resentment present" can be answered with 'Yes'. Youth with Muslim background have a more anti-Semitic attitude, the youth with Russian background have thoughts of superiority compared to other groups and more prejudice and resentment against other groups, and German youth without migration background have prejudices and resentment against Muslims. The degree and object of prejudice and resentment differ according to background, which is quite normal since social groups are socialized differently, have different historical backgrounds and are treated differently by the receiving society. Therefore, it is logical that the 'reactions' to certain events, systems and values differ. The principle of habitus, mentioned in chapter 2 by Bourdieu, which argues that habitus is unconsciously created by education and history and that it is difficult to change, can be applied to explain the different 'reactions' that a person or a social group has.

4.2.2   Interpreted results on causes for prejudice and resentment

The second objective or question of this research was 'How does prejudice and resentment occur and what are the causes in a person's social life creating prejudice and resentment?' This is partly answered in the previous chapter. In summary, the study showed that prejudice and resentment occur and are practiced because the youth themselves have experienced discrimination, disadvantage and disintegration and they re-produce it. Often the youth grow up in a social, educational, or family environment where prejudice is practiced. Their geographical/historical background has influence as well on their attitudes and behavior. As mentioned earlier, one can only give back those things that one has learned. However, the motivation and decision to reproduce and practice prejudice and resentment is, according to the hypothesis of IKG, driven by the purpose to improve or upgrade their social group/identity by devaluing others through the practice of prejudice and resentment (IKG 2010: 18). Thus, the hypothesis is that the acts of upgrading their social identity have a significant relationship with devaluing others and the practice of prejudice and resentment.

IKG tried to verify this hypothesis by first researching the social group/background that had experienced (more) prejudice and resentment. The second step was to research the '(re)actions' of those groups that experienced devaluation. IKG then tried to focus on whether groups that had experienced de-

valuation (prejudice) had more prejudicial attitudes than others, and found that there is a significant relationship between experienced prejudice and resentment and the practice of prejudice and resentment. Groups who practice prejudice and resentment have experienced it as well, and IKG's data verify that the most devalued group is also the group with the most practice devaluing others (IKG 2010). Thus the hypothesis was verified. However, why exactly do social groups/backgrounds try to enhance their position relative to those who had practiced prejudicial attitudes towards them? The reasons and mechanism of upgrading their social identity is the existence of discrimination. The migrant youth feel discriminated against, and as a 'reaction' they demand equal treatment and rights; they try to gain acceptance from the receiving society to become an equal participant of society and have a need for affiliation (IKG 2010: 48). Those actions are attempts to enhance their 'damaged' and devalued social group/identity.

However, the act of enhancement is not identical to devaluing others, nor does it necessarily lead to devaluing or discriminating against others (ibid: 56). Whether devaluing others is 'chosen' or not as a method to enhance their social group/identity is primarily determined by the social class and their own experiences with discrimination and not by migration background (ibid: 68f.). According to IKG, their own experiences in society and especially in school, including whether they felt (or still feel) discriminated against, disadvantaged or devalued, has a major impact on their (re)actions. IKG states that migrant youth are permanently confronted with negative stereotypes regarding their ethnic or religious group and consequently experience discrimination and disadvantages. Those external judgments/prejudices force the youth to search for strategies that can compensate for their mortification and try to enhance their damaged social group/identity (ibid: 51). IKG states that experiences of devaluation, discrimination, disadvantages and feelings of helplessness are the causes for attempting to enhance the value of their own social group and devaluing other groups (ibid: 68). Often the strategy or action by the youth is to look for a comparative group that is even more discriminated against and devalued, or simply choose a social group that can easily be devalued, and then take action to enhance their own social group/identity. Thus, devaluing others makes the youth feel superior and leads to enhancing their social group.

In conclusion, the reasons for practicing prejudice and resentment are, according to IKG, ultimately found in their own experiences with prejudice and

resentment. The practice of prejudice and resentment is not caused by their migration background, but by their individual experiences in society with prejudice and resentment. IKG also concludes that attitudes of devaluation have complex backgrounds and are not caused by migration or religious background, but by the experiences in society that had caused the attitudes of devaluation (ibid: 68). The argument that certain social groups with certain migration background inherently have more prejudice or resentment can therefore be refuted. Certain backgrounds have experienced more discrimination and they 'react' with prejudice and resentment, which creates the picture that those backgrounds have prejudice; however, it is not due to their background, but the experiences they had to go through as a result of that background. Furthermore, IKG states that the educational background/level of the youth also determines the degree of devaluation, which means that higher educated youth have 'less' prejudice or can hide/cover prejudice better (ibid: 29 f., 44 f.).

Those explanations by IKG seem very logical and convincing; however, it does not explain why German youth without migration background have prejudicial attitudes against Muslim youth. German youth without migration background are not devalued in society and do not need to raise their position, thus they do not need to 'react' with prejudicial attitudes. This aspect is somehow unclear and not explained in the report.

4.3   Conclusion on IKG's research

The study by IKG investigated the thoughts and ideas of youth with and without migration background and tried to determine whether thoughts and the practice of prejudice and resentment exist and what the causes are. Their premise is that behavior is caused by thoughts, and that investigating how thoughts are created can lead to preventing prejudicial thoughts and eventually prejudicial behavior. IKG sought to find out whether prejudicial thoughts had existed before they did their investigation on the causes, and came to the conclusion that they had existed, and that the object and degree of prejudice differ according to the 'migration background' and 'religious background'. Further analysis, however, determined that the thoughts of prejudice and resentment are caused by the youth's experience with prejudice and resentment and not their background, and the 'decision' to practice prejudice and resentment is caused by the desire to enhance their social group. The results of this study are clearly presented since the report is logically structured and

easy to read and understand. Furthermore, the study by IKG cites many other studies to analyze and acknowledge the circumstances, and it takes into consideration the life situation, the existence of discrimination and the current debate on youth with migration background.

However, some results by IKG do not match with other studies and IKG did not further analyze the differences or try to explain the differences. IKG simply states that their random sample is not representative and that the statistical results should be interpreted with precaution (IKG 2010: 31, 68). In other words, IKG states that the results are questionable, but still reports and claims their results. The report often presents the conclusion at the beginning, and at the end the 'invalidity' of the results is claimed. For example (see chapter 4.2.1), one's political opinion of Israel is not anti-Semitism but still it is claimed as anti-Semitism. This example shows that the report has some 'language traps' and that some contradictions in the conclusions exist.

'Language traps' occur when the order of words is 'intentionally' misplaced or phrases are too complex to understand. The sociologist Sik Hung Ng argues that language can be used to misrepresent reality and causality through lexical and syntactic manipulations. Very often, the manipulation is so subtle that the language users may not be aware of it. These manipulations can be activated simply by changing a single word (Sik Hung Ng 2007: 109 f.).

An example of language manipulation is:

*'**Employers** always quarrel with unions'* vs. *'**Unions** always quarrel with employers'*.

The first statement directs readers' attention to employers, which implies they are the culprit for quarrelling with unions. The opposite effect is achieved by putting unions first. The first word or phrase in a sentence has the privilege of grabbing the attention of the readers. This is a subtle manipulation of causality and leads to misinterpretation and can be abused. Other examples of subtle manipulation can be seen in law cases: the lawyer can manipulate by asking the defendant:

"Did you fight with her?" or *"Did she fight with you?"*

Or the lawyer asks the victim:

"Did you fight with him?" or *"Did he fight with you?"*

Other manipulations can be seen in newspaper articles:

> *'Police shot blacks dead as meeting turned into riot'*
> *'Blacks shot dead by police as meeting turned into riot'*
> *'Blacks shot dead as meeting turned into riot'*

These are some examples of language manipulations, and IKG applies such manipulations in their report. One example in the report is the level of education. IKG tried to compare youth with and without migration background from the same educational level and categorized the youth according to the school type that they are currently attending to determine the educational level. IKG constructed indices with these categorizations and performed statistical calculations. A few pages later, IKG states that the school type is not a reliable factor in determining the educational level, since some school types (e.g. Gesamtschule) do not categorize the students according to the school performance. Furthermore, IKG states that the migrant youth have lower school performance within the range of the categorized educational levels, and whether they graduate from that school type is not sure. Because of those reasons, IKG states that the results should be analyzed with care (IKG 2010: 29ff.). In other words, IKG tried to categorize the educational level of the youth for comparisons but did not succeed, yet stood by their results. Therefore, they refuted their results 'indirectly', which confuses the reader.

Another example of language manipulation in the report is that IKG either withholds certain information, or only parts of information are shared or distributed all over the report so that it is hard to find. Because of this, it is difficult to create a whole picture and thus the report lacks transparency. One example of this is the educational level of the youth. For instance, IKG states on page 14 the school type and number of schools they did their interviews at, but not the number of students that were interviewed at each school type. Later, on page 31, the percentage of students visiting each school type is presented, but only as a percentage and not the total number of students. To be precise: the numbers state that 37.3% of all the Turkish youth go to the school type Hauptschule, but it does not state the total number of Turkish youth, which could be, for example, 37.3% of 900 or 90. It only shows the ratio of migrant youth visiting certain school types. Furthermore, those percentages state the distribution within the migration background. All in all, it is not clear how many students go to which school type.

In another example of non-transparency, IKG does not state the content of the indices or the reasons that certain indices are created, nor do they state the questions (items) in the report. Therefore, it is unclear what questions led to the results. IKG 'only' says that indices for statistical calculation were created with the answers of the youth, but do not show the process of how they were constructed and what calculation led to the results. Further examples are the determination of social class of the youth with and without migration background. In contrast to KFN, IKG tries to differentiate between the different social classes and acknowledges that people with migration background are positioned in an unprivileged situation, and that this situation should be considered in the statistics. Therefore, they included many questions regarding social class, such as years of education that the parents received, the occupations of the parents, which school type the youth are in, whether the youth can buy certain goods (iPod, Nike, brand goods etc.) and how many books they have in the household. IKG clearly has access to many items to determine the social class, however they only apply the years of education and occupations of the parents as indicators to determine the social class, and the reason for this choice is not thoroughly explained. Quantitative studies are very complex and determining social class can be quite difficult, sometimes leading to improper categorization; that is one negative aspect of quantitative studies. The possibility of miscategorizing in this case is insufficiently stated and acknowledged by IKG. The result is that the reader simply believes the conclusions of the study without questioning the validity of the information.

As I have shown, non-transparency and language manipulation are two negative aspects of IKG's report; a third aspect is the theoretical part of this study. The theories 'raising their social identity by practicing prejudices' or 'experiences of discrimination leading to the practice of discrimination' seem logical, and the quantitative data seem to verify these theories. However, the verification of the hypothesis is based on non-transparent results and language manipulations. Furthermore, the major theoretical gap is that German youth without migration background, who do not need to 'up-value' or had not experienced much discrimination, have prejudicial attitudes towards Muslims. This discrepancy is not explained in the report and raises doubts of the credibility of the theory. The theory seems to be too simple and does not consider other factors and reasons that can explain the prejudicial attitudes of German youth without migration background.

Another critique of this report is the definition of background, and that IKG sometimes compares two different categories that are in fact incomparable. The word 'migration background' is used in an unusual way and is not clearly defined in this study, which irritates the reader and ultimately creates the impression that the results are not reliable. For example, nationality, religion, ethnicity and geographical regions are used to determine the backgrounds of the youth.

Listed are the backgrounds and how they are determined:

– German youth without migration background → nationality
– 'Aussiedler'[34] youth with Russian background → ethnicity/nationality
– 'Aussiedler' youth with Polish background → ethnicity/nationality
– youth with Turkish background → nationality/sometimes religion
– youth with Kurdish background → ethnicity/sometimes religion
– youth with Arab background → geographical/sometimes religion
– youth with South European background → geographical
– youth from countries with Islamic background[35] → religion
– youth with other backgrounds (IKG 2010: 16) → not stated, thus unclear

IKG mistakenly compares religious background with nationality, and thus compares two different categories. For example, they compare German youth without migration background with Muslim youth instead of comparing Christian youth with Muslim youth. Furthermore, IKG ignorantly categorizes youth with Turkish, Kurdish and Arab backgrounds as Muslims and 'changes' the background accordingly for the comparisons they wish to create. It is questionable if every second or third generation Turkish youth is a Muslim, and even if they are Muslims, whether they practice the religion or are religious is another question. The relationship between nationality and religious belonging is not explained and clarified. Furthermore, the definition of religious belonging or religiousness is not defined. In other words: what criteria IKG applied to define a person as Muslim and religious is not clear. In addition, IKG does not categorize the German youth or Polish youth as Christians although those countries have Christian influence and are socialized in a

---

34 'Aussiedler' are people of German ancestry. Their ancestors had migrated abroad, and they (the children or grandchildren of the emigrants) have come back to Germany. German law allows persons of German descent living anywhere in the world the right to return to Germany and to claim German citizenship.
35 'Countries with Islamic background' means those countries where the majority practices Islam or where Islam is a state religion.

Christian way. In the report by IKG, the word 'Muslim youth' and a corresponding prejudicial attitude is emphasized, but the term 'Christian youth' does not appear nor is data presented that 'Christian youth' have prejudicial attitudes as well.

In summary, the report seems well structured and the theory seems logical at first glance, but further analysis of the report and data revealed contradictions and inaccuracies. The result of this study is that youth with and without migration background have prejudicial attitudes, and in particular the Muslim youth stand out. Muslim youth are presented negatively and this negative image remains in the minds of the readers. Therefore, the social representation and most likely the 'common' understanding and picture of Muslim youth will be negative as well. This study, which is the second study analyzed in this paper as part of 'Voices of Society', represents the migrant youth negatively, particularly the Muslim youth.

5   IBKM Quantitative Research

5.1   Introduction and objectives of this research

The 'Interdisciplinary Centre for Education and Communication in Migration Process' abbreviated as IBKM[36], is located at the Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg. Rudolf Leiprecht, who is a professor of social pedagogy with a focus on diversity education and was the director of IBKM from 2005 to 2009.

The third study to be introduced in this paper was conducted by Leiprecht, Karayaz and IBKM, and focused on male youth with migration background. Scholars from different faculties such as education, linguistics and social science gather regularly to promote an exchange on topics like immigration societies, interculturality, migration and globalization (IBKM Homepage 2012). IBKM develops intercultural curriculums for the university, promotes cultural exchanges, holds conferences and conducts research.

The objective of this IBKM research was to investigate the life situations and lifestyles of male youth with and without migration background. The data from youth without migration background serves as a control group to compare and clarify the differences and commonalties between male youth with and without migration background. This control group, which the previous two studies did not have, can add needed clarity. The clichés of male migrant youth can be refuted if those clichés also apply to youth without migration background. Thus, the control group can help to 'overturn' the clichés of the (migrant) youth. IBKM focused on male youth with migration background because gender and masculinity were often neglected in the discourse of migration studies, and the aspect of migration was often neglected in the

---

36   IBKM changed its name to 'Center for Migration, Education and Cultural Studies' (CMC) in June 2012. The goals and purposes of CMC are almost identical and extend the practices of IBKM. CMC includes cultural studies and aims to be more representative in the international community.

discourse of youth studies and gender studies. Based on these circumstances, two main objectives in this study were developed:

- How do migration and experiences as a migrant (someone with migration background) influence the life situation and lifestyle? How do migration, discrimination, diversity awareness and tolerance/intolerance influence life situation/lifestyle?
- How do social constructions of masculinity and gender influence the life situation/lifestyle of male migrant youth?

(Karayaz et al. 2012: 17)

Another question which was not explicitly mentioned is how these constructions intersect and gain importance.

One´s life situation and lifestyle is often influenced by migration background, but how much do gender and masculinity influence the life situation/lifestyle of male migrant youth? Exploring this aspect was one of IBKM's objectives. Male migrant youth are youth that are male and have migration background. Thus, the question is, what does influence their life situation? Is it their age (or their concept and idea of being young), or is it the fact that they are male (or their concept and idea of being male), or is it that they have migration background (or their concept and idea of having migration background), or is it their financial situation? Life situation and lifestyle are also influenced by 'age' and the concept and idea of a certain age. For example, an 18-year-old person has a different life situation and lifestyle than a 40-year-old person. Thus, youth studies have tried to explore how 'age' influences life situation/lifestyle. Life situation and lifestyle are also influenced by gender, and gender studies explore how gender (and the concept and idea of gender) influences life situation/lifestyle. However, how migration background influences life situation/lifestyle in the context of 'doing youth[37]' and 'doing male[38]' has not been explored by many researchers. IBKM tries to explore those aspects and combines youth studies with migration studies.

Another important factor that can influence life situation and lifestyle is the social background/social class. IBKM states that many phenomena can be

---

[37] 'Doing youth' refers to 'being youth' or 'being young'. Since 'being youth' is also socially constructed, the word "doing youth" is used.

[38] 'Doing male' refers to 'being male'. Since 'being male' is also socially constructed, the word "doing male" is used.

accredited to the fact that they are from similar social classes, and not necessarily accredited to the fact that they are male youth with or without migration background (Karayaz et al. 2012: 22). For example, many youth from socially less privileged classes do visit lower educational institutions, and many migrant youth also visit lower educational institutions. However, many migrant youth also belong to a less privileged class. Thus, the question is, if migrant youth visit lower educational institutions because they have migration background or because they belong to a less privileged class. The cliché that migrant youth attend lower educational institutions can not necessarily be accredited to their migration background only, but can also be accredited to their social background. Thus, IBKM focuses also on social class, and all together, IBKM tries to explore how age, gender, ethnicity and social class influence the life of the youth with and without migration background.

The categorizations 'male', 'youth' and 'migration background' are balanced and controlled so that a comparison is easier to conduct, but social class is not. IBKM tried to gather similar 'test persons' (youth) to compare the results, but the criterion social class cannot be determined as easily as the criteria male, youth or migration background. Social class can only be determined after conducting interviews and gathering information. In this case, IBKM recognized the unbalanced distribution of social class after analyzing the results, but wasting the collected data and selecting too many criteria would have prolonged the research or even led to a failure of the research. Thus, a compromise needed to be made and the decision not to focus on social class and economic aspects was made.

5.2   Results of the research

The results of IBKM's research will be presented with much more detailed analysis than the previous two research studies, since the subject of this research (male migrant youth) is identical to the subject of my dissertation. Furthermore, many of the results will be closely analyzed to develop further questions for the qualitative research which will be presented in "Voices of Youth". It should also be mentioned that my dissertation developed partially due to the fact that I was involved in collecting the data for IBKM as a scientific assistant. More precisely, the idea of my dissertation originated from the research by IBKM; their objective is closely related to the main objective of my dissertation and the results are very relevant and necessary for my work.

The research by IBKM was conducted from October 2009 to August 2011. They collected approximately 770 questionnaires, which were conducted in 9 different cities[39] in northern Germany. After collecting the approximately 770 data sheets, 660 questionnaires were taken as samples to create comparable cohorts: 220 male youth with Turkish background, 220 male youth with Russian/Polish background and 220 youth without migration background. The age range of the youth is 15 to 21 years and most of the interviewees are going to graduate from either a 'Hauptschule' or 'Realschule' [40](Karayaz 2012: 5). That the majority of the interviewees are visiting the lower school type is not a coincidence. IBKM tried to include all school types and educational levels, but could not find youth with migration background visiting 'Gymnasium' in the numeric dimension they required for comparisons.

The questionnaires consist of 85 questions and include questions on life situations/status (nationality, education, occupation, financial situation, place of residence), experiences/self-evaluation (critical happenings, relationships to parents, teachers and other students), migration/discrimination/tolerance (background, belonging, religion, circle of friends, discrimination, tolerance towards homosexuality, the disabled or elderly persons), and some construction of masculinity (ideas of masculinity and femininity in the contexts of partnership and work). Thus, the questionnaire includes many aspects to explore the life situation and lifestyle of the youth (ibid: 5 ff.).

Almost all of the 220 youth with Russian and Polish background are 'Aussiedler'[41] youth with a German passport, and therefore IBKM categorized and analyzed them as one cohort. IBKM tried to gather data from youth with Turkish, Russian, Polish, Italian, Greek and ex-Yugoslavian background, which together form the highest presence in German society. However, IBKM limited the data of youth with migration background to Turkish and Russian/Polish (Aussiedler) because in the process of conducting questionnaires, data on youth with Italian, Greek and ex-Yugoslavian background were too few to be representative for quantitative studies. Because of those

---

39 The 9 cities are: Delmenhorst, Hannover, Osnabrück, Wolfsburg (these 4 cities have more than a 20% ratio of people with migration background); Emden, Göttingen, Hildesheim, Lüneburg, Oldenburg (cities with less than 20% migration background).

40 Germany has three different secondary school types: Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium, and school types are determined by grades in elementary school. Hauptschule and Realschule are the two lower school types.

41 'Aussiedler' are people of German descent. Their ancestors had migrated abroad, and they (the children or grandchildren of the emigrants) have come back to Germany.

reasons, IBKM decided to focus on youth with Turkish background and youth with Russian and Polish background, which are the three largest social groups in Germany. A further reason for focusing on youth with Turkish and Russian backgrounds has to do with media attention. Youth with Turkish background are often associated with violence, honor killings, Islamic fundamentalism, etc.; youth with Russian background are associated with alcohol, mafia, crimes, etc. Both social groups are presented by the media as machos that are disrespectful towards females and female teachers. Therefore, the research also tries to clarify such 'common' opinions that are spread by the media.

After narrowing the sample down to 660 questionnaires, statistical analyses were conducted to clarify the differences between youth with and without migration background. Analysis of the data focused on three main areas:

− Masculinity
− Discrimination/belonging
− Diversity awareness[42].

(Karayaz et al. 2012: 99ff.)

These three focus areas and their results will be thoroughly presented in this paper. However, before presenting the specifics, the general results should be introduced to establish an overview of the life situation and lifestyle of the youth.

5.2.1   General results and overview

Introducing the general results in this study aims to give an overview of the life situations and lifestyles of the youth, and also helps to understand the additional results on masculinity, discrimination and diversity awareness that will be presented in the following chapters. The general results will include more detailed information on the youth's age, education, financial situation and place of residence. This information will help to obtain a more precise picture of the youth. As a note, the results and summaries do not represent the 'reality' but are interpreted results. The results are constructed by interpretations of statistical data, apply indices, which are constructed by interpretations and comparisons of data are done according to interpretations.

---

42   Original German word is: "Diversitätsbewusstsein" and means how much awareness/tolerance against different values exist, thus how much diversity awareness exists.

Age and education

The age range of the youth is 15 to 21, and 41.7% of 660 youth are either 17 or 18 years old (Karayaz et al. 2012: 38). The ages of 17 and 18 in Germany means that many of the youth are about to finish or have just finished school and have to decide on their future directions. Furthermore, 17-year-olds are legally allowed to drink alcohol, and 18-year-olds are legally allowed to smoke. This information may be important considering the aspect of belonging, discrimination and the understanding of life situation and lifestyle of the youth. Another variable included in background information is the educational background of the youth. Approximately 70% of the 660 youth are attending a 'Hauptschule' or 'Realschule'. To be more precise, each Turkish background, Russian/Polish background and youth without migration background has approximately 70% attending those school types and is equally proportionate in each school type and educational level. This information implies that the educational background is rather uniform and any further results or differences on masculinity, discrimination and diversity awareness can generally not be ascribed to the differences in educational background. IBKM tried to include all three German school types[43] in the research, but the unequal distribution of education prevented the attempt. The research verified in a way the existing cliché that on average, migrant youth have lower school performance and are underrepresented at higher educational institutions.

Financial situation

Youth with migration background work more often than youth without migration background and perceive their own financial situation as being worse. Those results are indications that youth with migration background are positioned financially worse than youth without migration background. Indications should be analyzed and applied with care however, because indications do not represent facts. Having said that, this data does help to obtain a better understanding of the financial situation of the youth. These results imply that the social class of youth with migration background differs from youth without migration background and that all comparisons between the two groups lead to a comparison of social class or of financially secure vs. financially insecure youth. IBKM tried to gather data from financially equal youth, but

---

43   The three school types are Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium.

did not succeed in this attempt. Furthermore, IBKM asked for the occupations of the parents, but many youth did not/could not answer this question.

Residential neighborhood

IBKM tried to find out in what areas the youth live and what kinds of neighbors they have. The results are based on self-evaluations and self-perceptions of the youth, and indicate that youth without migration background live in 'better' residential neighborhoods and are more satisfied. Contrary to this, youth with migration background live in 'worse' residential neighborhoods and are less satisfied, if satisfied at all (ibid: 47). Youth with migration background live in residential neighborhoods that have more social problems, problems with drugs, alcohol and violence, and have more conflicts between the different social groups (ibid: 46). Youth without migration background live in residential neighborhoods that have the least conflict between the different groups, the least (reported) problems with drugs, alcohol and violence, and the relationships between the different groups are better compared to the youth with migration background. That youth with migration background live in 'worse' areas is also an indication of their relatively 'lower' social class.

Conclusion on the general results

The general results imply that youth with migration background live in 'worse' residential neighborhoods and have 'worse' financial situations than youth without migration background. This indicates that the social class[44] between youth with and without migration background is different, but their educational background/level is almost identical. IBKM considered the aspects that influence the lifestyle/life situation of the youth and tried to gather data from comparable financial, residential and educational backgrounds, but did not fully succeed in gathering information on the financial/economic situation of the families. Based on these results, more detailed results on masculinity, discrimination (belonging) and diversity awareness will be presented. However, the possibility that differences in the results could be attributed to a different social class should always be kept in mind.

---

44   Social class is often determined by: wealth, financial income, occupation and education, with some definitions including power, prestige, status and residence.

5.2.2 Interpreted results on masculinity

IBKM focused on masculinity with the purpose of capturing the ideas and concepts of masculinity of youth with and without migration background. IBKM argues that the ideas and concepts of masculinity (see Connell 1999) influence the behavior of the youth, but also acknowledges that ideas and concepts do not determine the behavior totally nor are they detached from the behavior (ibid: 8f.). The focus on masculinity includes professional discourses, such as theories on hegemonic masculinities and acting out masculinities, but also includes public discussions on masculinity, such as stereotypes that are presented in the media (ibid: 48). IBKM tried to capture the ideas and concepts of masculinity and show the differences between youth with and without migration background.

'Soft masculinity'

One of IBKM's aims was to determine if youth are capable of showing their feelings, have the capacity for empathy and can solve problems without violence. IBKM argues that showing feelings, having empathy and exercising non-violence is a rather modern and/or intellectual masculinity, and that this kind of masculinity is not common in the 'lower', underprivileged social class (ibid: 48 f.).

The cliché in the media and many other studies (as cited by IBKM[45]) is that youth with Turkish background are not at all 'soft', but the results of this study showed that the youth with Turkish background exhibit the 'softest masculinity' out of the three groups, thus overturning the cliché (ibid: 49). The youth with Russian/Polish background are the least 'soft masculine' group and the youth without migration background are positioned in the middle. Thus, the most significant difference was identified between youth with Turkish background and youth with Russian/Polish background, which implies that the migration background does not 'determine' or influence the 'softness' of masculinity in the same way. Rather, it is different 'cultural' practices and values, including individuality, that play a larger role in influencing 'soft' masculinity.

---

45   IBKM cited Stecklinka 2007: 77, Herwartz-Emden/Schurt/Waburg 2010: 184f.

'Hard masculinity'

The following focus by IBKM involved rather traditional ideas of masculinity, or in other words, unmodern ideas and concepts of masculinity. The subject and content is on how youth deal with risks and weaknesses of their own, and how they take leadership in certain situations. IBKM named this masculinity 'hard masculinity'.

The results regarding 'hard masculinity' show that youth with Turkish background and youth with Russian/Polish background are rather 'traditional' or 'hard', which is also the widespread cliché/stereotype (this may seem like a contradiction, but the explanation is given below). In contrast, youth without migration background are the least traditional group and not very 'hard'. IBKM argues that the focus on 'hard masculinity' fulfills the expectations and stereotypes of youth with Turkish and Russian/Polish background (ibid: 52). The statistical data also show a significant difference between the three groups. Thus, these results show that the different backgrounds do have a significant meaning and influence on the ideas of 'hard'/'traditional' masculinity. IBKM acknowledges the significant difference, but also states that over-generalizing should be avoided because the results both confirm stereotypes and also contradict stereotypes of youth with Turkish background. The contradicting results show that almost 50% of the youth with Turkish background also agree to rather 'modern' or 'new' ideas and concepts of masculinity and are less 'hard masculine' (ibid: 53). In summary, the youth with Turkish background have the highest percentage that can be categorized as very 'hard masculine' – which confirms the existing stereotypes, but 50% are also categorized as not at all or barely 'hard masculine', which overturns the stereotypes.

'Traditional masculinity' in the family

IBKM also focused on ideas and concepts of masculinity that are in the context of family life situations. The study asked the youth if they agreed with statements such as: 'The duty of the man (male) is to earn money' or 'Household and children are more important for women than having a job[46]'.

---

46 The original German statements are: "Es ist die Aufgabe des Mannes Geld zu verdienen" and "Haushalt und Kinder sind für Frauen wichtiger als einen Beruf zu haben".

The results show that youth with Turkish and Russian/Polish background have rather traditional ideas and concepts of masculinity in the context of family, but there is also a large percentage (approx. 40%) of all migrant youth that are categorized as 'not at all' or 'barely' traditional masculine in the context of family. The youth without migration background have rather less traditional ideas and concepts on masculinity in the context of family (Karayaz et al. 2012: 51ff.).

The summary of masculinity

The simplified summary of masculinity is:

– Youth with Turkish background = soft, but also traditional and hard
– Youth with Russian/Polish background = not soft, but traditional and hard
– Youth without migration background = rather soft, not traditional and not hard.

Although the summary is not especially detailed, it does reflect the results. IBKM tried to roughly distinguish between youth with either a 'soft' or 'hard' masculinity and those with either a 'traditional' or 'modern' masculinity. 'Soft' and 'hard'[47] are typically opposing characteristics and the assumption is that someone who holds a 'soft' idea and concept of masculinity cannot simultaneously hold a 'hard' idea and concept of masculinity, but IBKM's results show exactly this contradiction. Youth with Turkish background are 'soft' and at the same time 'hard', but the reasons for this 'contradicting' value of masculinity is not thoroughly explained. IBKM only states that, at first glance, the ideas and concepts of masculinity and the answers of the youth seem contradictory, but it might not be as contradictory to the youth themselves. The 'others' only assume and imagine that it is contradictory (ibid: 55). This contradicting value might be a different form of masculinity or, as mentioned earlier, a form of 'migrant masculinity' that some of the teachers do not understand and react hostilely to, and should be further analyzed with qualitative research methods.

---

47   The terms 'soft' and 'hard' were defined by IBKM. The terms were named according to the questions that constructed indices, and those indices were named 'soft' or 'hard'.

5.2.3   Interpreted results on discrimination and belonging

IBKM focused on discrimination and belonging because those aspects are related to the main objectives of this study, which are: How does migration and/or experiences as a German with migration background influence one's life situation and lifestyle? How do migration, discrimination, diversity awareness and (in)tolerance influence life situation/lifestyle? IBKM also applies the theory of stereotype threat in their research and explains the effects of stereotype threat. The lives of youth with migration background are influenced and/or restricted by discrimination and the effects of discrimination on a psychological level, which is manifested by different 'symptoms', such as the fear of fulfilling expectations and/or distancing oneself from the subject being learned, as explained in the chapter "Stereotype threat". Furthermore, IBKM cites several studies claiming that several forms of segregation and discrimination influence the life situation and lifestyle of the youth (ibid: 13). IBKM goes further and argues that negative images and prejudices often develop into hostile behavior and/or (violent) actions (ibid: 13). Hostile behavior has an influence on the youth with migration background, and many studies focus on analyzing the triggering mechanism of discrimination and consequently on programs to intervene or prevent discrimination.

However, a person who has 'suffered' and experienced discrimination should also be in the focus, discussed and researched. IBKM states that the person affected by discrimination must be acknowledged, and suitable counter actions should be analyzed and introduced (ibid: 13). Closely related to discrimination is the matter of belonging and self-perception or self-categorization. The question of belonging is also an act of categorizing someone or oneself in a social group. IBKM focused in particular on how the youth categorize themselves and which social group they identify with, but IBKM also asked migrant youth how they were categorized by others. The question of belonging has a major influence on the lifestyle, life situation, ideas, thoughts and behavior of the youth, and thus it is relevant to the major objectives of the research.

Belonging

IBKM's focus on 'belonging' was to determine how the youth think of themselves and how they 'categorize' themselves, but not how 'others' categorize them. The focus is on the perception of the youth because how they see themselves or what they 'believe' they are has an influence on their lifestyle

and their life situation. In particular, whether they see themselves as a foreigner and/or not belonging to society is a crucial question. IBKM focused on these matters and came to the conclusion that the majority of youth with migration background consider themselves as belonging to their countries of origin and identify themselves as a member of their migration background. Identification as a German was chosen last. Youth with migration background could identify more easily with their migration background/country of origin or with a general identity such as world citizen or European (ibid: 59). In addition, youth with migration background identify themselves as members of the city they live in and 'belong' to rather than seeing themselves as Germans or belonging to the German social group.

It is a surprising finding that these youth cannot identify themselves as Germans, because the majority (88.6%) of the youth with Russian/Polish background and more than half (52.3%) of the youth with Turkish background have a German passport (i.e. German citizenship). Furthermore, half (49%) of the youth with migration background consider themselves as foreigners although they have German citizenship and the majority were born in Germany (ibid: 59f.). This finding implies that even a German passport does not necessarily 'help' the youth to identify themselves as German or belong to the German social group. The summary is that most of the youth with migration background think or feel that they don't 'belong' to the German social group and/or don't belong to Germany and feel foreign.

Why do they feel foreign and why do they feel more European or identify themselves as world citizen although they live in Germany and have a German passport? IBKM argues that many youth with migration background consider themselves 'not German' because the majority of society recognizes them as 'foreign' (ibid: 62). IBKM simply states that the results show the effects of discrimination. Furthermore, although IBKM did ask the youth how they 'categorize' themselves, IBKM recognizes that the categorization by 'others' or other outside factors influence the self-categorization, and accordingly focused on discrimination as well in their research.

Discrimination

The reason why youth with migration background feel foreign can be attributed to the fact that 'others' consider them as foreign. The belief or hypothesis is widespread that youth with migration background experience more discrimination than youth without migration background, and IBKM

tried to confirm this hypothesis. However, whether someone is discriminated against or not is difficult to determine. IBKM tried to determine this by asking the youth with migration background if they had experienced particular treatment and how much it burdened or troubled them. Those youth who felt troubled were then interpreted as having experienced discrimination.

The results of the study verified that youth with migration background experience discriminating situations more often than youth without migration background. Furthermore, most of them stated that they regard those experiences as a very strong burden (ibid: 63). The Turkish youth experience the most discrimination, followed by the Russian/Polish youth; the youth without migration background experience the least discrimination. The result is that the social group that experiences the most discrimination is also the group that feels most foreign.

IBKM summarized the results into five points:

1. Approximately half of the youth with migration background have the impression that they are discriminated against because of negative images that some people have due to the youth's looks and/or origin.
2. The experiences and expectations that the youth with migration background have differ enormously from those of the youth without migration background, who do not experience discrimination.
3. Unfortunately, school is not a 'place' that is free from discrimination; in fact, it is actually quite the opposite.
4. Those who experience discrimination in and/or outside the context of school think that it is a burden.
5. The youth with Turkish background and the youth with Russian/Polish background have similar frequencies and amounts of discrimination, and they think that the burden is equal to some degree.

(ibid: 65).

IBKM also came to the conclusion that those youth with migration background who are discriminated against are also 'less' supported or 'not' supported by the teachers (ibid: 67). Approximately two-thirds of the youth with migration background feel 'less' or 'not' supported by the teachers (ibid: 67). These results imply that youth who are 'suffering' from discrimination do not receive support from the teachers to change the situation; in other words, it is felt that the teachers do not take counteractions to stop the discrimination.

5.2.4 Interpreted results on diversity awareness

Diversity awareness was one of IBKM's three main focus areas, and consequently they tried to depict the reactions and acceptance levels of the youth towards different values and thoughts that are present in society. In other words, they tried to depict how tolerant or intolerant the youth are towards certain types of diversity. (Someone who has diversity awareness is considered rather tolerant.)

IBKM focused on two types of diversity:

- acceptance or rejection of migration and its influences
- acceptance or rejection of homosexuality (ibid: 71).

Diversity awareness: Migration

IBKM's results show that the youth without migration background have the least diversity awareness regarding migration. Russian/Polish background youth showed the most diversity awareness, followed by Turkish background youth. However, none of the three groups have more than 50% that are diversity aware regarding migration and its influences. This means that all three youth groups are rather less tolerant towards different values concerning migration matters (Karayaz et al. 2012: 72).

Diversity awareness: Homosexuality

The conclusion and significant difference regarding homosexuality is that youth with migration background have the least diversity awareness and the youth without migration background have significantly higher diversity awareness. In numbers, 40% of the youth with migration background and nearly 70% of the youth without migration background are "diversity aware" regarding homosexuality (Karayaz et al. 2012: 72).

The summary

The simplified summary on diversity awareness is:

- Youth with Turkish background = higher diversity awareness regarding migration, but lower diversity awareness regarding homosexuality.
- Youth with Russian/Polish background = higher diversity awareness regarding migration, but lower diversity awareness regarding homosexuality.

- Youth without migration background = lower diversity awareness regarding migration, but higher diversity awareness regarding homosexuality.

Interesting to note is that the youth with migration background (Russian/ Polish and Turkish) have the same tendencies and similar results. Many interpretations and assumptions using these results can be applied to explain these results, but IBKM refrained from any explanations and simply stated the results. However, one assumption is that youth (or people in general) are more aware and have more acceptance of those kinds of diversity and values that they have learned, have had contact with and are familiar with. This hypothesis could logically explain why the youth without migration background are more diversity aware regarding homosexuality. It also explains why the youth without migration background are less diversity aware regarding migration.

5.3   Conclusion on IBKM's research

IBKM tried to explore the life situations and lifestyles of youth with and without migration background and to determine the differences. In this attempt, the picture of youth with migration background was 'automatically' created. The image is that they are financially under-privileged and live in residential areas that are 'worse' than those where youth without migration background live. Furthermore, they experience discrimination, which is a great burden for them and has a negative influence on their lives. They feel segregated and the majority do not/cannot identify themselves as German. Astonishingly, the youth with migration background who experience more discrimination actually receive less support from teachers. Leiprecht argues that the majority of people in society do not accept the youth with migration background as a self-evident part of the society (Press report, University of Oldenburg 2012). For the youth with migration background, the 'migration' background is not the single and major factor in identifying themselves, but they recognize the categorization through 'others' with descriptions like 'foreigner', 'Turk' or 'Russian'. These categorizations are often associated with negative images, which is a challenge for most of the youth with migration background (Press report University of Oldenburg 2012).

Thus, the social representation that IBKM creates through this study is that the youth with migration background are 'victims' of discrimination. The

picture of youth without migration background, on the other hand, is that they experience hardly any discrimination and identify themselves as German.

IBKM also created a picture of youth with migration background regarding masculinity. The picture concerning masculinity is not uniform and differentiates between youth with Turkish background and youth with Russian/Polish background. The surprising finding here is that youth with Turkish background agreed with rather 'soft' ideas and concepts of masculinity, which overturned the widespread cliché. Russian/Polish youth agreed with rather 'hard' ideas and concepts of masculinity. However, there were many youth that agreed to both 'very hard' and 'very soft' masculine ideas and concepts at the same time. In general, the results on masculinity seem complex and difficult to identify a clear tendency. Leiprecht argues that it implies that educators should be careful when classifying the ideas of masculinity that the youth might have, because some youth have very contradictory ideas on masculinities. In fact, the categorization of youth should simply be avoided and more attention should be given to discrimination and its prevention (Press report, University of Oldenburg 2012).

The picture concerning diversity awareness is that youth with migration background have more prejudicial ideas. Youth with Turkish background are significantly less diversity aware and have more prejudicial ideas regarding homosexuality. Youth with Russian/Polish background have more prejudicial thoughts regarding homosexuality than the youth without migration background. However, IBKM does not emphasize these results and instead puts more emphasis on the discrimination that migrant youth experienced.

The overall picture that was created by IBKM is that youth with migration background feel segregated and suffer from segregation, and depicts them as victims of discrimination. The local newspapers reported this study and their headline was 'Young migrants suffer from segregation[48]' (Osnabrücker Zeitung 17.7.2012). Another newspaper article had the headline: 'Many migrants feel segregated[49]' (Nordwest-Zeitung 17.7.2012). The newspapers reflected the results of this study or at least what IBKM tried to present. However, some results did not appear in the newspapers although they were articulated in the report. In particular, negative results on diversity awareness regarding homosexuality and anti-Semitism of youth with Turkish background were

---

48 Original German words: „Jugendliche Migranten leiden unter Ausgrenzung".
49 Original German words: „Viele Migranten fühlen sich ausgegrenzt".

intentionally 'withheld' from the mainstream press[50]. IBKM argues that those negative results could dominate the headlines in German society and therefore should be omitted (Migazin 18.7.2012). IBKM is well aware of the effect of social representation and how scientific theories circulate within common knowledge and what happens to these theories when they are discussed by the lay public. Therefore, IBKM 'controlled' the outgoing information by emphasizing certain results, formulating certain results vague in their press report or sending different press reports according to the organizations/press. These actions show that IBKM thinks that the press is only hunting for headlines and not interested in presenting the whole picture of the study. Furthermore, that it is a pity that the press 'misuse' scientific results or at least that there is a reasonable suspicion that the press might 'manipulate' the results. However, that the press has only limited space in a magazine or newspaper and therefore has to simplify or shorten the sentences is understandable. Science tries to explore a situation, to reveal the 'truth' and explain in detail the complexity of the situation, but the press takes only the information that will raise the attention of the reader to earn more money. It is a fact in this case that IBKM's report and the articles in the press did differ, yet many other scientific reports and press reports have the same problems.

IBKM's main focus in the study is discrimination, but only discrimination against youth with migration background is presented, although the results show other kinds of discrimination exist as well. The whole report leaves one with the impression that they tried to justify the position of migrant youth. Therefore, the attempt to explore the life situation resulted in avoiding negative images and victimizing the migrant youth. Negative results on migrant youth were followed by many explanations to minimize stereotypical reactions by the reader and public. The impression of the report is that IBKM took a position in favor of the migrant youth to 'control' the press or control what is done with the information. Nevertheless, IBKM is also aware that it is unrealistic, naive and problematic to portray the discriminated youth as innocent or better human beings. IBKM acknowledges the people who suffer from discrimination against homosexuality and anti-Semitism, and claims that those people need to be supported as well (Migazin 18.7.2012).

---

50 IBKM publicized different press reports according to the 'audience'. IBKM also sent reports emphasizing the findings regarding homosexuality and anti-Semitism to various migrant societies and organizations.

The 'fear' to re-produce negative images of youth with migration background dominated the report and made it a one-sided report. The fear is understandable and may be legitimate because the combination of masculinity, homosexuality and ethnicity is misused to create a picture of migrants and 'others' who are different and have 'wrong', undemocratic and inhumane values. Leiprecht argues in an article that many western societies create a picture where Turkish youth are machos, intolerant towards homosexuality and against the emancipation of women, which would give the majority the 'righteousness' to label them as non-liberal, non-democratic and intolerant, thus making it easier for the majority to segregate them. Furthermore, for some people in society, it may be their own problematic relationship with homosexuality and intolerance towards others that is 'deflected' by 'accusing' the migrant youth of intolerance (Leiprecht/Kaja 2012). It creates the illusion that by pointing at the problems of others, one's own problems disappear; but the intolerance towards homosexuality is clearly not limited to youth with migration background. Youth without migration background are indeed involved, but it is a collective social problem.

6 Conclusion on "Voices of Society"

The purpose of the chapter "Voices of Society" is to create a picture/social representation of youth with migration background, including their problems, their position in society and how researchers depict them. In other words, how others see (judge) the migrant youth. The research results consist of questionnaires that were answered by the youth. Thus, in a sense, they are the opinions of the youth as well. But the youth had to choose from multiple-choice answers, could not give any statements or different answers and the numerical measurements (data) were interpreted by scholars. It can be said that many factors influenced the opinions of the youth. Therefore, the research was categorized as "Voices of Society" and interpreted as 'how others see (judge) the migrant youth'.

The picture that is created by 'others' is just one 'reality' which the migrant youth have to confront and deal with. This impression contributes to the stereotypes and pressures that the youth 'suffer' from and the environment that they live in. It is precisely this environment that needs to be the starting point for change for the migrant youth. By 'changing' the environment the youth will be able to change the unequal distribution of education.

Since the impressions created by the studies are the most relevant in this dissertation and not the results per se, all three studies (KFN, IKG and IBKM) are summarized in the following tables, including the intended focus of each as well as the impression that each study created.

Beginning with KFN, their objective was to explore how different aspects and situations in life relate to violence:

Focus of this study	The picture of migrant youth that is created
– What are the causes for delinquent thoughts and behavior? – What '(none) inputs' are causing delinquent thoughts and behavior?	– Migrant youth are pictured as offenders and perpetrators of crime. – Migrant youth have more delinquent thoughts and are also more violent. – The 'causes' for delinquent thoughts and violence are migration background and experience with violence/discrimination.

IKG's objective was to explore how prejudice, resentment and anti-Semitism occur:

Focus of this study	The picture of migrant youth that is created
– Is disintegration the cause for prejudice and resentment? – Do experiences with discrimination have a significant relationship with prejudice and resentment?	– Migrant youth are pictured as offenders and perpetrators of conflict. – Migrant youth have more prejudice, resentment and anti-Semitism. – They experience more discrimination, which is the cause for their prejudicial actions.

Lastly, IBKM's objective was to explore the life situation and lifestyle of youth with and without migration background:

Focus of this study	The picture of migrant youth that is created
– How do migration background and masculinity influence the lifestyle/life situation of youth?	– Migrant youth are pictured as victims of discrimination. – They experience more discrimination, which is (and becomes) a burden and has a negative influence/impact. – They don't feel included in German society. – Migrant youth have more prejudices, resentment and anti-Semitism.

The dominant and widespread picture of youth with migration background is the picture created by KFN and IKG, which is the picture of an offender and perpetrator. Migrant youth are often presented very negatively in the press, such as being violent, having prejudice and being an offender. The less dominant picture of youth with migration background is created by IBKM, which

is the picture of a victim who is 'suffering' from discrimination and 'segregation', which is then barely presented as such in the press. Those two pictures seem opposing at first glance, but a closer look into the three studies shows that all of them claim that the migrant youth experience more discrimination and have more prejudicial thoughts. Therefore, all three studies are quite similar and differ only in their perspective. One perspective focuses on the prejudicial thoughts of the youth; it represents the majority of society and 'blames' the migrant youth. The other perspective focuses on experiences with discrimination and represents the migrant youth and 'blames' the majority. Another similarity of the three studies is that they make a comparison between youth with and without migration background and acknowledge social class as a factor, but did not or could not differentiate the class aspect in their results. The most important commonality is that all three studies are the opinions of 'others'/what 'others' created. And to understand what 'others' think of youth with migration background, and to create a picture of the environment that the migrant youth live in and/or are confronted with, is the aim of "Voices of Society".

Now that the picture created by research has been introduced, the next questions deal with how the migrant youth react to those opinions of 'others'. Interesting to note is how those opinions turn into stereotype threat and influence the behavior of the youth as well as school performance. Therefore, I would like to investigate how the migrant youth react to those created pictures and 'judgments'. Do the youth consider themselves as victims or offenders? Are the created pictures the reasons for lower school performance? The second part of this dissertation, "Voices of Youth", will present their point of view and their opinions. It is necessary, however, to first briefly introduce the theoretical relationship between "Voices of Youth" and "Voices of Society" before moving on.

7 The relationship between "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth"

The relationship between "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" symbolizes the relationship between the environment and human beings. This dissertation assumes that the relationship between the environment and human beings is reciprocal, influences one another, and is 'dependent' on one another. The environment influences the human being, but human behavior is not absolutely determined by the environment. The environment limits the possibilities, but the human being is also self-determined and can influence the environment. Therefore, a change in the attitude and lifestyle of migrant youth can trigger a change in the behavior of the youth and how they deal with the (school) environment and inequality, which can then eventually influence the environment and lead to better school performance. This mutual change can lead to a more equal participation in education. Based on this understanding, the emphasis of this study is to 'find' effective solutions that can be practiced by male migrant youth.

The basic theoretical presumption is based on the explanation mentioned above; however, the relationship between the youth and society, or individual and society, is much more complex and needs to be thoroughly explained. The relationship and major theme of this dissertation can be explained by using the theory of subject, the meaning of subject, how the subject is developed and its relationship to society. It seems inevitable to provide a theoretical framework of 'subject' to explore the relationship between "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth".

7.1 The theory on subject

What is a subject? There are many definitions and meanings of the word 'subject'. In many discourses it symbolizes the human individual, and in this dissertation it symbolizes the young male with a migration background. Elisabeth Sattler argues that subjects cannot be considered as 'existing', but ra-

ther in permanent formation and transformation (Sattler 2009: 8). Thus, the subject is in constant change just as the individual migrant youth is. Leiprecht argues that subjects are active beings that move along their scope of possibilities (see Leiprecht 2013).

However, possibilities are often restricted and controlled by the environment, for example, by the school system and teachers; thus, the environment can largely determine the actions of youth. Michel Foucault argues that the subject thinks about making sovereign/independent decisions and acts accordingly, but in reality acts according to the prevailing circumstances (Foucault 1980: 377).

The aforementioned statements emphasize that the subject is (largely) determined by the environment but is not aware of this fact; thus, the subject lives with the illusion that it can think and act freely. However, this would mean that the subject is just a 'creature' that has no autonomy or independence. This would also mean that the migrant youth is just a robot executing what the prevailing circumstances 'dictate'. Leiprecht goes one step further and argues that the subject also has the possibility to explore, reflect, construct and change the circumstances and to some extent even change the prevailing, predominant circumstances (Leiprecht 2013: 189). Leiprecht argues that the understanding of subject needs to be expanded. The subject is self-determined and other-directed, it determines and is determined, it is oppressed and oppresses, it is guided and has its own will, it is subjected/subordinated and it can be resistant (Ibid: 189). The subject and the circumstances/environment influence each other; it is a reciprocal relationship.

The subject is, according to the explanations above, not powerless or determined solely by outside factors, but is influenced by many factors such as society, history, culture and family background and acts accordingly. This also means that the subjects do not have absolute freedom in their thinking, behavior and actions. Thus, subjects are never free from outside influences and factors. Klaus Holzkamp developed the term 'subjektive Möglichkeitsräume', which literally means 'subjective possibility-rooms'. This theoretical term tries to explain the constantly changing relationship between the subject and environment/circumstances (see Holzkamp 1983: 304ff.). Leiprecht, who cites and elaborates on Holzkamp's theory, argues that subjects feel, think and act within their 'possibility-rooms', and anything outside these 'possibility-rooms' cannot be thought or acted upon. However, the 'possibility-rooms' are not static and unchangeable; they can change through social development/

social change, but also through mental and practical activities undertaken by the subject. Subjects are not determined by 'inner' or 'outer' circumstances, but are maneuvering within their possibility-rooms and have the freedom to act this way or that (see Holzkamp 1997: 394, cited by Leiprecht 2013: 189).

The most interesting and most important aspect of these theories is that the possibility-rooms can be changed and expanded by the mental and practical activities of the subject. This means that the migrant youth are able to act and 'expand' their possibility-rooms so that the rooms are 'enlarged'. Thus, by enlarging the possibility-rooms, matters that used to be static or fixed might now become maneuverable. This understanding is a prerequisite for researching how the youth deal with certain circumstances and can change the entire situation. Without this theoretical understanding of or belief in the possibilities, interviewing and exploring the situation of the youth and asking them opinions would merely be an academic exercise, which is not the main objective of this study. The intent is to explore how migrant youth deal with the unequal distribution of education, as well as research the causes behind it, and then determine which actions the youth can take to change the situation.

The primary question at this point is, how can expanding the 'possibility-rooms' be triggered through the mental and practical activities of the migrant youth? Leiprecht gives some practical examples of how a subject can expand or restrict the possibility-rooms. For example, asking oneself one of the following questions: 'Do I restrict my thoughts or speech because I feel that further thinking and speaking would harm me? Do I put up with the current situation? Do I isolate myself, cut myself off from society, accept the situation and make myself small and become increasingly powerless? Furthermore, am I acting in a certain way while fully aware of the current power structure and inequality? Or do I insist on thinking and speaking further then take a small step forward towards self-determination and try to find a partner to unite with so that I am not alone against the threatening signals from 'outside'? And do I cooperate with others to get something started to expand my 'possibility-room'?' (Leiprecht 2013: 190).

To summarize this chapter metaphorically: The subject is in a room and lives with the 'illusion' that it can change everything in its room, but everything outside the room cannot be changed by the subject. If the subject wants to change something outside the room, it needs to expand its room so that the object, which the subject wants to change, is inside the room. However, if the subject thinks that the room cannot be expanded, it is resigned to the 'fact'

that the desired object cannot be changed. The solution to changing objects outside the room begins with making the subject '(re)believe' that the room is malleable and expandable.

In this dissertation, the migrant youth are the subjects and the interviews try to determine whether the youth think that the rooms are expandable. If they are in fact able to see the world in this manner, then they would believe that the unequal educational situation is changeable. It is because of this fundamental understanding that the focus in this dissertation is on the migrant youth. As mentioned at the beginning, a change in the environment (e.g. school system) should include the involvement of the students, starting with a change within each individual. This emphasis does not mean that the 'object outside the room' (the environment) does not have to change or take responsibility, or that a social change or change in the environment is unnecessary, nor does it mean that the one and only possibility for change and equal educational distribution lies in the hands of the students (migrant youth). History teaches us that oppression, when contested, is changed largely through the resistance of the oppressed (see Lentin 2004).

The theory mentioned above can easily be misused with language manipulation and create the picture that the unequal distribution of education has occurred because the migrant youth were 'too lazy' to expand their 'possibility-rooms' and trigger a change in the environment, but that is not the intention of this study. Another false picture of these theories that I would like to prevent is that migrant youth are 'too lazy' to study, and therefore perform worse in school. Technically, the simplified reason for worse school performance might in fact be less time invested in schoolwork and learning. However, for a fuller, more accurate picture, the background reasons explaining why they do not (cannot) invest enough time and effort must be analyzed. For example, perhaps the environment did not adequately allow the youth to learn; institutional discrimination and teachers that practice discrimination often 'destroy' the learner's efforts, thus the motivation to learn and get better grades is lost.

7.2   Learning environment: external factors and internal perceptions

Many studies have explored the learning environment and other external factors that influence school performance, such as the individual schools, school systems, teachers and even institutional discrimination (cf. Gomolla

2005; Flam 2009). Those studies largely argued for changing the environment, and changing the environment is often (mis)understood as the key to solving educational inequality and other educational problems. However, the hypothesis in this paper is that 'environmental change' does not necessarily change the attitude of the youth or the behavior of the youth. A change in the environment only (e.g. school systems, teachers) cannot be effective and might even fail to bring success if low motivation is omnipresent and the migrant youth do not believe in their own potential to obtain a higher education degree. Therefore, the migrant youth's own perception (attitude) should be changed first so that they can improve their school performance.

The three studies introduced in the previous chapters verify that migrant youth have a 'worse' learning environment and live with other (outside) factors that are not ideal either, such as less financial security, a worse place of residence and (instances of) discrimination. But how the migrant youth perceive their own situation might be different from what 'others' perceive. "Voices of Society" portrays the scientific perception of the 'reality' (environment) in which the youth with migration background live, but what the migrant youth perceive and how they perceive it is generally quite different. The youth could use the unfavorable situation as a stepping-stone for their future careers. The external factors (environment) do not necessarily explain the youth's inner perception; in other words, there might be a gap between the generally accepted perception in society, including the picture created by science and the media (and how the media presents the scientific results) and the internal perceptions of the migrant youth. Therefore, it is essential to also explore the opinions of the migrant youth.

7.3   The two realities: objective and subjective 'reality'

The matter of perception and the difference between objective and subjective perception belongs to the discourse of constructivism. It is also a matter of objectivism/subjectivism, as well as of epistemology. Explaining these different discourses at full length would overload this dissertation, so only certain applicable aspects will be introduced in this chapter.

The chapters in "Voices of Society" try to represent the objective 'reality' and the chapters in "Voices of Youth" try to represent the subjective 'reality'. Thus, there are two 'realities' that exist, and the relevant question for this dissertation is, which 'reality' is more important and what is the relationship

between these two 'realities'. The constructivist claims that subjective 'reality' is more important and criticizes objectivism, which embraces the belief that a human being can come to know external reality (the reality that exists beyond one's own mind). "Constructivism holds the opposite view, that the only reality we can know is that which is represented by human thought. Reality is independent of human thought, but meaning or knowledge is always a human construction." (Crotty 1998) This is the opinion of one scholar arguing that the 'relevant reality' is a product of the mind. If we apply this theory, two youth could live in nearly identical environments (e.g. low social class, less financial security, uneducated parents, a bad residential area) and still have different views on the reality they are in. For example, one youth can still have the aim to go to a university and become a lawyer although the environment does not 'allow' it. The other youth is not able to cope with the same circumstances, loses hope of future dreams/perspectives and gives up on higher education. This theory shows us that the environment is the same, but the 'reality' is different (same environment → different 'realities').

If we elaborate on the theory of constructivism, the environments of the two youth could also be different yet they could still have almost identical views on the 'reality' which they are in. This example shows that the environments may differ but the 'reality' stays the same (different environments → same 'reality'). Regarding this dissertation, the youth with migration background have different environments than the youth without migration background, but all youth could have the same 'reality'. Thus, reality in this sense refers not only to equal achievements in education, but also to equal motivations, future perspectives and individual attitudes. How the youth perceive their environment and how the environment influences their motivation, perspectives and attitudes is altogether very important for the resulting actions that the youth take. Again, the environment does not necessarily determine the actions of the youth. In other words, although migrant youth are in unfavorable environments, they can still aim for a degree in higher education and dream of becoming a doctor or lawyer. There are many examples of youth with migration background who grew up in an unfavorable environment yet still managed to graduate from higher education and have a prestigious job. So theoretically and on a practical level, the theory of constructivism is reliable and highly applicable in this case, showing that it is possible for migrant youth to succeed at school regardless of their environment.

That being said, the majority of migrant youth give in to their particular unfavorable environment and are not successful at school, which leads to losing hope of attending higher education if not on their future perspective altogether. Someone who has lost the motivation to strive for higher education will most likely end up in a lower educational environment and school type. There might be a correlation between fewer migrant youth in higher education and the lower motivation of the youth to aim for higher education.

7.4   Destructive power and instructive power

The hypothesis in this dissertation is that some of the migrant youth can cope well with the environment and others cannot. The question then arises, why can some cope well and some not? The next section of this paper, "Voices of Youth", will try to explore the motivation and future perspective of youth with migration background who live in unfavorable environments but do in fact cope well and go on to achieve a higher education degree. Additionally, this paper explores the 'tools' employed to cope with the "Voices of Society" and the possible stereotype threat that is created.

The first obstacle for many migrant youth is their environment, but the second obstacle is generally the internal perception and attitude of the migrant youth, which is the attitude of powerlessness. This often leads to them giving up their hope for the future as well as losing motivation, which is sometimes influenced by stereotype threat. The hypothesis is that there are two 'kinds or levels' of influence on the youth. The first 'kind' of influence is the environment/external factors of the youth, which includes the school setting, institutional discrimination, teachers' attitudes, financial situation, neighborhood etc. The second 'kind' of influence is the personal one, the heart and mind of the youth, the inner world of feelings, motivation, future perspective and dreams. Part III of this paper concentrates on the inner world of the youth and how attitude influences their school performance and educational career. In addition, this research is concerned with how the environment influences the attitude of the youth and causes many to give up on pursuing higher education, though some do manage to cope and indeed succeed at school despite an unfavorable environment.

The sociologist Björn Kraus argues that two kinds of (oppressive) power exist, and named the first power 'instructive power' and the second power 'destructive power'[51] (Kraus 2002: 183).

Kraus defines these powers as follows:

- "Instructive power refers to the opportunity to determine the behavior or thinking of others."
- "Destructive power refers to the opportunity to reduce the possibilities of others."[52] (Kraus 2003: 9).

The difference between instructive and destructive power is that instructive power can be refused by the oppressed, destructive power cannot (Kraus 2011: 105ff.). Destructive power reduces the range of possibilities/actions by constraining material commodities, for example teachers that do not allow migrant youth certain goods or chances or even withhold information. In others words, it is the environment that restricts the youth and reduces their ability/potential. Those reductions cannot be 'refused' by the migrant youth themselves, thus they are 'helpless' when faced with such external factors. Therefore, the power of environmental factors such as material commodities hinder the youth from certain actions/behavior, but it is not possible to influence the opinions or mind of the youth and to instruct them to do certain actions that they don't want to do at all. Instructive power refers to freedom of the mind and opinion. External factors might restrict their actions, but does not restrict their mind, nor does it mean that they have to have the feeling of obedience, to comply or to give in to the power of the oppressor. Thus, to influence and control the thoughts and dreams of the youth in order to instruct the youth refers to instructive power. In the context of this dissertation, instructive power is the internal perception and maybe even the appearance of hopelessness in the youth that leads to them giving up on higher education and their future dreams because of the environment and other external factors such as discrimination and stereotype threat. Instructive power presupposes obedience and subordination, which is a matter of the mind; and the mind is in the hands of the person regardless of what actions the person might be forced to take. Kraus argues, therefore, that instructive power can be refused.

---

51 Original German words: „instruktive Macht" and „destruktive Macht"
52 Unofficial translation. The original German words are: "Instruktive Macht bezeichnet die Chance, das Verhalten oder Denken eines Anderen zu determinieren. Destruktive Macht bezeichnet die Chance, die Möglichkeiten eines Anderen zu reduzieren."

The main objective of this research is to identify the actions that male youth with migration background can take – within their range of capabilities and situation – in order to change the unequal distribution of education. Instructive power can be refused and is an action that can be taken by the migrant youth within their range of capabilities and situation. Therefore, it is a method that the migrant youth can actually apply towards the unequal distribution of education. Instructive power is a matter of the mind. Influencing the mind leads to influencing behavior, thus it is an effective method for encouraging the migrant youth to strive for higher education and by so doing change the unequal distribution of education. The discourse on constructivism and the idea and concept of instructive/destructive power is liberating because it enables migrant youth to change the current situation and reconstruct their environment suited to their own needs.

7.5   Conclusion on the relationship: "Voices of Youth" and "Voices of Society"

The two "Voices" symbolize not only destructive power vs. instructive power, but also 'Voices with power vs. Voices without power'. Professors and institutions used quantitative research methods that have a rather high status in media and society (in other words, have more power) created "Voices of Society", whereas "Voices of Youth" used qualitative research methods that are not often not presented in the media, and thus don't have much impact and power. "Voices of Youth" and "Voices of Society" have two different standpoints and will probably have different "Voices"/opinions. However, if the "Voices of Youth" are almost identical to the "Voices of Society", it indicates that the current situation has been accepted and that the instructive power is not refused by the migrant youth, which can mean that a change in the current situation will not occur very soon.

The relationship between these two "Voices" is not only external factors vs. internal perception or subjective reality vs. objective reality. The relationship between "Voices of Youth" and "Voices of Society" is also the relationship between "Youth" and "Society". It is a mutually influencing and mutually "constructing" relationship, because youth are always and inevitably constructing the future of a society, and are the driving force for development and change in society. The inner perception/world of a person will eventually influence the impact of the outside world (environment) on that individual, but also society itself because society consists of individuals. Therefore,

"Voices of Youth" can provide hints on the 'reality' of the future society since the opinions of youth are also "Voices of the future".

Another perspective on the relationship between these two "Voices" and an important difference is that in "Voices of Society", the migrant youth are theoretically analyzed and the solutions to the problem of underrepresentation of male migrant youth at higher education can only be theoretically suggested with the help of the data and results. Quantitative research can provide correlations, such as 'financially insecure youth have a lower level of education', and create theories on how problems can be solved, such as 'more financial security leads to a higher level of education'. Put simply, the problem is first analyzed and factors that could cause the problems are theoretically identified, and often the theoretical conclusion is that those factors will then be addressed. However, those suggestions are merely theoretical, and whether those theoretical suggestions lead to an actual solution is not always guaranteed.

On the other hand, "Voices of Youth" looks at the youth and asks them how they deal with problems, how they have managed to reach higher education, or why they are going to a lower school type. The following chapter tries to analyze the actual behaviors and thoughts of the youth and tries to find already practiced and proven solutions to the problems. What the youth think and their own perception of why they succeeded or failed is important to understand. In particular, for those who succeeded, their attitude was likely part of the solution and might be applicable to other youth as well. Although attitude might only be applicable to a single individual, success or failure are nevertheless actual proof of either achieving a higher education or remaining in a lower school type and not simply a theoretical notion. Thus, "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" also reflect a relationship of theoretical proof and actual proof. In theory and in life, the actual proof is more important than the theoretical one, and this is the reason why this dissertation focuses on the migrant youth (actual proof). The sociologists Simmons and Gregory argue: "Participants usually understand the practical problems and issues they deal with on a day to day basis. But, because they experience them individually, they seldom are aware of or understand the latent patterns that underlie them, unless or until they are conceptually identified." (Simmons & Gregory 2003: paragraph 14) The following chapters of this dissertation will try to identify these latent patterns and concepts, with the hope that the migrant youth can benefit from that identification.

Part III – Voices of Youth

The following chapters present the "Voices of Youth", which contain interviews of the youth that confronted them with the pictures created in "Voices of Society".

The major objective in Part III is to reveal the subjective 'reality', the internal perception and degree of instructive power that is active in the minds of the youth. A further objective is to give the migrant youth a "Voice", which is done using interviews so that they can explain their situations from their own perspectives. Maybe their "Voices" can inspire other youth to achieve higher education. In addition, some migrant youth have managed to achieve higher education and can offer ideas on the solution for the underrepresentation of migrant youth at higher education and also function as role models. As mentioned earlier, "Participants usually understand the practical problems and issues they deal with on a day to day basis. But, because they experience them individually, they seldom are aware of or understand the latent patterns that underlie them, unless or until they are conceptually identified." (Simmons & Gregory 2003: paragraph 14)

There is one contradicting and problematic point in constructing "Voices of Youth". "Voices of Youth" intends to represent the opinions of the youth, but is interpreted and created by a 'highly' educated scholar who belongs to the category 'others'. The fact that I represent 'others' and am creating the "Voices of Youth" is a contradiction; nevertheless, it seemed possible to minimize this subjective influence of this research design by applying different qualitative research methods. In addition, much attention was paid to representing the voices and opinions of the youth as 'authentically' as possible (see chapter 8). The following chapters will explain some of the methods and considerations in constructing "Voices of Youth".

8   How "Voices of Youth" is constructed

The methodology chosen to construct "Voices of Youth" is a qualitative research strategy rather than a quantitative research strategy. Quantitative research shows the quantity of certain events, but it is very difficult to depict how the person feels about those events or events in general. Thus, certain aspects and variables are seen and analyzed in a detached manner from other factors that are closely related. In qualitative research, on the other hand, the youth are seen and analyzed more as 'whole' human beings with all the complex aspects and relationships that they have in their daily lives. It is important to depict the 'whole' life situation of the youth, their reaction to "Voices of Society", their ideas of masculinity, their motivation for learning, their perceptions on migration background, and how all these aspects influence school performance and the choice of school.

The sociologist David McNabb says that qualitative data "go beyond a simple description of events and phenomena; rather, they are used for creating understanding, for subjective interpretation, and for critical analysis." (McNabb 2004: 341) The aim of "Voices of Youth" is to understand the migrant youth and their subjective interpretation; thus qualitative research methodologies are suitable. McNabb further argues that qualitative research studies involve inductive, theory-generating, subjective processes (ibid: 341). Other scholars such as Simmons and Gregory argue that "It is about time that researchers study the problem that exists for the participants in the area, not what is supposed to exist or what a professional says is important." (Simmons/Gregory 2003: paragraph 28). Furthermore, they claim that "[…] the key to designing effective actions is that they must be grounded in what is really going on, not what you think, hope, or wish is going on. Thus, the critical question is always 'Is it grounded?'" (ibid: paragraph 50) By interviewing migrant youth and identifying their strategies of how they deal with the environment, it is hoped that theories can be generated that can inspire and help other migrant youth to become more successful in their educational career.

In constructing "Voices of Youth", certain aspects needed to be considered, in particular, attention needed to be paid to the positive and negative aspects of qualitative research methodology. McNabb says, "In qualitative research designs, researchers must often interact with individuals in the groups they are studying. Researchers not only record what they see." (ibid: 341f.) The objective view to the situation is minimized and the researcher is interacting with the subject and can be influenced by the subject and environment, which can influence the interpretation of the researcher (ibid: 341f.). McNabb further says, "[…] qualitative researchers 'explicitly and overtly apply' their own subjective interpretations of what they see and hear – often they are active participants in the phenomenon under study." (ibid: 342) Put another way, the researcher's own interpretation of the situation has a major influence on the research. Because of this risk, constant reflection of my own perspective and bias was undertaken and considered.

8.1   General aspects on methodology

In quantitative research methods, the quantity or frequency is measured and used to represent the 'reality'. The data is generated primarily by using questionnaires, thus the questions are written down and all the youth answer the same questions in the same order. In qualitative interviews, the interviewer might change the verbal questions and order according to the situation or understanding of the youth, and the researcher often pre-interprets the answers during the interview and asks follow up questions. Therefore, each interview does not have the identical conversational flow and this makes them more difficult to compare. Because of those aspects, the reliability of qualitative data is lower than that of quantitative data. However, using semi-structured interview methods is one way to increase the reliability of the qualitative data because the interviewer has prepared questions and asks all the interviewees the same or similar questions. This contributes to an increase in the quality of data, and therefore the choice was made to use interviews that are semi-structured.

Another technique that increases the validity and reliability of the research is to conduct the interviews by meeting the migrant youth in person in a face-to-face setting. This is important since a human-to-human setting makes it easier to build trust between the interviewee and interviewer, which is harder to establish when talking on the telephone or meeting via the Internet. Trust is an important quality for reliable information on the youth. The sociologist

Andreas Witzel says, "This trust relationship promotes the respondent's capability to remember and motivates self-reflection. As the respondent unfolds his or her view of a problem, so to speak unprotected and in cooperation with the interviewer, during the course of the conversation new results are produced again and again by means of the cooperation between the interviewer and interviewee. For example, this may lead to alternative aspects on the same topic but from a different perspective, or to corrections of earlier statements as well as redundancies and contradictions" (Witzel 2000: paragraph 4).

This trust can create a comfortable atmosphere and might encourage the youth to speak freely on private matters, their situation, past experiences and personal attitudes. At the same time there is also a focus on the education, values, and future perspectives of the youth. Giving the youth much freedom and still maintaining focus can be quite challenging. Such freedom can generate a vast variety of topics not related to the research, and too much focus and restriction can cause them to close their hearts, distract free talking and stop providing interesting opinions. All these aspects needed to be considered.

8.2   Problem-Centered Interview

Having considered all the above mentioned aspects when deciding on an interview method, the problem centered interview method developed by Witzel was chosen as it seemed best suited for collecting the data (see Witzel 2000). The problem-centered interview (PCI) is ideal for obtaining information and opinions related to a problem or topic, and also for obtaining a subjective view and approach to a problem. Witzel, who is the founder of this interview method, argues that PCI "[…] is a theory generating method that tries to neutralize the alleged contradiction between being directed by theory or being open-minded so that the interplay of inductive and deductive thinking contributes to increasing the user's knowledge" (Witzel 2000: paragraph 1). The PCI method tries to be open-minded and has no presuppositions on the topic, but also allows having hypotheses or ideas on the problems. Witzel states that PCI aims to "[…] gather objective evidence on human behavior as well as on subjective perceptions and ways of processing social reality" (ibid: paragraph 1). In PCI, the insight gained through the interviews and subsequent evaluation must be organized as an inductive-deductive mutual relationship (see ibid: paragraph 3).

The PCI method allows pre-knowledge as a researcher, but there are also other aspects that argue in favor of this interview method. Witzel, claims that three basic principles exist in PCI, which I determined are also suited for this research:

– The interviews are problem-centered, which means that the interviewer asks repeated questions related to (or centered on) the problem to obtain and work on greater understanding of the subjective view, while constantly refining the questions to address the precise problem at hand.

– The interviews are object-oriented, which means that the methods used are flexible and can be altered according to the object of the research. For instance, a group discussion can be used to obtain an overview, while leaving room to introduce a standardized questionnaire if it is felt necessary. Further examples are flexible conversation techniques, such as the change from narration to more dialogue in order to adjust to the interviewee – the object of research.

– The interviews are process-oriented, which means that conversational flow – the process of the interview/conversation, is important. It involves the process of pre-interpreting their statements while listening and responding to the interviewee so that they feel taken seriously and can respond with trust. Story-telling (often in the form of anecdotes) should also be encouraged in order to break down the artificiality of the research setting and prevent the feeling of being forced to give answers (see Witzel 2000: paragraph 5ff.).

8.3   Distance to data and use of IBKM data

Considering all those aspects made clear that the PCI method is well suited because it allows for ideas, opinions, theories and hypothesis on the topic. However, my having pre-knowledge also introduces problems. The possibility that my perspective and my theory are superimposed on the interviewees and eventually on the collected data can easily occur. This would also lead to a blurring or even diminishing of the 'real' voices of the youth. Because of these reasons, constant reflection and reproducing an open mind is very important. Although much attention was paid to objectivity, it became clear that it is difficult to remain totally objective during the interviews.

Question guidelines that were developed in advance inevitably had my bias and I, as the interviewer, would unconsciously influence the answers of the youth even though I was being very careful. Put simply, my hypothesis would be more or less imposed on the youth. Furthermore, in this particular research and dissertation, it seemed very difficult to be totally open minded – to be the 'tabula rasa', because I am a male researcher with migration background myself and have experienced education in Germany and similar events in life just as the research subjects have. Therefore, I inevitably have opinions on certain matters and theories regarding school performance and being successful at school. As a result, some distance to the interviews was necessary in order to maintain and produce positive aspects, such as avoiding influential bias.

During my work as a research assistant at IBKM, I was also involved in some individual interviews with male migrant youth. Those interviews had question guidelines that would cover the content of my dissertation and the students who were interviewed matched the profile of my dissertation. Those interviews were problem-centered interviews with question guidelines. The interviews were largely narrative, containing many aspects that covered my focus areas. The six interviews for this paper, however, were conducted by another researcher at IBKM. One positive aspect of using this interview data was the fact that the interviewer was also a male with a Turkish migration background who can speak Turkish and attended the lower school type 'Hauptschule', but he also managed to graduate from a university and was writing his dissertation at the time of the interviews. This closeness to the youth would create a very comfortable and free atmosphere that encourages the youth to talk freely on several topics. In addition, he would have ideas and hypotheses on school performance of migrant youth, but he was not involved in my dissertation and was not considering my theories. Those aspects made it ideal to use this data. The question guidelines that were developed for the problem-centered interviews are attached in the appendix. In total, IBKM prepared 48 questions on 7 different themes for the guidelines, but not all questions were asked. The questions were chosen on a discretionary basis depending on the flow of the conversation, the situation and the reactions/understanding of each individual youth. Further details on the question guidelines can be found in the appendix.

The objective of IBKM's research was to reveal the lifestyle and life situation of the migrant youth. It was necessary to reveal the current life situation of

the youth and how their current life situation was created in order to explore and identify the possible actions of the migrant youth. Therefore, IBKM's objective corresponded with the objective of my dissertation, which is to identify possible actions to take in order to change the under-representation of migrant youth at higher education. The content of the interviews showed the youth's attitudes and perceptions of their life situation, which would be useful for my dissertation. Altogether, the objective of IBKM and this dissertation had many overlapping aspects that made the use of those interviews possible and recommendable.

The interviews by IBKM had many narrative talks that revealed how having a migration background influenced their current situation. Further questions were concerned with being male and how certain ideas of masculinity influenced and lead to certain events in life. Another factor that influences the life situation is the social and family background, which was also discussed in the interviews. Questions regarding school life and the relationships with the teachers and experiences with discrimination within the school setting were also asked in the interviews. The narrative style of the interviews covered a wide range of life situations that could be analyzed. However, some conversations focused more on certain aspects and less on others, which means that there were some topics in some interviews that were not covered. Thus, not every interview was identical and covered the same topics. That being said, how the youth deal with problems and how gender, migration background, social situation and family background all influence their actions and attitude in life could certainly be analyzed. In sum, there were many areas covered that could be analyzed and ultimately contribute to my dissertation.

8.4 Interviewees and method of data collection

The basic idea and concepts of this dissertation were reflected upon and questions were raised such as what is the aim of collecting qualitative data. The aim is to identify similarities or differences in the attitudes and values of migrant youth attending lower school types and higher school types, and find factors that influence the under-representation of migrant youth at higher educational institutions. Therefore, youth with migration background from lower and higher school types were chosen. The higher school type consists of Gymnasium or the equivalent to it, the 'middle' school type consists of Realschule and the 'lower' school type consists of Hauptschule or the equivalent to it. The age range was 15 to 21 years, because 15 is the age when

most of the youth attending a lower school type finish and 21 is the age when most of the youth attending a higher school type finish their educational career in Germany.

After considering various criteria such as migration background, educational background or family situations, 6 out of the 12 interviews were applicable to use. The interviews with the following youth will be analyzed in the pages to follow:

– Educational level: equivalent to Hauptschule and Turkish background
– Educational level: equivalent to Hauptschule and Turkish background
– Educational level: equivalent to Realschule and Lebanese background
– Educational level: equivalent to Realschule and Turkish background
– Educational level: equivalent to Gymnasium and Iraqi background
– Educational level: equivalent to Gymnasium and Polish background

The criteria for interviewing youth from 'higher', 'middle' and 'lower' school types and with a certain background was important to maintain yet it made it difficult to find suitable interview subjects. The search for youth with Turkish, Polish and Russian backgrounds could also not be fulfilled at times since the teachers themselves sometimes did not know what background the students had. Therefore, youth with Iraqi or Lebanese background were selected by the teachers and interviewed. The original intention to analyze the three major migrant groups in Germany[53] could not be realized, but the Iraqi or Lebanese youth would present stereotypes and difficulties similar to the Turkish youth. As a note, the fact that the teachers 'mistook' Iraqi and Lebanese youth as youth with Turkish background and sent them to the interview is one indication that they are sometimes seen as youth with Turkish background.

IBKM contacted schools and teachers in the search for suitable youth for the study, and then made appointments with the teachers and students. The interviews took place within the school settings and during school hours so that the migrant youth could feel familiar and 'comfortable'. The interviewer who conducted the interviews has a Turkish migration background and speaks Turkish, and was therefore easily accepted by the youth. Before starting the interview a brief introduction of this study was done and the migrant youth

---

53 The three major & largest migrant groups in Germany are: Turkish, Russian (former Soviet Union) and Polish.
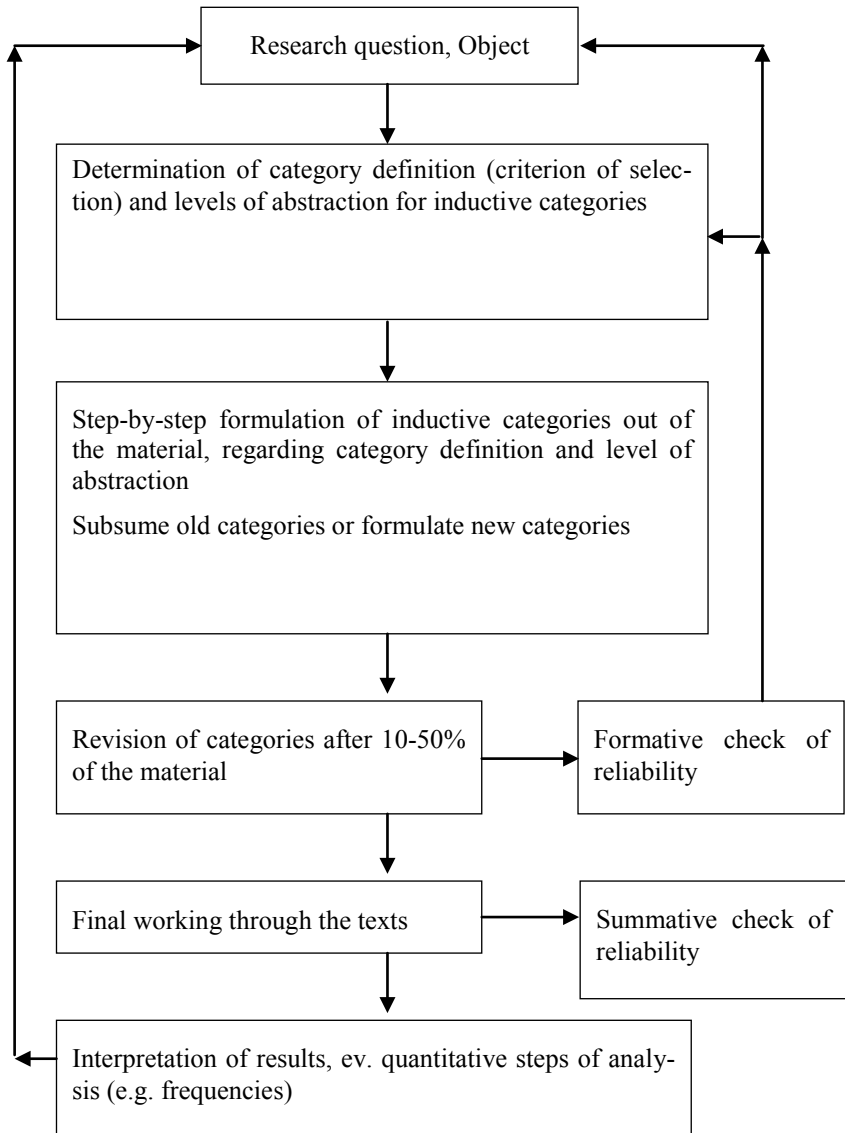
were informed that the interview would be recorded and that anonymity is guaranteed. Furthermore, the migrant youth were free to avoid (not answer) a question if it was too personal or they simply did not want to answer the question.

The interviews were conducted in German, therefore the statements were translated into English for this dissertation, but the original German text is included in the footnotes. I put much consideration and thought into the translations, and some translations were not literally translated (word for word), but translated so that the meaning would be understandable for the English readers. Furthermore, there are some words that needed to be changed or modified to convey the same meaning of the statement.

8.5   Analyzing the data

The interviews will be analyzed based on the qualitative content analysis method by Mayring. He claims that content analysis is an "approach of empirical, methodologically controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring 2000: paragraph 5). The idea and procedure of the content analysis method is to reduce the text into categories. The categories are developed in two ways: the inductive development of categories and the deductive application of categories.

Inductive development means to "formulate a criterion of definition, derived from theoretical background and research question, which determines the aspects of the textual material taken into account." (Mayring 2000: paragraph 12). In this dissertation, the question is "How do migration background, masculinity and family background influence the underrepresentation of migrant youth in higher education?" Thus, the criteria are migration background, masculinity and family background. Mayring then argues that: "following this criterion the material is worked through and categories are tentative and step by step deduced. Within a feedback loop those categories are revised, eventually reduced to main categories and checked with respect to their reliability." (Mayring 2000: paragraph 12). The categories migration background, masculinity and family background are simply 'pre-categories' from which inductive categories are formulated in a step-by-step process and developed. Mayring provides us with an illustration that explains the procedure quite well:

```
        ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
───────→│   Research question, Object     │←──────────┐
↑       └─────────────────────────────────┘           │
│                     ↓                                │
│       ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐   │
│       │ Determination of category definition      │←─┤
│       │ (criterion of selec-tion) and levels of   │  │
│       │ abstraction for inductive categories       │  │
│       └─────────────────────────────────────────┘   │
```

Determination of category definition (criterion of selec-
tion) and levels of abstraction for inductive categories

Step-by-step formulation of inductive categories out of
the material, regarding category definition and level of
abstraction

Subsume old categories or formulate new categories

| Revision of categories after 10-50% of the material | Formative check of reliability |

| Final working through the texts | Summative check of reliability |

Interpretation of results, ev. quantitative steps of analy-
sis (e.g. frequencies)

(Mayring 2000: paragraph 14)

130

In addition, the analysis method by Witzel, which complements the inductive method, will be applied as well. The analysis is interviewee orientated, just as the interviews are, and is a thorough case study analysis in which statements of the youth are analyzed and interpreted, sentence by sentence (see Witzel 2000). The aim is to generate a theory from single cases and try to identify meaning and structures within those cases. It is very similar to the methods of Mayring and complements the bottom up and inductive methods of generating a theory.

The deductive category development "works with prior formulated, theoretically derived aspects of analysis, bringing them in connection with the text. (…) (it is) a methodological, controlled assignment of the category to a passage of text" (Mayring 2000: paragraph 13). In this dissertation, it simply means to search for text or statements that show the influence of stereotype threat and analyze whether the youth are influenced by it. In other words, it is a search for statements that show how much destructive power influences the possibility-rooms of the youth and how much instructive power is present in the mind of the youth. The text will be analyzed according to this theoretical framework, but whether the youth are influenced or not by stereotype threat must be determined according to certain rules. Mayring argues that the "main idea here is to give explicit definitions, examples and coding rules for each deductive category, determining exactly under what circumstances a text passage can be coded with a category" (Mayring 2000: paragraph 15). For instance, the question of how much stereotype threat influences the youth can be categorized and determined as follows:

Stereotype

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Much influence by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth is 'suffering' under stereotypes and is convinced that it has influenced his life. - He knows that stereotypes exist that apply to him. - He thinks that those stereotypes are correct or he shows some indication that he believes in them. - His actions are influenced by stereotypes; he acts according to the stereotypes or tries to rebel and deliberately avoid those actions.	The youth is categorized as 'much influenced by stereotype threat' if all three aspects apply to the migrant youth. The youth is influenced in mind and action.
Moderate influence by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth thinks that some of the stereotypes have influenced his life. - He knows that stereotypes exist that apply to him. - He thinks that those stereotypes are correct or he shows some indication that he believes in them.	The youth is categorized as "moderately influenced" if only one or two of the criterion and definitions apply. The youth is influenced in mind, but not in action.
Slightly influenced by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth does not think that those stereotypes have influenced his life at all. - He does not know the stereotypes, or knows the stereotypes, but does not believe in them nor do they influence his actions.	The youth is categorized as "slightly influenced" if only one criterion applies. The youth is not influenced in mind or in action.

(modified example of Mayring 2000: paragraph 16)

Another category is the aspect of responsibility, which will analyze whether the youth think that the responsibility of the current school and life situation lies with them, or rather they make the school, teachers, family and others (in other words, the circumstances/environment) responsible for their school per-

formance. The following table shows the categories, definitions and coding rules that were applied to develop deductive categories.

Responsibility

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Takes no responsibility for his own actions and 'gives away' the responsibility to others.	The migrant youth thinks that he has no responsibility for the current situation, and argues that others caused his own actions. -He blames 'others' for his current situation. -He blames 'others' for his own behavior, and argues that they made him do things.	The youth is categorized as 'takes no responsibility' if he does not take any responsibility and does not even think that the current situation could be due to his own actions.
Takes partial responsibility for his actions, but gives away the responsibility to others as well.	The migrant youth thinks that he has some responsibility but also argues that 'others' have responsibility as well and have caused his own actions. -He blames 'others' but also knows that his own actions contributed to the current situation. -He blames 'others' for his own behavior, and argues that they made him do things, but also knows that he could have behaved differently.	The youth is categorized as 'takes partial responsibility' if he gives away some responsibility but also takes some responsibility. He knows that his behavior contributed partly to the current situation, but he also thinks that his behavior was caused by 'others' and gives away some of the responsibility.
Takes responsibility for his actions and barely gives away the responsibility.	The migrant youth thinks that he is responsible for his own actions, although he acknowledges that 'others' influence his actions and have responsibility as well. -He does not blame 'others' but acknowledges that 'others' have responsibility as well. -He takes responsibility for his own actions and does not blame others that they caused his behavior.	The youth is categorized as 'takes responsibility' if he takes responsibility and barely gives away the responsibility. He acknowledges that his actions have contributed to his current situation, but also acknowledges that 'others' have contributed as well, but does not blame 'others'.

Another category is the aspect of attitude and whether the youth have an active or passive attitude towards problems. This will also show whether intrinsic power is present or not.

Attitude

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Passive attitude towards problems/stressful situations.	The migrant youth has feelings of helplessness and powerlessness to change things. -He has no hope that the situation can be changed. -He has no concrete vision of how the situation can change. -He does not act nor does he have the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'passive towards problems/stressful situations' if all three aspects apply to the youth. The youth has a rather passive attitude and is influenced by the circumstances, because he does not have hope or vision, or act to change the situation.
Sometimes passive, sometimes active attitude towards problems /stressful situations.	The migrant youth has feelings of helplessness/powerlessness, but thinks that he can change things. -He sometimes has hope on some occasions that the situation can be changed. -He has concrete visions on some occasions about how the situation can be changed. -He sometimes acts or has the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'sometimes passive, sometimes active towards problems/stressful situations' if the three aspects fluctuate and he does not have a stable and consistent attitude towards problems/stressful situations. The youth is sometimes influenced by the circumstances, because he fluctuates between having hope, vision and being active and sometimes not, to change the situation.
Active attitude towards problems/stressful situations.	The migrant youth has almost no feelings of helplessness/powerlessness and thinks that he can change things. -He is hopeful that he can change the situation. -He has a concrete vision for how the situation can be changed. -He acts or has the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'active attitude towards problems/stressful situations' if the three aspects apply to the youth. The youth is confident that he can change the situation, has a vision, and acts or intends to act to change the situation. He is actively involved in his own life situation.

The content analysis method by Mayring is well suited to systematically analyze the interviews according to certain rules that are transparent and understandable to everyone. It covers the content/detailed analysis, the overall view of the interviews, and it includes both the inductive and deductive method of analysis. Witzel argues "the interplay of inductive and deductive thinking contributes to increasing the user's knowledge (Witzel 2000: paragraph 1). Knowledge can help explore attitudes, opinions and the latent patterns that underlie the problems and actions of the youth that have an influence on school performance and current school type. Furthermore, it can to some extent explain the ways and methods of how the youth deal with the problems in different areas of life. Another focus is on how migrant youth who attend 'higher' or 'lower' school types differ in their ways of dealing with problems. Worth analyzing is whether all youth attending 'lower' school types have similarities in dealing with problems. These similarities can then be compared with the data of the youth who attend 'higher' school types, which can reveal attitude patterns and provide hints on how certain ways and methods influence school performance and school types.

The results of this analysis do not necessarily explain the causality of attitude patterns and bad school performance. Thus, it cannot be stated that the youth who go to a 'lower' school type have 'this' certain pattern or that 'this' certain attitude is the cause of bad school performance. The relationship between attitude and bad school performance is far more complicated and one single cause cannot be determined, thus it is not the aim of this dissertation. However, patterns should be acknowledged which can then encourage further studies that can contribute to developing or constructing new theories.

There are risks associated with using this analytical method as well. When analyzing an interview in detail, summarizing and analyzing the content of the text has the effect of dividing the whole interview into parts (paragraphs) and concentrating 'only' on those individual paragraphs, and the result is to lose the overall perspective. The conversational flow, the dynamism of the interview and the condition of the youth should be considered as well. For instance, a youth could have some hesitation at the beginning of the interview and therefore give 'politically correct' answers and argue that he does not know any stereotypes, but in the process of the interview he might build trust with the interviewer and claim that he suffers from stereotypes. Focusing on and analyzing isolated material at the beginning of an interview can create a misleading or 'false' picture. Therefore, the dynamism and overall perspec-

tive of the interviews were kept in mind to minimize this negative 'side effect' of this analysis method.

8.6   Analyzing considering intersectionality

Analyzing the interviews deductively has the tendency to focus on one certain category without considering other categories that might have influence on the category in focus, and thus lose the view of interrelatedness of each category. It is not possible to separate the categories migration background, gender and family/social background as they do not exist separately in the lives of the youth. It is the simple idea that socially weak, male migrant youth are not only disadvantaged because they are socially weak, but also because they are male and also because they are migrant youth. Furthermore, it is not simply adding each disadvantage like 1+1+1=3, but is more complex and intersects itself so that the 'total' disadvantage amounts to more than just 3. The phrase 'The sum of the whole is greater than its parts' demonstrates this. The following lines will further explain the concept of intersectionality.

The concept of intersectionality was developed in the 70's during the women's (gender equality) movement where 'black' women were discriminated. They were women who were disadvantaged because they are women and also discriminated because they are black. Chrenshaw is a renowned scholar regarding this discourse and says that intersectionality:

> "It grew out of trying to conceptualize the way law responds to issues where both race and gender discrimination were involved. What happened was like an accident, a collision. Intersectionality simply came from the idea that if you are standing in the path of multiple forms of exclusion, you are likely to get hit by both. These women are injured, but when the race ambulance and the gender ambulance arrived at the scene, they see these women lying in the intersection and they say, well, we can't figure out if this was just race or just sex discrimination. And unless they can show us which one it was, we can't help them'"

> (Crenshaw 2004, cited by Knapp 2008: 43).

According to those statements, intersectionality must be considered to support the male/migrant/youth because any idea or movement that suits and supports only males, for example, could end up losing sight of other factors like 'migration' or 'youth'. There are many difficulties, disadvantages and

instances of discrimination that male migrant youth have to face and many different kinds of stereotypes that they have to confront, which sometimes reinforce each other. There are different aspects and problems that male migrant youth have to deal with that influence school performance. The attempt is to show the voices of the youth regarding school life, migration background, masculinity and social/family background, and analyze how they altogether influence school performance. These different factors will be analyzed using specific focus areas to show how each factor influences the youth, but also the intersectionality of these factors will be considered, including how the youth deal with these influences and problems altogether and individually.

As mentioned earlier, the influences and problems often enhance each other so that the effect is sometimes more than just the addition of each individual problem. An example of the enhancement of multiple 'disadvantages' is the fact that the male migrant youth are male and have migration background. As stated in chapter two, males are less 'popular' among teachers and migrant youth are also associated with bad language ability and bad school performance. The combined effect that migrant youth have to confront is not simply the addition of individual 'disadvantages' or stereotypes since they are often interwoven, reinforce each other and influence each other. Thus, the solution to change the underrepresentation of male migrant youth is very complex. For example, employing a male teacher to prevent 'male discrimination' might lead to more equality for male youth but can intensify the 'disadvantage' of migrant youth (if the teacher has prejudice). In this example, the factor 'male' is considered but not the factor 'migrant youth', which shows the need for consideration on the intersectionality of different factors.

The aspect of intersectionality clearly brings more complexity into the analysis, yet it reveals that no single causality, inequality or disadvantage exists that leads to the underrepresentation of male migrant youth in higher education. Each factor has an influence on the others and the reciprocal effect should be identified. Therefore, in addition to content analysis, the intersectional 'view' will be considered as well. The objective in considering intersectionality is as Crenshaw says:

> "My objective there was to illustrate that many of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as these boundaries are currently understood, and that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into

Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the women´s race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately. I build on those observations here by exploring the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural and political aspects of violence against women of color."

(Crenshaw 1994: 95)

In this dissertation, intersectionality means examining how migration background, male gender and social/family background are interwoven so that all together they contribute to the current situation and to lower school performance. An example would be the concept of masculinity, which is influenced by migration and creates 'migrant masculinity' and might have an influence on school performance. The following analysis of the migrant youth will focus on categories such as school life, migration background, masculinity and other inductive categories; it might appear as a separate analysis, but in the conclusion the aspect of intersectionality will be considered so that the whole picture and voice of the youth is presented.

9   Interviews with migrant youth at 'lower' school types

In this chapter, the two migrant youth who attend 'lower' school types will be introduced. Before analyzing the interviews and stating the interpretation, personal/demographic information and the social/family background will be introduced to create a brief biography of each person. After this information has been introduced, the interviews will be analyzed and the opinions of the youth will be cited and introduced.

9.1   Interview with Ali

The first interviewee is Ali, who is 15 years old and was born in Germany. His father is from Turkey, his mother is from Germany and he is the only child in the family. His parents are divorced and Ali lives at his mother's house. The parents have contact and communicate with each other to arrange schedules and discuss Ali's situation. His father and mother both own a house or an apartment. His father is a department manager and his mother works at a supermarket. It seems that their financial situation is secure and Ali regards his own financial situation as good, saying that he and his family have enough money to live.

Ali's school career is very complex because he had to change schools several times. After finishing four years of elementary school, he went to the somewhat higher school type, Realschule, but he changed from one Realschule to another and visited four different Realschule in total. He repeated fifth grade and half of the sixth grade during that time and eventually moved to the 'lower' school type, Hauptschule, which was the fifth school he had experienced. At the Hauptschule he caused some incident, which he did not mention explicitly, and then he changed to his current school, which is a Berufs-

schule [54] and is where he is doing his BVJ[55]. In total, he has been to six different schools since elementary school.

9.1.1   Ali's voice on school

In this section the results and content of the interview regarding school will be presented. The intention is to present Ali's opinions regarding school, because some of his opinions explain his 'bad' school performance directly or indirectly. IBKM asked several questions regarding school and his answers will be cited and summarized, and my interpretations regarding his statements will be presented. Following this, further analysis will be conducted to find out what other factors might have influenced his school performance.

Ali went to four different Realschule before going to a Hauptschule, which could indicate that he had the ability and 'intelligence' to go to a Realschule. Therefore, the reason why Ali was recommended (or went) to the lower school type (Hauptschule) is interesting to analyze. There are several reasons that could explain his 'bad' school performance, which in general often leads students to lower school types. One reason is that Ali had no interest in studying, which reveals his low motivation. Ali says:

> "...always math and such things, German and so, I was not really interested in it, sitting all the time and so on. That was just killing time and I had no joy"[56] (A. line 24).

This lack of motivation and boredom seems to have influenced his behavior and attitude towards school. He says that he skipped classes and did not go to school, and therefore was suspended and "kicked out" of school. Furthermore, he says that he was not following rules and was violent at school. To the question regarding why he was kicked out, he answers:

---

54   Berufsschule is apprentership school that has the purpose of training students in specific areas of work so that they can obtain a job. Students can obtain degrees equivalent to Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium. The curriculum at BVJ is more practical and work related.

55   Berufsvorbereitungsjahr, which literally means 'year of preparation for work'. The classes are more practical oriented rather than theory oriented. In reality, this school type is sometimes a means to put the youth "on hold" and to wait for the next option for their future career. Sometimes it is misused as a "waiting room" for students until they find something else.

56   immer Mathe und sowas, Deutsch und so, das hat mich eigentlich nicht interessiert, die ganze Zeit rumzusitzen und so. Das war Zeitvertreib, ich hab nie darauf Lust gehabt.

"Yeah, was kicked out of school. (Interviewer: "Why?") "Yeah, I did some bad shit and such things, did not follow rules, fought with others, never went to school and skipped classes and so on."[57] *(A. line 20).*

Reasons for bad school performance

He seems to 'know' why he was "kicked out" and had to change schools so many times, and he can look back and see that his own behavior and attitude caused the frequent change of schools. It seems that he takes responsibility for his own actions and acknowledges the reasons for being "kicked out", but he also claims that the school and teachers 'made' him have this attitude and caused this behavior, and thus shifts the responsibility to the school and teachers. It is interesting to see that on the one hand, Ali understands that his own behavior lead to bad school performance and the frequent change of schools, and acknowledges the effect of his own behavior. On the other hand, he blames the teachers and schools for his poor school performance and bad behavior, and acknowledges that the teachers and schools are an important factor in determining school performance. He acknowledges both sides, but it seems that Ali ultimately gives the (main) responsibility to the teachers and schools. Ali has experienced and knows five different schools and many teachers and compares and evaluates them. He says that the current school and teachers are better than in the other schools, and that he has better grades in the current school. Ali states:

"Something is different here (means his current school), with construction (practical classes) and so. I get good grades. I was the best in class on the first test; then another one again, scored a two (grade B). See it's different here." [58] *(A. line 26)*

It seems that he associates his good grades with "correct" teachers and a good school. In other words, he thinks that "correct" teachers and schools lead to good grades. Ali also defines correct teachers as those who care about the students and their graduation. Furthermore, Ali says in another statement that

---

57 Ja, runter geschmissen halt von der Schule, näh? [Int. Warum?] Ja, Scheiße gebaut da und so näh, nicht an die Regeln gehalten, sich gehauen mit anderen Leuten, nie hingegangen, geschwänzt und sowas.
58 Hier ist ja was anderes, mit Bau und so. Hier ich schreib gute Noten. Die erste Arbeit hab ich beste Arbeit aus der Klasse geschrieben, dann auch wieder eine Arbeit, hab ich auch eine 2 bekommen, also ist anders, näh?

'bad' teachers and 'bad' schools made him perform badly at school or made him behave improperly. Ali states:

> *"The teachers didn't care, they just got their money and such. There were few correct teachers. Here every teacher is correct (...) What I mean is that the other teachers at the other schools, there was maybe one correct teacher and the rest screwed you over and so on. Why should we behave decently then? Here more than half of the teachers make an effort so that you can have a degree. Then you have to be good."*[59] *(A. line 29).*

He excuses his misbehavior by 'blaming' the school and teachers and says that there was no reason to behave correctly, and the teachers and school 'inevitability' made him do bad things. Those statements show that Ali thinks that the school and teachers control much of his school life. In other words, Ali is aware of the destructive power that restricts and reduces his potential, and shifts the responsibility for his situation to the destructive power that influences his school life and behavior. There are a few other examples in the interview that demonstrate destructive power and how Ali deals with those problems and stressful situations.

Destructive power in school and Ali's reactions

The interview showed other aspects of destructive power that Ali had to face and had influenced his school life. At one of the schools, Ali was often sent to the 'time-out room', which is a room the teachers can send students to if they cause trouble or when the teacher considers it to be appropriate. The purpose of this room is to let the student calm down and reflect, and after calming down the student can come back to class. Ali spent most of his school time in such rooms, and thus was absent from classes and could not participate in the classes, which naturally lead to bad school performance. Ali says:

> *"I came late, they told me directly. This was also the case with another guy who is also here (now at the current school). Go to the time-out room.*

---

59   die Lehrer hat das nicht gekümmert und so, die haben nur ihr Geld bekommen und so, da waren wenig korrekte Lehrer bei, hier ist eigentlich jeder Lehrer korrekt. (…) Also, ich meine bei den anderen Lehrern war das ja kein, da war das ja was anders auf den anderen Schulen, da war vielleicht ein korrekter Lehrer und den, der Rest hat einen abgefuckt und so, warum soll man sich denn da benehmen, wenn hier als die Hälfte wollen, dass du dein Abschluss kriegst und so und sich dafür einsetzen, dann muss man einfach bei den anderen Lehrern auch vernünftig sein, näh? Ja.

The time-out room; that's where I spent most of my time. It was normal that you just walk away (go home). What are you supposed to do in that room, just sit and write something down? It's useless. Nobody learns from such a thing."[60] *(A. line 40)*

Ali did not see any sense in going to the time-out room, therefore he just left school. He reacted to the 'punishment' (destructive power) by refusing to accept the consequences and refused to follow the rules and left the school. Another reaction was the attempt to rebel verbally. There are some statements where Ali shows his behavior against unfair situations. Ali states:

"Sometimes and in some cases, the teachers, I don't know, they scream at you and so; you have a conflict with them and automatically this is the problem. I should have kept my mouth shut and been quiet, but I am always the one, I was shouting/screaming, no idea, I had incidents with teachers and so on. Usually you should be quite and keep calm and listen to your teacher, but if you feel treated unfairly, then you open your mouth, don't you?"[61] *(A. line 99)*

These actions show that he rebels against the teachers and does not give in and obey them. Ali cannot accept the unfair treatment and quarrels with the teachers and has his own opinion on certain incidents. The statements *"I should have kept my mouth shut"* or *"you should be quite and keep calm and listen to you teacher"* also indicate that Ali 'knows' (thinks that he knows) how to behave 'properly' to avoid conflicts with the teachers. He 'knows' how he should behave, but still he rebels. The statement *"but if you feel treated unfairly, then you open your mouth, don't you"* indicates that Ali even 'knows' (thinks) that he cannot win the argument or thinks that his opinions have little influence, which means that any rebellion is futile. It is a statement that implies that Ali knows that it is futile, ***but*** if they treat you

---

60 ich bin zu spät gekommen, die haben direkt gesagt, das war auch mit einem anderen, der das hier auch macht, der direkt Trainingsraum, Trainingsraum, meiste Zeit habe ich in diesem Trainingsraum verbracht, das war auch, das ist normal, das man einfach abhaut, was soll man da so in einem Raum sitzen und die ganze Zeit Blätter abschreiben und so, das bringt nichts. Da lernt man ja auch nichts von.

61 manchmal bei manchen Sachen, da die Lehrer, ich weiß nicht, die schreien einen an und so, man hat Streit mit denen und automatisch, das ist bei mir das Problem, was war, ich hatte damals paar-, paarmal meine Klappe halten sollen, aber ich bin immer derjenige, ich hab rumgeschrien, keine Ahnung, ich hab auch Vorfälle schon gewesen mit Lehrern und so, normalerweise man müsste ruhig sein und hören, was der Lehrer sagt, aber wenn man sich zu Unrecht behandelt fühlt, dann reißt man seine Schnauze auf, näh?

unfairly, **then** you have to rebel, regardless of whether it helps or not*.* The following statements show that he thinks that teachers have more authority and are in a position of strength. The interviewer asked how he reacts against unfair treatments, and Ali answers:

> *"Yeah, insult the teacher. I don't know, don't listen to them or I say whatever that's not interesting. When the teachers, the teachers get angry as a result and they have a stronger position, right? They see that this guy does not listen to them, then they send me home or something like that."*[62] *(A. line 107)*

Ali knows (thinks) that such rebellious behaviors have little influence or are even futile, because the teachers have more authority and disregard his opinions. But he does not give in and the teachers do not have 'power' over his opinions (his mind), and they cannot instruct Ali to do actions that he does not want to do. Therefore, Ali's behavior or thinking is not 'instructed' by the teacher and intrinsic power is not very present or at least it is not visible.

Unfair teachers causing his rebellious attitude

Ali thinks that his rebellious attitude is 'useless' and knows the negative consequences, but still he rebels and the reason is that he feels unfairly treated and even thinks that the teachers 'abuse' their authority. Some statements show that he thinks that teachers also make decisions influenced by their emotions, conditions and biases. Ali states:

> *"(The original purpose of a time-out room is)… if you have a quarrel with the teacher or a 'discussion', then the teacher can say: 'You go to the time-out room, calm down there, write a paper, do your (school) work and then you can come back.' But, I don't know, the teachers used it differently than it's supposed to be. They simply send you to the time-out room and leave you there till school is finished."*[63] *(A. line 49)*

---

62   Ja, phe, beleidigen die Lehrer oder ich weiß nicht, denen nicht zuhören oder sagen, die sollen, ach man, das interessiert einen dann gar nicht und so und wenn die Lehrer, die Lehrer werden dadurch ja auch sauer und die haben den höheren Hebel, näh, die merken, der Junge geht darauf nicht ein, dann direkt nach Hause oder sowas halt,

63   dass, wenn man Streit mit dem Lehrer hat, eine Diskussion, dass der Lehrer einfach sagt „Bam, du gehst jetzt in den Trainingsraum, da beruhigst du dich, schreibst, machst deine Aufgaben und so und dann kommst du wieder". Und keine Ahnung, was. Die Lehrer haben das anders genutzt, als das gemacht werden sollte. Einfach in Trainingsraum bis Schulschluss bleibst du da, fertig.

"(Sometimes) the teachers come to school in a bad mood and you do something trivial and the teacher screams at you and you feel treated unfairly and then you say something to your teacher, and because of this bad mood you are sent home."[64] *(A. line 111)*

Those statements indicate that teachers do treat him unfairly and that Ali's rebellion is understandable. In both statements there is a quarrel and the teachers 'punish' him, but Ali has a suspicion that teachers 'punish' him not because of quarrels and 'improper' behavior, but rather because the teachers are in a "bad mood". It seems that Ali does not believe and trust the teachers and the student-teacher relationship is not very good, which also leads to poor school performance. However, there are also cases where he behaves 'properly' and avoids any negative consequences. He knows that he would have less trouble if he just behaved the way the teachers said to, and also knows that a good relationship with teachers would profit him. Ali states:

"At an old school, there were, for example, teachers with whom I could not get along with and so on. I just said whatever. I did hate them, but I just kissed up to them, and it worked."[65] *(A. line 118)*

This example shows that he has the repertoire to act differently than to rebel and react with aggression towards destructive power. He knows how to build a 'good' relationship with the teachers and has experiences doing so, but he cannot always apply this behavior, and he sometimes reacts with anger. Ali shows and knows how to behave 'decently', but if he is unfairly treated, then he loses his temper and reacts towards destructive power with aggression. His rebellious attitude is not the 'standard' reaction, nor is he always angry, but his rebellious attitude is caused by unfair treatment, thus making it understandable. However, the statements also show that he gives the responsibility to the teachers and excuses his behavior with 'I could', but if others do this or that, then I have to rebel. In a sense, his actions are 'dependent' on what others do.

---

64 manchmal ist das ja auch so, dass wie soll ich sagen, Lehrer kommen mit einer schlechten Laune zur Schule und du machst die größte Kleinigkeit und dann der Lehrer schreit dich an und dann fühlst du dich zu Unrecht behandelt und dann sagst du dem Lehrer auch was dazu und durch diese schlechte Laune kannst du nach Hause gehen, dann.

65 auf ner alten Schule auch, das waren zum Beispiel Lehrer, mit denen ich nicht klar gekommen bin und so, und so ich dann einfach ne Zeit lang gesagt hab: „Scheiß egal und so, ich hasse die zwar, aber ich schleim mich einfach mal richtig bei denen ein" und so, hat geklappt.

Self-identification in the context of school

The teachers and schools often 'do this or that', causing Ali to react with aggression and rebellion. There are many statements that have this pattern of 'accusing' the schools/teachers and that 'others' make him do things, influence him or even determine his behavior. In this chapter, the focus is on whether some tendencies can be identified that show his self-determinedness or other-determinedness. This part of analysis developed from inductive analysis when I focused on the aspect of migration and how he identifies himself or sees himself. The original idea was to analyze whether he sees himself as German, Turkish or Kurdish, and during this process another category opened up, which is his identification in the context of school. Ali identifies himself in context of ethnicity but also in the context of school and the various 'groups' that exist within the school setting. There are some aspects where Ali shows his perception of belonging to a certain 'school' group.

> *"In my circle of friends, everyone does shitty things at school and that´s the way it is. There are different groups, those people who are good in school, I would say, for example, in the previous schools, some get 1s (best grade) and others get 5s (worst grade). Those who get 1s do not interact with those who get 5s. And you know this through your circle of friends and everyone had bad grades."*[66] *(A. line 66)*

Ali thinks that he belongs to the 'school group' that "does shitty things" and who has bad grades. Those statements show that Ali categorizes according to two categories, 'problematic student' and school performance. Those two categories often intersect with the categories social background, class or migration background, which are often associated with 'problematic student' and school performance. Ali also makes statements that indicate that his friends influence his judgment of categorization or even define him. The fact that teachers in Germany can 'send' students to certain school types (categories) means that others can determine the categorization.

---

66 bei meinen Freundeskreis, jeder baut Scheiße in der Schule und es ist ja so. Es gibt verschiedene Gruppen, die Leute, die gut in der Schule sind, ich sag mal die, jetzt zum Beispiel in den alten Schulen, einer schreibt Einsen und die anderen schreiben Fünfen. Die, die Fünfen schreiben und die, die Einsen schreiben, das sind nicht die Leute, die miteinander verkehren, miteinander unterwegs sind und so. Und dann kennt man das ja durch seinen Freundeskreis und jeder hat schlechte Noten geschrieben.

"Every friend of mine says that it's too late now: 'Hey man, this is your last chance to actually achieve something.' Here are, here are yeah, the people who have achieved nothing and those who could not make it at the other schools came here. I don't think that those students who do well at Realschule or Hauptschule would come to this BVJ. These are people who have their last chance, at least as I see it."[67] *(A. line 91)*

In those statements the tendency to identify himself as belonging to the 'worse' group can be seen. Ali used to be at a higher school type (Realschule) then changed to the Hauptschule and then to BVJ, thus it is a downgrading process in terms of school categorization. Ali identifies with the school, and therefore the downgrading of the school also means the 'downgrading' of his own identity. The downgrading of school types is often processed by the schools and teachers, but his friends acknowledge the downgrade and tell Ali that it is his last chance, and see Ali as someone who is going to a 'lower' school type and 'warn' him that it is his last chance. All this leaves Ali with feelings of ambiguity.

9.1.2   Conclusion on Ali's voices on school

There were several incidents mentioned in the interview that explain Ali's bad school performance. He does not always relate those incidents with bad school performance, but by analyzing it, the relationship becomes clear. For example, the time spent in the time-out room would deter Ali from regular classes and lead to bad school performance. Ali often gives the responsibility to others and sees the cause for the problems being the teachers and schools, and thus does not try to work on himself. The 'destructive power' by teachers and schools does influence his behavior, and he sometimes reacts with aggression, which leads to an even worse student-teacher relationship. Ali seems short-tempered and has many conflicts with teachers. He knows that he should calm down and listen to the teachers, and that he has no chance of winning an argument, but he does the opposite. It would be interesting to

---

67   Jeder meine Freunde sagt jetzt auch, das ist langsam zu spät, man das ist die letzte Chance, was man eigentlich machen kann. Hier sind, hier sind, ja, die Leute, die nichts erreicht haben und die das nicht erreichen konnten in den anderen Schulen sind hier hingekommen, also ich glaub nicht, das Leute die zum Beispiel locker ihren Realschulabschluss schaffen oder locker ihren Hauptschulabschluss, die hier, die hier in dieses BVJ kommen. Das sind halt nur die Leute, die Leute, die ihre letzte Chance damit noch haben. So denk ich mal, näh?

know if Ali's rebelling is a reaction of defenselessness or a reaction with the motivation to change things.

The first motivation might be to change the unfair treatment, but there is the assumption that his behavior is also a reaction to a sense of defenselessness, because he does not know what he can do against the unfair treatment. He feels powerless because the teachers have more authority and can determine his school life, which means that he has to accept the circumstances and cannot do much about it. It is the idea of the "possibility-room": if the object is inside the room, you can change it and you are responsible for it; if it is outside the "possibility-room", you cannot change it and you are not responsible for it.

The act of shifting the responsibility to someone else implies that he does not want to take responsibility or maybe it indicates that he thinks that he cannot take responsibility. However, giving away the responsibility also means giving away the possibility to change things. In other words, having responsibility means to have the power to change things and having no responsibility means to have no influence or power to change things. This idea or concept is just a matter of the mind, but how Ali perceives the idea of responsibility has a major influence on his behavior, school life and school performance. A clear categorization that Ali is irresponsible cannot be made, but there are cases where he shows tendencies of shifting responsibilities to others.

Another possibility and explanation for his rebellious attitude could be the different understanding of fairness and different values. The teachers 'punish' him, which might be a 'normal' and fair procedure for teachers, but because Ali has a migration background and because of his somewhat different cultural background, way of thinking and values, he might perceive it as 'unfair'. In other words, his rebellious behavior might have connections to the migration background and different values and understanding of situations. The following chapters will analyze the aspect of migration and what Ali says about his own migration background. Another aspect related to migration background is that Ali has experienced much unfair discrimination and is very sensitive towards unfair treatment, which then triggers a rebellious attitude.

9.1.3 Ali's voice on migration background

In this chapter, the aspect of how migration background influences the life-style and life situation of the migrant youth and how the youth perceive their own migration background will be analyzed. In particular, how those perceptions influence school performance will be analyzed. There are many stereotypes that Ali has had to confront, and how Ali deals with those problems as well as with the stress related to migration background is worth investigating.

The problems and quarrels with the teachers at school could be related to or even caused by his migration background. One direct influence on school performance is discrimination in school and teachers that (un)consciously prejudge or even discriminate against the students. As mentioned in chapter two, the monolingual habitus of the teachers leads to unconscious prejudgments that can lead to worse grades of students that have a minor language deficit since the teachers associate language 'deficit' with less intelligence. However, it seems that Ali does not have to deal with monolingual habitus at his current school. He says:

"I speak perfect German. Of course, I was born here, I can. Also the last paper in German was a 2, thus I am doing quite well, right! I can also speak German better than other languages, you know."[68] *(A. line 411)*

Ali is quite satisfied with his German language competence and current school, but at the previous schools Ali felt unfairly treated by the teachers and the schools were boring. The question is if those unfair treatments were due to discrimination (or related to his migration background), but a thorough analysis did not show any indication of it. However, there are statements where Ali experienced discrimination outside school and thus knows how it feels to be discriminated against. In one statement Ali says:

"Such a situation I had once in Bremen. It was shitty. I went to Bremen to do a little shopping and so on. There were many people, they were about my age and they were Nazis, and then they said: "I kill you, you foreign pig" and other things. I said: "Boy, stop blabbering" and so on, and suddenly he hits me. I could not do anything."[69] *(A. line 435)*

---

68 ich spreche perfekt Deutsch. Also, klar, ich bin ja hier geboren, ich kann, auch in Deutsch, die letzte Arbeit 2 in Deutsch, also komm ich ganz gut klar, näh. Ich kann ja auch Deutsch besser als die andere Sprache, näh.

69 so eine Situation hatte ich mal in Bremen. Das war scheiße, da bin ich nach Bremen gefahren, wollte so ein bisschen einkaufen gehen und so, da waren mehrere Leute, die waren so-

This is one example of both discrimination and violence that Ali was confronted with, and there are other situations where Ali's tendencies of violence or rebellion as a solution become visible. The causality of 'experience with discrimination' and 'rebellion in school' or 'problems in school' cannot be proven, but the schema that KFN described suits Ali's case. KFN claimed in chapter three that delinquent thoughts and violence is caused because migrant youth experience more discrimination and violence. Ali's qualitative data and the quantitative study by KFN are consistent, and therefore Ali's aggressive attitude and rebellion might be related to his experience with discrimination.

Ali is also aware of the stereotypes that are widely spread regarding his migration background, and it is interesting to analyze how he deals with those stereotypes. One of the stereotypes that Ali talks about is the 'forced marriages' of Turkish migrants, which is a widespread stereotype in German society. Ali says:

> *"For example, the forced marriages and such things, that is not how it is here (in Germany). I mean, yeah, why should people do forced marriages here and so on? Modern thinking. Germany is different than in other countries." (Interviewer: "Where do they do forced marriages?") "I think in the east of Turkey. I read it somewhere in a magazine or so; often in the east of Turkey they do forced marriages. I even come from the east of Turkey."*[70] *(A. line 199)*

Ali distances himself from those stereotypes and seemingly does not feel addressed, so he thinks that he does not belong to the group that does forced marriages. He even asks back, 'why forced marriage in Germany?' He knows those stereotypes, but it seems that this particular stereotype does not influence him, because he thinks that those stereotypes do not apply to him and thinks that he is not Turkish. Later in the interview he says that he comes from the area where forced marriages are practiced, but does not relate to the stereotype or defend himself, just as if he has nothing to do with it. It is an

---

gar mein Alter und Nazis waren das, die dann „Ja, ich bring dich um, du Ausländerschwein", dies das. Ich sag „Junge, mal, laber mich nicht voll" und so, auf einmal klatscht der mir eine, ich konnte nichts machen,

70   zum Beispiel jetzt Zwangsheirat und son Kram, so ist das ja hier nicht so, ich mein ja, warum sollte man hier Leute auch zwangsverheiraten und so, moderner denken, so Deutschland ist anders, wie in anderen Ländern, so. (Interviewer: Wo wird zwangsverheiratet?) Ich glaub im Osten der Türkei. Hab ich letztens irgendwo gelesen in einer Zeitschrift oder so, meistens im Osten der Türkei, ich komm sogar aus dem Osten der Türkei da,

indication that Ali identifies himself as rather German when he is confronted with this particular stereotype. However, in another statement, Ali identifies himself as Kurdish. To the question about whether he sees himself as a German, Ali answers:

> *"Yeah, that too. But because my father is Kurdish, I think even more I am also Kurdish."*[71] *(A. line 372)*

Ali 'shifts' his group belonging according to the situation and context, and sees himself as more Kurdish in the above mentioned statement, which is in the context of family and relationship to his father (and mother). This 'shift' of belonging is visible later in the interview in the context of friends, and he then says that he is German and Kurdish. Ali states:

> *"I am also German ok, I would not say that I am only Kurdish, I am also German ok. It is not that way. I am, it is basically good this way; half Kurdish and half German. Two things is good."*[72] *(A. line 393)*

It seems that having "two things" makes him flexible to change his belonging and 'identity' so that he has the means to avoid the stereotypes and is rather less burdened by stereotype threat. This 'shift', for example, implies that if 'the Turkish' are accused of forced marriage or being violent, he says that he is German. In this way Ali can avoid stereotypes by trying to 'not belong' to the certain group, which can be seen as one method/strategy that Ali developed when dealing with problems and stress related to stereotypes and migration background. This strategy is, in my opinion, the tendency to give away responsibility, because he tries to avoid belonging to a group that is confronted with negative images/stereotypes, which often leads to a demand to change the current situation.

The question of how migration background influences school performance is not entirely clear and can only be assumed since a concrete causality is difficult to determine. The only assumption is based on KFN's theory that Ali experiences discrimination and more violence because of his migration background, and therefore he has more delinquent thoughts and aggression, which lead to frequent school changes. Ali's tendency for anger and aggression

---

71 Ja, auch, ne, aber dadurch das mein Vater ein Kurde ist, denk ich auch mehr so, ich bin auch Kurde.

72 Ich bin ja auch Deutscher, näh. Ich würd jetzt nicht sagen, dass ich nur Kurde bin, ich bin ja auch Deutscher, näh. (Interviewer: Mhm) Also, so ist das nicht. Ich bin schon, das ist eigentlich schon gut so, halb Kurde, halb Deutscher, zwei Sachen ist gut,

could be due to the explanation given by KFN. However, another reason for Ali's poor school performance and rebellious attitude could also be related to his concept of masculinity. The next chapter will introduce the relationship between masculinity and bad school performance.

9.1.4   Ali's voice on masculinity

The possibility that Ali's concept of masculinity is not compatible with good school performance could be one reason for his poor school performance. Ali's masculinity might include resisting obedience or the desire to possess a superior position, which contributes to the resisting and 'rebellious' behavior. In chapter two, some of the 'incompatible' masculinities are presented. This chapter will analyze the interview regarding Ali's masculinity and how it influences his life, his 'rebellious' behavior and school performance.

According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity is associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness and the subordination of gay men. Furthermore, it influences males' understanding of how they have to act in order to be 'acceptably' male (see Connell 1995). Other scholars argue similarly and claim that hegemonic masculinity is a powerful idea that regulates behavior, and that different masculinities are produced through performances that draw on the cultural resources available (Frosh et al. 2002: 75). Bruner has a supplemental argument to this theory, saying that any society produces stories of how lives should be lived within the culture (see Bruner 1990). Those concepts on masculinity were introduced in chapter two and will now be applied to analyze the interview.

Another aspect is how Ali deals with stereotypes regarding masculinity. The stereotype that exists in German society is that male migrant youth are very macho and practice a rather patriarchal structure of gendered relationships, which means that they believe that men are superior to women, and the stereotype exists that female teachers are not respected and the youth reject learning from them. There are some statements by Ali that indicate that he has a partial attitude of patriarchy in the gender relationship. He says for example:

> "…but because my father is Kurdish, I tend to think that I am also Kurdish. But if my mother were Kurdish and my father German, then it would be different, because you always take after your father." (Interviewer: "What do you mean by that?") "I don't know, how can I explain, yeah, bi-

ology and such things. The sperm determines the sex, the looks and so on. Those are all things from the father, aren't they?"[73] *(A. line 372)*

He does not mention anything about the existing stereotypes regarding masculinity, but he 'fulfills' those by expressing the superior role of his father. Ali thinks that the father has a 'biologically' superior position and thus follows his father. It is apparent that he has patriarchal thinking and puts males higher in the hierarchy. Another statement that shows his hierarchical thinking is when Ali moves from his father's house to his mother's house and tries to support her, because he thinks that women are 'weaker'. Ali states:

"I stayed with my father for a while, but at that time I was living with my mother. And then because of school problems and things that happened, I often had fights with my mother, then I moved to my father's, lived there and so on. But then I said to myself, I would rather go to my mother, because my father had a girlfriend and my mother is alone. A man can handle things without a woman, but a woman cannot handle things without a man. Then I said, I am going home so that my mother is not alone. That is the proper thing to do, isn't it?"[74] *(A. line 134)*

Ali believes that his mother cannot live alone and that women need men to help. Ali thinks that males are strong and independent, and women are weak and dependent. He feels obligated to go to his mother so that she is not alone. The idea that men are superior is believed to be a 'different' masculinity, a 'migrant masculinity' (mentioned in chapter two). It is a different understanding, value and concept of masculinity, which is also due to his migration background. This 'migrant masculinity' might have influenced his relationship with teachers. Ali might have looked down on some (female) teachers

---

73 aber dadurch, dass mein Vater ein Kurde ist, denk ich auch mehr so, ich bin auch Kurde. Aber wenn meine Mutter jetzt Kurdin wär, und mein Vater Deutsche, dann wär das ja was anderes, weil man kommt ja immer nach seinem Vater. (Interviewer: Wie meinst du das?) Ich weiß nicht, wie soll ich das erklären, ja, Biologie und so, näh. Die Spermien bestimmen das Geschlecht, das Aussehen und so, das ist doch alles die Sache vom Vater oder nicht.

74 Ich hab eine Zeitlang bei meinem Vater gewohnt, also damals hab ich bei meiner Mutter gewohnt und dann durch diese schulischen Sachen und was passiert ist damals, hatte ich halt öfters mal Streit mit meiner Mutter, dann bin ich eine Zeitlang zu meinem Vater gezogen, hab da gewohnt und so, aber dann, ich hab gesagt, ich gehe lieber zu meiner Mutter, weil mein Vater hatte eine Freundin und meine Mutter alleine. Ein Mann kann ohne eine Frau klarkommen, aber eine Frau nicht ohne einen Mann, dann habe ich gesagt, ich gehe nach Hause und so, damit meine Mutter nicht alleine ist, und sowas, etwas vernünftiger, näh.

which could have lead to a bad student-teacher relationship and bad school performance. Another possibility, however, is that the teachers believed in the existing stereotypes of the so called 'macho-masculinity' and misunderstood Ali's behavior as disrespectful and contributed to a bad student-teacher relationship.

In chapter two, the effects of a bad student-teacher relationship was stated, which is that a teacher having a negative image of a student will lower expectations. Chapter two also explained how a teacher can enhance a student's performance, and that a good student-teacher relationship is essential for good school performance (see chapter two). There are many possible reasons that contributed to a bad student-teacher relationship, but one reason is disfavor based on differences and misunderstanding, which could also be the case with Ali. There are some statements where Ali says that he has a different way of thinking because he is Kurdish.

> *(Interviewer: "What makes you Kurdish?") "Yeah, the way you think, how you behave and such things. Some Germans behave differently and so."*[75] *(A. line 383)*

The different 'thinking' and masculinity has an effect on the student-teacher relationship. Another reason could be that Ali dislikes, blames and talks bad about the teachers. The study by Frosh et al. states: "Since boys gain masculine status from 'backchatting' or 'dissing' teachers, engaging with students may well be a frustrating task for many teachers of boys. Ali does "diss" and talk bad about the teachers in the previous school, thus it could be that he did say negative things about the teachers while he was at the previous schools. Frosh et al. also state that the 'backchatting' or 'dissing' is the reason that some narratives indicate that teachers appear to favor girls (Frosh et al. 2002: 219). This disfavor might have influenced the school life and school grades of Ali. In addition, Frosh et al. found out that an important part of being popular entailed the resisting or challenging of adult authority in the classroom. This antagonistic attitude by male youth is a means to establish higher popularity, status and hegemonic masculinity, which has to be constantly established by repeated demonstrations of insouciance and misbehaving (Frosh et al. 2002: 200ff.). Ali showed a confrontational attitude and resisted adult authority, thus this behavior almost certainly contributed to a rather difficult

---

75   (Interviewer: Was macht dich zu einem Kurden?) Ja, die Art wie man denkt, wie man sich benimmt und so, die, manche Deutsche benehmen sich anders und so.

teacher-student relationship. However, the reasons for his poor attitude is because he felt unfairly treated and not out of desire to gain popularity. Ali knows that school is important, and knows that 'obeying' the teachers would lead to better school grades. Ali says:

> *"Yes, school is for the future, right? That you learn things and go there, I mean, I also meet my friends there and school is for the future."*[76] *(A. line 63)*

> *"...the teachers, I don't know, they scream at you and so on. You have a conflict with them and automatically this is the problem. I should have kept my mouth shut and been quiet, but I am always the one, I was shouting/screaming, no idea. I had incidents with teachers and so on. Usually you should be quite and keep calm and listen to your teacher, but if you feel unfairly treated, then you open your mouth, don't you?"*[77] *(A. line 99[78])*

Those statements show that Ali is resisting and challenging adult authority because he felt unfairly treated and not to gain popularity. The statement is rather revealing that Ali wants his justice and to be treated fairly. The theory by Frosh et al. that the youth´s ideal of masculinity leads to ambivalent behavior that is triggered by gaining respect or popularity from peer group members does not really apply to Ali (cf. Frosh, Phoenix, Pattman 2002). Ali has only a few friends that he keeps frequent contact with, so his circle of friends is rather small. He is satisfied with this amount of friends and is not trying to make more friends. This indicates that he does not need to gain popularity from friends or other people at school. The following statement shows his attitude towards friends and how important popularity is for Ali.

> *"Yeah, there are people who have a larger circle (of friends), I only have one guy with whom I am really good friends. You don't need, don't need a thousand friends. You need one best friend that you can call at 3 o'clock in the morning and say "Hey, there are three people in front of my house;*

---

76 Ja, Schule ist für die Zukunft halt, näh? Das man da Sachen lernt und so, hingehen, ich meine, man sieht ja auch Freunde hier und so und Schule ist für die Zukunft.

77 die Lehrer, ich weiß nicht, die schreien einen an und so, man hat Streit mit denen und automatisch, das ist bei mir das Problem, was war, ich hatte damals paar-, paarmal meine Klappe halten sollen, aber ich bin immer derjenige, ich hab rumgeschrien, keine Ahnung, ich hab auch Vorfälle schon gewesen mit Lehrern und so, normalerweise man müsste ruhig sein und hören, was der Lehrer sagt, aber wenn man sich zu Unrecht behandelt fühlt, dann reißt man seine Schnauze auf, näh?

78 *The same statement is used twice, but with different analytical approach*

they want to beat me up". If my best friend called me and told me that, I would just go there without even putting my shoes on. You just need one good friend that stands by you. With all the others, you can do something else."[79] *(A. line 363)*

The reason for Ali to resist teachers is probably not to gain popularity, but is rather related to his strong sense of justice and sensitivity against unfairness. The sensitivity towards unfairness might come from experiences with unfair treatment, such as discrimination and other segregating instances. Ali disliked the unfair teachers and complained about the teachers, thus the possibility that the student-teacher relationship was not very good is very high. Therefore, the reasons for the disharmonious student-teacher relationship are not necessarily his different 'migrant masculinity', but could be his experiences with unfair treatment.

Ali seems to have a patriarchal understanding of gender and sees men as superior, so his concept of masculinity is rather traditional. However, there is no indication that he did not respect female teachers or that he rebels because he thinks that he is superior to women. He claims that he resists when he is unfairly treated, thus the criteria for his rebellious behavior is unfairness and not an expression of masculinity. The theory and premise that Ali's concept of masculinity is 'incompatible' with good school performance and therefore leads to worse grades does not really apply. 'Migrant masculinity' might have caused a bad student-teacher relationship because teachers have difficulty understanding his values, but there is no indication that Ali's concept of masculinity causes rebellion or resistance, or directly contributes to bad school performance. The rebellious attitude towards unfair treatment could be an expression of masculinity, but could also be an expression of justice. And even if Ali has some traditional masculine ideas, he also has the repertoire to behave 'compatibly' and 'kiss up to' his teachers. It was very difficult to analyze the clear-cut causalities or direct relationship between Ali's masculinity and his school performance. The cause for dropping out of school is the

---

79 Ja, es gibt Leute, die haben einen größeren Kreis, ich hab nur einen Jungen, mit dem ich gut befreundet bin, und so, halt nicht, man braucht nicht, man braucht nicht tausend Freunde zu haben, man muss einen besten Freund haben, den rufst du um 3 Uhr nachts an und sagst „Ey, da stehen welche vor meiner Haustür und die wollen mich hauen und so, helf mir mal, das sind drei Stück." Wenn mein bester Freund mich anrufen würde und sowas sagen würde, ich würde nicht mal meine Schuhe anziehen, ich würd direkt losgehen, weil man braucht nur einen guten Freund, der zu einem hält. Mit den anderen Leuten kann man ja auch was machen so,

rebellion, but it is only assumptions that the rebellion is caused by Ali's concept of masculinity. It is rather the lower inhibition threshold for violence and disrespect that makes him behave rebelliously, which is not necessarily related to his concept of masculinity. The next chapter will analyze the aspect of violence in Ali's life.

9.1.5   Low inhibition threshold to violence

The reasons for dropping out of school, getting worse school grades and having a bad student-teacher relationship is that he caused troubles at school, and the reasons for those troubles are rebellion, resistance and violence. Those characteristics not only come from migration background or migrant masculinity, but also through frequent contact with violence. The interview has many statements of experiences with violence, and Ali's tendency to use violence as a method for solving problems becomes apparent. Those aspects indicate that Ali has a low inhibition threshold for violence and often reacts with aggression, which is also due to his frequent contact with violence, and that his circle of friends is violent. The KFN study determined that youth with migration background have more contact with violence in the form of delinquent friends, domestic violence and different forms of violence at school (see chapter 3). KFN's theory matches with Ali statements.

"In my circle of friends, everyone does shitty things at school."[80] *(A. line 66)*

Furthermore, it seems that Ali thinks that violence is normal, is part of life and is necessary for growing up and defending oneself. Thus, it can be assumed that Ali thinks or believes that violence is an essential part of his life and a method for solving problems. The interviewer asks what experiences he has had with violence, and Ali answers:

"Yeah, I had fights, so yeah, but I think when you are young, you must fight. I think if a young guy has never fought, and sometime later when he is 25, and people give him stress in a disco and want to beat him up, then he will be beaten up because he never fought when he was younger, because he doesn't know how it works."[81] *(A. line 416)*

---

80   bei meinen Freundeskreis, jeder baut Scheiße in der Schule.
81   Ja, ich hab mich auch schon gehauen, so, näh, aber ich denk mal so, wenn man jung ist, dann man muss sich hauen, ich glaub, wenn ein Junge, der sich, der haut sich nie, der haut sich nie, und irgendwann er ist 25, und Leute machen Stress in der Disco und wollen sich

Another statement that shows Ali's attitude towards violence is depicted when the interviewer asks Ali what he considers as violence, and Ali answers:

"Yes, violence is, I don't know, violence is everywhere, you see it everywhere basically. It is not true that you see it seldom, or that there's no fighting, you acknowledge it often that others fight, that you fight yourself, and that this person and that person have fought."[82] *(A. line 447)*

Those statements demonstrate that Ali has frequent contact with violence and his inhibition threshold for violence is very low. Thus, the option to solve problems with dialogue seems to be his 'second' choice. Ali often blames the teachers and accuses them of various things, but there is no statement showing where he engages in a dialogue with the teachers about the unfair treatment. He simply rebelled and put his emotions into action, such as going home and refusing to stay in the time-out room. There are some statements where Ali 'fits in' with the theories of Frosh et al., but there are many statements that do not match and are vague. Therefore, the main reason for Ali's antagonistic attitude, aggression and violence is more likely his low inhibition threshold towards violence and frequent contact with violence in different forms.

9.1.6   Ali's voice on family and social background

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce Ali´s family and social background, and how it influenced his school performance. As mentioned in chapter two, the different capitals such as the social capital and financial capital of the family or 'family background' have a major influence on the children's education. Furthermore, socially weak households often result in lower school performance, whereas communities where the parents take an active interest in their children's educational well-being are rather successful (see chapter 2). There are many statements by Ali that depict his social- and family background, which will be introduced and analyzed.

---

mit dem hauen, dann kriegt er eins auf die Schnauze, weil er sich damals nie gehauen hat, weil er sich damit nicht auskennt, weil er nicht weiß, wie das läuft.

82   Ja, Gewalt ist, ich weiß nicht, Gewalt ist überall, man sieht es überall eigentlich, das ist nicht so, dass man das selten sieht oder so, das sich selten nicht gehauen wird, man kriegt das öfter mit, das andere Leute sich hauen, das man sich selber haut, das der und der Streit hat und so,

Ali's parents separated when Ali was 1 year old, but he claims that it is not a problem for him. He lives with his mother, but also has frequent contact with his father. The parents live in the same city but in separate households, and both of them own a house or an apartment and have work, which indicates that the mother and father are both financially secure. The communication between Ali and his parents is good, and the parents communicate with each other on topics such as Ali's school and other schedules. The following statements from Ali provide this information:

> *"My parents, I think I was 1 year old or so, they separated, but that's not a problem. I did not experience how it was together. It is not a problem for me. I can deal with it well that they are separated. I see my father all the time."*[83] *(A. line 128)*

> *"They (the parents) talk all the time about how it is in school and so on. Also the contact (with me) is good, actually. It's normal; we are not best friends, but it works. They have contact with each other so that they can clarify things, for example when appointments are made and so on."*[84] *(A. line 309)*

The divorce of parents is often a burden for the children and has an influence on their lives, but Ali denies that it is a problem with him. Except for the divorce, the family situation in terms of financial stability and communication within the family seems to be quite stable, and both parents are quite concerned about Ali's school performance. In summary, the support and concern from the parents to be successful at school exists, which indicates that part of the prerequisite for good school performance is available. Ali's social- and family background might even indicate a good school performance, but he is at a rather low school type, which means that the theory that a supportive family situation leads to good school grades does not apply.

While analyzing the family- and social background, certain behaviors or attitudes that were previously introduced, such as the tendency to give responsi-

---

83 Meine Eltern sind, ich glaub da war ich 1 Jahr alt oder so, haben die sich getrennt, aber auch kein Problem, ich hab das nicht erlebt, wie das zusammen war, das ist für mich kein Problem, ich komme damit klar, dass die getrennt sind. Sonst, ich seh mein Vater immer.

84 die reden auch immer darüber, wie das in der Schule läuft und so, auch Kontakt läuft gut eigentlich, so normal, wir müssen nicht die besten Freunde sein, oder so, aber läuft halt, Kontakt haben die miteinander, so, um das abzuklären alles, wenn zum Beispiel Termine anstehen oder sowas, ja.

bility to others, have a passive attitude or be dependent on others could be found. Ali states:

(Interviewer: "What do your parents mean to you?") "I must listen to them and yeah, they are my parents. What meaning should they have, they are the people who say how I have to live my life, which way I should go. Yeah, your parents are holy."[85] *(A. line 153)*

"My father is Muslim, I said then I am also a Muslim."[86] *(A. line 187)*

The relationship between the parents and children is often a dependent relationship, and it is understandable that children learn from the parents, but the statements by Ali are quite extreme and there are noticeable tendencies that show that Ali is influenced by others or even determined by others. This pattern, that Ali's life is very often influenced by what other people are, think or say, was also explored in the previous chapters. However, there are also statements where Ali has different opinions. This is interesting to analyze because it shows how Ali deals with disagreements, problems and stress in the context of family. The interviewer asks Ali how he tries to convey his opinion or even convince the parents about certain things, and Ali answers:

"Yeah, I don't know. For example, I try to convey my opinion, just as my parents do." (Interviewer: "Can you give me an example?") "Yeah, a bit of quarreling and such, but that's not a problem; it's not that drastic in our house. I can talk well with my mother about these things and with my parents as well."[87] *(A. line 303)*

Ali's first answer was to quarrel with his parents and then make light of the quarreling by saying that it is not drastic, and then he says that they talk about their differing opinions. This procedure is very similar to how Ali deals with problems in the context of school, because he quarrels with the teachers (rebellion) and then tries to listen to the teachers (he knows that he should lis-

---

85   ich muss auf die hören, und, ja das sind meine Eltern, was sollen die für eine Bedeutung haben, das sind halt diejenigen, die mir zu sagen haben, wie ich mein Leben zu führen habe, welchen Weg ich gehen soll, ja, deine Eltern sind für dich heilig.

86   Mein Vater ist Moslem, ich hab gesagt, ich bin dann auch Moslem.

87   Ja, ich weiß nicht, wenn zum Beispiel, ich probiere meine Meinung durchzusetzen, näh genauso wie meine Eltern (Interviewer: Wie sieht das aus?) Ja, ein bisschen streiten und so, aber ist kein Problem, ist nicht schlimm bei uns zuhause, ich kann gut mit meiner Mutter darüber reden und mit meinen Eltern.

ten). The tendencies or patterns that Ali has when he confronts problems or stressful situations were also identifiable in the context of family.

The most interesting findings are that Ali seems to come from a rather financially stable and secure family background and that both parents seem to care about his school performance. In addition, his mother is German, which indicates that she is familiar with the German school system, speaks the language fluently and has resources that migrants generally don't have. In other words, his family/social circumstances are rather good, but he still performs badly in school. This contradictory finding shows that other factors such as migration background, masculinity and violence must also play an important role in his school performance. Furthermore, each aspect is related to another and cannot be analyzed separately because the aspect of intersectionality is ever present.

9.1.7   Conclusion on Ali's voice

Ali's 'voice' on different topics revealed that many aspects have influenced his school performance and current school type, and no single reason is responsible. Ali's concept of masculinity, his low inhibition threshold, his migration background and many other aspects contributed to the current situation. The separate chapters showed that 'one' aspect alone is not a major influence that contributed to Ali's current school type. Furthermore, each single aspect influenced or enhanced others, and the aspect of intersectionality became apparent. The different aspects intersect and relate to each other; for example, the intersection between his migration background, experience with discrimination, tendency towards violence and reaction to unfair treatment was visible. Ali's migration background is a major contributing factor for experiencing discrimination and violence, which developed into a low inhibition threshold for violence, and his sensitivity to unfair treatment is probably related to his experiences with unfair discrimination. These are only hypotheses, since evidence of the relationships between each aspect is very difficult to prove.

When analyzing the data with respect to how Ali deals with problems and stressful situations in different contexts, a few patterns became evident. In particular, whether Ali has a passive or active attitude towards the problems and whether he takes or gives away responsibility. The results in each category and context showed that Ali partly takes responsibility for his actions but also has the tendency to hold others responsible. Furthermore, Ali has a

rather passive attitude towards stressful situations and problems, and sometimes has feelings of powerlessness to change the situation. Ali justifies his improper behavior at school by arguing that his teachers are unfair to him, leaving him no choice but to rebel. It seems that Ali is less influenced by the stereotypes, but sometimes fulfills those existing stereotypes. It is very difficult to easily summarize Ali's interview, but it seems that his migration background and being male did not directly influence his school performance, but did influence his inhibition threshold to violence and rebellion, which then lead to his frequent change of schools. His life has often been influenced by the "decisions" of teachers, such as being 'kicked out' and sent to time-out rooms. He tries to resist these influences, but his resistance causes even more trouble. In addition to the teachers, his parents also have quite an influence on Ali. He respects his parents and says that they have the 'right' to make decisions affecting his life, which shows that he accepts the influences of his parents. Ali tries to live self-determined, but either puts himself in situations where he has to 'obey' in the form of punishment (school setting) or 'voluntarily' follows influences (family setting). Accordingly, it seems that Ali's life is rather influenced by others, although he shows resistance. Ali's method for dealing with stressful situations or problems is to rebel, resist and not try to get along well or engage in a dialogue. This pattern of resisting was visible in many contexts and situations.

9.2   Interview with Bahadir

The second interviewee is Bahadir, who has a Turkish background and was born in Germany. Bahadir was 16 years old[88] at the time of the interview and has two sisters and one brother[89]. The family lives together in an apartment, except for one sister who recently got married and moved out. Bahadir's school career involves some unique incidents, including being 'kicked out' of elementary school and sent to a special needs school called "Förderschule".[90]

---

88 He did not mention his age at the interview, but the interview was at a school for those attending the 10th grade, and he did not repeat a class, consequently, he should be 16 years old.

89 Bahadir says that there are five siblings, but later says that he has two sisters and one brother. The two statements are not consistent, but I had to choose one of those statements to show his family constelation.

90 Förderschule is a school specifically designed, staffed and resourced to provide the appropriate special education for children with additional needs, due to learning difficulties, behavioral problems or disabilities.

He attended this school until his ninth grade, and afterwards Bahadir changed to the current school, a BVJ, where he is trying to obtain a degree at the Hauptschule level.

9.2.1   Bahadir's voice on school

The intention in this chapter is to show what Bahadir thinks of school (life). He mentioned several aspects of his school life which are very interesting and also help to explain his current school type and why he was sent to Förderschule. The reasons why he was sent to Förderschule can help to explore the factors that influenced his school performance. He states:

> "I was at a normal elementary school first and then I had a few difficulties with German and Math. And I also had quarrels as I was a bit smaller then. Then I went from the elementary school to the ABC school (says the name of the school). It is a Förderschule."[91] (B. line 7)

Reasons for bad school performance

Bahadir seems to know (or at least assumes) that the reason for being sent to Förderschule has something to do with his school performance in German and Math, which also implies that he might have faced the barrier of monolingual habitus. In addition to his school performance, he attributes his attendance at the Förderschule to his quarrels at school. It seems that he is aware of his 'improper' behavior and that it led him to the lower school type. To the question why he was "kicked out" of elementary school, Bahadir answers:

> "Yeah, I don't know, always conflicts and had a few problems with teachers. And all those small things, man."[92] (B. line 26)

Bahadir acknowledges that conflict with teachers is the reason for being kicked out. The statement "those small things, man" shows that Bahadir is annoyed, because teachers pay attention to small matters, which probably lead to conflicts with teachers. A few lines later he starts to blame the teach-

---

91   Ich war erst mal auf, ich war erst mal auf normale Grundschule und da hab ich ein bisschen Schwierigkeiten gehabt, so mit Deutsch und Mathe. Und auch so ein bisschen Streitereien da war ich noch ein bisschen kleiner. Dann bin ich von Grundschule auf [nennt den Namen der Schule] gekommen. In Oldenburg. So eine Förderschule ist das.

92   Ja, ich weiß nicht. Immer Streitereien und mit Lehrer ein bisschen Probleme gehabt. Und hast nicht gesehen. Diese ganzen kleinen Sachen, man.

ers and says that the teachers were deliberately searching for small matters so that they can criticize Bahadir. He thinks that the teachers treated him unfairly and that they did not respected him. He tries to say that the teachers caused the conflicts because they were so picky. The following lines verify those assumptions.

> *"And then, they always were searching for small matters (...) Because they have such a hatred of me and they want to say it. They are always searching for small matters, they always search for reasons. And I am the kind of person, so I don't accept so much."*[93] *(B. line 34)*

> *"Yeah, when teachers are so, I mean, you must respect teachers, but teachers must respect the students, too. And when they don't do that, I am a person, I like to respect my people, elderly people, and one must do so. But the people should do that, too. Teachers should respect the students. They did not do this, thus I did not respect them either, because they did not respect their students."*[94] *(B. line 29)*

Bahadir believes that the teachers hated him and were searching for negative behavior, and accuses the teachers of being unfair. Bahadir probably contributed to the conflicts as well, but tries to talk his own 'improper' behavior down by saying that they did not respect him. Therefore, he did not have to respect them. He justifies his disrespectful attitude towards the teachers by saying that he acts 'so' because others acted 'so' first. Maybe Bahadir's disrespectful attitude is an expression of his rebellion, or his way of 'not accepting much'. Those statements indicate that he gives away the responsibility of his own actions and blames the teachers for the conflicts/quarrels and eventually for his 'lower' school type. Bahadir thinks that the reason for being 'kicked out' is due to the 'unfair' teachers and he tries to give away the responsibility for his current situation and the reason for his 'lower' school type. However, a closer examination reveals that Bahadir not only blames the

---

93 Und dann haben die immer so Kleinigkeiten gesucht, immer so, (…) Weil die haben so ein Hass auf mich, aber die wollen jetzt gleich so, so sagen, die suchen immer so Kleinigkeiten, so Gründe suchen die immer. Und dabei immer so. Und ich bin ja son Menschen, so ich akzeptier nicht viel, so.

94 Ja, wenn man Lehrer die so, was heißt Lehrer muss man ja respektieren, aber Lehrer müssen auch Schüler respektieren. Und wenn die das nicht machen, ich bin so einer, ich respektiere gerne meine Menschen, ältere Leute und muss man auch, aber Leute müssen auch, Lehrer auch seine Schüler respektieren, haben die nicht gemacht, also hab ich dann auch nicht respektiert, weil sie ihre Schüler auch nicht respektiert haben.

teachers, but also thinks that the reason for his current situation is due to his own behavior, regardless of what others did or 'made' him do. The interviewer asked why he and a few others were the only students that were treated unfairly, and he answers:

> *"Yeah, I was not easy, would say. I was also, did act loud and did not follow the rules."*[95] *(B. line 48)*

> *(Interviewer: "Were you loud?") "No, not loud. I always disturbed the class, like throwing things and always shouting. Always kept the others in class from learning, all the students and so on."*[96] *(B. line 64)*

It seems that Bahadir can reflect on his situation quite well and sees that teachers have a bias against him and thus he justifies his 'improper' behavior, but he never totally gives away the responsibility for his own actions. However, teachers having a bias and searching for 'failures' rather than successes indicate a rather bad student-teacher relationship, which influenced school performance. The question now is, if the bias and bad student-teacher relationship is due to Bahadir's migration background. The interviewer asked Bahadir if he was not accepted because of his migration background, and Bahadir answers:

> *"No, for heaven's sake no. It could be, I cannot know it. But I don't think so, I think that it was due to my behavior."*[97] *(B. line 61)*

At first Bahadir strongly denies that he is discriminated against or treated unfairly due to his migration background, then he corrects his statement and says that "it could be" and says further "I cannot know", showing that he is not sure why he was not accepted. However, he eventually says that it is due to his own behavior, which is another indication that Bahadir thinks that his own behavior is pivotal for how he is recognized and treated and not his migration background. The reason for the unfair treatment is unclear, but it seems that the teachers 'dislike' him or at least he feels hated by the teachers

---

95 Ja, weil ich war ja auch nicht ohne, sag ich, ich war ja auch mal, hab mal den lauten da gemacht und hab mich auch nicht an die Regeln gehalten.

96 Ne, nicht laut. So, ich hab immer den Unterricht gestört. So mit Sachen geworfen und immer da gerufen. Immer andere Leute vom Unterricht abgehalten. Die ganzen Schüler und so. Und das.

97 Ne, um Gottes Willen. Kann ja auch sein, weiß ich ja nicht, aber ich denk mal nicht, ich denk mal, das war wegen meinem Verhalten.

and unfairly treated. The interviewer asked him how he would react or did react when he was unfairly treated or badly treated, and Bahadir answers:

"I was always quiet. Always. I did not say anything."[98] *(B. line 86)*

Bahadir says that his way of rebelling is quiet and there is no active behavior although he feels unfairly/badly treated by the teachers. He presents himself as a person that does not defend himself or argue about the unfair treatment. That's how he answered the question, but earlier he said: *"Yeah, I was not easy, would say. I was also, did act loud and did not follow the rules"*[99] *(B. line 48).* The two answers contradict one another and it seems that he tries to present himself as innocent and that the teachers are the ones to blame. It creates the picture that the teachers treat him badly and he is defenseless and innocent. He blames the teachers, and there are many other statements where he mentions how negatively the teachers treated him, and he talks rather negatively about the teachers. The interviewer then asked him if he had situations where he was treated very well, and Bahadir answers:

"Yeah, I was, I am helpful. When people have something or when they need something, for example, then I don't say no. That's one thing they liked about me."[100] *(B. line 68)*

It shows that he also has some positive experiences with the teachers and that the teachers could also see Bahadir's strengths. Furthermore, it seems that Bahadir is also aware of his own strengths, which indicates that he is a reflective person who can understand his own situation. For example, Bahadir knows the importance of school and is motivated to obtain a degree, although he has many negative experiences at school. His motivation has been put into action and now he is attending the BVJ to obtain a degree. Bahadir's voices on school are rather reflective and he can see the positive and negative sides of his school life. The following statement shows how calm and reflective he is.

"Yeah, school is something nice, because you have to admit, without school these days, no degree or so, you don't have anything, I think it does not work. And school is somehow nice, but (I) did not finish it. I mean I did

---

98 Immer still gewesen. Immer, ich hab nie was gesagt, so.
99 Ja, weil ich war ja auch nicht ohne, sag ich, ich war ja auch mal, hab mal den lauten da gemacht und hab mich auch nicht an die Regeln gehalten.
100 Ja, ich war, ich bin hilfsbereit. Wenn Leute was haben oder wenn die was haben wollen, z.B. dann gibt's kein Nein bei mir. Das finden die gut, das fanden die gut an mir.

not get a degree from Realschule or Hauptschule. Now I'm trying to achieve something."[101] *(B. line 15)*

Bahadir was sent to the 'lowest' school type, called Förderschule, which is often a dead end for the school career, but it seems that he has not given up and is trying to continue school and obtain a degree. The assumption about why Bahadir did not 'give up' in spite of his rather bad situation might be due to the understanding and belief that he can obtain a degree. Bahadir thinks that he is responsible for the actions that led to the current school type and situation. And because he thinks that his actions have an influence and he is responsible, he also thinks that he is responsible for the actions that can lead to better grades and obtaining a degree. The statement: "Now I'm trying to achieve something" indicates that he does believe in obtaining a degree and that he is responsible for his success.

Bahadir's comments on school show that there is the tendency to accuse the teachers of causing the conflicts, but Bahadir also accepts that his own behavior contributed to being kicked out and sees his own failure in school, and it does not seem to be that he holds a grudge against the teachers. There are some statements that blame the teachers, but repeated questions regarding why he was kicked out were answered with statements that go back to his behavior and his own responsibility for the situations. Questions that would give the responsibility to the teachers, such as whether the teachers discriminated against him and therefore he was not accepted, were answered with "no", and he further insisted that his behavior was the reason. In summary, Bahadir partly blames the teachers, but also sees that his educational potential is great and that he can obtain a degree, although at a Förderschule.

9.2.2   Bahadir's voice on migration background

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how Bahadir's migration background influenced his lifestyle and school performance directly or indirectly. In particular, how (and if) he perceives it having an influence on his behavior and attitude towards school, learning and future goals. In addition, it is interesting to investigate what kinds of problems he has and how he deals with

---

101 Ja Schule ist was Schönes, weil man muss so sagen, ohne Schule heutzutage keinen Abschluss oder so hast, nichts hast, funktioniert doch glaube ich gar nichts. Und Schule ist irgendwie schön, aber hab nicht zu Ende gemacht, ne. Was heißt nicht zu Ende, also keinen Abschluss gekriegt. Real oder Haupt. Versuch gerade erst wieder, ja, ein bisschen was hinzukriegen.

problems and stressful situations regarding migration background. Analyzing these aspects can help to identify a tendency of how he approaches (or solves) problems and how his reactions influence school performance.

Bahadir's family moved to Germany 32 years ago, and he was born in Germany and has a German passport. Those are the facts, but how Bahadir feels is another question. There was one point where the interviewer asked Bahadir directly about how he sees himself, and the response Bahadir gives shows his perceptions quite well.

> **Interviewer:** *"What do you understand yourself as; do you see yourself as German or as a foreigner?"*
>
> **Bahadir:** *"Yeah, let me say it this way, I don't look like a German. Of course a German would say, 'You are a foreigner' even if I say 'I am a German'. Therefore, I am a foreigner, but we are also German foreigners. We can, we live here in this country, have German passes, live according to the rules; thus a bit German is there."*[102]
>
> **Interviewer:** *"What do you see yourself as?"*
>
> **Bahadir:** *"I don't see myself as German. I see myself as a foreigner. But I am also half-German, but I see myself as a foreigner. I don't see myself as German."*[103]
>
> **Interviewer:** *"What makes you a foreigner?"*
>
> **Bahadir:** *"My hair, my charisma (Interviewer: "Your hair? You mean your bla-") "black and my charisma. Nobody could come up to me and say, 'You are German'."*[104] *(B. line 349)*

Bahadir mentions that he is half-German or that there are some German aspects there, but Bahadir mainly defines himself as a foreigner. Worth noting

---

102 Interviewer: als was verstehst du dich? Siehst du dich als Deutscher oder Ausländer? Bahadir: Ja, ich sag mal so. Ich sehe nicht wie ein Deutscher aus, klar das ein Deutscher sagt „Du bist Ausländer" auch wenn ich sag „Ich bin Deutscher". Also ich bin Ausländer, aber wir sind auch deutsche Ausländer, wir können, wir leben hier in diesem Land, haben deutsche Pässe, leben nach den Regeln, also ein bisschen deutsch ist hier.

103 Interviewer: Als was siehst du dich? Bahadir: ich sehe mich nicht als ein Deutscher, ich sehe mich als Ausländer. Aber ich, ich bin auch Halbdeutscher so, aber ich sehe mich als einen Ausländer. Ich sehe mich als kein Deutscher.

104 Interviewer: Was macht dich zum Ausländer? Bahadir: Meine Haare, mein Ausstrahlung (Interviewer: Deine Haare? Damit meinst du schwa-) schwarz und mein Ausstrahlung, Es könnte jetzt keiner kommen und sagen "Du bist Deutscher".

is that he mentioned how 'others' define him as a foreigner, and that the 'others' would never see him as a German, which might be a reason why he claims not to be a German. It shows that he is influenced by what 'others' think and say, and that he doesn't feel accepted by the 'others'. There were a few additional statements demonstrating how Bahadir feels in this regard and how he repeatedly identifies himself as a foreigner:

> *"You must stay what you are. I cannot say that I am German while I am not a German. I am a foreigner and I will stay a foreigner."*[105] *(B. line 385)*

> *"I feel like a foreigner. Thus, I could not feel like a German."*[106] *(B. line 391)*

In summary, he has a rather strong identification with being a foreigner, which is also because 'others' categorize him as a foreigner, but Bahadir does not feel inferior or uncomfortable as a foreigner. He sees and recognizes some difference between the Germans and foreigners, such as looks, behavior or attitude, but there is no judgment or idea of hierarchy visible. Below are some statements that depict Bahadir's understanding of equality between the different backgrounds.

> *(Interviewer: "How does a foreigner feel?") "A foreigner feels very good."*[107] *(B. line 393)*

> *"I don't have anything against Germans. For me, humans are humans, just as I said earlier. But I cannot feel German, since I am not a German. I am a foreigner. And for me, I would not say "here Germans are this and that". I am not that kind of person. For me, a human being is a human being."*[108] *(B. line 420)*

> *"Yeah, I feel like a foreigner. But I feel, thus I feel like a foreigner (...) I feel normal, as a foreigner and as a human being."*[109] *(B. line 432)*

---

105 Man muss das bleiben, was man ist. Ich kann nicht sagen, ich bin Deutscher obwohl ich kein Deutscher bin. Ich bin Ausländer und bleib ein Ausländer.

106 Ich fühl mich halt so wie ein Ausländer. Also ich könnt mich nicht als ein Deutscher fühlen.

107 (Interviewer: Wie fühlt sich ein Ausländer?) Ein Ausländer fühlt sich wohl.

108 Ich hab ja auch nicht gegen Deutsche. Das ist für mich Mensch, Mensch, hab ich ja vorhin auch gesagt. Also, aber eben ich kann mich nicht als Deutscher fühlen, wenn ich kein Deutscher bin. Ich bin Ausländer und für mich, ich sag jetzt nicht „Hier Deutsch" und dies und das. Ich bin nicht so einer. Für mich ist Mensch Mensch.

109 Ja, ich fühle mich als Ausländer. Aber ich fühle, also ich fühle mich als Ausländer, (…) ich fühle mich normal. Als ein Ausländer und als ein Mensch.

Bahadir has no feelings of inferiority or belief that he lacks ability because he is a foreigner or has a migration background. The idea of stereotype threat is such that negative images of oneself or one's social group have an influence on the person and his actions. However, according to his statements and his understanding of different backgrounds, he seems to be barely influenced by stereotype threat. His migration background does influence his self-perception and identity, but it does not influence his self-perception in the context of school performance, such as: because I am a foreigner/have a migration background, I am not good at school or I go to the Förderschule.

9.2.3 Bahadir's voice on violence

The previous chapters showed that Bahadir thinks that he was not discriminated against by the teachers due to his migration background. Furthermore, there seems to be no negative influence in the context of school and no thoughts of inferiority because of his migration background. However, Bahadir has experienced much discrimination and violence outside of school because of his migration background, which has much influence on his life situation and attitude. This chapter will try to show those aspects and analyze the relationship between migration background and violence, and how it influenced his school life.

There were many statements by Bahadir where he explained violent incidents that he had experienced and it seems that he has had many experiences with violence. The interviewer asked him: "Did anyone ever want to beat you up?", and he answered:

> *"Oh, that is maybe twice or three times a month. That's normal among us. Yeah, what is fighting, I don't fight really. I mean I don't start fights or I don't hurt anyone, but some people, you know those people, nowadays many things happen. In Discos someone looks at you, only a glance or something small. They come running at you and say 'what are you looking at' and the other persons says, why are you looking (at me) so? Then one by one, the fight starts. All those things, yeah, that happens quite often among us."*[110] *(B. line 447)*

---

110 Oh, das ist im Monat vielleicht zwei, drei Mal. Das ist bei uns immer so. Ja, was heißt hauen. Ich haue mich ja nicht so. Also ich mache keinen doof an oder ich tue niemanden weh, aber mache Leute die kennst du ja und heutzutage passiert vieles. In Diskotheken guckt dich einer, nur wegen einem Blick oder so oder irgend Kleinigkeiten. Ja, dann kommen die angerast, warum guckst du dann so. Dann sagt der andere, warum guckst du denn

Bahadir has experienced many incidents and it seems that he is acquainted with how to deal with violence and has developed a strategy. He emphasizes that he did not start the fights, claims that he does not "really" hurt anyone and presents himself as 'innocent'. He asserts that the others are to blame, and has a tendency to give away the responsibility. This pattern was also visible in the context of school and the conflicts with teachers, where he accused the teachers of being too picky and starting quarrels, and that he is quiet and does not rebel. Bahadir tries to present himself as 'innocent' and blames 'others' for starting conflicts, or justifies the use of violence because the 'others' used violence first and he had no choice other than to react with violence. A few lines later, the interviewer asked him: "When is violence ok for you? When is it allowed to be violent?", and Bahadir answers:

> *"When violence is, when someone attacks me, then it is over. When I talk with someone, then everything is all right, but as soon as he stands up and attacks me, what can I do? In those cases I quickly become violent."*[111] *(B. line 467)*

Those statements verify that he tries to avoid being the first person to use violence, but when he uses violence, he justifies it by saying that it is necessary to protect himself. His statement "What can I do" implies that he thinks that he has no other choice but to react violently when the other person is violent. However, it also shows that he can control himself, is not rampant and can communicate with other persons as long as the 'others' don't use violence. The analysis on violence revealed Bahadir's strategy on violence, and the pattern is:

---

so? Ah, dann kommt sein, dann geht's aufeinander los. Diese ganzen Sachen eher. Doch, das passiert öfters bei uns.

111 Wenn Gewalt ist, wenn jemand mich angreift, dann ist für mich Schluss dann. Also wenn ich mich mit einem Mensch unterhalte und dann rede, dann ist für mich alles in Ordnung, aber solange der aufsteht und mich angreift. Was soll ich denn machen? Da werde ich schnell handgreiflich da.

- He is not a person that starts a quarrel.
- He avoids being the first person to use violence.
- He resists provocation.
- He uses violence when the 'others' use it first.

There is another violent incident with what he calls "Nazis" where the above mentioned character and patterns became visible. Bahadir describes the incident precisely and how the 'others' acted and how he acted, depicting each step and escalation of the fight. It is a good example for presenting his behavioral patterns, but to explain the whole incident would be too long. Therefore, only the key elements will be introduced. The setting finds Bahadir at a party with friends and there are also 'Nazis' at the party. Bahadir explains the incident as follows:

> *"Yes, and then someone from behind shouted 'Look there are some WOGs*[112]*' (...) I said, 'Yeah right, leave him, he is drunk'. We just leave him alone (...) then he went inside and came back with two guys. He had a bottle in his hand (...) It was already broken. He had it in his hand and was standing next to me. I was smoking and did not even look at him. And some time later he did so on my hand (shows with a gesture), and I was cut and then we fought."*[113] *(B. line 500)*

Those previously mentioned patterns are recognizable. Bahadir was resisting the provocation and did not start the fight, but as soon as they cut him, he started to fight back. The fight was brutal and ended with the appearance of the police, and the 'Nazi' who had the bottle was brought to the hospital. In this incident, Bahadir blames the Nazi because he started the fight. Thus it seems that Bahadir developed a strategy to give the fault to the 'others', which becomes visible when Bahadir visited this 'Nazi' and said to him:

> *"We did not go there to cause trouble. Can you remember, with the bottle on my shoulder? And he answers 'yes', and therefore, I mean, if you had*

---

112 Wog is a racially offensive slang word referring to a dark-skinned or olive-skinned person.

113 Ja und dann hat einer von hinten geschrien „ Da sind doch ein paar Kanaken" (...) Hab gesagt „Ach, lass ihn. Der ist besoffen". Wir lassen den jetzt einfach in Ruhe (…) Ja, dann ist der wieder reingegangen und ist wieder rausgekommen mit zwei Männer. Da hat der so eine Flasche in der Hand gehabt (…) das war schon kaputt. Da hatte der die in die Hand gehabt und stand da neben mir. Und ich hab geraucht und hab ihn noch nicht mal angeguckt. Und irgendwann hat der dann so an meine Hand gemacht [zeigt eine Handbewegung] und hab auch, war aufgeschlitzt geworden und dann haben wir uns da gehauen.

not done such bullshit, all this would not have happened. And then he said, 'Yeah, I am sorry'. I mean, even if you are sorry, it happened and you are in the hospital and you cannot rewind it. It is not a cassette."[114] *(B. line 539)*

The fight was brutal and left many people injured, and it seems that Bahadir was involved in the fight and the situation was full of anger and out of control, and Bahdir claims that it wasn't him but the 'others' who injured the 'Nazi'. He says:

"There was, there were six or seven guys on him. I did not really see it, but one person was really injured. I could not do anything, could not keep them apart or separate them because I think they were out of their minds, you could not do anything."[115] *(B. line 521)*

He claims that he wanted to stop the fight and separate them, probably because he saw that some of the people had lost control and were fighting wildly. Bahadir could remain calm enough to capture the whole situation and see that it was out of control, and it shows that he is not rampant, can control himself and distance himself from fights. The same patterns were visible in this incident. It also shows that Bahadir had to experience violence because of his migration background and that it influences life, and accordingly influences his attitude towards people that try to harm him. Bahadir talked in detail about the incident with the 'Nazi' and stated how he reacted and why he reacts in certain ways. *"I don't care if they come up to me and say: 'Shitty foreigner'. I just laugh about it. I don't take it seriously. But as soon as somebody attacks me, then it is over. But as long as somebody comes and insults me or so, then it is just nonsense. I don't care about those things. But when someone comes and attacks, then it is something different. Then*

---

114 Wir haben ihm gesagt, wir sind nicht wegen Stress dahin gekommen. Wir so "Kannst du dich noch erinnern, mit der Flasche auf meine Schulter?" Und er „Ja" und deswegen. Ich mein, wenn du nicht so ein Scheiß gemacht hättest, wäre das ja alles nicht passiert". Und dann meinte der „Ja, tut mir ja auch leid." „Ich mein, auch wenn es dir leid tut. Es ist ja passiert. Du liegst jetzt im Krankenhaus. Das kann man nicht zurückspulen. Ist ja keine Kassette.

115 da war ja, die sind mit sechs, sieben Männer auf ihn gegangen, das hab ich nicht gesehen, aber einen war richtig verletzt worden. Da könnte ich auch nichts machen irgendwie auseinanderhalten, weil da waren die schon auf 180 glaub ich, da könnt man nichts mehr machen.

he thinks, 'Aha, I can get him now, thus I can get him next time too'. You must always say: 'Stop, this is it, this is the limit'.[116] *(B. line 592)*

That statement explains how he reacts and why he reacts in a certain way, and these reactions are consistent with patterns that were explored. Bahadir tries to avoid fights and communicates firstly by telling the person the limit and asserts himself. Those are reactions where he tries to 'show off' and show his strength to intimidate the 'others' to gain respect and avoid fights. This reaction shows that he can resist and present his opinion clearly. Furthermore, it shows some competitiveness of strength and intimidation in order to gain respect. Those motivations to be stronger and gain respect might also be related to the concept and idea of masculinity, and will be analyzed in the next chapter.

The summary of this chapter is that Bahadir's voice on violence showed that he has had many experiences with violence, some of which being due to his migration background. It is likely that because of his 'frequent' contact with violence, he developed strategies of dealing with violent situations and with people that have negative images of him. Those strategies are also very similar to the strategies that he applies in the context of school. The attitude of mutual (dis)respect: 'They don't respect me, then I don't have to respect them either' was also visible in the context of violent situations, with a slight difference where he claims 'If they use violence, then I use violence too'. His reactions are to some degree dependent on how the 'others' act first. Those similar attitudes could have been developed through his experiences with violence. In other words, the experiences with violence developed into a certain attitude and (automated) reactions to certain situations, and these same reactions were also applied at school. For example, how Bahadir dealt with teachers that allegedly hate him and try to 'harm' him is similar to the reactions towards the Nazi that tried to harm him.

The relationship between migration background, violence and school performance is very intertwined, and the aspect of intersectionality needs to be

---

116 Also mir macht das ja nichts aus, wenn die dann zu mir kommen, sagen „Scheiß Ausländer", da lache ich ja drüber. Ich, ich nehme das gar nicht ernst, aber sobald jetzt jemand kommt und mich angreift, dann werd ich, dann ist vorbei, aber solange jetzt jemand kommt und mich beleidigt oder so, das ist alles Schwachsinn. Das ist, für mich macht das nichts aus, aber wenn jetzt jemand kommt und dich angreift ist das was anderes mal wieder. Dann denkt der "Aha, bei dem schaffe ich das. Dann kann ich das beim nächsten Mal wieder machen". Man muss dann immer sagen „Stopp, hier ist deine Grenze jetzt".

considered to fully capture the whole situation and its complex intersections. The analysis in this chapter on violence could not show that his experience with violence directly led to his current school type, but it did show that Bahadir developed certain strategies and antagonistic attitudes through those experiences, which he also applied at school. The strategies that Bahadir applied in the context of violence were also applied in the context of school. Furthermore, the strategies were probably developed through frequent experiences with violence, thus there is a relationship between violence and his current school type.

Another intersection is masculinity and violence, especially regarding how he tries to assert himself and show his presence, not to mention the importance of respect and that it might be related to his idea of masculinity. Therefore, the next chapter will present Bahadir's voice on masculinity and how it influenced his school life and school performance.

9.2.4   *Bahadir's voice on masculinity and the relationship to school*

The previous chapter tried to introduce the voices related to violence, and revealed that Bahadir tries to assert himself to show his strength and intimidate the 'others' so that he can gain respect. Those reactions show some competitiveness of strength, like a boy saying, 'I am stronger, harder and better' to gain respect and freedom and not be oppressed. Those attitudes match with the definition of popular masculinity by Frosh et. al., which is: "Popular masculinity involves 'hardness', sporting prowess, 'coolness', casual treatment of schoolwork and being adept at 'cussing' dominance and control" (Frosh et. al. 2002: 77). Another characteristic of 'popular' male youth is to gain prestige by making other boys laugh and dominating them. This strategy of maintaining popularity may provide an excuse for not having to make an effort and hence, having to face possible failure (Katz & Buchanan 1999). In this particular case it could mean: "I could fight him and win, but I don't want trouble" or "He is not worth the fight". Thus, the role of intimidating or "showing off" becomes very important in order to avoid putting on gloves and fighting. Bahadir has a very strong and distinct focus on showing his hardness and intimidation of others, and wants to gain respect to avoid violence. This tendency was recognizable while he was reciting the incidents with the "Nazis". Bahadir says:

"Here in Germany, you must not show any fear. When somebody comes up to you and makes fun of you, and when you don't react, then he thinks,

'Hey this guy is afraid, we can always grab him' (...) No, you cannot do this. When somebody comes up to you, you must show yourself. When he shows violence, you must show violence too so that he knows better next time, okay I have, this guy does not have a chance against me."[117] *(B. line 526)*

Those statements suggest that Bahadir does not accept much disrespect and shows resistance because he thinks that intimidating or fighting now will stop it from happening again in the future and gain him respect. Therefore, he sees a necessity to assert himself, show his presence to show a limit to the 'others' and protect himself from further trouble. Bahadir likely developed this strategy to deal with people who have a negative attitude towards him or try to harm him. Those actions and Bahadir's response seem to come from the popular concept of masculinity.

Another quality of masculinity introduced in chapter two is that an important part of being popular entailed the resisting or challenging of adult authority in the classroom. This antagonistic attitude by male youth is a means to establish higher popularity, status and hegemonic masculinity, which then have to be constantly established by repeated demonstrations of insouciance and misbehavior (Frosh et al. 2002: 200ff.). Those qualities of masculinity were also recognizable during the interview. For example, he demands and insists respect from the teachers, or says that he did not follow rules and was not an easy student. There are many indications that Bahadir had similar concepts of masculinity that where introduced in chapter two, and which are 'incompatible' with good school performance.

In conclusion, some of Bahadir's concepts of masculinity have negative influences on his school life and performance. His concept of masculinity and ways of expressing his masculinity influence how he reacts in the context of school. His concept of masculinity does not necessarily make him aggressive nor does he start fights, but his ideology does not permit him to comply or apologize, which often leads to an escalation of the situation and quarrels with teachers. Furthermore, his competitiveness and refusal to show failure

---

117 Man muss hier in Deutschland keine Angst zeigen, wenn jemand zu mir kommen würde und dich doof anmacht und wenn du nicht reagierst, dann denkt der „ach, der hat ja Angst, den können wir uns immer wieder schnappen (....) Ne, das darfst du nicht machen. Wenn dir einer so rüberkommt, muss du auch bisschen so zeigen. So wenn der Gewalt zeigt, dann musst du Gewalt zeigen. Damit der beim nächsten Mal weiß, aha, ich hab, der hat keine Chance gegen mich.

leads to intimidating 'others' and 'showing off', which also triggers quarrels and prevents him from actually trying and challenging things. Those ideas of masculinity and ways of dealing with problems became visible in situations involving violence. It shows that there might be a relationship between his experiences with discrimination and his concept of masculinity and subsequent responses.

During the interview, there were a few other situations that would suggest a rather 'traditional' concept of masculinity, such as believing in the idea of gender hierarchy. However, those circumstances that would suggest masculine concepts were not thoroughly stated, and further analysis and conclusions regarding masculinity would be too speculative to present.

9.2.5   *Bahadir's voice on family/social background*

Bahadir's social and family background has a major influence on both his life and school performance, as mentioned in chapter two. The first half of this chapter will introduce his family background and relationship to school, and the second half will introduce his social background and the relationship to school.

Family background and school

The financial situation of Bahadir's family is ambivalent. There are some statements that suggest a wealthy family, and conversely, some indications that suggest a rather low financial security. Bahadir says that his father rents houses, which could mean that he works as a real estate agent, but it could also mean that they own houses and rent them out. His mother's occupation is unclear because there was no statement that would identify or provide hints on her occupation. Bahadir has two older sisters and one younger brother, and all of them have some kind of work, but it is not clear if the siblings are working part-time and study or work full-time. He simply mentions that they have work and earn their own money. They all live in the same apartment except for one sister that recently got married and moved out. Bahadir, his father, brother and sister all have work and it seems that they have enough money. The interviewer asked him how they are doing regarding money, and he answers:

"With money? With money is good, very good. What is good? Ok, everyone works for himself, right? Thus I work for me, my sisters work for

themselves. Maybe we do put some money aside for our parents every month, but the rest we keep for ourselves. You have to feed/support yourself and also keep something aside for yourself, but we manage well. It´s not a problem."[118] *(B. line 187)*

According to Bahadir, he has no financial problems, but the fact that he is going to school and works part-time to support himself can also imply that the family is not wealthy enough to fully finance Bahadir's expenses as a student. Regardless of the reasons why he works, the part-time job takes away time to study or do something else for his school, and this situation is not an ideal circumstance for concentrating on his studies. Another finding from the statement above is that he voluntarily gives some of the money he earns to his parents, which means that he supports the parents financially, and could indicate a rather low income of the parents. However, it also indicates a good parent-child relationship, and an atmosphere where they support each other.

As mentioned in chapter two, a supportive family situation influences the school performance of a child. Thus, one aim of this chapter is to explore how the family supports Bahadir in the context of school and how it influences Bahadir's school life. There were statements that showed the relationship with his parents and also with his siblings. The interviewer asked him what his parents mean to him, and he answers:

"My meaning, yeah, that I am going the right way, I mean they are my parents, right, there is nothing better than your parents. Parents come first and then everyone else. No stress, good way, get along in life. Parents are not there forever, you know. There are also times when they are not there anymore, then you have to manage life by yourself. They want the best for you."[119] *(B. line 118)*

---

118 Mit Geld? Mit Geld gut, sehr gut. Was heißt gut? Klar also, also jeder arbeitet für sich, ne?! Also ich arbeite für mich, meine Geschwister arbeiten für sich. Vielleicht tun wir jeden Monat was drauf, was für unsere Eltern, aber das Rest irgendwie behalten wir für uns. Man muss sich auch ein bisschen ernähren und man muss sich auch was an die Seite legen und, aber wir kommen gut klar. Ist kein Problem.

119 Meine Bedeutung ja? Das ich einen guten Weg gehe, ich mein, das sind ja meine Eltern, ne, es gibt ja nichts besseres als die Eltern, erst mal kommen die Eltern und dann die anderen. Eltern, kein Stress, guten Weg, im Leben klar zu kommen, Eltern bleiben ja nicht immer für dich da, weißt du? Es gibt ja auch mal Zeiten, da sind deine Eltern weg, da musst du selber im Leben klar kommen. Die wollen das Beste eben halt.

The statements show that his parents are very important for him, and he feels that they care about him and his future and want the best for him. He also mentions that the support from the parents has an end and he has to be 'ready' when they pass away. According to those statements, the relationship with his parents seems harmonious and supportive and the parents care about him. However, it did not come out how the parents concretely support him. A few lines later, he validates the good relationship with his father and mother and shows appreciation towards his parents. The interviewer asks him: "Do you get along well with your father", and he answers:

"Oh yeah, with dad and mom, must be for sure. Without them, I would not be in this world now. It must be, they are my parents." (Interviewer: "But (do you) get along better with (your) dad?") "No, with me, there is nothing like that. I can get along well with both of them. Perfect."[120] (B. line 125)

Bahadir repeatedly says that the relationship between the parent and child must be good. There is some kind of image and resoluteness in Bahadir of how a parent-child relationship has to be. Furthermore, it seems that Bahadir realizes that he would not exist without his parents and owes his life to them. Another statement later in the dialogue depicts the parent-child relationship quite well:

Interviewer: "When you are at home and you and your parents have different opinions, how do you deal with it?"[121]

Bahadir: "When we have different opinions? Then I tend to agree with their opinion. Then I say, okay, let them be, have it their way and I go with their opinion. That's how I am, that's how we deal with it." [122]

Interviewer: "Have you ever had the experience of your parents treating you badly?"

Bahadir: "Yes, they are parents. Sometimes they treat you badly, sometimes good, and that's normal. For myself, they never treat me badly."

---

120 Oh ja, mit Papa und Mama. Muss ja sicher, ne. Ohne denen wäre ich doch gar nicht auf der Welt jetzt. Das muss. Das sind deine Eltern. (Interviewer: Mhm, so jetzt, aber ich komm besser mit Papa klar?) Ne, bei mir ist das, da kriegt es sowas nicht. Ich komm mit beiden gut klar. Perfekt.

121 Wenn ihr zuhause, du und deine Eltern, verschiedene Meinungen habt. Wir geht ihr damit um?

122 Wenn wir verschiedene Meinungen? Dann gehe ich eher nach ihrer Meinung. Dann sag ich okay, lass sie mal lieber bei ihr sein und geh dann nach deiner Meinung. So bin ich, so machen wir das.

Interviewer: "But when such a situation happened, how did you react?"

Bahadir: "Yes, pretty normal. They are my parents. They may, they can do what they want with me, everything."[123] *(B. line 141)*

Those statements show that Bahadir has great respect and an obedient attitude towards his parents, and he says that he is always treated well by his parents. The other side of the coin is that his own opinion is often not heard and he voluntarily holds himself back. He even says that the parents can do everything with him. This attitude is very passive and shows that he is not independent or autonomous. He avoids arguments and conflicts with his parents, and even if he does have a different opinion, he would rather give in and accept theirs.

In conclusion, the family situation seems stable and there is no indication of a turbulent family situation causing Bahadir to live in anxiety. The financial situation, which is also important for a stable family situation and school performance, is ambivalent. Bahadir says that they have a good financial situation, but there are many indications that suggest a rather low family income. The relationship within the family is good and seems quite harmonious. The parents want the best and try to support him, but there were no concrete statements explaining how the parents cared for and supported Bahadir, either at school or outside of school. A negative aspect is that the parents seem dominant and sometimes (unintentionally) oppress Bahadir, causing him to hold back his opinion just to avoid conflict. There is probably a hierarchical understanding within the family members, where the parents receive a rather high importance and position. In summary, there are some aspects that could be improved upon so that Bahadir could concentrate even more on his studies, but the family situation is quite stable and thus supports him to be successful at school.

---

123 Interviewer: Wenn ihr zuhause, du und deine Eltern, verschiedene Meinungen habt. Wir geht ihr damit um?
Bahadir: Wenn wir verschiedene Meinungen? Dann gehe ich eher nach ihrer Meinung. Dann sag ich okay, lass sie mal lieber bei ihr sein und geh dann nach deiner Meinung. So bin ich, so machen wir das.
Interviewer: Hast du das mal erlebt, dass deine Eltern dich schlecht behandelt haben?
Bahadir: Ja, das sind die Eltern. Mal behandeln die einen schlecht, mal einen gut und das ist normal. Mich behandeln die nie schlecht.
Interviewer: Aber wenn es so eine Situation gab, wie hast du reagiert?
Bahadir: Ja, ganz normal. Das sind meine Eltern. Dürfen die. Die können mit mir machen, was sie wollen. Alles.

Social background and school

The social background of Bahadir will mainly focus on his networks – the human-to-human relationships that he has and cares about. As mentioned in chapter two, relationships have an important function for the well-being of an individual and bring a sense of belonging and great benefit to people. Furthermore, a community with good social networks (capital) benefits from higher educational achievement (see chapter 2). The social background has influence on his life and school performance, and an analysis might reveal reasons for Bahadir's lower school type and current situation. The focus of this analysis is primarily on his friends and peer group members, and how they influence him and his school performance. Additionally, the kind of people Bahadir associates with is also interesting.

Bahadir has contact with many different people and has several social networks that he is part of, and there are people that Bahadir has very frequent contact with and spends time with (his close friends). The interviewer asked him what friends mean to him and Bahadir gives some kind of definition of good friends and what characteristics are important for a friend.

> *"Yes, I think when you have friends that you can trust, who take you seriously, and who are always there for you, those are good friends. But friends that are here for one day, and two days not with you, those cannot be called friends. Thus, I am rather, you must have trust. That's most important."*[124] *(B. line 228)*

Bahadir has a clear picture of how a good friendship has to be. Trust and constant contact seem to be very important characteristics, and he later mentions that he has seven close friends with whom he used to live on the same street and grew up with. The seven friends are all male and the backgrounds of these seven friends are: two German, two Turkish, one Greek and one Kurdish. This information indicates that Bahadir had contact with the neighbors and probably lived in a neighborhood where different backgrounds lived together. Bahadir does not explicitly mention how long they have been friends, but it seems they have been friends for a long time and know each other quite well. Those statements show that he cultivates and keeps friendships, and that

---

124 Ja, ich denke mal so, wenn du Freunde hast, die du vertrauen kannst, die ernst zu dir sind, und die immer für dich da sind, das sind gute Freunde, aber diese Freunde, die immer hier einen Tag mit dir sind, zwei Tage nicht mit dir sind, die kann man nicht als Freunde nennen. Also ich bin so eher, man muss das Vertrauen haben. Das ist das wichtigste.

friends are very important for him. Bahadir mentions that they do many things together, including going to parties, clubs, bowling and out to eat. He probably considers them as friends that he can trust and they take him seriously, just as he defines good friends. The bonds with his friends seem very strong and they probably support each other and stick together. In fact, there was one moment in the interview where the strong bond became visible, which is a situation where Bahadir was involved in a fight.

> *"I don't have conflicts, never. Those who cause conflicts are my buddies. I never have conflicts. I can get along well with everyone and I also know many people here. Also in Hannover, and I get along well with everyone. But my buddies, you know, before we stand up (to others), I always say, 'Hold back, be calm, don't cause any stress', but they do cause stress." (Interviewer: "Do you interfere then?") "Yes, I have to, what else can I do? If I don't help, who else is going to help? Yes, I help them. It has to be. Initially I try to solve everything calmly, and don't jump into the fight."* [125] *(B. line 456)*

The situation above shows that Bahadir does know his friends quite well and also knows that they have the tendency to get involved in conflicts. Nevertheless, he keeps friendships with them and 'advises' them to be calm and not cause any trouble. But it seems that there were cases where his friends got involved in a stressful situation and he had to help. Bahadir claims that he has to help his friends and that he has no other choice, which implies that he thinks that good friends have to help each other. This incident shows that the solidarity between them is very strong, but it also shows that Bahadir is sometimes involved in violent incidents due to this strong solidarity, an obligatory feeling to help and maybe even some kind of peer pressure. Bahadir emphasized that he can get along well with everyone and does not start conflicts. Even if he finds himself in a conflict, he tries to solve the conflict calmly, which shows that he probably would not be involved in fights if he were by himself.

---

125 Also ich hab kein Streit, nie. Die, die Streit machen sind meine Kumpels. Ich hab nie Streit, ich komme mit jedem gut klar und kenne auch viele Leute hier. Auch in Hannover und ich komme mit jedem ganz gut klar, aber meine Kollegen eben halt. Bevor wir auch immer aufstehen, sag ich immer „Haltet euch zurück". Kein Stress machen, die machen dann Stress" (Interviewer: Mischt du dich dann ein?) Ja, muss ich hier. Was soll ich denn machen? Wenn ich durch, wenn ich nicht helfe, wer soll es dann sonst helfen? Ja, ich helfe ihnen auch. Muss sein. Also ich versuche erst mal, alles in Ruhe zu klären, aber ich gehe jetzt nicht drauf los.

The analysis on Bahadir's social background showed that his peer group network has a strong influence on his life and especially on his experiences with violence. There is a strong indication that he gets involved in fights because of his friends and their tendency to cause trouble. Bahadir can distance himself from the fights and tries to calmly solve the conflicts, but he cannot ignore his friends who are fighting, and eventually gets involved in the fight. This is an example of how the social background/peer group network has concretely influenced Bahadir's life, and it validates the importance of exploring the human-to-human relationship in order to understand the current situation and actions of Bahadir.

The relationship between his social background, school performance and especially his social network is not obviously visible, because the peer group members do not distract him from learning and there is no statement that shows that they hinder him from attending school. The main (stated) influence of his peer group network is the frequent contact with violence. Bahadir's friends are violent and he is involved in the conflicts although he tries to avoid them. But regardless of whether he causes the fights or is 'innocently' involved, the fact remains that he is often in contact with violence in one way or another. This frequent contact with violence has an influence on his attitude, and as such, he has developed certain strategies and (automated) actions towards people that disfavor him, which he also applies to teachers. This attitude and the (automated) actions against teachers were one reason for being sent to the lower school type. Thus, the people that Bahadir associates with (his close friends) do have an influence on his behavior and ultimately on his current school type.

9.2.6   Conclusion on Bahadir's voice

Bahadir's voice showed many patterns of how he deals with various situations and gave hints for his current school type and situation. He seems to know that conflicts with teachers, disturbing classes and distracting other students from learning were the reasons for being sent to the Förderschule, and such misbehavior was then thoroughly analyzed. One reason for the 'misbehavior' was his attitude of "they don't respect me, thus I don't respect them" or "they did this first, thus I can do this too", thus legitimizing his behavior and the tendency to give the responsibility away. But a closer analysis showed that he knows that ultimately his own behavior led to the lower school type. Therefore, he takes responsibility for his actions and knows that

his behavior has an influence, although he blames 'others'. This understanding of his 'own actions having an effect' is probably also the reason why he believes that he can obtain a degree and he believes that if he puts effort into school work, he can be successful.

Another reason for his 'misbehavior' at school can be traced back to his frequent contact with violence and the attitude, strategies and patterns that he developed from those experiences. He does not throw the first punch, but if attacked, he legitimizes his violent response and does not actively prevent it. In addition, his friends (social network) seem to have many conflicts and enforce his contact with violence via the solidarity among them and some kind of peer group pressure. His migration background does not directly influence his school type or performance, but it influenced how much violence he experienced, and especially the 'intensive' violence in the form of discrimination and hatred. His migration background was the reason for encountering people who tried to hurt him or simply disliked him, and there are visible similarities with how he treats 'Nazis' who hate him and teachers who allegedly hate him.

Further reasons for his 'misbehavior' is his concept of masculinity, which is affected by competitiveness, gaining respect, the impulse to intimidate, and the attitude of 'I am stronger, harder, better', which has also developed into the denial of domination from 'others'. Those characteristics facilitate and trigger conflicts that lead to experiences with violence, but they also lead to the development of certain strategies that are not preferable for school success. Bahadir's concept of masculinity also entailed the resisting and challenging of adult authority, which resulted in the disrespectful treatment of teachers and a bad student-teacher relationship. Therefore, Bahadir's 'misbehavior' has a relationship to his concept of masculinity. Another burdening aspect is that Bahadir's financial situation does not seem stable, and this worsens his unfavorable situation. There is no single 'cause' for Bahadir's current situation and attendance at a 'lower' school type, as the causes are intertwined and influence one another.

9.3 Conclusion on the interviews with migrant youth at 'lower' school types

The two interviews with students who are attending a 'lower' school type showed that many aspects impaired their situation and performance at school.

The family situation, social background, concept of masculinity and migration background were not ideal, and taken individually, they did not directly or indirectly contribute to the 'lower' school type. The two interviews with Ali and Bahadir revealed many similarities; it became clear for both of them that is it the intertwined relationship and intersectionality of migration background, experience with violence, family background and concept of masculinity that have had a major influence on their behavior at school. Both of them have had quite a lot of contact with violence, were 'kicked out' of school and had problems with the teachers. Both of them experienced very intensive discrimination that led to violence, prompting the development of certain strategies to deal with such situations. Those are the major aspects that led to the 'lower' school type; they will be used later to compare those circumstances and the attitudes for the next analysis. A detailed comparison will be presented after all three school types have been analyzed.

10 Interviews with migrant youth at 'mid-level' school types

In this chapter, two migrant youth who have an educational level of Realschule, a 'mid-level' school type, will be introduced and analyzed to explore their patterns and attitudes. Before analyzing the interviews and stating the interpretation, personal/demographic information and the social/family background will be introduced to create a brief biography of each person. After the demographic information has been introduced, the interview will be analyzed and the opinions of the youth will be cited and introduced.

10.1 Interview with Djamal

The third interviewee is Djamal who is 17 years old, has a Lebanese background and was born in Germany. Djamal lives together with his mother, father and six other siblings in a three story, rented house. The six siblings are one younger brother, one younger sister, three older sisters and one older brother. His father works as a school assistant whose job it is to support students that need an assistant to participate in regular school classes, for example, students with disabilities.[126] Djamal experienced one irregular school change during his school career because of an incident at his Hauptschule when he was in the tenth grade. He subsequently changed schools and obtained a Realschule degree from the new school, and his current educational goal is to do an apprenticeship.

10.1.1 Djamal's voice on school

Djamal has had many experiences in the context of school and has many opinions and statements regarding school, which are very interesting and can help to explain the current school type and his attitude on school. Djamal was at a rather lower school type (Hauptschule) from the fifth grade to the tenth

---

126 Djamal did not explicitly explain the context of school assistant, thus the explanations could be different from the actual job his father does, but it often includes tasks as stated.

grade, and when he was in his tenth grade, he was involved in an incident and had to change to another school. At this new school he earned a Realschule degree. He claims that he graduated with the grade 2.1 and wanted to start an apprenticeship but did not manage to, and is now attending a vocational school for one year to fill the gap until he can start an apprenticeship. Djamal graduated from a Realschule and is rather successful in his educational career. This chapter tries to analyze his 'voices' to explore the factors that influenced the school performance and current school type.

Reasons for good school performance

Djamal had to change schools because of an incident on a school trip, and Djamal commented:

"Yes, there were some incidents. We were on a school trip and we screwed around a little and yeah, then they decided that I had to change schools." (Interviewer: "Do you want to tell me more?") "That was nothing that I can be proud of. Therefore, not really."[127] *(D. line 24)*

He did not mention anything else regarding this incident, but he is not proud of what he did and knows that it was wrong and shows some regret. The result is that although he had to change schools because of a negative incident, it did not influence him very negatively since Djamal ultimately 'upgraded' his school type and obtained a degree. The reasons for his educational 'success' are also due to how he handles problems in the context of school and his attitude towards school. He sees the positive and negative aspects of school and is not disenchanted with school. There are some statements showing how Djamal perceives and experienced school:

"School was always ambivalent (for me). There were very nice days at school and there were also days which were really, really stupid. There were sometimes days, it always depended on what kind of teacher we had. When our teacher was in a good mood, then we were in a good mood, too.

---

127 Ja. Einige Vorfälle halt. Daaaa waren wir auf Klassenfahrt und haben wir ein bisschen Mist gemacht und ja, und da, ja. Haben die sich entschlossen, dass ich die Schule wechsel. (Interviewer: Magst du darüber erzählen?) Das war, das ist nichts worüber man stolz sein kann. Deswegen eher nicht so.

When our teacher was in a bad mood, then our day was as good as messed up."[128] *(D. line 30)*

Djamal sees that teachers have a significant influence on how school life can be and also sees that there are 'good' teachers that spread good moods as well as 'bad' teachers that spread bad moods. He gives concrete examples of how 'bad' teachers behaved and 'good' teachers behaved. The following statements are examples:

"(He) infected us with his bad mood; he always indiscriminately accused somebody, someone who had been labeled/marked before. This person could spend the rest of class outside or go home. Only because we said something and such. There were also nice days. For example, we were, we took a test. I did not study for it, but the test, it was fun, so to speak, when you know something in school. It is really fun when you take a test and you are confident and you get a grade 1. Then you get feedback that you paid attention in class. This is an example of a good day."[129] *(D. line 36)*

Djamal considers teachers that indiscriminately blame students as 'bad' and teachers that acknowledge his efforts and give feedback as 'good'. However, Djamal is not disenchanted with school because of the unfair treatment and bias of the teachers, and he does not only see the negative sides of school. He mentions good experiences as well and says that knowing the answers and getting a good grade is fulfilling and fun. Another perspective on this statement is that Djamal sees the causality of putting effort in studies and good grades, which raises his motivation to learn. Furthermore, Djamal considers receiving feedback for his efforts as very positive and says that the days that

---

128 Schule war immer zwei, zwieschneidig. Also, mal gabs sehr schöne Tage in der Schule, aber mal gabs auch Tage, die waren wirklich, wirklich blöd. So zu sagen. Also da gabs ab und zu Tage, es kam immer drauf an, was fürn Lehrer wir hatten. Also wenn unser Lehrer gut drauf war, dann waren wir auch gut drauf. Wenn unser Lehrer schlecht drauf war, da war unser Tag auch so gut wie schon versaut halt.

129 Hat uns dann halt mit seiner schlechten Laune angesteckt, hat immer wahllos Leute beschuldigt, wenn jemand geredet hat und hat wahllos jemanden beschuldigt, der schon abgestempelt wurde, vorher halt. Der konnte halt den Rest der Stunde draußen verbringen oder nachhause gehen. Nur weil wir geredet haben oder sowas. Ja, und es gab auch schöne Tage. Zum Beispiel, da waren wir mal und da haben wir ne Arbeit geschrieben. Ich hab zwar nicht gelernt gehabt aber die Arbeit so, es macht Spaß sozusagen, wenn man was weiß inner Schule. Also macht wirklich Spaß, wenn man ne Arbeit schreibt und man ist sich tierisch sicher, bei der Arbeit auch, schreibt dann wirklich ne 1. Also kriegt man auch ne Rückmeldung für, dafür, dass man im Unterricht aufgepasst hat halt. Das ist so zum Beispiel schöner Tag.

he gets feedback are good. It seems that he pursues affirmative reactions from the teachers for his efforts. Those aspects indicate that Djamal also has fun at school and is highly motivated to learn. In summary, one possible reason for Djamal's school performance and current school type is his rather high motivation to learn, which is not affected by the negative incidents such as bad teachers, because he sees the positive and negative aspects of those things. Furthermore, he experienced the joy of getting a good grade and receiving recognition for his efforts and understands that his efforts have a positive effect on his school grades, which raises his motivation to learn.

Another aspect that has an influence on school performance and school type is the student-teacher relationship. The analysis of the interview with a focus on the student-teacher relationship showed that Djamal had teachers who had biased views and spread bad moods, but he also had teachers that encouraged him and supported him. These good student-teacher relationships (positive relationships) seemed to have established a certain confidence and motivation in him. He mentions one particular teacher:

> *"Yeah, my physics/chemistry teacher at that time at (named) school treated me well. Because I was really, I am, I can really say that I am good in physics and chemistry (...) He (the teacher) doesn't care how (the students) are with other teachers, what stupid things they do with other teachers. He judges how they (the students) are in his class. He does not care whether they do stupid things when they are with other teachers. As long as they behave well in his class, everything is alright."* [130] (D. line 50)

Djamal says that he was treated well and that he is really good in that particular subject. He praises the physics/chemistry teacher for not being influenced by the opinions of other teachers or judging based on the reputation of the student, but instead looks at how the students behave in his class. It seems that Djamal likes this teacher, because he judges the students without bias and prejudice. In other words, the teacher was not influenced by existing

---

[130] Ja, also mein damaliger Physik, Chemie Lehrer, auf der [Nennt Namen] Schule, der mich relativ gut behandelt. Weil ich war auch wirklich, ich bin auch, kann ich wirklich sagen, ich bin gut in Physik und Chemie. Das sind halt so meine Leistungsfächer so, da bin ich ganz gut drinne. Und beurteilt auch ein, wie er im Unterricht ist. Nicht wie er bei andren Lehrern ist. Ob er bei andren Lehrern Blödsinn macht. Er beurteil ein, wie er bei ihn ist. Ihm ist es egal, ob er bei anderen Lehrern Mist baut. Solange er bei ihm gut ist, ist für ihn alles gegessen.

stereotypes or other prejudicial thoughts and treated Djamal fairly, and Djamal liked the way he was treated and states:

> *"He treated me well, treated me very well. I also did, sometimes, when he had no motivation to teach others, I could teach the other students, explain things to the students, how this or that works (...) Yeah, I really was glad about it."*[131] *(D. line 58)*

Djamal repeatedly says that he was treated well, and the statements above also show that the teacher trusted Djamal's competence so much that he allowed him to teach the other students. He was very happy about the reassurance of the teacher, which probably gave him confidence. Djamal likes this teacher and it seems that they have a good student-teacher relationship. All these factors – being well treated by the (unprejudiced) teacher and the good student-teacher relationship, probably contributed to the fact that Djamal did well in physics/chemistry. This example shows that teachers have a significant influence on the motivation and grades of the students and that a good student-teacher relationship is very important.

The reasons why Djamal performed rather well at school and could overcome the one main setback is probably due to his attitude and understanding that school can be 'neutral', and therefore he understands that he experiences negative incidents as well as positive incidents. Furthermore, he does not attach himself to one single perspective and does not insist on being treated fairly or get angry because of some unfair treatment. He knows that some teachers have a negative influence and some have a positive influence and accepts both as a matter of fact. This understanding of neutrality contributes to a high motivation to study, because he sees that some teachers treat him well and are fair, and that his efforts are recognized. The encounter with his physics/chemistry teacher is an especially good example of how he experienced a feeling of success, a sense of achievement. It is most likely that this feeling of achievement keeps his motivation high to study and contributes to good school performance.

---

131 Ja, er hat mich gut behandelt. Sehr gut behandelt hat er mich. Er hat also, ab und zu hab ich auch mal, wenn er mal keine Lust hatte andere Schüler zu unterrichten, durfte ich auch den anderen Lehrern, äh den anderen Schülern das erklären. Also wie das und das Thema geht. Ja und da fand ich mich halt so n bisschen, so richtig vielleicht so ne Feder auf m Kopf oder so. Ja, da hab ich mich ehrlich gefreut. Ja.

10.1.2 Djamal's voice on migration background

This chapter tries to explore how Djamal's migration background influenced his school life and how he perceived his own background. It deals with the question of how he deals with stereotype threat and possible discrimination from teachers, because his reactions to stressful situations can have an influence on the school type and school performance. Therefore, analyzing those aspects can help to identify his attitude and strategies for solving problems. The question of whether he has experienced discrimination in school and from teachers can be answered with yes. The interviewer asked him: "Did teachers treat you badly because you have a migration background?"[132] And Djamal's answers:

> *"I cannot say, because it was so, but I had the feeling. I really had the feeling that my black hair[133] has an influence on how teachers treat me. Thus, really, really thus, when I was kicked out from school, the first thing I thought is, because I have black hair, because I am really not a German. So, this teacher, she was really... Most of those who are not from Germany, she kept an eye on them (...) Thus nobody got along with her, nobody who has migration background, so to speak. Really nobody got along with her."[134] (D. line 72)*

His statement shows a strong indication that he experienced discrimination from teachers, and was kicked out because of his migration background. He formulates his statement with care and says "I had the feeling" and does not really accuse the teacher, and simply states his subjective perception and opinion. This shows that he can reflect on the situation and also has an objective view of the situation. Nevertheless, he is angry and feels unfairly treated and emphasizes that he feels discriminated against. He explains an incident when he was in the ninth grade where he was discriminated against:

---

132 Haben dich Lehrer denn mal schlecht behandelt, weil du Migrationshintergrund hast?
133 Black hair implies having migration background and Djamal uses it as a synonym for having migration background.
134 Ich kann nicht sagen, weil das so war. Aber ich hatte das Gefühl. Ich hatte wirklich das Gefühl, dass ich wirklich meine schwarzen Haare Einfluss darauf haben, wie ich von den Lehrern behandelt werde. Also ist wirklich, wirklich. Dadurch, dass ich von der Schule geflogen bin, hab ich mir als erstes gedacht, weil meine schwarzen Haare da waren. Weil ich wirklich kein Deutscher bin. Also die Lehrerin, die hatte wirklich. Die meisten, die nicht aus Deutschland kamen, hat sie wirklich auf dem Kieker (…) Also mit der Lehrerin ist wirklich keiner ausgekommen. Also, der Migrationshintergrund hat, sagen wir s mal so. Ist wirklich keine mit ausgekommen.

"There I really felt unfairly treated. And there I felt also, that's the first thing in my mind, that my black hair is the reason. That I am not German. But it is not my fault that I am not German."[135] *(D. line 89)*

Discrimination in school, especially from teachers (the ones that determine grades and have authority), does play a major role in the school performance, school life and school type of the students. In this particular case, the factor migration background was most likely the reason for being 'kicked out'. Thus, Djamal's migration background had an influence on the school type. However, he also managed to bounce back and upgrade his school type and obtain an even higher degree than his former school type (Hauptschule). The question raised is then how he still managed to obtain a degree, although he was discriminated against by the teachers? The answer to this question can be found in how he dealt with those problems and stressful situations, and his reactions to the teachers or circumstances. The interviewer asked him how he reacted, and Djamal answered:

"I was short-tempered, explosive. Honestly, I was quite short-tempered. When you talk just once to a student who (disturbs class and) continuously talks, the teacher hears that and I was sent out. Then you cannot just smile and go out. Of course you are upset."[136] *(D. line 95)*

Those were his reactions in the past, and it does not show a peaceful solution to the situation, and the result was that he had to leave the classroom. Thus, it does not seem that his reactions at that time helped him to be successful at school and obtain a degree. His way of dealing with stressful situations and his reactions to them changed after he was 'kicked out' and went to the new school, which is his current school. The interviewer asked him a few lines later how he would react now, and he answers:

"How? I would simply go out. Because you cannot win against it, against those things. You cannot do anything. That's a power that is above you."[137] *(D. line 110)*

---

135 Also da fühlte ich mich wirklich ungerecht behandelt. Und da fühlte ich mich auch das, das ist halt das Erste, was einem in Sinne kommt, dass die schwarzen Haare schuld sind. Dass ich kein Deutscher bin. Aber ich kann ja nichts dafür, dass ich kein Deutscher bin.

136 Ich war aufbrausend. Ganz ehrlich, ich war aufbrausend. Natürlich, weil wenn man wirklich nur ein Mal was antwortet zu einem Schüler, obwohl der andere Schüler ununterbrochen redet. Die Lehrerin hört das und ich darauf antworte und ich dafür rausfliege. Da kann man ja nicht einfach mit Lächeln rausgehen. Da regt man sich natürlich auf.

137 Wie, ich würde einfach rausgehen. Weil gegen sowas kommt man nicht an. Gegen sowas kommt man nicht an. Das ist, das ist ne Macht, die über mir steht.

Thus, nowadays he would not rebel against the unfair treatment and sees the best solution as simply walking away since he realizes that he cannot change the situation. He somehow developed the strategy to do 'nothing' rather than challenge the unfair treatment. This change of strategy might be one reason for his improvement in the school type and obtaining a degree. Another possible reason could be that since he was 'kicked out' of the school where the discriminating teacher was, Djamal was 'lucky' to have distanced himself from those discriminating situations, and the change of schools allowed him to meet a 'fair' teacher. It is probably the combination of the change of schools and his change in attitude that resulted in a positive educational career, and resulted in a fairly good grade (grade 2.1), which indicates that he has the 'capacity'/'intelligence' to graduate from a Realschule. In summary, Djamal's migration background has had negative influences on his school life and school type, but he managed to overcome those difficulties (e.g. learning to react with a level head), which helped enable his rather good school performance and acceptance to a higher school type.

Djamal also experienced many discriminating situations outside of school and expressed his anger about it. The methods and strategies he developed from those experiences are stated above. In summary, he thinks that he cannot do much about it and rather accepts it and tries to avoid further trouble. One statement will be introduced to give a picture of his life outside school, how he perceives his migration background and how it affects his life. However, a further analysis will not be done, since the relationship between migration background and school was already stated. The one very good statement that summarizes his perception and his afflictions is:

> *"This country did not allow me to see myself as a German, be it the visits to the police, or the visits to the youth welfare office, and the treatment that I received. You see the difference how a German is treated by the police. You see it at a disco, how many Germans can enter and how few foreigners can enter. Thus, this country did not allow me to see myself as a German. I have a German passport, but I cannot see myself as German because they did not allow me to."*[138] *(D. line 539)*

---

138 Das Land hat mich nicht gelassen, mich selber als Deutscher zu sehen. Also, in sei es von den Besuchen bei der Polizei. Sei es bei den Besuchen beim Jugendamt. Und sei es in der Behandlung von den, wie ich behandelt wurde. So, man sieht da schon Unterschiede, wie ein Deutscher behandelt wird, von der Polizei und man sieht schon Unterschiede, wie ein Ausländer von der Polizei behandelt wird. Man sieht an der Diskothek, wie viele Deutsche

His statement shows that he does not feel welcomed but segregated, and he mentions many of those cases during the interview where he describes how he was discriminated against and how he felt. Those cases could be analyzed further with different points of focus, but the summary on migration background and school life is as stated above, and introducing each experience of discrimination, his reactions and attitude would overload this chapter. Therefore, those statements on migration background and discrimination will be omitted.

10.1.3 Djamal's voice on family and social background

Djamal's family situation has had an influence on his school performance and school type. One focus in this chapter is how the family supports Djamal in his academic career and the relationship between the family members. Furthermore, the financial situation will be introduced as well. Another focus is the social background (or social relationships) Djamal has and how it influences his school life. The first half will introduce his family background and the second half his social background.

Family background and school

Djamal's parents escaped from the war in Lebanon and were granted asylum in Germany in 1986. The family is quite large and Djamal has six other siblings and they all live in the same house, thus the parents have seven children and nine people live together. His father is a school assistant and works at a school (a Gymnasium) and his mother is a housewife. The oldest sister and his older brother both work, and the rest of the siblings are either receiving some kind of education or are still at home. Thus, three people are working in the house. The financial situation, according to Djamal, is average and he claims that they are not rich but have enough to survive. He then adds that they have relatives who give the family money on occasion. Djamal works irregularly and receives pocket money from his parents when needed. That information indicates a somewhat stable financial situation of the family, such that Djamal does not feel impelled to work. The relationships within the family seem good; he trusts each family member very much and considers the overall family bond as very important and supportive. He says:

---

reinkommen und wie wenig Ausländer reinkommen. Also dieses Land hat mich nicht gelassen, mich so zu, mich als Deutscher zu sehen. Ich hab n deutschen Pass, aber ich kann mich nicht als Deutscher sehen, weil die mich nicht gelassen haben.

"Family comes first for me, then friends and all other things. Yeah, that's the way it is. Family is in my opinion important because they raised you. Also, the family stays and friends go away. I think so. Family stays and friends go, because family is your own flesh and blood. Thus, without family, you don't have support. So nobody that supports you. Family always supports you. Family cannot be malicious. I have not seen yet that my brother or someone in the family is malicious. That does not exist among us. I have also never seen it somewhere else. That is solidarity. Family means family."[139] *(D. line 171)*

This statement shows that family is very important for him, and that his understanding of what family is, is very concrete. He has a clear understanding and expectation of family, which is to support one another, to be trustworthy and have cohesion. That understanding derives from his own experience with his family. The interview showed that he feels supported by the family and that he trusts the family members more than his friends. He mentions that the family is supportive, but there is no explicit example in the interview describing how exactly the parents support Djamal. Only his perception that he feels supported is visible. One form of family support that was not mentioned explicitly might be his father and his knowledge of the school system through his work as a school assistant at a Gymnasium. There is no statement about what the father does exactly, but one can assume that he has some kind of information, network and familiarity with the German educational system. In other words, the father has much social capital.

As mentioned in chapter two, parents that acquire knowledge about the school system can help the children attain a higher education. Coleman sees information as one form of social capital that inheres in social relations. He claims that "information provides a basis for actions" (Coleman 1988: 104). Putnam argues that trust, networks and norms of reciprocity within a child's family, school, peer group and larger community have far reaching effects on their opportunities and choices, educational achievement, behavior and de-

---

139 Familie ist für mich erster Stelle. Danach kommen erst Freunde und das ganze andere. Ja, also das ist. Familie ist meiner Meinung nach wichtig, wegen. Die haben einen groß gezogen. Also Familie bleibt, Freunde gehen. So finde ich. Familie bleibt, Freunde gehen. Weil Familie ist eigene Fleisch und Blut. Also ohne Familie, das ist. Man hat kein, man hat kein Rücken. Also keinen, der einen unterstützt halt. Familie, also Familie unterstützt ein immer. Familie kann nicht hinterhältig sein. So ich hab noch nicht gesehen, dass mein Bruder oder irgendjemand aus meiner Familie hinterhältig ist. Das gibt's bei uns nicht. Ich habs auch noch bei niemand anderes gesehen. Das ist halt Zusammenhalt. Familie heißt Familie halt.

velopment (Putnam 2000: 296ff.). Those are some examples of how the family can support the child, and Djamal's family provides those kinds of support. Therefore, it can be concluded that Djamal has a family background with the right conditions for a rather good school performance and school type.

Social background and school

The analysis of Djamal's social background and social network shows interesting changes that correlate to the changes in his school type. There might be a relationship between the change of school type and change of social background that could also relate to his improvement in school and obtaining a degree. The focus will be the peer group network and his friends and how they influenced Djamal's life and school life. He mentioned earlier that family is very important and comes first, which lets us assume that friends do not have as much influence as his family members, but Djamal uses the expression that friends are like family and that his siblings are like friends. He states:

"My siblings are primarily like my friends, attachment figures. When I cannot talk with my friend about something, then I talk with my siblings. When I cannot talk with my siblings about something, then I talk with my friends about it. There are two kinds of friends, one is buddies/peers and the other is friend. There are not many of them, you cannot find many of them. I have one best friend and the rest are buddies."[140] *(D. line 257)*

"Friends are for me, something almost like family. Friends are almost like family. Buddies/peers are something superficial; you cannot talk with them because a friend, that is, you cannot say I have a hundred friends. You cannot say I have ten friends. You can have one or two friends at the most (…) Friends are there for you in any situation. Buddies, only when they can benefit from it."[141] *(D. line 326)*

---

[140] Meine Geschwister sind in ersten Linie so wie Freunde, Bezugspersonen. Wenn ich mal nicht mit nem Freund über ne Sache reden kann, dann rede ich mit meinen Geschwistern darüber. Wenn ich mit meinen Geschwistern mal über ne Sache nicht reden kann, dann rede ich mit meinem Freund darüber. Davon gibt's nicht viele. Davon findet man auch nicht so viele. Ich hab einen besten Freund und der Rest sind alles Kollegen. Das kann ich so sagen. Der Rest sind alles Kollegen.

[141] Freunde sind sowas für mich, schon fast Familie. Freunde sind fast Familie. Kollegen, das eher sowas oberflächliches. Man, mit den kann man nicht reden. Weil ein Freund, das ist, man kann nicht sagen: Ich hab hundert Freunde. Man kann nicht sagen, ich hab zehn

Djamal distinguishes between friends and buddies; he gives a definition and explains the differences, and says that he has one good friend and the rest are "buddies" with whom he has only superficial contact. The impression from his statement is that he does not trust buddies and does not believe that having many trustworthy friends is possible. The circle of people he trusts and can talk to is limited to his siblings and his one best friend, which indicates that his intimate peer-group network is rather small. Thus, the influences on Djamal's life and school from friends are likewise quite small. During the conversation in the interview, it becomes clear that Djamal changed his circle of friends, and distanced himself from certain friends that dragged him into problems. He says:

> *"I try a little, now in recent times, to distance myself from all those things, all that shit. I distance myself from it because I was involved for a while in those things. But recently, so for approximately a year, I have distanced myself. Yep." (Interviewer: "What do you mean by that?") "So, from brawls, theft, from everything that could put me in danger or my parents. From those things, I have recently distanced myself."*[142] *(D. line 285)*

> *"I also thought, and it´s true, those are not friends who drag you into bullshit. Those are not friends that drag you into bullshit. Therefore, I broke off contact, more or less, with those people."*[143] *(D. line 304)*

Djamal was involved in many illegal incidents, and thus tried to distance himself from those offenses and break away from the friends who were involved in those crimes. He broke off contact and changed his circle of friends, social network and consequently his social background. He also mentioned that he skipped classes, was bored and did many nonsense things, and he also received some letters from a certain 'official office' and realized that there needs to be some change. That was the situation before he dis-

---

Freunde. Man hat höchstens ein oder zwei Freunde (…) Freunde stehen einem bei, in jeder Situation. Kollegen nur, wenn sie deren Vorteil sehen.

142 Ich versuch mich n bisschen, jetzt in letzter Zeit von den ganzen Kram, den ganz Mist, der gebaut wird, hat ich mich in letzter Zeit n bisschen fern. Weil ich war ne Zeit lang n bisschen eher da drin verwickelt. Aber ich hab mich in letzter Zeit, so zirka n Jahr, halt ich mich davon fern. Ja. (Interveiwer: Was meinst du damit?) Also von Schlägereien, von Diebstahl, von allem Möglichen. Also alles was mich in Gefahr bringen könnte oder meine Eltern. Davon halt ich mich in letzter Zeit fern.

143 Hab ich mir auch gedacht, das ist so, das sind keine Freunde, die einen in so eine Scheiße ziehen. Auf Deutsch gesagt, es sind keine Freunde, die einen in die Scheiße ziehen. Deswegen hab ich auch Kontakt mit den Leuten mehr oder weniger abgebrochen.

tanced himself from those negative influences. He intentionally distanced himself from this circle of friends and now avoids any relationship with illegal practices, and avoids further trouble. It is not clear how the change of Djamal's social background influenced the school performance or school type because he did not mention a direct relationship, but he said that he distanced himself a year ago from those things, which is approximately the same time when he was 'kicked out' of school and improved his school type and obtained a degree. Therefore, there is a strong and reasonable belief that his intention and action to distance himself has a relationship with his improvement at school.

In summary, Djamal distanced himself from negative influences, and approximately at the same time he changed his school and obtained his degree. The social background is one circumstance or environment that he is involved in and influences his life. Therefore, if the social background changes, it has an effect on his life and also on his school life, which is most likely the case with Djamal. There is a certain pattern visible, which is that Djamal 'walks away' from trouble and avoids it. He applied this strategy in the context of school with the discriminating teacher and also with those 'friends' that had negative influences on him. His response and way of dealing with problems and stressful situations is now to 'walk away' and change his circumstances.

10.1.4 Djamal's voice on masculinity

Djamal's interview and conversational flow primarily discussed his migration background, experience with discrimination and family and social background. There was one point where the dialogue moved to a discourse on masculinity, where his idea and concept of masculinity was depicted, but it could not really be (directly) related to school life or performance. Nevertheless, his hierarchical understanding of gender and rather traditional concept of masculinity could be identified. Djamal says:

> *"So to speak, as a man, as a biologically stronger sex, you wear the pants in the house. I don't let my wife slap me or put me down, because she earns the money and I stay home."*[144] *(D. line 436)*

---

144 Dass ich sozusagen so als Mann, so als biologisches stärkeres Geschlecht halt, die Hosen im Haus an hab. So. Nicht, dass ich mir jetzt von meiner Frau Klatsche geben lass oder ir-

"In biology, I know that the man is the stronger sex. That we have more power, I mean more power than women."[145] *(D. line 443)*

"I would prefer if I brought home the food. That would be to my advantage. But I could not stand it if I sat at home and my wife worked. That would be embarrassing. I would be deeply ashamed. Because, I don't know, I would be ashamed."[146] *(D. line 460)*

There are many other statements that depict his rather traditional concept of masculinity, and also one excerpt were he showed an unfavorable attitude towards homosexuality, but the conversation on this topic was proportionally small and the relationship to school life was not really identifiable. Therefore, further analysis and comments will be abbreviated.

10.1.5   Djamal's voice on violence

The aspect of violence is often held in relationship with masculinity, and that violence is often a reason for causing problems at school. Thus, the situations where Djamal used violence will be examined, as well as how he deals with those stressful situations. Nevertheless, the whole interview was not about the topic violence, and there is only one discussion where Djamal talks for about four minutes (out of an hour) about the topic violence. Djamal was often involved in violent incidents and he says that he was very short-tempered, plus, the brawls were often his fault. However, at some point roughly one year ago he stopped being involved in those violent incidents, and explains the reason why and how he managed to stop his involvement. Djamal says:

"They (the fights) piled up so often, yeah, and then, until one day I put an end to all that stuff, where I simply did not listen and ignored what others said. Those people that talk behind my back or those who look for trouble... Those people I simply ignored them the whole time and because they knew when they wanted stress, they knew I easily hit the roof and got annoyed, it was like this for some time. But when I always ignored them, then most of

---

gendwie fertig machen lasse von meiner Frau, weil sie das Geld verdient und ich lieg zuhause rum.

145 In der Biologie, weiß ich, dass der Mann das stärkere Geschlecht ist. Also, dass wir von Kraft her mehr haben. Also mehr Kraft haben als die Frauen.

146 Es wär mir nur lieber, wenn ich das Essen nachhause bring. Das wär ja nur zu meine Gunsten. Aber ich könnte das nicht ab, wenn ich zuhause sitze und meine Frau arbeitet. Das wär für mich peinlich. Also ich würd mich zu Grund und Boden schämen. Ich, weil, ich weiß nicht. Ich würd mich da schämen.

them said: I don't bother anymore. They did not care anymore and they simply stopped getting on my nerves and so on. Then I did not get any calls anymore, didn't insult anyone. Since then everything is over."[147] *(D. line 641)*

Djamal had much contact with violence; he himself was violent in the past and probably at the time when he was violent it did influence his school life and school type. But at the time of the interview, he said that he was not involved in violence anymore. Djamal managed to distance himself from violent situations and people that provoked him. In addition, he also changed his reactions, his temper, his tolerance and overall way of being such that he is not easily angered or annoyed. Those two changes could be identified as the reasons for successfully distancing himself from violence.

10.1.6 Conclusion on Djamal's voice

The overall impression of the interview is that Djamal experienced much discrimination in and outside of school. Unfortunately, not all of his experiences could be introduced, but discrimination in the context of school was thoroughly analyzed and showed that it was most likely the reason for being 'kicked out' of school. Thus, his migration background had an influence on his school type and school performance. He mentioned one particular teacher that discriminated against him, but he also mentioned one teacher that supported him and 'taught' him the joy of achieving good marks in school and motivated him to study. Thus, he experienced and saw positive and negative aspects of school as well as the different characters of teachers, and realized that school has both sides, the positive as well as the negative. Djamal overcame the negative aspects of school, such as discriminating teachers, by distancing himself from it, which is also visible in other contexts.

For example, he changed schools and distanced himself from the school where he had had trouble, thus distancing himself from the discriminating teacher. And in the context of social background, he distanced himself from

---

147 Es hat sich sehr oft gehäuft so, ja und dann, bis ich irgendwann mal da, bis ich irgendwann mal aufgehört hab mit dem ganzen Kram. Wo ich einfach nicht mehr drauf gehört hab, was der andere sagt. Wo ich einfach nur noch ignoriert hab. Die Leute die irgendwie hinter meinem Rücken labern. Oder die einfach Stress suchen. Die hab ich einfach die ganze Zeit ignoriert so und weil die wussten, weil wenn die Stress suchten, dann wussten die, ich war einfach schnell auf 180 zu bringen, so ne Zeit lang. Aber als ich das immer ignoriert hab, dann haben auch die meisten einfach gesagt: Ich hab kein Bock mehr. Da haben die kein Bock mehr gehabt und dann haben die mich einfach nicht mehr genervt und so. Da hab ich auch keine Anrufe mehr bekommen, irgendjemand beleidigt. Seit dem ist einfach alles vorbei.

those friends that pulled him into trouble. He even managed to distance himself from violent situations and friends, and changed his attitude and the tendency to be short-tempered. Analyzing the different aspects and contexts in Djamal's interview revealed a certain pattern, showing how he deals with problems or stressful situations. He does not fight against or rebel aggressively against those negative influences that would lead him to a lower school type and worsen his school performance; instead, he distances himself from it. He simply leaves it as it is and has developed the strategy to not get immersed in the problem, the unfairness and the negative aspects. The reason why he can stay calm might be the understanding of ambivalence towards school, teachers and school mates. In summary, he keeps himself at a distance from negative influences. In addition to avoiding negative influences, he has positive influences, such as certain teachers that support him, his siblings that care about him, and friends that he can trust. He somehow distinguishes between good influences and bad influences correctly. Another aspect that led him to a 'mid-level' school type is almost certainly the knowledge and information of the German school system from his father, who works at a Gymnasium as a school assistant.

In conclusion, Djamal confronted many problems that could have hindered his school success, but still he managed to overcome those problems out of distancing himself from them and not fighting against them. He either brushed off or walked away from the negative aspects, and actively approached the positive aspects and received support doing so. Furthermore, certain tendencies, such as a short temper that often led him to fights, were changed, too. Those are the results of the analysis of the interview, explaining why Djamal 'upgraded' his school type and obtained a Realschule degree.

10.2 Interview with Edon

The fourth interviewee is Edon, who is 19 years old, has a Turkish background and was born in Germany. He lives in a house with his parents and has six siblings, but only four children still live at home. Three children have moved out and work or do an apprenticeship. His parents moved to Germany 25 years ago. In his school career he never repeated a year or was 'kicked out' of school. He was at a Hauptschule and most likely received very good

grades so that he could obtain a Realschule degree.[148] Now he wants to obtain the qualification (Fachhochschulreife) to attend higher education. His current educational level is the 'mid-level' school type.

10.2.1 Edon's voice on school

Edon most likely had very good grades at Hauptschule, otherwise he could not have obtained a Realschule degree although he went to a Hauptschule. It is therefore very interesting to explore the reasons for his good grades, although he was in a 'lower' school type and was initially 'labeled as unintelligent' by the school system. Edon commented on how he experienced school, and says:

> "School was actually always pretty ok. Now and then (there was) stress and such when we had lots of tests, but except for that, pretty good. Yeah, never had problems. Actually it was always good for me."[149] (E. line 15)

It seems that he had little trouble at school and the only stress seems to be the amount of schoolwork. The interviewer asked if teachers treated him well, and he answers:

> "In the tenth, until the tenth class I had a teacher I felt really well understood (by). Really well, and now too. Actually I never had problems with teachers, except in the fifth grade (so called orientation stage), there was this strange teacher. He, I don't know, he always had, he had us, we were three foreigners. He always accused us (of things). And except for that everything was alright."[150] (E. line 25)

It seems that Edon had a teacher that understood him well and he was comfortable with, and he was taught by this teacher for more than one year. There is a strong indication that he had a good student-teacher relationship with this teacher. Thus, we can say that Edon encountered a good teacher during his school career, who probably contributed to his good school performance and

---

148 A Realschule degree is possible in some Hauptschule if the average grade is better than 2.0. The degree that Edon obtained is called: erweiterter Realabschluss.

149 Schule war eigentlich immer ganz ok. Ab und zu mal Stress und so, wenn es viele Arbeiten war, aber sonst immer ganz ok. Ja. Nie Probleme gehabt, eigentlich war alles immer gut bei mir.

150 In der Zehnten, bis zur zehnten Klasse hatte ich n Lehrer, da hab ich mich sehr gut verstanden. Sehr gut und jetzt auch. Eigentlich gab es nie Probleme mit Lehrer. Außer an der OS, da war so n komischer Lehrer, der, weiß nicht, der hat immer auf alle, der hat uns, wir waren drei Ausländer. Immer uns, auf uns gegangen. Und sonst alles ganz ok.

degree. Edon further states that he had not encountered teachers with whom he had problems, except one, who presumably had prejudicial thoughts against foreigners. He implies that this teacher is xenophobic, but does not label him as one and says "there was this strange teacher", and further explains one incident where the teacher treated him and his other foreign friends unfairly.

> *"There was this situation in religion class, for example. They baked some kind of Christian bread and said that those who do not want to eat it, go out. We three went out and later he complained to the principle that we left the room. This is an example, but it was not that tragic." (Interviewer: "Did you talk about it with him?") "No, we had him for only one year, thus we did not say anything."*[151] *(E. line 31)*

This incident shows how Edon reacted to unfair treatment from the teacher. Edon felt unfairly treated, but avoids judging or blaming the teacher and only states the situation and leaves the judgment to the listener. Edon knows that he did nothing wrong, and that the teacher was unfair, but does not express his anger or act on it, nor does he complain much about it. It seems that he endures the unfairness and settles on the solution that the prejudicial teacher is only temporary. Edon's statements and reactions are influenced by the idea not to cause a stir and make a problem bigger than necessary, to simply 'endure' the situation. This is one problem in the context of school that he mentions, but overall there seemed to be few problems at school.

10.2.2   Edon's voice on migration background

Edon's voice on migration background will be analyzed with a focus on how he perceives himself and the influences he has had because of his migration background. The previous chapter on school showed that one teacher treated him differently because of his migration background, but he did not really take it seriously and was not seriously affected by it. Later in the interview, in response to the question "Were you treated badly because they saw you as a foreigner?"[152] Edon answers:

---

151 Es gab mal so ne Situation in Religion zum Beispiel. Die hatten so n christliches Brot gebacken und hatten gesagt, wer das nicht essen will, geht raus. wir drei rausgegangen und hinterher hat er sich beim Schulleiter beschwert, dass wir einfach rausgegangen sind. Sowas zum Beispiel. Aber war auch nicht so schlimm. (Interviewer: Habt ihr mal mit ihm darüber geredet?) Ne. Den hatten wir nur ein Jahr und da haben wir nichts gesagt

152 Wurdest du schon mal schlecht behandelt, weil die Leute dich als Ausländer sehen?

"Mmmh, no, not that I can think of now, not that I know."[153] *(E. line 169)*

The interviewer asked him a similar question a few lines later, "Did you experience situations where they (Germans) said: shitty foreigner?"[154] And Edon answers:

"No. Maybe those old people, when they are on their bike. They still cling a little to their war-time period. And then, you walk on the sidewalk and maybe now and then on the bicycle lane and then they say suddenly 'Shitty foreigner', but nothing more."[155] *(E. line 202)*

In the first question, he denies being treated badly because of his migration background, and in the second question, he gives an example of a rather brief encounter with discrimination. In both questions his first answer is no, which shows that Edon supposedly did not experience much discrimination or other forms of segregation, or at least he does not perceive it as such. Nevertheless, he makes statements that he doesn't feel German or welcome. He says:

"They are not interested (in) whether you were born here or not. That is, I don't know. We live in Germany, speak their language and go to German schools. But still they say: Hey you foreigner, you are a foreigner, you are this and that."[156] *(E. line 228)*

The statement above shows that he complains about the intolerance of the receiving society. Edon did not mention any concrete incidents on discrimination and could not think of one, but still feels segregated. Thus, the question is why and how he comes to those perceptions and opinions. There is a suspicion that he states the public opinion or information that he heard from the news or senses an atmosphere of not being accepted. There are some statements and dialogues that suggest that Edon knows the stereotypes that exists and therefore thinks that he is not accepted. He says:

---

153 mmmh, nö, nicht, dass mir was einfällt jetzt. Nicht, dass ich wüsste.

154 Hast du mal Situationen erlebt, wo sie gesagt haben: Du scheiß Ausländer?

155 Ne. Vielleicht mal die alten Leute, wenn die aufm Fahrrad sind so. Die sind noch n bisschen in ihrer Kriegszeit hängengeblieben. Und dann dann läuft man daa auf, auf n Fußweg und vielleicht ab und zu auf n Fahrradweg und dann sagen auch plötzlich: Scheiß Ausländer. Aber mehr auch nicht.

156 Die interessiert das nicht, ob man hier geboren ist oder nicht. Das ist ja, Ich weiß nicht. Wir leben in Deutschland, sprechen deren Sprache, gehen deutsche Schule. Aber trotzdem sagen die immer noch: Ey du Ausländer, du bist ein Ausländer, du bist so und so.

> *Edon:* *"It is said that most, most of the youth criminals are foreigners. (...) Yeah there are many people that still think, yeah, I don't employ a foreigner or something like that."*
> *Interviewer:* *"How come?"*
> *Edon:* *"I don't know. Maybe they maybe have a bad image."*
> *Interviewer:* *"This bad image, how does it come about; what do you think?"*
> *Edon:* *"I think, how it comes about, I don't know, no idea."*
> *Interviewer:* *"Have you ever experienced someone saying something?"*
> *Edon:* *"No, I have not. I am mainly a student."*
> *Interviewer:* *"And if you are a student you don't experience those things?"*
> *Edon:* *"In my case I did not."*[157] (E. line 239)

This dialogue shows that Edon did not experience much discrimination, but 'heard' of it. The following statement verifies that he has ideas of stereotypes from the media and not from his own experience.

> *Edon:* *"There are, not with me, but for example other situations where foreigners are segregated and so. But not with me. No."*
> *Interviewer:* *"Did you hear about those experiences of exclusion?"*
> *Edon:* *"You hear it over and over on the TV or something. But except for that, I don't know."*[158] (E. line 472)

In summary, Edon does know many stereotypes that apply to people with migration background, and probably more than he mentions. For example, he could also know the stereotype that male migrant youth are less successful at school or are troublesome at school. However, it seems that he is not affected very much by those stereotypes and they have little influence on his school

---

157 Edon: die meisten, wird gesagt, die meisten kriminellen Jugendlichen sind ja Ausländer (…) Ja, es gibt auch viele Leute, die noch drauf hängen geblieben. Ja, ein Ausländer stell ich nicht ein oder so. Interviewer: wie kommt das? Edon: ich weiß es nicht. Vielleicht, die ham vielleicht n schlechtes Bild. Interviewer: Dieses schlechte Bild. Wie, wie kommt das zustande? Was denkst du? Edon: Ich denke, wie das zustande kommt. Ich weiß es nicht. Keine Ahnung. Interviewer: Hast du das schon mal erlebt, dass man gesagt hat? Edon: Ne, ich hab ja, ich bin ja überwiegend Schüler. Interviewer: Und wenn man Schüler ist, dann erlebt man das noch nicht so? Edon: Also bei mir war das noch nicht so.

158 Edon: es gibt ja auch, bei mir nicht, halt zum Beispiel andere Situationen. Wo Ausländer ausgegrenzt werden oder so. Und bei mir, ne. Interviewer: Hast du von solchen Ausgrenzungserfahrungen schon gehört? Edon: Man hört das immer wieder im Fernsehen, oder sowas. Aber sonst. Ich weiß nicht.

performance. The reasons why he is not influenced much, although he knows the stereotypes, might be due to his attitude and reactions, which is influenced by the idea not to cause a stir, not to make a problem bigger than necessary, and instead endure it. This attitude was also visible in the context of school. There might be a pattern showing how he reacts to stressful situations and problems, and the strategy that Edon applied at school could explain the reasons for being barely influenced by stereotype threat and therefore was successful at school.

10.2.3   Edon's voice on family and social background

Edon's family is very big with 7 children, a mother and a father, thus the family consists of 9 persons. Edon is the second youngest child, has one younger brother, two older sisters and three older brothers. The two older sisters and two older brothers have already left home. Edon gives detailed explanations about his siblings and tells the interviewer that the youngest brother still goes to school, one brother is doing an apprenticeship, the other is a trained worker, another one is doing his training to become a master craftsman, one sister is working as a retail saleswomen and the other sister is married. It seems that the older siblings are all working or have some kind of occupation, and the younger brother also goes to school. It is somehow an indication that the parents care about their children's future and were 'successful' in their education. Edon answers 'yes' to the question about whether the parents work, but the exact occupation they have was not mentioned.

All in all, the financial situation of the family seems quite stable and secure, because the parents and three older siblings work and live together in one house, which they own. Further indications for a stable financial situation can be assumed from the following statements:

> *"We are actually doing, we are doing well. I would not say, I wouldn't say that we look into an empty fridge at the end of the month. Yeah and, yah, if we want something, then we get it eventually after some time."*[159] *(E. line 145)*

> *"I get 70 euros or so a month, but if I need or want something, then I get it of course. That is so, my parents say. I could work, but I don't work because they want that I do school(work)."*[160] *(E. line 152)*

---

159   Uns geht's auch eigentlich. Uns geht es gut. Ich würd ich würd nicht sagen, dass wir am Ende des Monats in ein leere Kühlschrank gucken. Ja und, ja und, ja und halt, wenn wir was wollen, dann kriegen wir das auch irgendwann mit der Zeit.

According to those statements, the parents support Edon's school career and student life with pocket money and extra expenses that come up. Furthermore, the parents don't allow him to work because they want him to concentrate on his schoolwork. It shows that the parents take education seriously and care about Edon's school performance. It also indicates good social support from the parents, in terms of being concerned about his school, providing an environment where he can study and so on. The wish and desire of the parents that Edon focuses on his studies becomes clear in the following statement:

> *"My parents are my attachment figures when I have any kind of problem. If they weren't there (for me), who knows where I would be today. There are parents that say to their children: you are old enough, you can do whatever you want to. But as for mine (parents), I am already 19, and nonetheless they say: I want you to do your school(work)."*[161] *(E. line 65)*

Edon's parents support him financially, socially and emotionally to do his schoolwork, and the relationship between the parents and Edon seems good. Edon even says that they are attachment figures and has great respect and appreciation for them. He does not take the behavior of his parents for granted, which becomes evident through the comparison with other parents (as mentioned in the interview) who don't care as much and do not trust their children as much. It seems that Edon and his parents have a rather harmonious relationship, but there are also conflicts between them once in a while. The interviewer asked Edon: "When there is complaining, conflicts due to different opinions, how do you deal with it?"[162] And Edon answers:

> *"How we deal, when we, my father or mother somehow nag: yeah, you do this and that. No idea. Then I think, I reflect on it, did I do something wrong? And if I did something wrong, then I accept it, and if not, then I am stubborn."*[163] *(E. line 113)*

---

160 Monatlich krieg ich so 70 Euro, aber halt so inner, wenn ich was brauche, was will, dann krieg ich das auch natürlich. Das ist ja auch so, meine Eltern sagen so. Ich könnte ja arbeiten, aber ich arbeite ja nicht. Weil die wollen ja, dass ich Schule mache.

161 Meine Eltern sind meine Bezugspersonen, wenn ich irgendwas Probleme habe. Die, wenn die nicht wären, wer weiß wo ich heute wär, ne?! Es gibt's ja Eltern, die sagen zu ihren Kinder: Du bist alt genug, du kannst machen was du willst. Aber meine, ich bin ja schon 19 und die sagen trotzdem: Ich will dass du deine Schule machst.

162 Wenn es mal Schimpfe gibt, Konflikte zu verschiedenen Meinungen gibt. Wie wird damit umgegangen?

163 Wie damit um-. Wenn wir, mein Vater äh oder meine Mutter irgendwie meckert: Ja, du machst das und das. Keine Ahnung. Dann denk ich, überleg ich mir schon, ja, hab ich wirk-

The statement above shows how he reacts to problems within the family. Edon can be reflective and can also accept his mistakes and is quite open to other opinions. Edon seems to be insightful and has the capacity to gain accurate and deep understanding of a situation or problem. However, Edon says that he can also be stubborn. Thus, he can also disagree with his parents, but there is no indication of aggressive rebellion, even if he is right and the parents are wrong or if he feels unfairly treated. Edon's statements and reactions in a stressful situation in the context of family are also influenced by the idea not to cause a stir and make a problem bigger than necessary. Furthermore, he is insightful, and thus he tries to reflect on and understand the situation before reacting.

In addition to Edon's family background, the social background (his friends and other networks) will be analyzed as well. It is important to note that Edon did not talk very much about his friends, and only three short dialogues dealt with the topic of friendship, thus this part of the analysis will be rather short. As a matter of fact, Edon was rather untalkative, and the whole interview was rather short (half as long) in comparison to the other interviews. The interviewer asked Edon what friends mean to him, and he answers:

> *"Friends are also very important. When you have some problems, then you go first to your friends. You talk to them first and not to your parents or brothers and yah. With friends you undertake many things. And my friends are also not only friends, they are like my brothers for me. I grew up with them, I've known them my whole life. I can trust them, yeah."*[164] *(E. line 179)*

Edon regards friendship as very important and has a very deep relationship with his friends, whom he trusts and can talk to. Edon spends his free time with his friends going out or playing football, and says that:

> *"I am always treated well by my friends. Those are my friends, and ah. To the other persons I am, we are focused on ourselves, and when we go somewhere, then we are still focused on ourselves. The other people who*

---

lich was falsch gemacht. Und wenn ich was falsch gemacht habe, dann seh ich das ein und wenn nicht, dann bin ich stur.

164 Och, Freunde sind auch sehr wichtig. Wenn man irgendwelche Probleme hat, dann geht man ja zuerst zu den Freunden. Sagt man den das erst und nicht den Eltern oder Brüdern und ja. Mit Freunden unternimmt man ja auch sehr viel. Und meine Freunde sind halt auch schon, einfach nicht nur Freunde, das sind wie Brüder für mich. Mit den bin ich aufgewachsen, die kenn ich mein ganzes Leben lang. Die, ich kann den vertrauen. Ja.

are around, I don't know them, and we are not interested in them either.''[165] *(E. line 171)*

The statement confirms the good relationship with his friends, but the statement: "*The other people that are around, I don't know them and we are not interested in them either*" also shows that he and his friends somewhat distance themselves from other people and other social contacts. The tendency and pattern of not causing a stir and making the problem bigger than necessary might be a reason for distancing themselves. Edon says that his friends are mainly male and predominantly 'foreigner', and the only 'German' friends he has are in the setting of school. Thus, there is a suspicion that he only has strong relationships with youth who have migration background and rather associates and acts in an ethnic enclave society. However, he is not neglectful to Germans. The reasons why Edon has little contact to the so-called Germans is unclear, maybe to avoid trouble, but he is not averse to being around them and has not had problems with them in the past. The interviewer asked him how he gets along with the so-called Germans, and he answers:

> *"Pretty good. They are also human beings. They are not simply something, they are not 'GERMANS' or so. As long as they don't say: you shitty foreigner, I don't say: hey you shitty German. Yeah, actually everything is always normal. Never had problems with Germans."*[166] *(E. line 197)*

The summary of this chapter is that the main social contact Edon has is with friends who have a migration background and he does not care very much about 'other' people. The social relationships he has are few, but they are very intense and he´s known them for a long time. It seems that there are no negative influences from the social relationships or friends that would hinder him from doing well in school. Nevertheless, a concrete conclusion cannot be made, because there are too few statements from Edon on his circle of friends and social background.

---

165 Von meine Freunde wird ich immer gut behandelt. Das sind ja meine Freunde und äh. Zu anderen Personen hab ich ja, wir sind ja unter uns und wenn irgendwie wohin gehen, dann sind wir trotzdem unter uns. Die anderen Leute die dann drum herum sind, kenn ich ja nicht und dann interessieren die uns auch nicht.

166 Sehr gut. Das sind ja auch Menschen. Sind ja nicht einfach irgendwie. Das sind ja nicht Deutsche oder so. Solange die nicht sage: Du scheiß Ausländer. Sag ich auch nicht: Ey du scheiß Deutscher. Ja. Ist halt eigentlich immer alles normal. Nie Probleme gehabt mit Deutsche.

10.2.4   Edon's voice on masculinity and violence

The interview with Edon was very short and sometimes he was untalkative, such that not all aspects were covered or thoroughly discussed during the interview. The interview primarily focused on (or simply drifted to) the topic of discrimination and being a person with migration background. There were times where the dialogue moved to the discourse of masculinity and Edon's idea and concept of masculinity was depicted. It showed that he has a rather hierarchical understanding of gender, which is a rather traditional concept of masculinity, and it showed a disapproving attitude towards homosexuality, but those statements were not in the context of school and the relationship to school life could not be identified. In terms of violence, Edon barely experienced any violence and mentions only one incident that he had had, thus he is not well versed in it and probably is not a violent person. Some statements on masculinity and violence will be introduced to provide a picture of Edon's ideas and attitudes, but many are not relevant to the research question and school life, therefore they will be introduced only briefly.

> *Interviewer:* *"What kind of experiences have you had with violence?"*
> *Edon:* *"Violence? Last year I had a small conflict. But I was drunk. With the police. Except for that, nothing."*
> *Interviewer:* *"Do you want to tell me about it?"*
> *Edon:* *"We were at an event, an oriental one, and then when I wanted to go to the city from there, and then there was a brawl, and I walked right through it. I wasn't interested in it and they thought, the police grabbed some (of them) and they grabbed me too. Then I resisted, because I didn't do anything."*[167] *(E. line 364)*

This was the only violent incident that Edon mentioned during the interview, and it was not even caused by him, but he was rather innocently pulled into the incident. Edon says:

---

[167] Interviewer: Welcher Erfahrungen hast du selbst schon mit Gewalt gemacht? Edon: Gewalt?! Also im letzten Jahr hat ich n kleine Auseinandersetzung gehabt. Da war ich aber besoffen. Mit der Polizei. Sonst war da nichts. Interviewer: Magst du erzählen. Edon: Also wir waren auf so ner Veranstaltung, so ne orientalische und dann wollt ich gerade in die Stadt gehen von da und dann halt ja. Haben sich da welche geschlagen und und ich bin dazw-, genau durchgelaufen. Mich hats nicht interessiert und die dachte, hat die Polizisten sich n paar geschnappt und dann ham die mich auch geschnappt. Dann hab ich mich gewehrt, weil ich nichts gemacht hab.

"I have always done martial arts as well. Violence, there we also learned to keep the limit. When we had to let something out, vent aggression, then we let it out there." (Interviewer: "Did it always work?") "Yes of course, never caused an incident."[168] *(E. line 378)*

We learn that Edon has a method to vent his aggression and knows how to act within limits, which could also be one reason why he never had conflicts at school or conflicts with teachers. His life seems to be quite distanced from violence, but he mentions situations where violence is justified. Edon says:

"When it is right? Yeah, so when somebody hits me and you know that you cannot solve it with words, yeah, what can you do? Should you sacrifice yourself? No, then you apply violence." (Interviewer: "Does it make a difference if it is against women or men?") "If it makes a difference? Yes of course. A woman can, could not defend herself. And that is why you say, you don't hit a woman."[169] *(E. line 401)*

Those were Edon's statements on violence, and they revealed that he has nothing to do with violence. In the last quote, he stated his idea on gender and masculinity, showing that he thinks that women are weaker than men. There are a few more statements on his concept of masculinity.

"So men should, so I think men should work, women too, maybe half a day. But if the man comes home, he is of course hungry. And when the woman works the whole day, that's not going to work, that both are working and then come home and then begin to make food. That does not work."[170] *(E. line 304)*

---

168 ich hab ja auch mh, immer Kampfsport gemacht. Gewalt, da haben wir ja auch n bisschen gelernt uns an Grenzen zu halten. Wenn wir was raus lassen müssen, dann haben wir das daraus gelassen. (interviewer: Hat das immer geklappt?) Ja klar. Ist ja nie was vorgekommen.

169 Wo das richtig ist?! Ja, also wenn mich jetzt jemand anmachen würde und und an weiß, dass man mit Worten nicht weiter kommt. Ja, was soll man da machen? Soll man sich Opfern lassen, ne. Dann setzt man halt Gewalt ein. (interviewer: Macht das für dich denn einen Unterschied ob gegenüber Frauen oder Männern?) Ob das ein Unterschied mach?! Ja klar. Eine Frau kann sich, könnte sich niemals wehren. Und das ist ja auch so, dass man sagt, man schlägt keine Frauen.

170 Also die Männer sollten mal, also ich finde Männer sollten arbeiten. Frauen auch. Vielleicht so halbtags arbeiten. Aber wenn der Mann nachhause kommt, hat er natürlich Hunger. Und ja und wenn eine Frau irgendwo ganz arbeitet. Das geht ja nicht, dass beide arbeiten und nachhause kommen und sich erst was zu essen machen. Das geht ja nicht.

"That (homosexuality) is, I don´t know. They are upside down. It´s not like that. Nature wants (a) man and woman to be (together) and not man and man. I don't know. I don't think much of it."[171] *(E. line 328)*

Those opinions show that Edon seems to have a rather traditional image of men and women, and a rather negative image of homosexuality, but those concepts of masculinity could not be put in a relationship with school life and school performance. The original idea or hypothesis was that certain concepts of masculinity, such as competitiveness, prowess or anti-authority could lead to lower school results. But in the case of Edon, those concepts were not evident, which might also be one reason for his good school performance.

10.2.5   Conclusion on Edon's voice

This chapter attempts to determine the aspects that led to Edon's good school performance and school type. The positive aspects that contributed to his school type are the encounter with the understanding teacher, his supportive parents, and his friends and social background that did not influence him negatively. There are many circumstances in and outside of school that con-tributed to the good school performance and attendance at the 'mid-level' school type, but Edon's attitude and reactions to rather negative incidents and influences played a major role as well. Those personal aspects are more in-teresting, since those attitudes and reactions can be learned and practiced by other youth. Edon's reactions and attitude is to avoid a making a stir and not make a problem bigger than necessary. He prefers to "endure" problems or unfairness rather than confront them and rebel. In other words, he avoids problems, and if he has to confront them, he does not immediately rebel be-cause he has the ability to endure them if necessary. This pattern was visible in many situations and contexts. Edon also showed that he can be insightful and has the capacity to gain an accurate and deep understanding of a situation or problem, and can accept his mistake and correct himself. Another aspect is that Edon was rather untroubled by violent incidents, direct discrimination or other forms of negative influences that could be a hindrance or have negative influences on his school. In addition, the negative experiences were so minor that they did not influence his school life or his attitude; nevertheless, he feels

---

171 Das, keine Ahnung. Das ist halt, die sind n bisschen umgedreht. Das ist halt nicht so. Die Natur will, dass Mann und Frau ist und nicht Mann und Mann. Ich weiß nicht. Davon halt ich nichts.

segregated and knows the existing stereotypes. Therefore, the stereotypes do have an influence on him, but it seems that he can deal well with it, which is likely aided by his attitude not to make a problem bigger than it is and endure it until it is over. Those are some of the aspects that presumably led to his successful attendance at a 'mid-level' school type.

10.3   Conclusion on the interviews with migrant youth at 'mid-level' school types

The two interviews with students who are attending a 'mid-level' school type showed that many aspects impaired their situation and school type, but there were also many aspects that supported them. The first impression when comparing these youth with the youth at 'lower' school types was that they are less involved in fights and quarrels, their family situation is more stable and peer group members don't have a very negative influence on them. Those are the different circumstances that the migrant youth at 'mid-level' school types have. However, a closer examination shows that their attitude towards school and reactions to unfair treatment differ as well. Furthermore, Djamal and Edon both encountered teachers that had left a positive impression on them and with whom they had a good teacher-student relationship. Djamal and Edon have many similarities in their circumstances at school and in the family, but their way of solving problems, their attitude towards school and their reactions to negative incidents are quite similar as well. Those are the major aspects that most likely led to the 'mid-level' school type, and thus, they can be used to make a detailed comparison between all three school types.

11 Interview with migrant youth at 'higher' school types

In this chapter, two migrant youth who have a school diploma from a 'higher' school type will be introduced. It is the last school type that will be analyzed, but before analyzing the interviews and stating the interpretations, the personal/demographic information will be presented. After presenting all the data, an analysis will be conducted using multiple focus areas, including the youth's voices on school, their perception of their migration background, their concept of masculinity and their social/family background. The analysis will not only present the circumstances of the different focus areas, but also how the youth deal with problems and stressful situations in those contexts and what kind of attitude or reaction pattern they have developed.

11.1 Interview with Firat

The fifth interviewee is Firat, who was born in Iraq and came to Germany in 1999. He was born in 1990, thus he came to Germany when he was 9 years old, and at the time of the interview he was 20 years old. Firat is the oldest child in the family and has five siblings, one younger brother and four younger sisters, and they all live together in a house they own. The father is self-employed and is in the retail industry, his mother works too, but he did not mention her occupation, and Firat and his brother work as pizza delivery boys. His school career in Germany started in 2000 with the third grade in elementary school. Firat was at the first elementary school for only three months until the family moved and he had to go to another elementary school, where he repeated his fourth grade. After the fourth grade he went to the fifth and sixth grade, which is called "Orientierungsstufe", literally meaning 'orientation stage', which is a time to 'orientate' what school type the student will go to. Firat went to a Realschule after the "Orientierungsstufe" until the tenth grade and obtained a Realschule degree. From there he went to a business school[172] after graduation and he is now doing his Abitur.[173] His

---

172 The German word is: Handelsschule

educational career is a bit complex, but his current educational level is equivalent to the 'higher' school type.

11.1.1 Firat's voice on school

Firat was not born in Germany and did not experience the German education system from the beginning. He did not go to kindergarten here or to the first and second year of elementary school. Those are aspects that differentiate him from other youth in this study, but it might have a positive aspect because he was probably 'disadvantaged' in many ways, such as in language ability, but still managed to go to a 'higher' school type, which emphasizes the aspects that led to the higher school type. Firat was very talkative and stated many details about his school life, including aspects that supported him in school and how he experienced school. He says:

> "Until now, I experienced school as good, except for last year. I had a phase where I had, uhm, I would say, I had a hindrance in front of me. So that school, that school did not go as well as I (had) imagined. Therefore, I repeated the eleventh grade because I had some problems, uhm, personal problems within my circle of friends and within the family. Therefore, I repeated school. But until now, uhm, I had a good experience in school, got through it well, too."[174] (F. line 24)

Firat's opinion of school is positive, although he repeated classes in his fourth and eleventh grade. His statements show that he thinks his personal life, which is also a life outside of school, has influenced his school grades and school life. He attributes his 'bad' school life and probably bad school performance to those personal problems with his friends and family. Firat has repeated two years, but the impression from his statement is that repeating a class did not affect him negatively, nor does he see it as a 'failure', and says that school went well. Furthermore, he says at the beginning and end of the

---

173 Abitur is a German degreee, which is a general qualification for university entrance. It is equivalent to Gymnasium degree. A Realschule degree or Hauptschule degree does not allow a student to go to a university.

174 Also bis jetzt hab ich gut Schule erlebt, bis auf letztes Jahr hab ich so ne Phase gehabt, wo ich dann auch mal, ähm, sag ich jetzt mal, ein Hindernis hatte vor mir, dass ich die Schule nicht so, nicht die Schule so nicht, nicht so gelaufen ist, wie ich mir das vorgestellt hab, des-, deswegen wiederhole ich auch die elfte Klasse, weil ich da einige Probleme ähm, persönliche Probleme im Freundeskreis, Familienkreis, deswegen hab ich die Schule halt noch mal wiederholt, aber bis jetzt äh, hab ich die Schule ganz gut erlebt, bin auch ganz gut durchgekommen,

statement that he experienced school as a good. The reasons why he experienced school as good will be analyzed further, because in many cases, repeating a class is often associated with a 'bad' experience or failure in the school career. Firat states a few lines later that he has had positive experiences with teachers, which most likely led to the statement that he experienced school as good.

> **Interviewer:** *"Have you experienced situations where teachers treated you very well?"*
> **Firat:** *"So, I've experienced situations where teachers treated me quite well, especially at the Realschule. Here I also had very nice situations. I also have very often, I also hear from teachers that the trust from the teachers to me is different than the trust from the teachers to other students. Um, I also had, up to now, always no problems with teachers; they treated me very well."*[175] *(F. line 36)*

The statements show that Firat felt well treated and special from the teachers, and says that they trusted him more than the other students. Firat also says that he has never had problems with the teachers. It is assumable that Firat felt comfortable and privileged around the teachers and had a good relationship with them. Those opinions and statements show that teachers have a major influence on the feelings of the youth. The 'only' positive statements on school are regarding the teachers, thus it is most likely that Firat has this positive image of school because of the teachers that treated him well. Firat also experienced negative aspects at school as well and mentioned them after he finished his positive impressions. He says:

> *"Yeah, um, different situations, I was badly treated once. But that is my, um, I have to blame myself for this. Also at the school, at the very beginning when I was in the fifth, sixth grade and could not yet speak German well. Just like I know it, like every other foreigner, um, I did so too. Yeah, I am strong, I am this and that, I have something that others don't have, and I also really started fights in the fifth and sixth grade. And because of*

---

[175] Interviewer: Hast du schon Situationen erlebt, äh, wo Lehrer dich besonders gut behandelt haben? Firat: Also ich hab Situationen erlebt, wo Lehrer mich ganz gut behandelt haben, vor allem auf der Realschule [nennt den Stadtteil]. Hier habe ich auch äh, sehr schöne Situationen gehabt, äh, ich hab auch immer öfters, äh, höre ich auch von Lehrern, äh, dass das Vertrauen von den Lehrern äh, zu mir anders ist, als das Vertrauen von Lehrern zu andern Schülern. Ähm, ich hab auch bis jetzt auch immer, keine Probleme gehabt mir Lehrern, die haben mich sehr gut behandelt,

those brawls, I was respected, I mean respect from the teachers was gone."[176] *(F. line 55)*

His rather negative memory and negative aspect in the context of school is associated with his fights and the respect from the teachers that he lost. Firat lost the teachers' trust but does not blame the teachers, and he had fights with school mates but does not blame them for those negative aspects, and claims that it was his fault. He says that he was treated badly once and gives himself the blame for it. Firat's statement shows some insightfulness and penitence, and there is a strong indication that Firat regrets the fights and thinks that he lost the teachers' respect because of the fights. He regrets the fights, but ultimately he regrets even more the fact that he lost the teachers' respect.

Reflecting on the positive and negative aspects of school showed that Firat seemed to be 'happy' when the teachers trusted him and seemed to be 'unhappy' when he lost the teachers' trust and respect. Thus, to some degree, there is an indication that he strives for respect from the teachers as well as a good student-teacher relationship, and he shows some dependency on how the teachers see him and treat him.

After stating those negative aspects of school and his regrets, he stated that he also learned from those "mistakes" and is not only bemoaning the past. He says:

"I have learned from this mistake, and since then I have not once touched a student in school. Really. Be it at a fight, be it something else, or some insult. I have learned from those mistakes. And for me the most important thing at school is that I apply my knowledge and that I take something home from school and not only come here to school to start fights, or so to speak, beat up someone and finish him or bully him. No, I am here to learn, to make something of it, to have a future later and not because of some fights or to diss other people or something."[177] *(F. line 69)*

---

176 ja, ähm, andere Situationen, schlecht behandelt wurde ich einmal, aber das ist mir dann, ähm, muss ich mir selber die Schuld dafür geben, auch auf der Schule, ganz am Anfang, als ich die fünfte, sechste besucht habe, und nicht noch gut Deutsch konnte, so wie ich das kenne, so wie jeder andere Ausländer auch, ähm, hab ich so getan, ja, ich bin stark, ich bin dies, ich bin das, ich hab das, was andere nicht haben und hab, hab wirklich auch mal Schlägereien angefangen, in der fünften, sechsten Klasse und aufgrund dieser Schlägerei wurde ich halt auch vor den, der Res-, Respekt von den Lehrern mir gegenüber war weg,

177 aus diesem Fehler hab ich halt gelernt und seit dem hab ich auch wirklich kein einzigen Schüler an der Schule angefasst, sei es Schlägerei, sei es sonst was, irgendwie beleidigt,

Firat's learning process is visible from the statement. He made a mistake, regrets it, and then learns from it so that he doesn't repeat the same mistake again. It seems that Firat has changed his behavior and has stopped using violence or insulting people. He clearly states what he has learned and that he wants to focus on learning, and also sees that school is important for his future. Those negative incidents changed Firat's focus, which now involves concentrating on learning and applying his knowledge in daily life. He also avoids fights, insulting other people and bullying. Put simply, Firat focuses on learning and avoids problems, which are the right preconditions for becoming better at school and reaching a 'higher' school type. This focus, attitude and style of school life were not always practiced by Firat. He used to be different and the change came when he made a mistake and learned from it. Thus, he has the skill to be reflective and insightful, which contributed to his 'inner' change. Firat did not have the ideal circumstances when starting school, but he still managed to attend a 'higher' school type, which might also be due to the change in Firat himself.

11.1.2 Firat's voice on violence

Firat has very few experiences with violence and some of them were already introduced in the previous chapter, but they will now be used again with a focus on violence. The statements are:

> *"Yeah, um, different situations... I was badly treated once. But that is my, um, I have to blame myself for this. Also at the school, at the very beginning when I was in the fifth, sixth grade and could not yet speak German well. Just like I know it, like every other foreigner, um, I did so too. Yeah, I am strong, I am this and that, I have something that others don't have, and I also really started fights in the fifth and sixth grade. And because of those fights, I was in front of the res-. Respect from the teachers was gone."* [178] *(F. line 55)*

ähm, aus diesen Fehlern hab ich gelernt und für mich war auch das O und A durch die Schule, dass ich auch meine Kenntnisse in der Schule einsetze und das ich auch was von der Schule mit nach Hause nehme und nicht nur einfach hier reinkomme in die Schule, Schlägereien anfange, denen, sag ich mal, auf's Maul haue oder jemand anderen halt fertig mache und mobbe, sondern, nein, ich bin hier, um etwas zu lernen, um später was daraus zu machen, um später auch eine Zukunft zu haben, und nicht äh, wegen irgendwelchen Schlägereien oder andere Leute zu ärgern oder sonst was.

178 ja, ähm, andere Situationen, schlecht behandelt wurde ich einmal, aber das ist mir dann, ähm, muss ich mir selber die Schuld dafür geben, auch auf der Schule, ganz am Anfang, als

"I have learned from this mistake, and since then I have not once touched a student in school. Really. Be it at a fight, be it something else, or some insult. I have learned from those mistakes. And for me the most important thing at school is that I apply my knowledge and that I take something home from school and not only come here to school to start fights, or so to speak, beat up someone and finish him or bully him. No, I am here to learn, to make something of it, to have a future later and not because of some fights or to diss other people or something."[179] *(F. line 69)*

In short, the reason why Firat has few experiences with violence is because he chose to stop being violent. As mentioned earlier, he regrets having been violent, he takes responsibility for his own actions, he has learned from his mistakes, and he is determined to never use violence again. Firat associates being violent with losing respect from the teachers. But there is also an indication that he makes some connections between 'foreigners' and people who start fights, because he thinks that 'foreigners' are show offs, competitive and easy to provoke. He says that he was violent at the beginning, when he just moved to Germany, and was like "every other foreigner" and did the same things they do. Those statements could be interpreted in a way that Firat simply behaved like every other foreigner, which is to be violent. Another statement supports those assumptions. He says:

Interviewer: *"When you said in the sixth class you had a fight…"*

Firat: *"Um, that was at the very beginning. As I said, that was um 2002, I was just 2 years in Germany. I was not really settled yet in Germany (…) Peer group pressure was one point, was one aspect where I was also forced from the group, from the other people. Yeah he has, we foreigners*

---

ich die fünfte, sechste besucht habe, und nicht noch gut Deutsch konnte, so wie ich das kenne, so wie jeder andere Ausländer auch, ähm, hab ich so getan, ja, ich bin stark, ich bin dies, ich bin das, ich hab das, was andere nicht haben und hab, hab wirklich auch mal Schlägereien angefangen, in der fünften, sechsten Klasse und aufgrund dieser Schlägerei wurde ich halt auch vor den, der Res-, Respekt von den Lehrern mir gegenüber war weg,

179 aus diesem Fehler hab ich halt gelernt und seit dem hab ich auch wirklich kein einzigen Schüler an der Schule angefasst, sei es Schlägerei, sei es sonst was, irgendwie beleidigt, ähm, aus diesen Fehlern hab ich gelernt und für mich war auch das O und A durch die Schule, dass ich auch meine Kenntnisse in der Schule einsetze und das ich auch was von der Schule mit nach Hause nehme und nicht nur einfach hier reinkomme in die Schule, Schlägereien anfange, denen, sag ich mal, auf's Maul haue oder jemand anderen halt fertig mache und mobbe, sondern, nein, ich bin hier, um etwas zu lernen, um später was daraus zu machen, um später auch eine Zukunft zu haben, und nicht äh, wegen irgendwelchen Schlägereien oder andere Leute zu ärgern oder sonst was.

are just, I would say our blood is warm. I would say, yeah, when some-
body comes and insults your mother, then they lose it immediately. And at
the very beginning I was also this way, um, I lost it too. I have almost nev-
er accepted that my mother was insulted, or they insulted me, no matter
what reasons they had. And because of those things, I started the conflicts,
the fights, which I still to this day regret."[180] *(F. line 105)*

Those statements reinforce the assumption that Firat associates the violent
behavior with being a foreigner. He somehow explains his violent behavior
by saying that he was not settled yet and that he had peer group pressure to be
as they are, which is to be short-tempered and not to accept any insults. Firat
can reflect on how he used to be and thinks that he was more violent but also
'more foreigner' and 'warm blooded', and acted accordingly. Those argu-
ments show that he has some stereotypes that he believes in, which is that
'foreigners' are short-tempered, lose control and become violent. In short,
they are aggressive and easy to provoke. Firat regrets his violent past and
says in a few other statements that he will not be violent again and hasn't
touched anyone or insulted anyone since then. Firat managed to end such
behavior and control his "warm blood"/short temper and aggression, and he
states a few lines later the reasons for the fights and how he managed to con-
trol himself and change his attitude and reactions.

Interviewer: *"Fighting, what do you think; where does it come from, why*
do people do this?"

Firat: *"Maybe, well, I once, as I said, I did it once, um, maybe to vent my*
pent-up aggression. Thus, it is really this aggression that you have some-
times. You have it when you, for example in school, you get a bad grade
and were, you got a bad grade and you feel unfairly treated. Then you lose

---

180 Interviewer: Wenn du eben gesagt hast, in der sechsten Klasse, da hast du dich geprügelt,…
Firat: Ähm, das war ganz am Anfang, wie gesagt, das war, ähm, 2002, da war ich halt mal
grade zwei Jahre in Deutschland, ähm, da hab ich mich auch noch nicht richtig eingelebt
hier in Deutschland (…) Gruppenzwang war äh, ein Punkt, in der Hinsicht, wo ich dann
auch von der Gruppe gezwungen worden bin, ähm, von anderen Leuten, ja der hat, ähm,
wir Ausländer sind halt eben, sag ich jetzt mal, ein bisschen blutwarm, sag ich jetzt mal, ja,
wenn jemand kommt und der sagt „Der hat deine Mutter beleidigt", dann rasten die auch
ganz schnell aus, und ganz am Anfang bin ich auch da auf, auf solche Sachen hin, ähm, bin
ich auch ausgerastet, hab das auch nie, fast nie akzeptiert, äh, dass jemand meine Mutter be-
leidigt hat oder mich selber beleidigt hat, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, und hab auch
aufgrund dessen auch diesen Streit angefangen, diese Prügelei, ähm, was ich aber auch bis
heute noch bereue.

your cool, you don't know what you are doing; you simply sit in class and you are offended, you don't even try to follow class. And when you are back home, you are of course angry, um, you vent your wrath on other people. I usually vent my aggression by going home; I lock my room, open my laptop and listen to music. Then my anger goes away after a short time; half an hour later I am more relaxed."[181] *(F. line 148)*

Those statements show what Firat thinks about fights and how they might start. He thinks that aggression and venting it on others is the reason for fights. He explains that anger triggers the attitude to disregard class, and says: "don't even try to follow class". He also says that anger makes people lose control, such that they don't know what they are doing, and that they vent their wrath on other people. Thus, he is stating the effects of aggression and anger. It is unclear if those patterns and reactions are his own examples or 'general' examples, but after stating those possible reactions, he comes back to his way of dealing with aggression and his own reactions. It seems that he developed a way of dealing with his anger in a peaceful way by listening to music. The method he uses to deal with aggression does not affect the teachers or other schoolmates, and thus does not cause any quarrels at school that would harm his school career. Even if he feels unfairly treated by the teachers, for example by receiving a bad grade, he would not confront the teacher, but rather deal with it himself. It is maybe this pattern and way of dealing with anger and aggression that influenced his current school type and school performance. The pattern that became visible is that he avoids problems, but if there is one, he deals with it himself and does not blame the teachers or schoolmates for it. In many of the stressful situations that Firat mentioned, he says that they were his fault and shows insightfulness, regrets and actions that are based on that insightfulness.

---

181 Interviewer: Sich prügeln. Was denkst du, woher kommt das? Warum macht man das? Firat: Vielleicht, also ich hab das einmal, wie gesagt, einmal gemacht äh, um vielleicht meine Wut raus zulassen, also es ist wirklich so, die Wut die in einem steckt, manchmal hat man auch, wenn man zum Beispiel in der Schule ist, man hat eine schlechte Note und wurde, man, man hat eine schlechte Note bekommen und man fühlt sich ungerecht behandelt, dann geht man auch, man weiß dann nicht, was man macht, dann ist man halt im Unterricht erst mal beleidigt, versucht gar nicht im Unterricht mitzumachen, und wenn man dann zuhause ist, ist man auch wieder natürlich wütend, äh lässt dann wiederum die Wut an andere Menschen raus ähm, ich bin meistens so, dass ich meine Wut daraus äh raus lasse, indem ich einfach nach Hause gehe, mein Zimmer abschließe, Laptop vor mir hinstelle und dann ein bisschen Musik höre, dann ist meine Wut auch weg, nach kurzer Zeit, halbe Stunde bin ich dann auch entspannter,

11.1.3   Firat's voice on migration background

This chapter will focus on how his migration background influenced his school life, school career and school type. The previous chapters already handled some of the aspects on migration background and how it influenced his life. It became evident that Firat has some knowledge of the existing stereotypes about 'foreigners', for example, that they are "warm blooded", easy to provoke and involved in violence. He said that he used to be like "every other foreigner", which is to say: 'I am strong, I am this and that, I have what others don't have and start fights'. In other words, he thinks that youth with migration background have a strong sense of competitiveness, the need to show off, the desire to gain prestige and a sense of superiority by having things that others don't have. The question is why those stereotypes stopped influencing him negatively, and what change in attitude and (re)actions made him resilient. As mentioned in chapter two, stereotypes can have the effect of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' even if they are not believed. Firat does know the various stereotypes but is not negatively influenced by them. A concrete example is that he 'thinks' foreigners are 'violent' but he himself is not violent (anymore). A reasonable explanation can be seen in the following statement:

> *"Even if someone came and stood in front of me and said: 'Your mother is this and that', it would not interest me because everyone can think whatever they want. The important thing is really that you yourself are convinced that your mother is not this or that. What others think is nowadays not so important, but it is very important for me that I follow the rules, the laws and everything. It is important that I follow those (rules) and not what other people say, because when I follow people, then I would probably, every other person I would fight with. But it does not work like that and should not work like that. Therefore, it is not important what other people think."*[182] *(F. line 121)*

---

[182] auch wenn jemand kommt und vor mir steht, vor mir hinstellen würde und würde sagen „Ja, deine Mutter ist dies und das", das würde mich gar nicht interessieren, weil jeder kann das denken, was er möchte, und wichtig ist auch wirklich, dass man selber von sich überzeugt ist, dass meine Mutter nicht so ist oder das ich nicht so bin. Was andere so denken, dass ist mir heutzutage gar nicht so wichtig, sondern mir ist auch wirklich wichtig, dass ich mich hier an die Regel halte, was für Regeln hier sind, Gesetze alles Mögliche. Das ist mir wichtig, dass ich mich daran halte und nicht was die Leute sagen, weil wenn ich nach den Leuten gehe, dann würde ich vielleicht jeden zweiten, mich mit jedem zweiten prügeln

One explanation for his resilience to stereotypes could be his attitude that the opinions of 'others' are rather unimportant, and thus he is not influenced by those opinions and instead remains convinced of his own opinions. Furthermore, he mentions following the rules and laws and uses them as a kind of 'guideline' that he follows instead of using the opinions of others as guidelines, thus those opinions do not sway him. Firat does not directly deny or ignore the opinions of others or rebel against them, but simply states that the 'others' are free to think what they want. He is also free to think what he wants and can live with his convictions. He somehow learned to distance himself from the opinions/stereotypes of 'others' and does not take them too personally or let them get to him. This understanding of the opinions and stereotypes of others might be one reason why Firat is not influenced much by stereotypes.

Another interesting process that could be read from the interview is that he says that he used to be like "every other foreigner", that he used to act like them and used to cause problems at school, but now regrets it and has changed. Those 'used to be' statements imply that he is not like "every other foreigner" anymore, does not act like them anymore and does not cause problems at school anymore. Therefore, another possible reason why he is not influenced by the stereotypes could be that he 'distanced' himself from the social group that is the object of the stereotype. In other words, Firat is not affected by stereotypes regarding migrant youth because he thinks that he is not like "every other foreigner" and not a migrant youth anymore. The whole interview shows the process of how he changed his perception and his quest for identity. He says:

> *"Um, that was at the very beginning. As I said, that was um 2002, I was just 2 years in Germany. I was not really settled yet in Germany. I did not know what to do with all those laws."*[183] *(F. line 106)*

Firat states the situation when he was rather new in Germany and his thoughts and perceptions at that time. Firat expresses his confusion over how to act in a new country and it is evident that he feels foreign in Germany. Those statements depict his past circumstances, but this 'past' situation

---

müssen, wenn es danach gehen würde, aber ähm, danach geht es ja nicht und danach soll es nicht gehen und deswegen ist es für mich auch nicht wichtig, was die Leute darüber denken.

183 Ähm, das war ganz am Anfang, wie gesagt, das war, ähm, 2002, da war ich halt mal grade zwei Jahre in Deutschland, ähm, da hab ich mich auch noch nicht richtig eingelebt hier in Deutschland, ähm, ich wusste nicht, was ich mit den ganzen Gesetzen anfangen sollte,

changed, and Firat became a person that is more confident and can identify with Germany. He says:

> *"For me, Germany is my home country and I feel like a German because I live here. Because I came here as a foreigner, that's true, but, um, I will stay a German with migration background, whether I want it or not, that is normal. I was not born here but I feel like a German, I feel like a native German. I say it now: Germany will stay my home country."*[184] *(F. line 99)*

Firat sees himself as German, feels German and identifies himself as German now and not like a foreigner. And because he now identifies himself as German, he does not feel addressed by stereotypes. He distanced himself from the social group migrant youth and even talks about them as 'others', and positions himself outside the group. Therefore, Firat's migration background didn't influence his school life much because he was resistant to the stereotypes and could distance himself from those stereotypes. Those strategies might have contributed to the current 'higher' school type.

In addition to distancing himself from the group 'foreigner' and the corresponding stereotypes, he makes statements that suggest that he thinks that 'becoming German' and behaving like a German leads to fewer problems with the teachers. He says:

> *"Um, I also had, up to now, always no problems with teachers. They treated me very well because of my, that I was a foreigner, and because I've gotten used to living like a German. As such, I don't see myself as a foreigner, but I see myself as a German."*[185] *(F. line 42)*

Firat says that he was a foreigner and settled in/integrated like a German and sees it as a factor or reason why he did not have any problems later on with the teachers. He strives to 'become German', which probably also contribut-

---

184 für mich gilt Deutschland als meine Heimat, und ich fühle mich auch als Deutscher, weil ich hier lebe, weil ich auch als Ausländer hier hergekommen, das stimmt zwar, ähm, ich bleib Deutscher mit Migrationshintergrund, ob ich das möchte oder nicht, das ist normal so, ich bin hier nicht geboren, aber ich fühl mich als Deutscher, ich fühl mich äh, als heimatlicher Deutscher, sag ich jetzt mal, Deutschland bleibt meine Heimat,

185 Ähm, ich hab auch bis jetzt auch immer, keine Probleme gehabt mir Lehrern, die haben mich sehr gut behandelt, aufgrund meiner, das ich ein Ausländer war, und aufgrund, dass ich mich auch hier einlebe, wie ein Deutscher, also so dass ich mich nicht als Ausländer sehe, sondern ich sehe mich eher als Deutscher,

ed to fewer problems with teachers, and contributed to a good student-teacher relationship, to good grades and to his current school type.

According to those statements, Firat wanted to 'become German' and wanted a change in his perception of identity. One aspect that helped him feel like a German might be his experiences in Germany and how he was treated, accepted and welcomed. There is one statement that could have contributed to this change of perception. He says:

> *"Because I've also settled in here in Germany, thus, I don't see myself as a foreigner, but I see myself rather as a German. I say now, 'I am at this school, they respect me the way I am, they respect me with my attitude, regardless of whether I am German or not.'"*[186] *(F. line 44)*

Firat repeatedly says that he feels German, sees himself as German, and the statement shows that he was not neglected, rejected or segregated, and was respected the way he is. He was treated well at school and had very few negative experiences due to his migration background, which probably made it easier to identify with being German and 'change his identity'. Therefore, Firat most likely did not experience much discrimination at school, and his migration background did not affect his school life in the form of discrimination. However, the statement above says that he was also respected and accepted, just as he is, and 'just as he is' probably means he was respected also as an Iraqi. At the end of the interview, Firat mentions:

> *"Um, I see myself, as I said, to some degree I see myself now and then as an Iraqi. When someone says, I say, you see me, I have black hair, I am built a bit different than a German. Then you are asked: 'Where are you from?' Then I do say that I am an Iraqi. But overall, for me personally, because if I said I am a German nobody would believe me. Instead they would know that I am not a German, but a German with a migration background. But there are also situations where I say I am an Iraqi, but overall I can say I feel like a German."*[187] *(F. line 674)*

---

186 aufgrund, dass ich mich auch hier einlebe, wie ein Deutscher, also so dass ich mich nicht als Ausländer sehe, sondern ich sehe mich eher als Deutscher, ich sag jetzt „Ich bin hier auf der Schule, die respektieren mich auch so wie ich bin, die respektieren mich auch mit meiner Einstellung, ob ich jetzt als Ausländer bin oder nicht"

187 Also, ähm, ich sehe mich, wie gesagt, teils sehe ich mich auch immer wiederrum als Iraker, wenn einer sagt, ich sag ja, man sieht mich, ich hab schwarze Haare, ich bin ein bisschen anderes als ein Deutscher aufgebaut, dann fragt man dich, „Ja, woher kommst du?", dann sag ich schon, dass ich Iraker bin, aber im Großen und Ganzen für mich persönlich ähm,

Firat says that he is partly Iraqi because 'others' don't see him as German or would not believe him if he says that he is German. Thus he knows that 'others' categorize him as non-German. Furthermore, he was not discriminated against, but has feelings of not being accepted as a German and says that he is a "German with migration background". But overall he says that he feels German. There is some ambivalence regarding his perception and feeling of acceptance, but the following statement verifies that he feels accepted and respected. The interviewer asked him if he feels accepted, and he answers:

> *"There are situations where you don't feel accepted; you have that feeling that someone looks at you strangely, you are currently not accepted or respected. But there are also situations where people accept you, where you have the feeling you are accepted."*[188] *(F. line 730)*

The conclusion in this chapter is that Firat's migration background does not influence his school performance or school type very much (anymore) because he has developed strategies to avoid the effects of stereotypes, was not greatly affected by discrimination and feels predominantly respected and accepted in Germany. His 'change of identity', feelings of acceptance and teachers that respected him and treated him well are aspects that most likely led him to a successful school career.

11.1.4   Firat's voice on family and social background

Firat is aware that the family and social background have an influence on his school performance, and mentioned the effects of them:

> *"Therefore, I'm repeating the eleventh grade because I had some problems, um, personal problems within my circle of friends and within the family. Therefore, I repeated school."*[189] *(F. line 27)*

---

weil wenn ich einem sagen würde, ich bin ein Deutscher, würde mir eh keiner glauben, sondern die würden schon wissen, dass ich kein Deutscher bin, sondern vielleicht ein Deutscher mit Migrationshintergrund, ähm. Es gibt wiederrum Situationen, wo man dann sagt, ich bin ein Iraker, aber ich im Großen und Ganzen kann ich sagen, ich fühl mich als Deutscher.

188 Wie gesagt, also es gibt Situationen, da fühlt man sich nicht akzeptiert, da hat man das Gefühl ähm, da guckt dich jemand schief an, du wirst gerade nicht von den akzeptiert oder respektiert, es gibt wiederum auch Situationen, ähm wo dich Menschen akzeptieren, wo man auch wirklich das Gefühl hat, man wird akzeptiert,

189 deswegen wiederhole ich auch die elfte Klasse, weil ich da einige Probleme ähm, persönliche Probleme im Freundeskreis, Familienkreis, deswegen hab ich die Schule halt noch mal wiederholt,

He says that those problems had an influence on his school performance, but refused to tell the interviewer more about those problems because they are too personal. Thus, it is not really clear what happened in his family or social circle that distracted him from his schoolwork. The impression was that Firat tried to avoid those subjects that dealt with those problems during the whole interview. This chapter will therefore introduce the limited information that is available on his family and social background.

Firat's family is quite big; he has 5 siblings and is the oldest child in the family. He has one younger brother and four younger sisters. Firat says:

> *"The parents try everything to really treat all of us equally and to fulfill our wishes. Of course you cannot fulfill every wish, but at least some, so that the child is satisfied in the family, that the life of this child in the family is happy. I am very happy with my family. The relationship with my parents is also very good and to the other children too."*[190] *(F. line 204)*

It seems that Firat's family is harmonious and that the parents care about the children. There was no statement about how the parents support the children in terms of school work, but his younger brother goes to a "Fachgymnasium"[191], his younger sisters go to a Realschule, and the youngest is in the elementary school, which indicates that the parents are 'successful' in parenting and most likely support the children in their school career.

The financial situation of the family is most likely stable. They own a house, the father is self-employed in the retail industry and his mother works, thus indicating that they have income. How and if the parents financially support Firat was not mentioned, but he and his brother work as pizza delivery boys. Firat says:

---

190 versuchen die auch vieles, um ähm, wirklich alle gleich zu berechtigen, auch wirklich alle Wünsche zu erfüllen. Natürlich kann man nicht alle Wünsche erfüllen, aber einige wenigstens schon, dass das Kind an sich zufrieden ist in der Familie, dass das Leben des Kindes auch in der Familie zufrieden ist, ich persönlich bin mit meiner Familie sehr, sehr zufrieden. Das Verhältnis von, von mir zu meinen Eltern ist auch sehr gut, zu den anderen Kindern auch.

191 Fachgymnasium is a 'higher' school type where an Abitur degree can be obtained, and with this degree the student can go on to university.

"In the family, the point is that the children learn from a young age to work, to be independent so that they can stand on their own two feet."[192] *(F. line 221)*

Thus, they say that they are not only working because they need the money, but that work has an educational purpose as well. However, he says that he started working when he was 11 years old to earn his own pocket money. He spends the money he earns on clothes, shoes and school supplies, and whatever is left over is given to the father or family. Those facts rather indicate the necessity to work and earn money and contradict with a financially secure family. Thus, some of the statements regarding the financial situation are ambivalent. Firat's own voice on the financial situation is:

"I cannot say that we are super rich, I also cannot say that we have nothing to eat or something. Um, it is standard, a standard family. I would say that we can get by on a budget, so not starving, but also not shopping excessively (...) You can say, I can personally say that I am happy about how we are living with the financial situation. That which I would like to have I just buy, of course I have to look that I don't overdo it."[193] *(F. line 384)*

There are some statements that contradict each other, but Firat's final statement is that he is happy with the current financial situation, and it seems that he has enough time to study. Firat also mentions how he spends his free time. He says:

"Thus, I don't have much time for recreational time, because I also spend lots of time with school to learn."[194] *(F. line 425)*

The family situation seems very supportive and stable, so that he can concentrate on his studies and school, which is probably one reason for his good

---

192 in der Familie geht's auch ähm, darum, ähm, das man auch von klein an, ähm, anfängt zu lernen, zu arbeiten, selbstständig zu werden, und später für die Zukunft auf ähm, eigene Beine zu stehen.

193 ich kann nicht sagen, dass wir super reich sind, ich kann auch nicht sagen, dass wir nichts haben zu essen oder sonst was, ähm, es ist natürlich Standard ähm, ne Standardfamilie sag ich jetzt mal, die mit ihren ähm, Geldbuget sag ich jetzt mal, hinkommt, also nicht verhungern und auch nicht übertrieben was kaufen (…) man kann sagen, ähm, ich persönlich kann mich damit zufrieden geben, wie wir jetzt finanziell jetzt leben ist ganz okay, das was ich haben möchte, kaufe ich auch, ich muss natürlich, natürlich gucken, dass ich nicht übertreibe

194 Also so viel Zeit von meiner Freizeit habe ich nicht, weil ich auch viel ähm, mhm, sehr viel Zeit mit der Schule verbringe, um zu lernen.

school performance and school type. Another reason why he can concentrate on school is that Firat also plans and limits the time spent on his free time activities. He says:

> *"I spend much time with my family, with my siblings, and also much time with friends of course. When I am not out with them or undertaking something, then we phone very much. When, for example, I have to study or so, then it can be that I phone for half an hour with a friend in-between."*[195] *(F. line 447)*

Firat is also active in his religious community and township community and says that he is busy organizing for the community. Thus, he has many contacts in society and has a life that is pretty busy.

In summary, his family and social situation is quite stable and provides a solid foundation for concentrating on school. Those situations probably contributed to Firat's good school performance and current school type. However, Firat avoided explaining in detail the problems within his family and circle of friends that led to repeating two school years, claiming it is very personal. Thus, there was not much interview material that could be analyzed regarding those problematic subjects that could explain the reasons for the troubles.

The topic of masculinity and how Firat's concept of it influenced his school life should have been thoroughly introduced in the following chapter, but there was barely enough dialogue material that dealt with those subjects and related to school life, thus this chapter will be abbreviated. There was one interesting statement, however, that showed Firat's attitude that influenced school, which is:

> "*Also at the school, at the very beginning when I was in the fifth, sixth grade, and could not yet speak German well. Just like I know it, like every other foreigner, ah I did so too. Yeah, I am strong, I am this and that, I*

---

195 Also, ich verbringe, ja, sehr viel oft mit meiner Familie, mit meinen Geschwistern auch viel Zeit und äh mit Freunden natürlich auch viel Zeit, ähm, Freunde, wenn ich dann mit denen grade unterwegs bin oder was unternehme, dann telefonieren wir auch sehr viel, wenn ich nebenbei zum Beispiel jetzt lernen muss oder so, dann kann es sein, dass ich zwischendurch mal eine halbe Stunde mit einem Freund telefoniere,

have what others don't have and I also really started fights in the fifth and sixth grade."[196] *(F. line 56)*

This statement talks about the 'past', how he used to be. There are a few statements that show his rather modern view of masculinity, such as being tolerant of homosexuality or believing in gender equality, but they were not closely related to school life, thus the decision was made to omit it.

11.1.5   Conclusion on Firat's voice

Firat is the first migrant youth to be analyzed who has a 'higher' educational level, and the overall impression from the interview is that Firat was very talkative and had many things to state. His answers to some questions were very long and included many different aspects.

Firat has an unusual school career since he repeated two school years, but still he managed to go to a 'higher' school type, and the reasons for this unusual school career were analyzed. There are many aspects that contributed to his educational 'success', and one is that he encountered teachers that treated him well and trusted him. Another possible reason is that he has learned and benefited from his negative experiences in the past, rather than remain negatively influenced by them. Firat used to be violent; he at one point lost his teachers' trust and caused problems in school, but he regretted those incidents so much that he managed to change himself. By analyzing the interview, his life, reactions and attitudes became apparent and it seems that these negative experiences made him reflect on his own actions, causing him to regret them and learn from them, and eventually he revealed the capacity to change his behavior. Firat is very insightful and does not moan about the past too much, but instead puts the insights from his experiences into action. Another impression from the interview is that Firat tries to 'become' German and thinks that becoming a German will benefit him. There is an indication that he tries to identify with the 'Germans', and because he thinks that he is German, he is not influenced very much by the stereotypes aimed at migrant youth. Another behavior that Firat developed in response to stereotypes is that he follows rules and laws instead of things that 'others' say.

---

196 auch auf der Schule, ganz am Anfang, als ich die fünfte, sechste besucht habe, und noch nicht gut Deutsch konnte, so wie ich das kenne, so wie jeder andere Ausländer auch, ähm, hab ich so getan, ja, ich bin stark, ich bin dies, ich bin das, ich hab das, was andere nicht haben und hab, hab wirklich auch mal Schlägereien angefangen, in der fünften, sechsten Klasse.

Those possible reasons for his good school performance and current school type are factors that are concerned with Firat himself and his attitudes and thoughts. Therefore, it is the change within Firat himself that contributed to the current school type and changed his school performance. In other words, the 'inner' changes probably played a major role in his school life, which can be a great encouragement to other migrant youth since those personal aspects, attitudes and reactions can be learned and practiced, even if the circumstances of other youth are different. Nevertheless, it was not only Firat's attitudinal change that aided him but also the circumstances 'around him' that played a role and were 'in his favor'. For example, the understanding teachers, his limited experience with violence and discrimination, a supportive family and a solid social network all had a positive influence on his school career. Thus, the conclusion is that all those factors contributed and probably lead him to the 'higher' school type.

11.2   Interview with Gerek

The sixth and last interviewee is Gerek, who was born in Poland and came to Germany just before he entered kindergarten, which is when he was probably 4 or 5 years old. Gerek's current age at the time of the interview is not certain, since he did not explicitly mentioned his age and only talked about people that are his age, and said that they were 18 or 19 years old, which means that Gerek was most likely the same age at the time of the interview. Gerek has one brother with whom he shares his room and whose age was not mentioned. The occupation of his father and mother was also not mentioned, and in general the topic of family was only briefly discussed. The conversation mainly dealt with the topic migration background. His school career is partly known; he went to a Catholic kindergarten, a Catholic elementary school and a Catholic Hauptschule. Gerek managed to obtain a Realschule degree at the Hauptschule and is currently going to a technical college to obtain a degree equivalent to Abitur, thus he is categorized as the 'higher' school type.

11.2.1   Gerek's voice on school

Gerek was born in Poland, but his entire educational career, from kindergarten to college, was spent in Germany. The unique part of his educational career is that he went to a Catholic school from kindergarten to Hauptschule, indicating that he or his parents are Catholic. In chapter 2, an example was mentioned that a religiously based school surrounded by a community based

on the religious organization has more social relationships with other parents and their families. The results in that research showed that dropout rates of a Catholic-based school are one-fourth that of a public school and one-third that of other private schools (Coleman 1988: 114). This example showed that the social capital that is valuable for the educational development of youth does not reside solely within the family. A community consisting of social relationships among parents and relationships with the institutions of the community is helpful as well. Coleman showed that if the parents have some kind of relationship with the other parents, the dropout rate decreases (Coleman: 1988). Thus, the fact that Gerek went to Catholic schools might theoretically have a relationship to his current school type. Unfortunately, Gerek did not talk about his parents' social activities with other parents, and it is unsure if the Catholic school had the effects that are mentioned above. Therefore, although the theory cannot be verified, it should still be considered as one possible reason for the current school type.

The educational career of Gerek showed that he visited a 'lower' school type (Hauptschule) at the beginning and finished with a Realschule degree[197]. Gerek must have had good grades at Hauptschule since he moved up and good grades are a prerequisite to do so. Nevertheless, he shows some feelings of inferiority.

> **Interviewer:** *"What do you mean by 'bottom drawer'?"*
> **Gerek:** *"Yeah, that I was not really successful at school earlier, I would say. I was also at a Catholic elementary school and then at a Hauptschule. It was also Catholic. But I made it difficult because I said: 'Yeah, Hauptschule, that is almost at the very bottom', right? I thought to myself, now that I was also older, I thought that it is useless."*[198] *(G. line 144)*

The statement shows that being at a Hauptschule had a great effect on Gerek's self-confidence. He even said that it is useless and shows feelings of hopelessness, and probably thought that putting an effort into studying does

---

197 A Realschule degree is attainable at some Hauptschule schools if the average grade is better than 2.0.

198 Interviewer: Was meinst du mit unterste Schublade? Gerek: Ja, dass ich früher in der Schule nicht so besonders erfolgreich war, sag ich jetzt mal. Ich war auch katholische Grundschule und dann auch auf einer Hauptschule. Die war auch katholisch. Aber ich hab halt mir ein bisschen schwierig gemacht, weil ich habe gesagt: Ja, Hauptschule, das ist fast ganz unten, ne?! Hab ich mir gedacht, das, jetzt wo ich auch dann älter war, hab ich mir gedacht, das bringt ja nichts.

not have any meaning. Such an attitude usually does not favor a successful school career, and he probably wouldn't have managed to obtain a Realschule degree with this "it is useless" attitude. But Gerek continues, without a pause:

> "*I thought that it is useless. And then I simply realized, here is something that is still doable. Not everything is lost yet. It is a Hauptschule, my god, then I can still do a Realschule degree. And then I did manage it, and it was one of the most beautiful moments.*"[199] *(G. line 149)*

The two statements are consecutive, but were intentionally broken into two parts to show the difference in perception and emphasize the change that Gerek went through. In the first sentence, Gerek was rather 'hopeless' and had feelings of inferiority, seeing himself at the bottom. It is very interesting that he says: *"I made it difficult",* indicating that he thinks it was not the school or teachers or other circumstances that made it difficult, but he himself. How Gerek thought about, acknowledged and realized his own situation is probably what made it difficult. The second sentence shows some realization or 'hope' for improvement and determination to do something. It is different from the first sentence, meaning that there has been a change, which is most likely a change of perspective. The change of perspective went from "*I thought that it is useless*" to "*here is still something doable. Not everything is lost*". Gerek thought that it is useless, which made it difficult. But he changed and realized that something is doable, and the result is an emotion of fulfillment and joy to have achieved his goal.

Gerek managed to obtain a Realschule degree and was at the time of the interview going to a technical college to obtain his 'Fachabitur'.[200] The Interviewer asked him how he came to this technical college, and he answers:

> "*Um, it was quite spontaneous; I heard from a friend that there is still an opening available. And then I discussed it with my mother and said: "Yeah, if it works out, then I want to go there to this school. And then we*

---

199 hab ich mir gedacht, das bringt ja nichts. Und dann hab ich einfach gemerkt, hier ist noch was zu reißen. Hier ist noch nicht alles verloren. Es ist Hauptschule, mein Gott, dann kann ich ja noch einen Realschulabschluss schaffen. Und dann hab ich das auch gepackt und das war dann wohl einer meiner schönsten Momente.

200 Fachabitur is a degree allowing the student to go to a University in a specific field. In Gereks case it would allow him to study in at a technical University or faculty related to technic.

went together to Mr. ... (name of the teacher) who helped us, and shortly thereafter I enrolled."[201] *(G. line 11)*

The statement shows that he discussed the choice of school with his mother, indicating that the mother is involved in the school life of Gerek and is most likely concerned about his school career. Gerek applied to the school spontaneously and probably last minute since there was only one opening left. However, he still exerted himself to get into the college, and visited the teachers with his mother instead of thinking that it is useless because there was only one opening. Those efforts show that he was motivated to go to college and obtain a degree. Furthermore, he is quite clear about his future perspective and goals. The interviewer asked him what he wants to do, and Gerek says:

"Um, yeah. The best would be an engineer, a degreed engineer. Yeah, and ideally to do with, because I am very interested in football, ideally something to do with building stadiums. Something like that. Must not necessarily be related to football, but in general with sports would be really good."[202] *(G. line 22)*

Gerek did not mention when he first had the goal of becoming an engineer, thus it is unclear whether he entered college first and during his study made the decision or vice versa. However, the statement shows that Gerek knows what he wants to become in the future, and puts his vision into action by going to a technical college with a focus on building/construction technology. Thus, Gerek has a concrete goal and is motivated to study, and is not 'hopeless' or think that it is useless. On the contrary, Gerek most likely thinks that his plan is doable. Those are the characteristics and attitude that Gerek acquired during his time at the Hauptschule, and they are still identifiable to some degree. Those characteristics and attitude seem to have influenced him at the Hauptschule and seem to benefit him at college as well. Thus, the good

---

201 Ähm, das kam ziemlich spontan. Ich hab nur durch einen Freund erfahren, dass hier noch ein Platz wäre. Und dann hab ich mich mit meiner Mutter auseinander gesetzt und habe gesagt: Ja, wenn es klappen würde, dann möchte ich gerne hier rauf kommen, auf diese Schule. Und dann sind wir gemeinsam zu diesem einen Lehrer hingegangen und dann zu Herrn [Lehrer], der uns dann weitergeholfen hat und nach kurzer Zeit hatte ich dann einfach auch dann den Platz hier bekommen.

202 Ähm, ja. Am besten wäre Ingenieur. Diplomingenieur. Ja und am besten mit dem, weil ich mich sehr für auch mit Fußball interessiere, dann am besten auch was mit Stadionbau. Sowas. Muss jetzt auch nicht unbedingt was mit Fußball zu tun haben, aber allgemein für Sport wäre ziemlich gut.

school performance and current school type is partly due to Gerek's attitude and motivation. Another factor is a supportive mother; for example, as we saw when Gerek applied to the technical college.

11.2.2   Gerek's voice on family and social background

The previous chapter showed that Gerek's mother supported him while applying to the technical college. This shows that social capital (the care, concerns and discussions about the school) within the family exists and contributes to good school performance as well (see chapter 2). Gerek seems to have a good relationship with his mother and father, and says:

"With my parents, I get along well."[203] *(G. line 156)*

Gerek gets along well with his parents, but there are also stressful situations and quarrels between them, which he mentions. The interviewer asked:

Interviewer: *"You said: 'I respect my father and mother, but when we quarrel, not.'"*
Gerek: *"It depends on the quarrel. When it is about small matters, like the car, whether I can borrow it to go to football training, then he (father) is a bit grumpy, and then we make a compromise that he can drive me there, and everything is ok. But if it is about school, yeah, then I try to keep cool, but then he says a few things below the belt and yeah, shortly thereafter there is a quarrel. But then the next day everything is back to normal anyway."*[204] *(G. line 134)*

Gerek has quarrels with his father, but he is willing to compromise. And when there is a 'bigger' fight between them, where the father 'hurts' Gerek and makes him angry, the relationship is stable enough that on the next day everything is back to normal. The quotations present everyday interactions and show that they have quarrels, and that his father can be provocative and take 'low shots' in a quarrel, which hurts Gerek. However, those comments

---

203 Mit meinen Eltern komm ich klar.
204 Interviewer: Du hast gesagt: Vater und Mutter ehren, aber wenn wir uns streiten, nicht. Gerek: Das kommt drauf an auf welchen Streit. Wenn das jetzt um so Kleinigkeiten geht, wie ums Auto, ob ich mit das eben ausleihen kann, um zum Fußballtraining zu fahren, dann ist er ein bisschen stinkig und dann geh ich auch ein Kompromiss mit ihm ein, dass er mich dann eben halt hinfährt. Und das ist dann alles ok. Aber wenn es dann so um Schule geht, ja dann versuch ich cool zu bleiben, aber dann holt er paar Sachen aus der untersten Schublade und dann ja, dann kommt es kurze Zeit zum Streit, aber dann am nächsten Tag ist sowieso dann alles beim Alten.

are based on the father's knowledge of Gerek. Thus, the father does not have the attitude of 'I don't care', but is familiar with Gerek's situation and knows what happens in school. Furthermore, it is clear that his father drives him to sports training and supports him in different ways. Overall, although the father has some quarrels with Gerek, he does support him and knows the situation of his son. Therefore, it is presumable that social support is available to Gerek, which is a positive factor for school success.

The financial situation of the family is unclear because there is little information on the occupations of the parents. The few statements on the financial situation is that Gerek does not receive regular pocket money, but helps in the household or helps his grandmother clean the windows and receives money for those household chores. Gerek does not work regularly or part-time outside the family, and the only income for him seems to be from doing the household chores. The interviewer asked him how the financial situation in the family is, and Gerek answers:

"Yeah, I don't know what is good or bad. So, we get by well with the money. So it is, when we go together to the city, then there are of course things that I want. But then I look at my mother and think, I cannot do this to her, saying every time I want this and that. Then I am also too greedy and that will ruin my character, I would say. Unfortunately, I cannot have everything, everything that is offered or shown. I don't have to and I don't want to, somehow."[205] *(G. line 220)*

Gerek's answer can be interpreted in different ways, and as such any further interpretation will be avoided. The conclusion, however, is that Gerek is not 'working' regularly, which means that he is not obliged to earn money for his living. Such circumstances bode well for a lifestyle that allows him to concentrate on his studies.

The situation of his social background, especially his social network and friends, is the next focus of this analysis. Gerek is very interested in football,

---

[205] Joa. Ich weiß nicht, was schlecht oder gut ist. Also wir kommen gut klar, also mit dem Geld aus. Also es ist, sag ich mal, wenn wir gemeinsam in die Stadt gehen, gibt's dann natürlich ein paar Sachen, wo ich gerne sage: Boa, das würd ich gerne haben. Aber da guck ich auf meine Mutter und denke: Ja, das kann ich ihr nicht an tun, jedes Mal zu sagen, ich möchte das und das. Dann bin ich auch viel zu habgierig und das, das zerstört meinen Charakter, sag ich mal. Ich kann leider nicht alles, alles was man mir anbietet oder vorzeigt, muss ich immer haben und ich möchte auch nicht, irgendwie.

plays regularly in a club and has much passion for it. His free time is occupied with football, and he says:

"That (football) is not only free time, it is rejuvenating. I enjoy it. I can really show what I can do. That is not like school. There I have to deliver results. In football it is such that results belong to the game. But alone the fun shows the trainer, and he knows, that you are good and can do things. That is one factor that makes football so enjoyable. I am not alone; I have to fight (compete) with the others. And when they notice that I have fun, then they have fun too, and then we can accomplish something. And that is the most important point, I think."[206] *(G. line 173)*

The compassion and joy that he has for football became apparent through his comments. Gerek spends much time playing football and has many social connections and some friends through football. His statement on having fun together or competing together and accomplishing something together shows that Gerek most likely has good relationships with the other players and indicates that he can get along well with them. The fact that Gerek is very active and involved in social relationships indicates that his life is not isolated, nor does he live in an enclave society. The interviewer asked Gerek a bit more about his friends outside the football club, and he answers:

"I used to have many friends, but after a while, I did not want anything to do with them because, as I said, they did not accept the acceptance from other people. They didn't accept them, that they look different or because they behaved differently. I also have a friend here at this school, his name is M., and he was with us a few times for barbeques and said: No, I cannot eat pork, sorry. Then we had to go extra with him to a supermarket to buy chicken. And there were some friends that gave him a strange look."[207] *(G. line 190)*

---

206 Freizeit, das ist nicht nur Freizeit, das ist Erholung, das macht mir Spaß. Ich kann einmal zeigen, was ich richtig kann. Das ist nicht so einfach wie Schule. Da muss ich einfach Leistungen bringen. Im Fußball ist das so, Leistung gehört dazu, aber allein der Spaß, der zeigt dem Trainer, dass er weiß, dass du was kannst. Und das ist wohl das eine Faktor, was mir an Fußball so Spaß macht. Ich bin nicht alleine, ich muss mit den anderen kämpfen. Und wenn die merken, ich hab Spaß, dann haben die ja auch Spaß und dann erreichen wir auch was. Und das ist wohl der wichtigste Punkt, glaube ich. Ja.

207 ich hatte sehr viele Freunde, aber nach einer Zeit wollte ich nichts mehr mit den zu tun haben, weil die hatten, ja wie gesagt, die hatten diese Akzeptanz von anderen Menschen nicht angenommen, dass sie anders aussahen oder weil sie sich anders verhalten haben. Ich habe auch einen Freund hier auf der Schule, der heißt M. und der war auch ein paar Mal mit

Gerek distanced himself from certain friends because they probably had prejudicial thoughts or were even discriminating against other people. Put another way, he distanced himself from those who had negative influences on him and might cause problems. It seems that Gerek renewed his choice of friends to some degree, which resulted in a social background with fewer problems and less potential for stress. In conclusion, his social background is rather uncomplicated and has few factors that could prevent him from learning, thus providing an important condition for good schoolwork. This condition (his social background) was also partly created by Gerek's choice of new friends and distancing himself from certain former friends. Another aspect that became apparent through these statements is that Gerek experienced segregation from his friends, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

11.2.3 Gerek's voice on migration background

This chapter explores the effects of Gerek's migration background on his life and especially on his school life and school career. The statement in the previous chapter shows that he 'witnessed' a scene where his friend M. was given a strange look because he could not eat pork and was probably to some degree discriminated. The scene also shows that Gerek was not 'directly' discriminated, but his friend and the analysis of the rest of the interview showed that he did not mention any 'direct' experience with discrimination from the 'German' society. Gerek speaks theoretically about discrimination or tells stories about the discrimination of other people, but not from his own experiences. Thus, it is presumable that he did not experience much discrimination where he was the victim. The only 'direct' experience with discrimination that he mentioned is the scene where Gerek's friend was strangely looked at and treated differently from youth with migration background. He states the process of how he realized that some people are treated differently, perceived differently or segregated, and eventually he felt discriminated. He says:

---

uns Grillen gewesen und hat gesagt: Ne, Schweinefleisch kann ich nicht essen, leider. Und dann mussten wir extra mit ihm dann nochmal in den Supermarkt und mit ihm Geflügelfleisch kaufen. Und da waren ein paar, einige Freunde, die haben auch bisschen komisch geguckt.

"Then (in the past) it was not such a problem. You had a different skin color, a different pronunciation. That's how it was. We were friends. That worked out so long, until later, till we were (in our) youth."[208] *(G. line 30)*

"Yeah, I don't know. As a child you perceived it differently, compared to when you are more experienced and older. Um, I had some friends who came from Cameroon, um Morocco; I could get along well with them at the beginning. But then, when they got older, they also talked to older people who said: yeah they look different, you have to understand, and they don't always want the best for you."[209] *(G. line 49)*

"I was just about 14, 13 when I understood he comes from Cameroon. He looks different. And that was a situation where I was confused; I no longer knew, is he a friend or a foreigner?"[210] *(G. line 60)*

Gerek states the process of how he learned and realized that people are treated differently and that he himself was treated differently and segregated. It also shows the process of a friendship that grew apart. The first citation shows that the differences did not matter and they were friends. The second citation shows that the differences did matter and that mistrust appears, and he claims that 'they' don't want the best for you. The third sentence shows that Gerek 'understood' that differences matter; there is barely any trust, he starts doubting the friendship and much confusion occurs. The process of how Gerek learned to differentiate and acquire prejudicial thoughts could be seen. Thus, Gerek experienced segregation/discrimination to some degree, but it is unique that he was 'discriminated against' by the youth with migration background and not from the receiving society or the so called 'Germans'. Gerek was probably not seen as belonging to the Cameroonian or Moroccan community, but to another, maybe to the German community. It would be interesting to further analyze the discourse of discrimination in the

---

208 Da war halt früher nicht so Problem da. Du hattest eine andere Hautfarbe, eine andere Aussprache. Das war halt, wir waren Freund. Das hat halt auch soweit funktioniert, bis halt dann später, wir Jugendliche waren.

209 Ja, ich weiß nicht. Als Kind hat man das etwas anders wahrgenommen, als wenn man etwas erfahrener, älter wurde. Ähm, ich hatte so einige Freunde, die kamen aus Kamerun, äh Marokko, mit denen kam man erst mal so ziemlich zurecht. Aber dann, wenn sie etwas älter wurden, haben die so etwas auch mehr mit Älteren gesprochen, die gesagt haben: Ja komm, die sehen anders aus, das musst du begreifen und die wollen nicht immer das Gute von dir.

210 Ich war in dem Alter gerade mal 14, 13 als ich begriffen haben, der kommt aus Kamerun, der sieht anders aus und das war dann halt so eine Situation, wo ich dann nicht mehr weiter wusste. Ist das jetzt ein Freund oder doch ein Fremder?

migrant youth community, but I will refrain from it and focus on how Gerek's migration background influenced his life and school career.

Gerek did not experience much discrimination outside school; the only influence he mentions is the friendship that broke up because of emphasizing differences and mistrust, as stated above. Gerek did not mention any incidents in the context of school where the teachers treated him differently because of his migration background. Overall, his migration background did not influence his life or school career very much. And because he was untroubled by negative influences, it most likely had little influence on his school performance and school type. There are also no statements that would suggest the influences of stereotype threat. He does not mention any concrete stereotypes that would apply to his migration background, maybe because he sees himself as person that has integrated successfully. Gerek says:

"When I turned seventeen, I slowly realized it does not matter where I come from. I don't really come from this country. But even so, I integrated myself. I also speak German."[211] (G. line 64)

A further possible explanation for the few influences as a person with migration background could be his understanding of his identity. He does not define himself according to any particular social group and is quite open-minded about the background. He says:

"I don't care if someone looks different, if someone talks differently. We all belong, we are all human beings. Not some aliens; human beings are human beings."[212] (G. line 84)

"As what do I see myself? I don't think as a foreigner. As a human being, as a human being like everyone else that just comes from somewhere else (...) A fat lot I care where I come from, from Polen, from the Netherlands. I feel like the place I am currently at (...) when I do a family vacation trip. I am not anyone else other than myself."[213] (G. line 234)

---

211 als ich siebzehn wurde hab ich das langsam begriffen. Es ist egal wo ich herkomme. Ich selber komme auch nicht aus unbedingt aus diesem Land. Aber trotzdem habe ich mich hier integriert. Ich spreche auch Deutsch.

212 Es ist, mir ist egal, ob jemand anders aussieht, ob man anders spricht. Wir gehören alle, wir sind alle ein Mensch. Nicht irgendwelche Außerirdischen. Mensch ist Mensch.

213 Als was sehe ich mich? Ich glaub nicht als Ausländer. Als Mensch, als Mensch von vielen anderen, die bloß nur von irgendwo anders her kommen. (…) Es ist scheiß egal, wo ich herkomme. Jetzt aus Polen oder aus Niederlanden komme, ich fühl mich so, wo ich grad bin. (…) Wenn ich meinen Familienurlaub mache. Da bin auch niemand anders, als ich selbst.

That understanding of his migration background influenced his perception as a youth with migration background and most likely 'protected' him from stereotypes and discrimination. His perception, a kind of self-defined identity, 'protected' him because it makes a difference whether a person feels addressed or not, and the reactions are different as well. Gerek did not identify himself as a foreigner or a German, thus he was not much affected by stereotypes. Therefore, it is also Gerek's inner attitude and understanding of his migration background that most likely contributed to the good school performance and higher school type. Nevertheless, other factors, such as his looks (not obviously foreign), attendance at a Catholic school and the fact that he did not experience much discrimination were all favorable circumstances and helped him to achieve a higher school type.

There is one interesting statement where Gerek explains his idea of integration, which reflects on his own attitude and handling of his migration background:

> *"Integration starts with the people. The government cannot really promote (it). They can do advertising campaigns: here we have great musicians, great artists who rap a nice song (and) say integration is important for us all. That's true, but I think just as I experienced it in the kindergarten from different cultures (...) there you should say the message early: you are not different, regardless of your looks, whether you do something different at home. How you treat one another is what counts. You are friends and that is the most important. Integration, I don't know, what you can do? The people are responsible for themselves."*[214] *(G. line 275)*

Gerek thinks that the people themselves are responsible for their own integration and that they should initiate it. He sees the government as a supportive institution that can help to promote integration from an early stage, but ultimately the people themselves must do something. This statement summa-

---

214 Integration fängt bei den Menschen an Also, fördern kann der Staat eher nichts. Also die können wohl ne Werbekampagne machen: Hier haben wir tolle Musiker, tolle Künstler, die uns sagen, ja, Rappen meinetwegen mal nen tollen Song. Sagen, Integration ist wichtig für uns alle. Das stimmt schon. Aber ich finde, das sollte man einfach mal, wie ich es schon erlebt habe, im Kindergarten einfach, aus verschiedenen Kulturen (…) Da sollte man einfach schon früh sagen: Ihr seid nicht verschieden. Egal wie ihr aussieht. Ob ihr, egal ob ihr zuhause etwas anderes macht. Was ihr untereinander macht, das macht euch aus. Ihr seid Freunde und das ist wohl das Wichtigste. Integration, weiß nicht. Was soll man da machen? Die Menschen sind für sich selber verantwortlich.

rizes his attitude and understanding of school life and also explains to some degree his current school type.

11.2.4 Conclusion on Gerek's voice

The most apparent and strongest possible reason for his good school performance and current school type is most likely his attitude, which is best expressed with his words: "Here is something that is still doable. Not everything is lost yet". This attitude combined with the attitude and understanding of: "The people are responsible for themselves", probably results in the thinking that he himself is responsible for school grades and school performance. In a wider sense, Gerek also showed that he acts according to the understanding that he is responsible for his own change, a change of perspective, which eventually led him to obtain a Realschule degree. It is not only his attitude, but also his tendency to put ideas into action, such as going with his mother to enroll in a technical college and focus on building technology, with the hope of one day building football stadiums. His family seems to support him and he has a good relationship with them, and his friends (social network) do not prevent him from school. Thus, his family and social background are favorable for a good school performance. The aspect of migration background and how much it influenced his school life could be defined as rather insignificant. This is also due to the fact that he does not care about 'backgrounds' and claims that human beings are human beings. He was also barely influenced by discrimination. The conclusion is that Gerek's circumstances were quite favorable, and combined with his attitude, this encouraged a rather good school type. Thus, it is the interplay of these two 'outer' circumstances and an 'inner' change, including an attitude change that made Gerek successful at school.

Gerek's interview was quite short and many aspects were either not mentioned, such as the aspect of masculinity and violence, or the content was not relevant to the research, and thus this information was not introduced.

11.3 Conclusion on the interviews with migrant youth at 'higher' school types

The two interviews with students who are attending a 'higher' school type showed that many aspects supported their situation and provided good circumstances to perform well at school. In addition to those circumstances, it

became apparent that their attitude and perception contributed to a good teacher-student relationship and benefited them in their school performance. It almost seems like there is an attitude that is more compatible with good grades and good school performances. There are many similarities between Firat and Gerek. For example, they both experienced very little discrimination, they were not involved in violent incidents and did not comment much on the concept of masculinity. They either don't have an opinion on the subject or chose not to talk about their ideal image of a man (e.g. that men have to be stronger, better and harder). However, since there were no patriarchal statements, it can be assumed that they see women and men as equal. Another aspect is that both Firat and Gerek are rather insightful and can be reflective, realize their own mistakes, have regrets and learn from their mistakes. Furthermore, in both cases there was a change in attitude; they came to grips with their less-than-ideal situations, which made them more serious and put more effort into studying and subsequently 'upgraded' their school performance and school type. Another commonality is the self-perception of identity. Neither one strongly identifies with their migration background, nor do they feel addressed by the migrant stereotypes. Thus, they were not affected by them, which means that their migration background does not influence their school life very much. Those are the aspects that could be identified during the analysis which might have contributed to the 'higher' school type and good school performance.

12   Conclusion on "Voices of Youth"

The purpose of the second part of the dissertation "Voices of Youth" was to give the youth a voice and let the youth explain their situation and their perception of the problems. "Voices of Youth" tried to explore the reasons for underrepresentation at higher education by showing not only the circumstances of the youth, but also their opinions, their attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, an attempt was made to analyze how much the circumstances and stereotypes in their lives affected their opinions, attitudes and behaviors. It was an attempt to explore the subjective 'reality', the internal perception and degree of instructive power that is active within the minds of the youth. "Voices of Youth" was also created to confront the results of "Voices of Society" and show aspects that are in accordance with the quantitative results but also show aspects that contradict those results. "Voices of Society" explored and presented primarily the statistical circumstances of the migrant youth, such as their financial situation, school environment, social background and networks. Some of the results showed the frequency of experienced discrimination or the frequency of delinquent thoughts and then constructed correlations, such as: youth that experienced much discrimination have more delinquent thoughts. But such correlations are result-oriented, whereas the voices of youth are cause-oriented, and might provide explanations for their behavior and thoughts.

Another major objective of "Voices of Youth" was to present 'success stories' of migrant youth, and present youth that achieved a 'higher' education and analyze the factors that might have contributed to their 'success'. The focus was put on migrant youth because: "Participants usually understand the practical problems and issues they deal with on a day-to-day basis. But, because they experience them individually, they seldom are aware of or understand the latent patterns that underlie them, unless or until they are conceptually identified" (Simmons & Gregory 2003: paragraph 14). "Voices of Youth" looks at youth and asks them how they deal with problems, how they managed to reach higher education or why they are going to a lower school type. It tried to find already practiced solutions for the problems. The youths'

opinions on why they succeeded is important to understand, and especially what kind of attitude was possibly part of the solution for the particular individual to succeed. Although an opinion might be subjective and only applicable to a particular individual, it is still actual proof of achieving higher education and not a theoretical idea of how someone could achieve higher education or how certain aspects might have led to lower education. Those examples can provide ideas on the solutions for the underrepresentation of migrant youth at 'higher' education.

The summarized and simplified results of "Voices of Youth" will be presented in a table to recall the results of each individual and show what kind of attitude was prominent and what tendency most likely contributed to the current school type. This category will be named "INSIDE" because it presents attitudes, feelings, ideas and interpretations, those 'things' that are 'inside' of a person. The interviews also revealed many circumstances, situations and school environments of the youth that also have influenced and contributed to the current school type. This category will be named "OUTSIDE" because it presents the circumstances and environment of the youth, those 'things' that are 'outside' of a person. The terms "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" are expedient terms and used because they seem to suit the structure of the paper and the following theory.

The reason for distinguishing between "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" is based on the theory explained in chapter 7 and especially on the theory by Holzkamp and by Leiprecht. Again, the theory states that the subject is not powerless or determined solely by outside factors, but is influenced by many factors and acts according to them. This also means that the subject does not have absolute freedom in their behavior and thinking, thus subjects are never free from outside influences or factors. They are 'framed' by their "subjective possibility-room"[215]. Leiprecht argues that subjects feel, think and act within their 'possibility-rooms', and anything outside this 'possibility-room' cannot be thought or acted. However, the 'possibility-room' is not static and unchangeable; it can change through social development/social change, but also through mental and practical activities of the subject. The most important aspect of these theories is that the 'possibility-room' can be changed and

---

[215] Klaus Holzkamp developed the term 'subjektive Möglichkeitsräume', which literally means 'subjective possibility rooms'. This term, which is also a theory, tries to explain the constantly changing relationship between subject and environment/circumstance (see Holzkamp 1983: 304 ff.).

expanded by the mental and practical activities of the subject. Subjects are not determined by 'inner' or 'outer' circumstances, but are moving within their possibility-rooms and have the freedom of choice to act this way or that (Leiprecht 2013: 189).

The following table will list those mental and practical activities (INSIDE) that the individuals practice as well as the circumstances/environment in which the youth live that most likely contributed to the current school type. In other words, the list shows the (possible) reasons for their current school type.

Ali

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
– teachers often sent him to 'time-out rooms' to calm down (missed classes, went home) – several school changes (was often kicked out) – unfair treatment from the teachers when they were in a bad mood – bad student-teacher relationship – students with good grades do not interact with those with bad grades	– no interest in studying – not following rules, violent at school – gives away the responsibility (teachers and school have the main responsibility) – rebellious attitude: loses his temper when he feels unfairly treated – does not try to work on himself – feels powerless because the teacher has more authority – dislikes, blames, talks bad about teachers – identifies with the 'worse' group (as a problematic student)
Migration	
– experienced much unfair discrimination because of his migrant background – has many stereotypes to confront	– shifts his (sense of) belonging according to the situation
Masculinity	
– parents are divorced and he looks up to his father and considers his mother as helpless	– his concept of masculinity refuses obedience and has a desire to possess the superior position – has patriarchal ideas of gender (relations)
Violence	
– frequent contact with violence – circle of friends is violent	– tendency to use violence as primary method for solutions (dialogue is 'second' choice) – thinks "when you are young you must fight"
Family/Social Background	
– has just one good friend – parents are divorced but in good contact with him and seem concerned about his school performance – mother = German = familiar with German school system – both parents are financially secure	– thinks that parents have the right to decide his life

Bahadir

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
– bad student-teacher relationship – however, has some positive experiences with teachers where they could see his strengths	– believes that teachers hate him and are searching for negative points – knows about his own incorrect behavior at school, but tries to present himself as innocent; blames the teachers for bad school performance – knows about the importance of school and is motivated to obtain a degree – can see positive and negative sides of school life
Migration	
– no direct or indirect statements about discrimination experienced at school – experienced much discrimination outside of school	– defines himself as a foreigner, but does not feel uncomfortable as a foreigner – thinks that others wouldn't define him as 'German' (due to black hair and his personality) – his migration background influences his identity but not his self-perception; has no thoughts of inferiority because of his migration background
Masculinity	
– has many conflicts because of his concept of masculinity	– has a strong focus on showing his hardness, intimidation of others and desire to gain respect (competitiveness) – his idea of masculinity is not to comply or apologize, and to deny showing failure – resists adult authority (results in disrespectful treatment of teachers)
Violence	
– experienced many violent incidents in and outside of school, some of them due to his migrant background (see 'Nazi' incident) – members of his peer group are often involved in violence	– he is acquainted with how to deal with violence and has developed a strategy – he is not the first person to start a fight, but once violence is practiced, he legitimizes his violence and does not actively prevent it – presents himself as innocent and that 'the other person' is to blame

Family/Social Background	
– vague financial situation of the family – has a part-time job that takes time away from studying – gives some of his self-earned money to support his family – although his parents seem dominant, there's a harmonious, supportive parent-child relationship (no concrete statements about what kind of support) – his social network has many conflicts and enforces the contact with violence	– has an image of how a parent-child relationship has to be – has much respect for his parents – avoids conflicts with his parents; always accepts their opinion – even if he has another one – he cultivates and keeps friendships – has a strong feeling of solidarity, maybe some kind of peer pressure (e.g. concerning violence)

Djamal

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
– had to often leave the classroom because of short-tempered reactions to teachers – one particular teacher discriminated against him – well treated by an unprejudiced teacher in physics and chemistry who saw and honored his efforts = good student-teacher relationship	– is not proud of the incident that led to being kicked out of school – was short-tempered and explosive when he felt unfairly treated, but changed his strategy and stopped rebelling – overcame the negative aspects of school, such as discriminating teachers, by distancing himself from them – is not reluctant to go to school – sees that teachers have a major influence on how school life can be – learned that knowing answers and getting a good grade is fulfilling and fun – sees the causality of putting an effort into studies and good grades, which raises his motivation to learn
Migration	
– it seems that he experienced discrimination from teachers and was kicked out because of his migration background – he experienced many discriminating situations outside of school	– he felt unfairly treated by some teachers because of his migration background – nevertheless, he does not really blame the teachers but formulates his statements with care – he doesn't feel welcome in Germany; feels segregated, even though he has a German passport

Masculinity	
− gender roles in the family are based on religious practices and beliefs	− hierarchical understanding of gender − rather traditional concept of masculinity − exclusive attitude towards homosexuality
Violence	
− had much contact with violence	− has been violent − he managed to distance himself from violent situations and people that provoke him − he changed his reactions so that he was not easily angered
Family/Social Background	
− his father works as a school assistant at a Gymnasium − all family members (big family) are working or are receiving some kind of education − rather stable financial situation − strong and supportive family bonds − has friends that he can trust	− he trusts his family members very much and feels supported − he changed his circle of friends and distanced himself from certain friends that pulled him into problems

Edon

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
− had little trouble at school (mentioned only one stressful situation at school) − had an understanding teacher with whom he had a good relationship − had only one teacher with whom he had problems (had prejudicial thoughts against foreigners)	− he likes school − he doesn't make problems with teachers bigger than necessary, even if they treat him unfairly (does not put his anger into action)
Migration	
− rather untroubled by discrimination in school that was caused by his background (except one teacher at school) − did not experience much discrimination	− is not seriously affected by prejudicial treatment (doesn't take it seriously) − feels segregated and not German − knows the stereotypes and public opinion

Masculinity	
– future wife should cook for him and stay home to organize the household – he believes that men should not mate one another since 'it is against nature' – he thinks that a women cannot defend herself	– rather hierarchical understanding of gender – traditional concept of masculinity – exclusive attitude towards homosexuality – thinks that women are weak
Violence	
– rather untroubled by violence – had only one violent incident, and it was not caused by him	– he has an effective method for venting his aggression and has learned to set limits
Family/Social Background	
– has supportive parents who regard education as very important – has a rather harmonious parent-child relationship – the financial situation seems quite stable and secure – his parents don't allow him to work because they want him to concentrate on his school – his friends and social background did not influence him negatively	– when there are problems in relationships he can reflect upon them; he can also accept his mistakes and is quite open to other opinions – no aggressive rebellion, even if he feels unfairly treated – he and his friends distance themselves from other people; they do not care much about other people

Firat

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
– he encountered teachers that treated him well and trusted him – because of some incidents, he lost the trust of the teachers	– has a positive opinion of school – does not blame teachers/schoolmates for his own fights – seems to be happy when teachers trust him, is unhappy when he loses their trust; strives for respect from teachers – he is reflective and insightful – sees that school is important for his future – he now focuses on learning and avoids problems – if he feels unfairly treated by a teacher, he would not confront the teacher but tolerate it

Migration	
− has few negative experiences due to his migration background inside and outside of school	− tries to 'become' German − for him, Germany is his home country; he feels German − he is resistant to stereotypes that are against migrant youth because he distanced himself from the social group that is the object of the stereotype − feels respected and accepted in Germany although others see him as partly Iraqi
Masculinity	
− takes pride and responsibility as the oldest son; he assumes the role of father if the father is away. − he thinks that a mother-son relationship is different from a father-son relationship; ,e.g. he discusses problems with his father rather than his mother	− has a rather modern concept of masculinity − tolerant of homosexuality − accepting of gender equality
Violence	
− when first in Germany, peer group pressure made him do violent things − distanced himself from violence	− used to be violent but stopped − regrets having been violent, takes responsibility for his own actions, learned from the mistakes, is determined not to use violence again − associates being violent with losing respect from the teachers − associates violent behavior with being a foreigner − developed a way to deal with aggression in a peaceful way by listening to music
Family/Social Background	
− parents support the children in their school careers − stable financial situation − no social network that influences him negatively − is active in his religious community and township community, has many contacts in society	− is aware that the family and social background have an influence on school performance − has a job not because he needs money but for educational purposes

Gerek

"OUTSIDE"	"INSIDE"
School	
– went to a Catholic school from kindergarten to Realschule – did not feel treated differently at school by the teachers	– suffered from going to Hauptschule, felt hopeless – feels that he alone was the problem, not the school or teachers – went through an inner change – thinks that he alone is responsible for his school performance – put his ideas into concrete actions – feels satisfied to have achieved a goal – is quite clear about his future perspectives and goals
Migration	
– barely affected by direct discrimination – experienced 'indirect' discrimination by his 'migrant' friend, he was not discriminated against perhaps because he was seen as belonging to the German community	– does not care about 'backgrounds' – does not define himself as belonging to any social group, claims that 'human beings' are 'human beings' and does not identify himself as either a foreigner or a German – speaks of discrimination in a theoretical way; thinks that people themselves are responsible for their own integration and sees himself as a person that has integrated successfully – is not much affected by stereotypes
Masculinity	
– has a good friend who is homosexual and through dialogue with this person he changed his view	– is tolerant towards homosexuals
Violence	
– does not have much experience with violence	

Family/Social Background	
– quite good parent-child relationship; the mother is involved in his school life and discusses it with him – does not receive pocket money regularly but sometimes earns money with household chores – but he has enough time to concentrate on his studies – spends much time with football and has friends and connections through football – his friends and social network do not prevent him from school/schoolwork – Catholic/religious background of family and schools; maybe he and his parents have many social relationships through school	– distanced himself from people with prejudicial and discriminating thoughts who may cause problems – chooses his friends

The list above shows the summary of the analysis of each interview; those results will now be analyzed using Mayring's method, the deductive application of categories (see chapter 8). The deductive application of the three categories is: stereotype, responsibility and attitude. Thus, whether the migrant youth is influenced by stereotype threat, takes responsibility and has an active attitude will be analyzed. Whether the youth is, for example, influenced or not by stereotype threat must be determined according to certain rules which were developed and mentioned in chapter 8 and will be stated again. Those coding rules are:

Stereotype

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Much influence by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth is 'suffering' under stereotypes and is convinced that it has influenced his life. -He knows that stereotypes exist that apply to him. -He thinks that those stereotypes are correct or shows some indication that he believes in them. -His actions are influenced by stereotypes. Acts according to the stereotypes or tries to rebel and deliberately avoid those actions.	The youth is categorized as 'much influenced by stereotype threat' if all three aspects apply to the migrant youth. The youth is influenced in the mind and action.
Moderate influence by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth thinks that some of the stereotypes have influenced his life. -He knows about the stereotypes, but does not believe in them, or believes in them partly, but they have no influence on his actions.	The youth is categorized as "middle influenced" if only one or two of the criteria and definitions apply. The youth is influenced in the mind, but not in actions.
Less influence by stereotype threat.	The migrant youth does not think that those stereotypes influenced his life at all. -He does not know the stereotypes, or he knows the stereotypes but does not believe in them, nor do they influence his actions.	The youth is categorized as "less influenced" if only one criterion applies. The youth is not influenced in the mind or in action.

Responsibility

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Takes no responsibility for his own actions and gives away the responsibility to others.	The migrant youth thinks that he has no responsibility for the current situation and argues that others caused his own actions. -He blames 'others' for his current situation. -He blames 'others' for his own behavior, and argues that they made him do things.	The youth is categorized as 'takes no responsibility' if he does not take any responsibility or does not even think that the current situation could be due to his own actions.
Takes partial responsibility for his actions, but gives away the responsibility to others as well.	The migrant youth thinks that he has some responsibility but also argues that 'others' have responsibility as well and caused his actions. -He blames 'others' but also knows that his own actions contributed to the current situation. -He blames 'others' for his own behavior and argues that they made him do things, but also knows that he could have behaved differently.	The youth is categorized as 'takes partial responsibility if he gives away the responsibility, but also takes some responsibility. He knows that his behavior contributed partly to the current situation, but he also thinks that his behavior was caused by 'others' and gives away the responsibility.
Takes responsibility for his actions and barely gives away the responsibly.	The migrant youth thinks that he is responsible for his own actions, although he acknowledges that 'others' influence his actions and have responsibility as well. -He does not blame 'others' but acknowledges that 'others' have responsibility as well. -He takes responsibility for his own actions and does not blame others for causing his behavior.	The youth is categorized as 'takes responsibility' if he takes responsibility and barely gives away the responsibility. He acknowledges that his actions contributed to his current situation but also acknowledges that 'others' contributed as well, but does not blame 'others'.

Attitude

Categories	Definition	Coding rules
Passive attitude towards problems/stressful situations.	The migrant youth has feelings of helplessness and powerlessness to change things. -He has no hope that the situation can be changed. -He has no concrete vision on how the situation can change. -He does not act or have the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'passive towards problems/stressful situations' if all three aspects apply to the youth. The youth has a rather passive attitude and is influenced by the circumstances because he does not have hope, a vision, or act to change the situation.
Sometimes passive, sometimes active attitude towards problems/stressful situations.	The migrant youth has feelings of helplessness/powerlessness, but thinks that he can change things. - He has hope on some occasions that the situation can be changed. -He has a concrete vision on some occasions on how the situation can be changed. -He sometimes acts or has the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'sometimes passive, sometimes active towards problems/stressful situations' if the three aspects fluctuate and he does not have a stable and consistent attitude towards problems/stressful situations. The youth is sometimes influenced by the circumstances because he fluctuates between having hope, a vision and being active (to change the situation) and not having these.
Active attitude towards problems/stressful situations.	The migrant youth has almost no feelings of helplessness/powerlessness and thinks that he can change things. -He has hope that he can change the situation. -He has concrete visions on how the situation can be changed. -He acts or has the intention to act to change the situation.	The youth is categorized as 'active attitude towards problems/stressful situations' if the three aspects apply to the youth. The youth is confident that he can change the situation, has a vision and acts or intends to act to change the situation. He is actively involved in his own life situation.

The interviews will now be analyzed again using the following three questions:

− Is he influenced by stereotype threat?
− Does he take responsibility for his own actions and situation?
− Does he have an 'active' attitude towards problems and is he trying to change something?

The deductive application/analysis will only focus on these three questions and remain brief. Assumptions or definite conclusions are not included because those results do not necessarily explain the causality of attitude patterns and school performance or school type. Thus, it cannot be stated that, for example, 'this' certain attitude is the cause of bad school performance. The relationship between attitude and school performance/school type is far more complex and one single cause cannot be defined. It will only show tendencies and will note that certain aspects can be found according to the school type.

Ali

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Moderate influence by stereotype threat	Takes no responsibility for his actions and gives away the responsibility	Passive attitude towards problems/stressful situations

Bahadir

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Moderate influence by stereotype threat	Takes partial responsibility for his actions, but also gives away the responsibility to others	Sometimes passive, sometimes active attitude towards problems/stressful situations

Djamal

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Moderate influence by stereotype threat	Takes partial responsibility for his actions, but also gives away the responsibility to others	Sometimes passive, sometimes active attitude towards problems/stressful situations

Edon

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Moderate influence by stereotype threat	Takes responsibility for his actions and barely gives away the responsibility	Active attitude towards problems/stressful situations

Firat

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Less influence by stereotype threat	Takes responsibility for his actions and barely gives away the responsibility	Active attitude towards problems/stressful situations.

Gerek

Stereotype	Responsibility	Attitude
Less influence by stereotype threat	Takes responsibility for his actions and barely gives away the responsibility	Active attitude towards problems/stressful situations.

If we look at the tables and compare them with a focus on school type, some tendencies become apparent. Those tendencies are:

– The 'higher' the school type, the less influence by stereotype threat.
– The 'higher' the school type, the more responsibility is taken by the youth.
– The 'higher' the school type, the more active the attitude towards problems.

Those are the tendencies that became apparent with 6 qualitative interviews, but they do not provide an absolute conclusion. A more definite conclusion

with statistical significance can only be made using more test persons having the same age and similar social background. Thus, those results should be taken with care. However, the reasons why migrant youth at 'lower' school types are more influenced by stereotypes, take less responsibility and have a rather passive attitude were explored and can be seen in the interview analysis in the previous chapters. The analysis showed that those three aspects do have a relationship to their school type. Brief explanations on how they relate to the school types are as follows:

Stereotype: Stereotypes do have an influence on the school type because if a person's social identity is attached to a negative stereotype, that person will tend to under-perform in a manner consistent with the stereotype. Furthermore, if people who 'believe' they are less intelligent surround the migrant youth, they are confronted with the anxiety that they might confirm the negative stereotype (see chapter 2.5). Those youth categorized as 'Moderate influence by stereotype threat' largely identify with their migration background. Therefore, they feel addressed by the negative stereotypes that exist, and migration background is often associated with language deficit, lower social, cultural and economic capital, and more. The youth categorized as 'Less influence by stereotype threat' rather identify themselves as 'German' or have another concept of identity and don't identify with their migration background. Thus, they don't feel addressed by the stereotypes that exist and therefore are not influenced by them.

Responsibility: The degree to which the youth feel responsible for their own actions has an influence on the school type, because not taking the responsibility leads to giving away the responsibility and blaming 'others'. The effect is that the youth often blame the teachers or school for their situation and thus do not think that they themselves could be wrong. There is no insightfulness or regret, and they don't change themselves. They don't see a need for self-improvement because 'others' are responsible for their situation. Youth at 'higher' school types often recognized their part of the responsibility and changed themselves, whereas youth at 'lower' school types show the tendency to blame the teachers and school for their situation.

Attitude: The attitude of the migrant youth is relevant to their school type because an active attitude towards problems implies that they think they can play an active role in change or trigger the change, and are not hopeless. A passive attitude was often present in students at 'lower' school types because they thought that the situation is unchangeable. This perception was often

seen by youth that had a bad teacher-student relationship, were unfairly treated and experienced discrimination. An active attitude was visible in those youth that achieved a 'success' in their educational career by changing their attitude or circumstances. They often put effort into their educational career and changed their situation. Furthermore, an active attitude and taking responsibility implies that the 'possibility-room' is expandable through their actions. As mentioned earlier, the subject feels, thinks and acts within their 'possibility-rooms', and anything outside this 'possibility-room' cannot be thought or acted. However, the 'possibility-room' is not static and unchangeable; it can change through social development/social change ("OUTSIDE" aspects) and also through mental and practical activities ("INSIDE" aspects) by the subject. Feeling responsible and having an active attitude indicates that they think that their mental and practical activities can change the 'possibility-room'.

The possible explanations for the relationship between stereotype, responsibility, attitude and school type were developed by analyzing each interview, but as mentioned earlier, more qualitative interviews should be conducted to come to a definite conclusion.

Additional tendencies that were previously mentioned are that the 'higher' the school type the fewer the incidents with violence and discrimination. Thus, students that go to 'lower' school types have more experiences with violence and also with discrimination. Another apparent tendency is that youth at 'lower' school types felt more often unfairly treated and the reaction against unfair treatment was emotional, which often triggered more problems. The student-teacher relationship was often not very good, either. The youth at 'higher' schools felt less unfairly treated and learned to deal with the unfair treatment and did not trigger more problems, and the student-teacher relationship was rather good. The last tendency is that the 'higher' the school type, the more insightfulness, regret and learning were apparent. Therefore, the youth often went through some (internal) change and stated that they used to be different. Such tendencies were observed based on the interview analysis in chapters 9, 10 and 11.

Part IV – Comparisons & Conclusion

Part IV of this paper will reflect on the results in Part II and Part III and compare "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth". It is a comparison of the quantitative study and the qualitative study, and also the 'common' opinion and 'the opinions' of the migrant youth. The results will be re-presented in a simplified table and analyzed with the aim to depict contradicting and conforming points clearly.

The purpose of Part IV is to point out the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research methods, and that the individual processes cannot be explored by quantitative methods. The already practiced solutions and actions that can be initiated and practiced by the migrant youth are summarized, which was the objective of this research.

In the conclusion, the examples of successful migrant youth are analyzed and tendencies that might help to perform better a school will be presented. In addition, the results of "Parts I, II, III and IV" are reflected upon, discussed and summarized. Based on those results, the potential of expanding the "possibility-room" by the youth themselves is revisited as a possible solution and the importance of the concept of malleable intelligence is brought to attention.

13 Comparisons: "Voices of Society" vs. "Voices of Youth"

"Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" will be compared in this chapter. The conclusion on "Voices of Youth" was just stated, but the conclusion on "Voices of Society" was mentioned in chapter 6 and will be briefly recalled for a comparison.

Conclusion on "Voices of Society"

"Voices of Society" consisted of three quantitative studies, with three different focus areas. The results created a picture/social representation of the migrant youth, and each study had a certain conclusion, which will be briefly introduced. The details of each study can be read in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Study by KFN. The research objective was to explore how different aspects and situations in life relate to violence. The conclusion was that migrant youth have more delinquent thoughts and are more violent, which is also 'caused' by their own experience with violence and discrimination. Furthermore, migrant youth who are 'more' integrated tend to be less violent, and the 'less' integrated migrant youth tend to be more violent. The integration 'level' was also determined by the desired educational level and self-perception as a German. Therefore, the 'higher' the desired education and the more they see themselves as German, the more integrated they are. This means that those migrant youth who see themselves as German and aim for higher education are likely to be less violent.

Study by IKG. The research objective was to explore how prejudice, resentment and anti-Semitism occur. IKG claims that prejudice and resentment can hinder building social relationships between people and groups and can bear potential for conflicts and is a hindrance for integration. The conclusion was that the youths' own experiences with discrimination and disintegration have a significant relationship with their own practice of prejudice, resentment and anti-Semitism. They practice it because they experienced it and

consequently reproduce it. The object of prejudice and the degree it occurs differs according to their own experiences. The decision to practice prejudice and resentment is caused by the desire to 'raise the value' of their social group. In other words: I discriminate because others discriminated against me, and I devalue others because others devalued me, and by devaluing others I increase my value.

Study by IBKM. The research objective was to explore the life situation and lifestyle of male youth with and without migration background. The focus was on how migration background and masculinity influence the lifestyle and life situation. The result of this study was that male migrant youth experience more discrimination, which is a burden and has negative influences on their life. Those experiences are also the reasons why they don't feel included in German society. Another result was that migrant youth are less diversity-aware regarding homosexuality and have more prejudice, resentment and anti-Semitism as well. They are, however, diversity aware regarding the effects of migration on society.

Comparing those studies with the results of the interview showed that some of the quantitative results conform to the qualitative results. The common aspects are listed below to show that the qualitative research confirmed some of the theories that were developed by the quantitative study, but these aspects will not be discussed in det0ail.

13.1   Common aspects

Common Aspects

Voices of Society	Voices of Youth
– More integrated = less violence. More integrated means to aim for 'higher education' and see oneself as German.	– The 'higher' the school type, the less experience with violence and a stronger identification with being German (or as a human being), but not with their migration background.
– Prejudice and resentment can bear potential for conflict, and those who experience prejudice typically also practice prejudice.	– The youth that experienced more discrimination had more prejudicial thoughts and experienced more conflicts and violence. They were also usually at 'lower' school types.
– Migrant youth experience more discrimination, and it has a negative influence on their life and they feel excluded from German society.	– The youth that experienced more discrimination typically visit the 'lower' school type. The lower school type could be the negative influence, and those youth also felt excluded.

"Voices of Youth" confirmed the "Voices of Society", and by examining the table of common aspects, 'suggestions' are available that could lead to better school performance and school types. A brief look suggests that the following youth should be successful:

– A youth that is integrated and sees himself as German
– A youth that aims for higher education
– A youth that hasn't experienced discrimination and doesn't have prejudices

Those three characteristics are not new to the discourse of migration, and the quantitative studies (more or less) claim that those aspects should be promoted. Thus, the results of the qualitative study provide aspects that verify the theories of the quantitative study, and reinforce the approaches/ suggestions that could solve the problem of under-representation of male migrant youth at higher education. The 'common aspects' strengthen the understanding that certain aspects and circumstances lead to 'lower' or 'higher' school types. In summary, those youth who have not experienced discrimination, are integrated, see themselves as German and aim for 'higher' school types are consequently more successful at school. However, this understanding, which is based on the results of the quantitative and qualitative study, also rein-

forces the negative stereotypes and might cause stereotype threats, such as: 'If I am discriminated and do not identify myself as German, I most likely will not go to a 'higher school type'. This chapter, "Common aspects", in a sense presents the results of the quantitative study, which is then only supported/verified by the qualitative study. In this case, the quantitative studies are used to form and support a theory, which then often create stereotypes, and the qualitative results often verify these theories.

The quantitative study primarily presents the statistical correlations of the migrant youth; for example, migrant youth who experienced prejudice also practice prejudice, or migrant youth who identify themselves as German also go to 'higher' school types. It does not show the individual process examining why and how they identify themselves as German. And most importantly, quantitative studies do not depict any changes within the migrant youth, for example, when, why and how the self-identification occurred. In summary, there are a certain restrictions when depicting the situation on the whole and developing possible solutions for the unequal distribution of youth in higher education. In particular, it is difficult to identify specific actions that male youth with migration background can take to change the unequal distribution of education within the range of capabilities and their situation.

13.2   Aspects that could not be explored by "Voices of Society"

There are more aspects and possible solutions and actions that can be taken into account which were not revealed by the quantitative studies – or perhaps they even contradict those studies. The qualitative research revealed many possible solutions that are already practiced by the youth who are successful and might thus be applicable to other migrant youth as well. As mentioned several times, the objective of this dissertation is to introduce the solutions that can be initiated and practiced by the migrant youth, without waiting for (or depending on) "OUTSIDE" or social development/social change. The focus is to introduce examples of how some migrant youth realized that the 'possibility-room' is not static and unchangeable, but can in fact be changed through mental and practical activities. Therefore, the following paragraphs will re-introduce the 'actual' solutions that were taken by the youth which could not be revealed by the quantitative study. The main question in re-introducing the qualitative study is:

Is it the "OUTSIDE" social developments/social changes that con-
tributed to the current school type or is it the "INSIDE" mental and
practical activities of the youth that contributed to the current
school type?

To answer this question, the interviews of Firat and Gerek, who are going to a 'higher' school type and are successful at school, will be briefly re-introduced and analyzed with this specific focus.

Firat came to Germany when he was nine years old and repeated his forth and eleventh grades. He used to cause trouble and was also violent in the fifth and six grades and lost the teachers' respect. He regrets his behavior and learned from those experiences, and now considers school more important. His school career shows that he had difficulties at school and also shows that he went through some realizations and attitudinal changes and now takes school more seriously. Thus, Firat's mental and practical activity, such as regret and attitudinal change and identifying himself as German, most likely contributed to the current school type. However, "OUTSIDE" social developments/social changes were also beneficial, such as the understanding teacher, supportive parents, few experiences with discrimination and distancing himself from violence. The question is, which aspect(s) contributed more and which happened first? The likelihood that Firat´s mental and practical activity was first is high, because he used to be violent and caused many problems. But he changed his attitude, and as a result distanced himself from violence and thus has less contact with violence now (detailed interview analysis in chapter 11).

Gerek was born in Poland and came to Germany when he was four or five years old. He went to a Catholic school from kindergarten to Hauptschule. The fact that he was at a Hauptschule had a great affect on Gerek's confidence and caused feelings of inferiority; it made him think that putting effort into studying (or into other things) was useless. It seems that he had little hope for change, no concrete vision on how the situation could change and did not act to change the situation. Thus, it seems that he had a rather passive attitude and was influenced by the circumstances. Gerek then changed his perspective and realized that he could obtain a Realschule degree at the Hauptschule. He also changed his attitude and eventually managed to obtain a Realschule degree. It shows that Gerek went through some personal changes, and as a result now takes school more seriously. This change in attitude has remained, and he was active in finding a school of choice where he can put his career vision into action. He has a concrete goal and motivation to

study, he is not hopeless like he used to be and does not think that making an effort is useless anymore; on the contrary, he thinks that goals are attainable. It can be said that Gerek's mental and practical activity in the form of changing the perspective and having a new realization most likely contributed to the current school type. However, "OUTSIDE" social developments/ social changes were also in his favor, such as a teacher that treated him fairly, supportive parents and few experiences with discrimination/violence. Thus, the question is, which aspect(s) contributed more? And again the probable answer is that the mental and practical activity of Gerek contributed more because the "OUTSIDE" factors did not change much (detailed interview analysis in chapter 11).

In both cases, the mental and practical activity most likely came first and contributed greatly to the youths' school success and 'higher' school type. Therefore, the attitudinal change also influenced the change in school performance, school grades and school types. However, the following question still cannot be clearly answered:

> *Is it the "OUTSIDE" social developments/social changes that contributed more to the current school type or is it the "INSIDE" mental and practical activities of the youth that contributed to the current school type?*

The two qualitative cases would suggest that the "INSIDE" aspects had a strong influence and triggered "OUTSIDE" change. For example, Firat changed his attitude and distanced himself from 'violent' friends and violence. However, Firat was also favored by the many other circumstances and "OUTSIDE" aspects before the "INSIDE" aspects changed. The same pattern was also visible with Gerek. Thus, a definite answer is very difficult to determine. It is probable that both aspects contributed and reinforced one another. Nevertheless, a brief analysis of all six interviews shows that some tendencies exist. These are:

− For the youth at the 'higher' school type, both "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" aspects have mostly positive influences on school performance.

− For the youth at the 'mid-level' school type, both "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" aspects have both negative and positive influences on school performance.

– For the youth at the 'lower' school type, both "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" aspects have mostly negative influences on school performance.

Those results of the analysis show and verify that both aspects have an influence on the school performance and school type of the migrant youth. Those results also verify the theory that the subject is not powerless or determined solely by outside factors, but is influenced by many factors and acts according to them. The migrant youth do not have absolute freedom in their behavior and thinking, and are never free from outside influences or factors – they are framed through their "subjective possibility-room". However, the results also show that the migrant youth can act and change the framing of the "possibility-room" through their mental and practical activities. Thus, it confirms Leiprechts' theory on "possibility-room" (see page 234).

The results show that both the "INSIDE" and "OUTSIDE" have an influence on the school performance and school type of the migrant youth. This also means that the 'possibility-room' can be changed and expanded by the mental and practical activities of the migrant youth. Such results create much encouragement and hope for the migrant youth since it implies that the students themselves can be active contributors to successful academia through mental and practical activities, such as changing the mindset, attitude or perspective. As mentioned in chapter 2.5, the idea that the students themselves can effect change becomes very empowering, which could eventually change the unequal distribution of education. Thus, it is important to convey the message that the students themselves can play an active role in their success at school by engaging in "INSIDE" change. The message is actually expressed very well in the poem cited at the end of chapter two by Esther Gress:

> *"If you want to change the world*
> *You must change man.*
> *If you want to change man*
> *You must make him want to change."*

And I would like to add one more phrase to it:

> *If you want to awaken his desire to change*
> *You must show him that he can change.*

13.3   Different aspects of "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth"

The similar aspects of the two studies were briefly introduced and the results that could not be explored by the quantitative study were also introduced. The contradictory results of the two studies would normally be introduced at this point, however there are practically no results that would greatly contradict the quantitative results. The overall results and conclusions of "Voices of Society" and "Voices of Youth" are similar and conforming, just as stated in chapter 13.1. The six interviews 'coincidentally' verified many aspects (not in every detail) that were presented in "Voices of Society". For example, the 'higher' the school type, the less experience with violence and stronger identification as a German. There were single cases that did not fit exactly into this schema, but overall it was confirmed and strongly contradictory results were not present.

The greatest difference between the quantitative and qualitative studies was the approach. The quantitative study aimed to explore how certain negative phenomenon in society is created or how negative images affect the youth; KFN researched reasons for violence, IKG researched causes for prejudice, and IBKM researched the effects of (doing) migration background and (doing) masculinity, which are often ascribed. Those particular studies investigated social phenomenon that have a rather negative image, thus they tended to focus on the failures of the migrant youth and explore the reasons for it. They tried to clarify what certain aspects contributed to those negative phenomena, and how an allegedly negative image affects the youth. They were attempts at explaining the current state/condition or how it came to this state/condition.

The qualitative study also tried to investigate the negative phenomena and the societal problem of under-representation of migrant youth at higher education. However, its chief aim was to explore possible solutions, and not only the reasons for the negative social phenomenon. Thus, it was not only a study to explain the current state/condition or how it arrived at the state/condition, but goes one step further to explore possible solutions that are already practiced and explore which practices are meaningful. Thus, it places more focus on the success of migrant youth and explores the reasons for the success in school. The qualitative study tried to show examples of successful migrant youth and revealed new aspects and tendencies, such as the influence of the "INSIDE" aspects that influenced the migrant youth to focus more on school and triggered a change in the "OUTSIDE". Those findings can clearly be further researched or strengthened by more interviews or quantitative studies.

14   Conclusion and outlook

The main objective of this dissertation was to identify the actions that migrant youth can take to change the unequal distribution of education within their range of capabilities and situation. Thus, it was an attempt to find practical actions that the migrant youth can take to improve their school performance. The results of "Voices of Society" introduced some aspects and gave suggestions that could lead to better school performance, but often those 'recommendations' for the migrant youth are not realistic and do not consider the circumstances of the migrant youth. An example is the fact that many youth who identified themselves as German often had better school performance, thus the logical way of thinking and the corresponding 'solution' is to identify oneself as German. But it is not that easy and some youth don't want to identify themselves as German.

The "Voices of Youth" did provide alternative solutions and actual solutions that could not be revealed by the "Voices of Society". The youth that are at the 'higher' school type improved their school performance by actions that were taken by themselves within their range of capabilities and situation. In other words, they didn't have to change teachers, nor did they have to change their identity against their will. It was the "mental and practical activities", such as having a different perspective on a problem or learning from mistakes and having the determination to improve that led to success. Some migrant youth developed a method to be less influenced by stereotype threat by switching their identity according to the situation or considering themselves as benefiting from having two or more identities. Others actively took responsibility for the unfavorable situations and motivated themselves to improve rather than blame other people for the situation. Those examples showed that attitudinal changes or "INSIDE" changes are actions that migrant youth can take to change the unequal distribution of education. The analysis of the qualitative interviews showed the following tendencies:

- The 'higher' the school type, the less influence by stereotype threat.
- The 'higher' the school type, the more responsibility is taken by the youth.
- The 'higher' the school type, the more active the attitude towards problems.

Thus, the hypothesis that a change in the attitude and lifestyle of the migrant youth can influence their perception and actions and lead to better school performance was verified.

However, this was not the only reason for the improvement in school performance, because there were other aspects as well that contributed to the improvement. Which aspect(s) had a larger influence is unclear, but the change of circumstances that sometimes hinders improvement should start with the activity of the students, which starts with changes within an individual. This dissertation, especially the section "Voices of Youth", set out to get a better understanding of migrant youth and their feelings on inequality and discrimination. It also provides information on how they deal with these issues and offers insights on the attitudes of the youth. Then it identified those attitudes that were favorable for their school performance. In addition to those results, the dissertation also reinforced some of the already existing strategies that are 'recommended' by the society or suggested by the quantitative studies.

Another objective of this dissertation was to explore the concept and practice of masculinity with regards to how it influences school performance and how teachers react to it. Theories of how hegemonic masculinity leads to ambivalent behavior or self-destructive behavior, violence or opposition to authority, and are 'incompatible' with good school performance, were introduced and some of those behaviors were seen in the students at 'lower' school types. Thus, the tendency or assumption that students attending 'lower' school types practice an 'incompatible' masculinity was made evident. Furthermore, it verified to some degree the existing theories, but a further analysis was not thoroughly done. For example, the following aspects were not further analyzed: how much the opposing attitude influenced the school performance, why a particular youth has that attitude, and when/in which situations he practices those opposing attitudes. Additionally, the correlation between the concept of masculinity and the actions/practice was very difficult, which made further analysis very difficult. For example, the youth often opposed the authority when they felt unfairly treated, but it is unclear if they opposed because of anger against unfair treatment or because they practiced their

concept of masculinity. Those ambivalent situations were often stated by the migrant youth, and this made it more difficult to further analyze the reasons for their practice of masculinity. Another reason why the aspect of masculinity was not thoroughly analyzed is that the focus of the dissertation was on presenting 'success' stories, including migrant youth that attend 'higher' school types, and those particular migrant youth did not talk much about 'incompatible' masculinity. Thus, the aspect of masculinity was not elaborated at full length and should be researched further. Questions such as how strong the habitus of practicing masculinity is might be interesting since many male migrant youth in this study knew that their 'masculine' reactions would have negative consequences, but still behaved according to it. In the end, there are many aspects that were not fully covered and there is much potential to do further research on this topic.

There are many aspects that could not be fully elaborated on in this dissertation, and new ideas and possible suggestions for solving the problem of underrepresentation of migrant youth at higher education became visible or were created in this dissertation. New questions also arose which could be the focus of future research questions and studies. Some of the focus areas for further research are:

- What made the youth change their attitude/what circumstance helps to change attitudes?
- Why can some youth regret and learn from mistakes and some not?
- Does regret contradict with concepts of masculinity?

There are many new questions that arose, but the important focus and direction of further research, in my opinion, would be to focus on the migrant youth and possible actions that can be taken to improve their situation. Another point that I would like to present is that teachers and educators should have the principle belief that all children should be afforded the opportunity to develop their potential limitlessly and to lead fulfilling lives undeterred by the destructive influences in society (Ikeda 2010: 51), so that stereotype threats are not re-produced. Furthermore, teachers and educators should not view "[…] learning as a preparation for living, but enable people to learn in the process of living." (Makiguchi 1983: Vol.6, 285) Migrant youth should be taught how to pursue 'learning goals' and understand the concept of expandable/malleable intelligence, in other words, that intelligence and abilities are expandable and limitless.

There are many more points one could focus on regarding youth with a migration background, but at this point I would like to cite Goethe to express my current feeling and complete my dissertation:

„Properly speaking, such a work is never finished;
one must declare it so when,
according to time and circumstances,
one has done one's best."

(Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Italian Journey).

Bibliography

Arnot, Madeleine/David, Miriam/Weiner, Gaby (1999): Closing the Gender Gap: Postwar Education and Social Change. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Aronson, Joshua/Blanton, Hart./Cooper, Joel (1995): From dissonance to disidentification: Selectivity in the self-affirmation process. In: Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68(6), pp. 986–996, American Psychological Association Inc.

Aronson, Joshua/Good, Catherine/Harder, J.A (1999): Stereotype threat in the absence of kernal truth: Women in Calculus. Unpublished manuscript, University of Texas.

Aronson, Elliot (2000a): Nobody left to hate – Teaching Compassion after Columbine. Owl Books, New York, p. 14.

Aronson, Elliot/Wilson, Timothy. D/Akert, Robin. M (2000b): Social psychology. Pearson Education.

Aronson, Elliot/Pratkanis, Anthony/Pratkanis, Anthony. R (2001): Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion. Henry Holt and Company.

Aronson, Joshua/Fried, Carry B/Good, Catherine (2002): Reducing the Effects of Stereotype Threat on African American College Students by Shaping Theories of Intelligence. In: Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 38, Issue 2, March 2002, pp. 113–125.

Autorengruppe Bildungsbericht (2008): Bildung in Deutschland 2008. Ein indikatorengestützter Bericht mit einer Analyse zu Übergängen im Anschluss an den Sekundarbereich I. Im Auftrag der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung. (PDF-Datei – Internet: http://www.bildungsbericht.de/daten2008/bb_2008.pdf).

Bauböck, Rainer/ Volf, Patrik-Paul (2001): Wege zur Integration: Was man gegen Diskriminierung und Fremdenfeindlichkeit tun kann. Drava-Verlag, Klagenfurt.

Beem, Christopher (1999): The Necessity of Politics. Reclaiming American public life. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Bialystok, Ellen (2009): Effects of bilingualism on cognitive and linguistic performance across the lifespan (pp. 53–68). In: Streitfall Zweisprachigkeit – The bilingualism controversy. Ed. Gogolin, Neumann. VS Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Binder, Susanne (2004): Interkulturelles Lernen aus ethnologischer Perspektive. Konzepte, Ansichten und Praxisbeispiele aus Österreich und den Niederlanden. LIT Verlag Wien.

Boos-Nünning, Ursula & Karakaşoğlu, Yasemin (2005): Viele Welten leben. Zur Lebenssituation von weiblichen Jugendlichen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund. Münster/New York.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977): L'economie des echanges linguistiques. In: Langue Francaise 34, pp. 17–34.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1983a): Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital. In: Kreckel, Reinhard (Hrsg.): Soziale Ungleichheiten, Otto Schwarz und Co Verlag, Göttingen, pp. 183–198.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1983b): Forms of capital. In: J. C. Richards (ed.). Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Greenwood Press, New York.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1985): Lecon sur la lecon. In: Ders.: Sozialer Raum und „Klassen"; lecon sur la lecon. Zwei Vorlesungen. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 49–80.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1991): Language and Symbolic Power (ed J. B. Thompson) (trans. G. Raymond and M. Adamson) Cambridge Polity Press.

Brizic, Katharina (2007): Das geheime Leben der Sprachen: Gesprochene und verschwiegene Sprachen und ihr Einfluss auf den Spracherwerb in der Migration. Waxmann, Münster.

Bruner, Jerome (1990): Acts of Meaning. Harvard University Press, London.

Budde, Jürgen/Bundesministerium f. Bildung & Forschung (2008): Bildungs-(miss)erfolge bei Jungen und Berufswahlverhalten bei Jungen/ männlichen Jugendlichen. Berlin. Online-Publication: http://www.bmbf.de/pub/Bildungsmisserfolg.pdf (date of research 8th of September 2010).

Chomsky, Noam/ interviewed by Osiatynski, Wiktor (1984): On language and culture. In: Wiktor Osiatynski (ed.), Contrasts: Soviet and American Thinkers Discuss the Future. MacMillan. pp. 95–101, (Online: http:// www. chomsky.info/interviews/1984----.htm).

Christensen, Gayle & Segeritz, Michael (2008): An international perspective on student achievement. In: Bertelsmann-Stiftung (ed.): Immigrant students can succeed. Lessons from around the globe. Gütersloh, pp. 11–33.

Coleman, James S. (1988): Social capital in the creation of human capital. The American journal of sociology, Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and institutions. Sociological and economic approaches to the analysis of social structure, pp. 95–120. The University of Chicago Press.

Coleman, James. S. (1990, 1994): Foundations of Social Theory, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Connell, Raewyn W. (1995): Masculinities. Cambridge.

Connell Raewyn W. (1999): Der gemachte Mann. Konstruktion und Krise von Männlichkeiten. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Crenshaw, Williams, Kimberlé (1994): Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color. In: The Public Nature of Private Violence Hg.: Albertson Fineman/Mykitiuk. New York: Routledge. pp. 93–118.

Crotty, Michael. (1998): The Foundations of Social Science Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process. Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Diefenbach, Heike (2004): Bildungschancen und Bildungs(miss)erfolg von ausländischen Schülern oder Schülern aus Migrantenfamilien im System schulischer Bildung. In: Becker, Rolf/Lauterbach, Wolfgang (Hrsg.): Bildung als Privileg? Erklärungen und Befunden zu den Ursachen der Bildungsungleichheit. Wiesbaden: VS, p. 21.

Dirim, Inci (2007): Für einen multilingualen Sprachgebrauch in deutschen Schulen. In: Overwien, Bernd & Annedore Prengel (Hrsg.): Recht auf Bildung. Zum Besuch des Sonderberichterstatters der Vereinten Nationen in Deutschland. Opladen: Budrich Verlag), pp. 267–273.

Dirim, Inci (2010): Wenn man mit Akzent spricht, denken die Leute, dass man auch mit Akzent denkt oder so. Zur Frage des (Neo-)Linguizismus

in den Diskursen über die Sprache(n) der Migrationsgesellschaft. Münster: Waxmann. pp. 91–114.

Dirim, Inci & Mecheril, Paul (2009): Migration und Bildung. Soziologische und erziehungswissenschaftliche Schlaglichter. Waxman Verlag.

Dweck, Carol. S. (1986): Motivational processes affecting learning. In: American Psychologist, 41, pp. 1040–1048, American Psychological Association Inc.

Dweck, Carol. S. (1999): Self-theories: Their role in motivation, personality and development. Philadelphia, PA: Taylor & Francis.

Dweck, Carol. S. & Leggett, Ellen. L. (1988): A social cognitive approach to motivation and personality. In: Psychological Review, Volume 95, pp. 256–273, American Psychological Association Inc.

Eccles, Jacquelynne. S. & Wigfield, Allan. (1995): In the mind of the actor: The structure of adolescents' achievement task values and expectancy related beliefs. In: Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21(3), pp. 215–225, Society for Personality and Social Psychology Inc.

Esser, Hartmut (1980): Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie: Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Darmstadt.

Esser, Hartmut (2000): Soziologie: Spezielle Grundlagen. Band 5: Der Wandel nach der Wende. Wiesbaden.

Esser, Hartmut (2001): Soziologie: Spezielle Grundlagen. Band 6: Sinn und Kultur. Wiesbaden.

Esser, Hartmut (2006): Sprache und Integration. Die sozialen Bedingungen und Folgen des Spracherwerbs von Migranten. Frankfurt am Main/New York.

Field, John (2003): Social Capital. Routledge, London.

Flam, Helena (2009): Diskriminierung in der Schule. In: Melter, Claus/ Mecheril, Paul: Rassismuskritik, Band I, Rassismustheorie und -forschung, Schwalbach/Ts, pp. 239–257.

Flick, Uwe (2006): An introduction to qualitative research. Third edition, Sage publications.

Foucault, Michel (1980): Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp.

Frosh, Stephen (1994): Sexual Difference: Masculinity and Psychoanalysis. Routledge, London

Frosh, Stephen (2000): Intimacy, Gender and Abuse: The Construction of Masculinities. In: Una McCluskey & Carol-Ann Hooper (Ed.): Psycho-dynamic Perspectives on Abuse: The Cost of Fear (2000), Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd, Philadelphia, pp. 132–143.

Frosh, Stephen/Phoenix, Ann/Pattman, Rob (2002): Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society. Basingstoke/Hampshire.

Giddens, Anthony (1999): Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives. Routledge Champan & Hall, London.

Gilbert, Rob & Gilbert Pam (1998): Masculinity Goes to School. Allen & Unwin.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang (1816): Italian Journey, (also available at: izquotes.com/quote/367411).

Gogolin, Ingrid (2008): Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule. Waxmann Verlag GmbH, Münster.

Gogolin, Ingrid (2009): Streitfall Zweisprachigkeit. The bilingualism contro-versy. Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.

Gomolla, Mechthild (2005): Schulentwicklung in der Einwanderungsgesell-schaft. Strategien gegen institutionelle Diskriminierung in England, Deutschland und der Schweiz. Münster.

Gomolla, Mechthild (2010) Institutionelle Diskriminierung. Neue Zugänge zu einem alten Problem. In: Hormel, Ulrike & Scherr, Albert (Hrsg.) (2010): Diskriminierung. Grundlagen und Forschungsergebnisse. Wies-baden.

Gomolla, Mechthild & Radtke, Frank-Olaf (2002): Institutionelle Diskrimi-nierung. Die Herstellung ethnischer Differenz in der Schule. Opladen.

Gress, Esther (2012): http://tito235.wordpress.com/tag/dame-esther-gress/ (date of research 15th of September 2011)

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994): An introduction to functional grammar. London: E. Arnold.

Halpern, David (2009): The Hidden Wealth of Nations. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Harter, S. (1990): Processes underlying adolescent self-concept formation. In: R. Montmayor, G.R. Adams, & T.P. Gullotta (Eds.), From Childhood to adolescence: A transitional period? pp. 205–239, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Heitmeyer Wilhelm: Longitudinal study: Deutsche Zustände, 2002–2010 published every year. Suhrkamp, Berlin.

Herzog-Punzenberger, Barbara & Schnell, Philipp (2011): Bildungsforschung (in) der Migrationsgesellschaft. Entwicklungen und Perspektiven in Österreich, http://www.uni-graz.at/paedabww_schnell_herzog-punzenberger.pdf (date of research 15th of November 2011).

Holzkamp, Klaus. (1983): Fundlegung der Psychologie. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Holzkamp, Klaus. (1997): Gesellschaftliche Wiedersprüche und individuelle Handlungsfähigkeit – am Beispiel der Sozialarbeit. In: K. Holzkamp, Schriften I. Normierung, Ausgrenzung, Wiederstand, pp. 385–403, Hamburg: Argument.

IBKM (2012) Internet Homepage. (Institution changed its name and internet address. New homepage: http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/cmc/. (date of research 24th of April 2012).

IGLU Study. (2012) http://www.bmbf.de/de/6626.php/ (date of research 13th of May 2012).

Ikeda, DAisaku (2010): Soka Education. For the Happiness of the Individual. Middleway Press, Santa Monica.

IKG Report (2010): Forschungsprojekt. Abschlussbericht. http://www.vielfalt-tut-gut.de/content/e4458/e8260/Uni_Bielefeld_Abschlussbericht_Forschungsprojekt.pdf (date of research 11th of April 2011).

Jukes, Adam (1993): Why Men Hate Women. Free Association Books, London.

Karakaşoğlu soglu, Yasemin & Boos-Nünning Ursula (2005): Viele Welten Leben. Zur Lebenssituation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund. Waxmann Verlag, Münster.

Karayaz, Erol (2013): Männliche Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund. BIS Verlag, Oldenburg.

Karayaz et al. IBKM report (2012): (Erol, Karayaz. Rudolf, Leiprecht. Alexander, Langerfeldt. Kristina, Benten). Bericht vom Forschungsprojekt: Quantitative Erhebung zur Lebenssituation und Lebensgestaltung von männlichen Jugendlichen mit Migrationsgeschichte in Niedersachsen.

Katz , Adrienne & Buchanan, Ann (1999): Leading Lads. London: Topman.

Kersten, Joachim (1997): Gut und (Ge)schlecht: Männlichkeit, Kultur und Kriminalität. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

KFN-Report (2010):Forschungsbericht Nr. 109. http://kfn.de/versions/kfn/ assets/fob109.pdf (date of research 6th of May 2011).

Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli (2008): Intersectionality – ein neues Paradigma der Geschlechterforschung? In: Was kommt nach der Geschlechterforschung? Zur Zukunft der feministischen Theoriebildung. Hrsg.: Casale/ Rendtorff. Bielefeld: transcript. pp. 33–53.

Kornmann, Reimer/Burgard, Peter/Eichling, Hans-Martin (1999): Zur Überrepräsentation ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlichen in Schulen für Lernbehinderte. Revision älterer und Mitteilung neuer Ergebnisse. In: Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik 50, pp. 106–109, Verband Sonderpädagogik e.V.

Kraus, Björn (2002): Konstruktivismus-Kommunikation-Soziale Arbeit. Radikalkonstruktivistische Betrachtung zu den Bedingungen des sozialpädagogischen Interaktionsverhältnisses. Verl. für Systemische Forschung, Heidelberg 2002. p.183.

Kraus, Björn: (2003): Instruktive Macht vs. destruktive Macht – ein neuer Lösungsweg im Streit um die Machtmetapher. Das gepfefferte Ferkel. Onlinejournal für systemisches Denken und Handeln. Aachen. www. ibs-networld.de/ferkel/juli-2003-kraus-macht.shtml (17 S.) und 2004 in: www.sozialarbeit.ch

Kraus, Björn: (2006): Lebenswelt und Lebensweltorientierung – eine begriffliche Revision als Angebot an eine systemisch-konstruktivistische Sozialarbeitswissenschaft. Kontext. Zeitschrift für Systemische Therapie und Familientherapie. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Rupprecht. Heft 37/2002, pp. 116–129.

Kraus, Björn (2011): Soziale Arbeit – Macht – Hilfe und Kontrolle. Die Entwicklung und Anwendung eines systemisch-konstruktivistischen Machtmodells. In: Björn Kraus, Wolfgang Krieger (Hrsg.): Macht in der So-

zialen Arbeit – Interaktionsverhältnisse zwischen Kontrolle, Partizipation und Freisetzung. Jacobs, Lage 2011. p. 106.

Lederer, Bernd (2011): Bildung: was sie war, ist, sein sollte: zur Bestimmung eines strittigen Begriffs. Schneider-Verl. Hohengehren, Baltmannsweiler.

Leiprecht, Rudolf. (2013): 'Subjekt' und ‚Diversität' in der Sozialen Arbeit. In: Wagenblass, Sabine/Spatscheck, Christian (Hrsg.) (2013): Bildung, Teilhabe und Gerechtigkeit-Gesellschaftliche Herausforderung und Zugänge Sozialer Arbeit. Pp. 184–199, Beltz Juventa, Weinheim und Basel.

Lentin, Alana (2004): Racism and Anti-Racism in Europe, Pluto Press, London.

Liebig, Thomas (2009): Migranten auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Erfahrungen aus OECD-Ländern. Berlin. Link: http://migration-boell.de/web/migration/ 46_1273.asp (date of research: 15th of July 2012)

Lingard, Bob/Martino, Wayne/Mills, Martin/Bahr, Mark (2002): Addressing the educational needs of boys. Research report submitted to department of education, science and training in Australia. University of Queensland.

Mac an Ghaill, Máirtín (1994): The Making of Men. Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling. Open University Press, University of Michigan.

Macpherson Report (1999): The Stephen Lawrence inquiry report of an Inquiry by Sir William MacPherson of Cluny. www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm42/4262/4262.htm
(date of research 28th of August 2009).

McCall, Leslie (2005): The Complexity of Intersectionality. In: Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 1771–1800, University of Chicago Press.

McCarthy, Elizabeth Doyle (1996): Knowledge as culture: The new sociology of knowledge. Routledge, New York & London.

McNabb, David E. (2004): Research methods for political science: quantitative and qualitative methods. M. E. Sharpe, New York.

Major, Brenda. & Schmader, Toni. (1998): Coping with Stigma through Psychological Disengagement. In: Prejudice: The Target's Perspective, ec. J.K. Swim, and C. Stangor, pp. 219-241. San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press.

Makiguchi, Tsunesaburo (1983–88): 牧口常三郎全集１巻から１０巻,

第三文明社 (Read in Japanese). Makiguchi Tsunesaburo Zenshu (Collected works of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi). Vols. 1–10, Tokyo: Daisan Bunmeisha.

Mayring, Phillip (2000). Qualitative content analysis {28 paragraphs}. Forum qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative social research, 1 (2), Art. 20. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204 (date of research 12th of September 2012).

Mecheril, Paul (2004): Einführung in die Migrationspädagogik. Weinheim.

Mecheril, Paul (2010): Kompetenzlosigkeitskompetenz. Pädagogisches Handeln unter Einwanderungsbedingungen. In: Georg Auernheimer (Hrsg.): Interkulturelle Kompetenz und pädagogische Professionalität (2010), Springer VS. pp. 15–34, Wiesbaden.

Mertol, Birol (2008): Männlichkeitsbilder von Jungen mit türkischem Migrationshintergrund, Berlin, LIT Verlag.

Migazin article: (2012): http://www.migazin.de/2012/07/18/turkische-russische-und-polnische-jugendliche-fuhlen-sich-trotz-deutschem-pass-als-auslander/ (date of research 20th of July 2012).

Moscovici, Serge (1973): Foreword in: C. Herzlich (Ed.), Health and illness: A social psychological analysis (pp. ix–xiv). London/New York: Academic Press.

Moscovici, Serge (1988): Notes towards a description of social representations. European Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 18, pp. 211–250, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Nicholls, John. G. (1984): Achievement motivation: Conceptions of ability, subjective experience, task choice, and performance. In: Psychological Review, 91, pp. 328–346, American Psycholgical Assosicaton. Inc.

Osanabruecker Zeitung, Newspaper Article from 17th of July 2012.

PISA (2012): http://www.oecd.org/pisa/ (date of research 13th of October 2012).

Putnam, Robert D. (2000): Bowling Alone. The collapse and revival of American community. Simon and Schuster, New York.

Press report University of Oldenburg (2012). http://www.presseuni-olden-burg.de/mit/ (date of research 5th of November 2012).

Report to migrant societies 2012, Unpublished.

Roald, Anne Sophie (2004): New Muslims in the European Context: The Experience of Scandinavian Converts. Brill. p. 53, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Rothweiler, Monika (2006): Spezifische Sprachentwicklungsstörung und kindlicher Zweitspracherwerb. In: Rainer Bahr und Claudia Iven (Hrsg.) Sprache, Emotion, Bewusstheit. Beiträge zur Sprachtherapie in Schule, Praxis, Klinik. Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner-Verlag, pp. 154–162.

Sattler, Elisabeth. (2009): Die riskierte Souveränität. Erziehungswissen-schaftliche Studien zur modernen Subjektivität. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Sauter, Sven (2007): Schule, Macht, Ungleichheit. Bildungsbarrieren und Wissensproduktion im Aushandlungsprozess. 1. Aufl. Frankfurt am Main.

Seidler, Victor (1989): Rediscovering Masculinity: Reason, Language and Sexuality. Routledge, London.

Strauss, Anselm L.& Corbin, Juliet (1996): Grounded Theory: Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung. Weinheim.

Shell-Studie (2012): http://www.shell.de/aboutshell/our-commitment/shell-youth-study.html (date of research 21st of November 2012)

Siegal, Meryl (1996): The role of subjectivity in 2nd language socio linguis-tic competency: Western women learning Japanese. Applied linguistics vol. 17 No 3. Oxford university press.

Sik Hung Ng (2007): Language-based discrimination: Blatant and subtle forms. Journal of Language and Social Psychology, p. 26, Sage Jour-nals.

Simmons, Odis E. & Gregory, Toni A. (2003). Grounded Action: Achieving Optimal and Sustainable Change [51 paragraphs]. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 4(3), Art. 27, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0303271 (date of research 8th of April 2012)

Solomon, Jeff. & Rhodes, Nancy.C. (1995): Conceptualizing academic lan-guage (Research Rep. No. 15). Santa Cruz, CA: National Center for Re-search on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.

Sullivan, Arthur & Steven M. Sheffrin (2003): Economics: Principles in Action. Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Steele, Claude (1992): Race and the schooling of Black Americans. Newspaper article in "The Atlantic" April 1992, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1992/04/race-and-the-schooling-of-black-americans/306073/ (date of research 9th of March 2012)

Steele, Claude (1997): A threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape the Intellectual Identities and Performance of Women and African Americans. In: American Psychologist 52, pp. 613–29, American Psychologist Association, Inc.

Steele, Claude (2004): College street journal: http://www.mtholyoke.edu/offices/comm/csj/092404/steele.shtml (date of research 6th of June 2012)

Steele, Claude & Aronson, Joshua (1995): Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African-Americans. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69, pp. 797–811, American Psychologist Association, Inc.

Sternberg, Robert. J. (1996): Myths, countermyths, and truths about intelligence. In: Educational Researcher, 25, pp. 11–16, American Educational Research Association.

The World Bank (1999): 'What is Social Capital?'. PovertyNet http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm (date of research 24th of April 2012).

Thoma, Dieter & Tracy, Rosemarie (2006): Deutsch als frühe Zweitsprache: zweite Erstsprache? In: Ahrenholz, Bernt (Ed.): Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund: Spracherwerb und Fördermöglichkeiten. Fillibach, Freiburg, pp. 58–79.

Utman, Christopher. H. (1997): Performance effects of motivational state: A meta-analysis. In: Personality and Social Psychology Review, 1, pp. 170–182, Sage Journals.

Wagner, Wolfgang (1996): Queries about social representation and construction. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 26, pp. 95–120, John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Weber, Martina (2003): Heterogenität im Schulalltag. Konstruktion ethnischer und geschlechtlicher Unterschiede. Opladen.

Wenzel, Ramona./Schulz, Petra./Tracy, Rosemarie (2007): Linguistische Sprachstandserhebung – Deutsch als Zweitsprache (LiSe-DaZ): Theoretische Grundlagen und erste Ergebnisse. In: Ahrenholz, B. (Hrsg.) Zweitspracherwerb: Diagnose, Verläufe, Voraussetzungen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Fillibach, pp. 9–33.

Wetherell, Margaret & Edley, Nigel (1998): Gender Practices: Steps in the Analysis of Men and Masculinities. In: K. Henwood, C. Griffin & A. Phoenix (Eds.), Standpoints and Differences: Essays in the Practice of Feminist Psychology, pp. 165–173. Sage, London.

Willis, Paul E. (1977): Learning to labour: how working class kids get working class jobs. Saxon House, Colombia University Press, New York.

Witzel, Andreas (2000): Das problemzentrierte Interview [25 Absätze]. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1(1), Art. 22, http://nbn- resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0001228 (date of research 22th of January 2012)

ZEIT ONLINE (2010): http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2010-06/islam-jugendliche-gewalt. (date of research 8th of June 2010).

Appendix

IBKM Interview: Question Guidelines

I. Questions on school situations (examples: perceptions and strategies with segregating situations in the context of school)

1. Can you tell me which schools you attended up to now and how you came to this current school? I will be calm and listen to you.
2. Please tell me how you experienced school so far?
   a. How well do you feel at school?
   b. What is your impression of your teachers and school mates?
3. What does school mean for you?
4. Did you experience any situations where teachers treated you extraordinary well?
   a. Did teachers ever treat you extraordinary well because you are a foreigner?
5. Did you experience any situations where teachers treated you badly?
   a. Did teachers ever treat you badly because you are a foreigner?
6. Please describe a concrete example of how you reacted when teachers treated you badly.

II. Questions on family situations (examples: history of migration, finances)

7. Can you explain how your family came to Germany?
8. Can you explain where and how your family lives?
9. What do your parents mean to you?
10. Please tell me how you get along with your parents:
    a. Relationship to your parents
    b. Roles of your father and mother in the family
    c. Political orientation, religion

11. What meaning does religion have for your family and yourself?

12. Did you experience any situations where your parents treated you badly?

13. Please give me one or two examples: How do you deal with different opinions and conflicts in the family?

14. If you have siblings, what do they mean to you?
    a. How many, ages, occupation, brother or sister?

15. Please describe how money is dealt with in the family?

III. Questions on free time (circle of friends and use of free time)

16. Now to your free time. What do you do in your free time?

17. Did you experience any situations in your free time where you felt badly treated?

18. Who do you spend your free time with?
    a. Parents
    b. Friends
    c. Organization

19. Can you explain what friends mean to you?

20. Once again concretely, what kind of friends do you have?
    a. What is their gender?
    b. What religion do they practice?

21. How did you become friends?

22. Are most of your friends German or non-German, and why?

23. How do you get along with the so-called Germans?

24. What do you think about the so-called Germans?

25. Do your friends have mostly German friends or non-German friends?

26. Do you think that in your perspective the Germans and non-Germans should be encouraged to live together?

27. What do you think you can do to encourage the living together of Germans and non-Germans?

IV. Questions on partner situations (partnership, marriage, forced marriage, masculinity, femininity)

28. Do you have a girlfriend?
    a. What religion does she belong to?

b. What nationality does she have?

29. Independent of your current girlfriend, what is your image of the ideal partner?

30. How do you spend your time together?

31. If we look into the future, how do you imagine your common future?

32. What tasks should a woman or man have in a relationship? What do you think?

33. What do you think about the relationships between a man and woman, man and man, and woman and woman?

V. Questions on identity and language usage

---

34. Please explain to me how you perceive yourself: as a German, as a foreigner, as a Turkish or Oldenburger?

35. How is it in your circle of friends; do they perceive themselves as German, foreigner, Turkish or Oldenburger?

36. What language do you communicate in:
    a. among friends?
    b. at home?
    c. in school?

37. How do you estimate your German language skills?

VI. Applying violence and experiencing violence

---

38. What kind of experiences do you have with violence?

39. Can you tell me some situations where you experienced violence and were a victim?

40. Can you tell me some situations where you experienced violence and were the perpetrator?

41. Can you explain me situations where it is right to apply violence?

42. So that I understand you correctly, what do you understand under violence?
    a. How about physical violence (ex. beating, theft)
    b. How about verbal violence (yelling, mobbing)

43. What kind of experiences do you have with PC games like street fighter or GTA?

44. Please describe how much you feel accepted in Germany.
45. Can you tell me concrete situations where you felt segregated in Germany?
46. Do you yourself have experiences with Neo-Nazis?
47. Have you had any experiences with racial comments?
48. If you were the Federal Chancellor, what would you change in Germany?

Those questions were not all asked but developed for preparation. The original German questions are listed below.

I. Schulische Situation (z.B. Wahrnehmung von und Umgangsstrategien mit schulischen Ein- und Ausgrenzungspraxen)

1. Könntest Du mir zunächst mal etwas darüber erzählen, an welchen Schulen Du bisher warst und wie Du an diese Schule hier gekommen bist. Ich würde erst mal ruhig sein und Dir zuhören.

2. Erzähle mir doch mal, wie Du Schule erlebt hast?
    a) Wie wohl fühlst Du Dich in der Schule?
    b) Welchen Eindruck hast Du von den Lehrern <u>und</u> den anderen Schülern?

3. Beschreibe doch mal bitte, welche Bedeutung die Schule für Dich hat?

4. Hast Du schon Situationen erlebt, wo Lehrer Dich besonders gut behandelt haben?
    a) Haben Dich Lehrer schon einmal besonders gut behandelt, weil Du Ausländer bist?

5. Hast Du schon Situationen erlebt, wo Lehrer Dich schlecht behandelt haben?
    a) Haben Dich Lehrer schon einmal schlecht behandelt, weil Du Ausländer bist?

6. Beschreibe doch mal am konkreten Beispiel, wie Du reagiert hast, wenn Lehrer Dich schlecht behandelt haben!

II. Familiäre Situation (z. B. Migrationsgeschichte, Finanzen)

7. Kannst Du mir zunächst beschreiben, wie Deine Familie nach Deutschland gekommen ist?

8. Kannst Du erst mal beschreiben, wo <u>und</u> wie Deine Familie wohnt?

9. Welche Bedeutung haben Deine Eltern für Dich?

10. Erzähl doch mal: Wie kommst Du mit Deinen Eltern klar?
    a) Verhältnis zu den Eltern
    b) Rolle von Vater <u>und</u> Mutter
    c) politische Orientierungen, Religion

11. Welche Bedeutung hat Religion für deine Familie und Dich?

12. Hast Du schon Situationen erlebt, wo Du von Deinen Eltern schlecht behandelt wurdest?

13. Erzähle doch mal an ein oder zwei Beispielen: Wie wird bei Euch zu Hause mit unterschiedlichen Meinungen und Konflikten umgegangen?
14. Wenn Du Geschwister hast, welche Bedeutung haben sie für Dich?
    a) Anzahl, Alter, Tätigkeit und Geschlecht der Geschwister?
15. Beschreibe doch mal, wie ihr mit dem Geld in der Familie klarkommt?
    a) Wie sieht die finanzielle Situation Deiner Familie aus?
    b) Wie sieht die finanzielle Situation bei Dir persönlich aus?

III. Freizeitsituation (Freizeitgestaltung und Freundeskreis)

16. Nun zu Deiner Freizeit: Was machst Du in Deiner Freizeit?
17. Hast Du schon Situationen erlebt, wo Du Dich in Deiner Freizeit schlecht behandelt gefühlt hast?
    a) Wurdest Du schon einmal schlecht behandelt, weil Du Ausländer bist?
18. Mit wem verbringst Du so Deine Freizeit?
    a) Eltern
    b) Freunde
    c) Organisation
19. Kannst Du mir mal beschreiben, welche Bedeutung Freunde für Dich insgesamt haben?
20. Nochmals konkret: Welche Freunde hast Du so?
    a) Welchem Geschlecht gehören die Freunde an?
    b) Welcher Religion gehören die Freunde an?
21. Wie bist Du zu Deinen Freunden gekommen?
22. Sind Deine Freunde eher Deutsche oder Nichtdeutsche? Und wie kommt das?
23. Wie kommst du mit den sogenannten Deutschen klar?
24. Was hältst du von den sogenannten Deutschen?
25. Wie sieht das bei Deinen Freunden aus: Haben die eher Deutsche oder Nichtdeutsche als Freunde?
26. Sollte aus Deiner Sicht das Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Nichtdeutschen gefördert werden?
27. Was kann man aus Deiner Sicht tun, um das Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Nichtdeutschen zu fördern?

IV.Partnersituation
(Partnerschaft/Ehe/Zwangsverheiratung, Männlichkeit/ Weiblichkeit)

28. Hast Du selbst eine feste Freundin?
    a) Welcher Religion gehört Dein Freund/in an?
    b) Welcher Nationalität gehört Dein Freund/in an?
29. Unabhängig von Dein Freund/in: Wie stellst Du Dir Deinen Traum-partner/in vor?
30. Wie verbringt Ihr Eure Zeit miteinander?
31. Wenn Du in die Zukunft schaust: Wie stellst Du Dir Eure gemeinsame Zukunft vor?
32. Welche Aufgaben sollten aus Deiner Sicht in einer Partnerschaft die Frau und welche der Mann ausüben?
33. Was denkst du/ihr über das Zusammenleben von Mann und Frau Mann und Mann bzw. Frau und Frau?

V. Identitätsgefühl und Sprachpraxis

34. Erkläre mal etwas genauer: Als was verstehst Du Dich: Als Deutscher, als Ausländer, als Türke, als Oldenburger?
35. Wie sieht das in Deinem Freundeskreis aus? Verstehen sich Deine Freunde als Deutsche, als Ausländer, als Türken oder als Oldenburger?
36. In welcher Sprache sprecht Ihr miteinander?
    a) im Freundeskreis
    b) zu Hause
    c) in der Schule
37. Wie würdest Du Deine Deutschkenntnisse selbst so einschätzen?

VI. Gewaltausübung und -erleben

38. Welche Erfahrungen hast Du selbst schon mit Gewalt gemacht?
39. Kannst Du mir ein paar Situationen beschreiben, wo Du Gewalt erlebt hast? (Opfer)
40. Kannst Du mir ein paar Situationen beschreiben, wo Du selbst Gewalt ausgeübt hast? (Täter)

41. Kannst Du mir Situationen nennen, in denen aus Deiner Sicht richtig ist, Gewalt auszuüben?
42. Damit ich Dich richtig verstehe: Was verstehst Du unter Gewalt?
    a) Wie sieht es mit körperlicher Gewalt aus (z. B. Schläge, Sachen wegnehmen)
    b) Wie sieht es mit verbaler Gewalt aus (z. B. Schreien, Mobbing)
43. Welche Erfahrungen hast Du mit Spielen, wie Street Fighter oder GTA?

VII. Rechtsextremismus und Rassismus (Wahrnehmung und Umgangsstrategien, Zugehörigkeitsmanagements, Selbst- und Fremdethnisierungen)

---

44. Beschreib doch mal: Inwieweit fühlst Du Dich in Deutschland akzeptiert?
45. Kannst Du mir mal konkrete Situationen beschreiben, wo Du Dich in Deutschland ausgegrenzt gefühlt hast?
46. Hast Du selbst schon Erfahrungen mit Neonazis gemacht?
47. Hast Du selbst schon Erfahrungen mit rassistischen Bemerkungen gemacht?
48. Zum Abschluss, wenn du Bundeskanzler wärest: was würdest du in Deutschland ändern?

The transcribed interviews can be accessed on demand. Please contact the publishing company.

„Differenzverhältnisse" – Schriftenreihe des Centers for Migration, Education and Cultural Studies (CMC)

1   Bedia Akbaş, Rudolf Leiprecht: Pädagogische Fachkräfte mit Migrationshintergrund in Kindertagesstätten. Auf der Suche nach Erklärungen für die geringe Repräsentanz im frühpädagogischen Berufsfeld, 2015, 138 S.
ISBN: 978-3-8142-2329-2   € 12.80