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Ethnic Differences in Education
in Germany:
Community Study



The research leading to these results has been conducted under the auspices of the project EDUMIGROM: *Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe*, and has received funding from the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013), under Grant Agreement SSH7-CT-2008-217384-EDUMIGROM.

ABOUT EDUMIGROM

Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe is a collaborative research project that aims to study how ethnic differences in education contribute to the diverging prospects of minority ethnic youth and their peers in urban settings. Through applying a cross-national comparative perspective, the project explores the overt and covert mechanisms in socio-economic, political, cultural, and gender relations that make ethnicity a substantive component of inequalities in social status and power. The project involves nine countries from old and new member states of the European Union: the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. EDUMIGROM began in March 2008 and will run through February 2011. The project is coordinated by the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

ABOUT THE PAPER

The third phase of EDUMIGROM was dedicated to conducting qualitative research in selected schools in ethnically diverse communities. The investigation focused on how the school and the wider social environment influenced school performance, the formation of identity and future aspirations of adolescent youth in a multi-ethnic environment. The research aimed at describing and interpreting how differences of institutional settings, everyday life at schools, and the wider social environment play a role in practices and experiences of schooling in a multiethnic community. Each report provides the experiences of students, parents, the teachers as well as of the institutional stakeholders on the basis of personal in-depth interviews, focus group discussions with the most important actors of the educational process (students, their parents and the teachers) as well as participant observations within and outside the school. A total of nine community studies were prepared. Selected reports made available to the wider public may use pseudonyms or exclude sensitive information on the sites and schools selected for EDUMIGROM field research.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this Community Study Report is to summarize the major lessons gained in the qualitative phase of the EDUMIGROM-project in Berlin. In line with the construction of the fieldwork each of the key topics of the report (factors influencing school performance and career; intra- and interethnic relations; views on ethnic differences; identity building) will be discussed from several angles: experiences as narrated by students and parents will be mirrored by the views of the teachers and representatives of migrants' organisations; reflections on inter-ethnic relations as expressed by the individual students will be brought into reflective associations with the observations on the very same relations within and outside the school.

We start by presenting our sites, sample and methodology (chapter 1 and 2) go on with our findings on factors and motivations behind varying school performances and diverting educational careers (chapter 3) before we turn to describe everyday life in and outside the school (chapter 4) and experiences of being 'othered' and views on 'ethnic' differences (chapter 5). Then we will analyze identities, identity strategies, and ideas about adult life (chapter 6) before we finally sum up our main findings and conclusions (chapter 7).

1.1 The sites of the qualitative research: the communities

For the field research we selected two typical immigrant districts of Berlin, i.e. Moabit and Kreuzberg. We have chosen these research sites because the urban situation in these inner city districts can be regarded as quite typical of immigrants' lives in Germany. Berlin is the capital of Germany and, with its approximately 3.4 million inhabitants, the largest city in Germany. On the day of the German reunification, October 3, 1990, Berlin became an independent state as one of 16 federal states (Länder). Berlin is subdivided into 12 boroughs called Bezirke, which are administrative units with political rights comparable to incorporated communities in the rest of Germany (although they are not separate legal entities from the city). The Berlin borough reform in 2001 reduced the number of Berlin's boroughs from 23 to 12 in order to cut down administrative costs. This was achieved by combining several of the old boroughs.

The borough Mitte (I) has been combined from the earlier boroughs Wedding, Tiergarten and Mitte. Moabit which has been selected for field research is the northern part of the earlier borough Tiergarten. Moabit has 70,000 inhabitants; 28 % with migratory background. The borough Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (II) has been combined from the earlier borough Friedrichshain which was part of East-Berlin and the earlier borough Kreuzberg which was part of West-Berlin. The ethnic composition of Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg is therefore quite different. While in Friedrichshain 8.7 % are foreign citizens this share is almost four times higher in Kreuzberg (32,8 %) which has 145,000 inhabitants. 36.6 % of the entire population in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and 60 % of the children below 18 have an immigrant background. Moabit and Kreuzberg are both known as important residence areas of Turkish and Lebanese families in Berlin.

Some 14 per cent of the 3.4 million inhabitants of Berlin are non-Germans. Immigrants of Turkish nationality represent the largest group (30th June 2007), with about 114,000 people, followed by Polish (44,000), Serbian and Montenegrin (24,000), Russian Federation and Italian (14,000 each), North-American (13,000), French and Vietnamese (12,000 each), Croatian (11,000), Bosnian and Herzegovinian (10,500), Greek (10,000), British and Northern Ireland (9,500), Ukrainian and Austrian (8,500 each), Lebanese (7,500).

A striking feature of Berlin's immigrant population is their vastly uneven geo-demographical distribution over the city. Further to the conventional East-West division, an immense imbalance in the western part of Berlin is also recorded, mainly between the districts of the city centre and the remaining districts. The high concentration of immigrants in the districts of the city centre (i.e. Moabit and Kreuzberg) can be explained by three different reasons:

Firstly, because of the substandard developments of their socio-economic structure, such

districts are more suitable than the middle-class residential areas to become the starting point for the newly arrived immigrants with relatively low-income.

Secondly, upon the arrival of the labour immigrants from Southern Europe, Yugoslavia and Turkey in Berlin, there was ample housing available in these districts at low prices. Moreover, city planners did not counteract this gradual development of immigrants' concentration in the districts.

Thirdly, through the settlement and growth in the number of immigrants in certain districts, the further concentration of the same ethnic group would then be vastly facilitated by chain-migration. Frequently, the influx of non-Germans to the city centre was accompanied by the retreat of German middle-class to the suburbs, which resulted in a higher comparative concentration of non-German population.

Students with migratory background in Berlin

In the 2007/2008 school year there were 90,500 'non-German first language' students in general education. They represent almost one third (29.7 %) of all students. 50,000 students had a non-German nationality, among them 20,000 Turkish passport holders and 2,900 Lebanese citizens who represent the largest and the second group of 'foreign students'.

As illustrated in the German National Report on Education and further outlined in 2.2 they also appear to be disproportionately affected by the exclusionary school system and they belong to the category of students whose performances are significantly low – which is often linked to their socioeconomic status and the educational level of the parents. Moreover, Turkish students appear to be the main target group of public discourse, increasingly codified as Muslims, while other groups, for instance students of Italian nationality who also showed quite weak school achievements are barely mentioned.

Lebanese students have an even worse educational performance than the Turkish but are not so much focused in the German discourse. This might be at least partly due to the fact that their number is much smaller. Only 0.6 % (40,000) of all foreigners in Germany are Lebanese while Turkish citizens represent 26 % (1750,000). In Berlin, however, the share of the Lebanese population is slightly more important: 1.6 % (7,700). Since the Lebanese group is quite young the percentage of Lebanese students in general-education in Berlin is 5.7 % of the 'foreign' pupils. Turkish students represent almost 40 % of the foreign students' population.

Public discourse about Lebanese youth in Berlin refers to similar aspects as about Turkish youth but in addition it is very much focused on a small group of criminals and drug-dealers. Articles in Berlin and German newspapers have repeatedly mentioned that the Berlin Heroin-market is controlled by several Kurdish family-clans who pretend to be from Lebanon while state authorities presume they are from Turkey. This confusion deters the legal bodies from deporting delinquent family members because neither Lebanon nor Turkey is willing to accept them (Henninger 2002). Another subject that is reported by media especially in connection with Lebanese and other Arab teenagers is anti-Semitic behavior.

To sum up, Turkish and Lebanese youth clearly represent 'the other' of Berlin society. But the public image of the Lebanese is even worse. The same is true for their socio-economic situation and their legal status. While in 2006 only 0.9 % of Turkish citizens in Germany had precarious legal status (permission to remain or suspension of deportation) 15 % of the Lebanese lived here with heavily restricted social and political rights. Another 40 % had only temporary residence permits, a situation which has become quite unusual for Turkish citizens (15 %). To have only a temporary residence permit has a decisively negative impact of the future perspectives of students, but to have just a permission to remain or a suspension of deportation makes it very difficult to find a working place or a place for vocational training after school education.

2. METHODOLOGIES AND THE "HOMES" OF THE RESEARCH – THE SCHOOLS

2.1 Methodologies

This chapter gives a brief account of the research steps and methods we applied in Germany. In the first section we explain how the sites and the schools were selected and what were the major considerations guiding the research team to study exactly these schools. This is followed by a brief account of activities fulfilled during the empirical research for the Community Study. We start with a description of the schools visited in the course of our research. Then we provide some basic details about our sample. Also, we describe the cooperation between the school and the research team: what turned out to be easy, and what were the difficulties? What were the factors behind? Further, this section explains the way how classes were selected for classroom observations.

In the following we describe the various strategies how we recruited individuals (students, parents, teachers) for interviews and focus-group discussions. We give an insight in their reactions and show how specific aspects made it easy or difficult to finally get accepted. Finally, we provide an evaluation of the methods themselves. We report how they worked in practice, what were the specific difficulties and/or hindrances in applying them according to the original design; what is the research team's assessment about the validity of parts and parcels of information gained through the different approaches, etc. This description of dilemmas met during the research is essential to gain an understanding about the limitations of the collected data in the comparative phase of the research.

2.1.1 Places of fieldwork

Since fieldwork was intended to take place in schools where the survey had been run, the decision where to do fieldwork depended also on the recruitment process for the survey. As it turned out there was only one single school of all the schools addressed in the districts of Wedding and Moabit (where we originally wanted to concentrate all our research) that not only accepted the survey but was likewise ready to become a site for the fieldwork. This was a Gesamtschule in Moabit with 500 students, more than 80% of them with Turkish or Arab background. We decided to take this school as a starting point but still tried to find other schools in Wedding and Moabit that would grant access for the qualitative research.

After several meetings and discussions with principals it became obvious that we would not have the appropriate circumstances to do our fieldwork there (in terms of time, space, and support). Thus we came to the conclusion to better continue our efforts in another district of Berlin. We opted for Kreuzberg which is since the beginning of the labour recruitment in the mid-60s regarded as the immigrant district in Berlin sometimes even called Little-Istanbul. We opted for a Gymnasium because we wanted to investigate a situation that we expected to be most different from the situation in Gesamtschule. In the Berlin school system Gesamtschule and Gymnasium represent opposite positions: When a child leaves elementary school, where all the children are taught from the same curriculum, to enter a secondary school, his or her parents or legal guardian can decide to send it to an integrated comprehensive school (Gesamtschule), which is open to all children leaving elementary school regardless of their performance, or the parents or legal guardian can decide that the child shall continue his or her education in an intermediate school (Hauptschule), a secondary high school (Realschule), or a grammar school (Gymnasium), depending on his or her previous performance in elementary school.

2.1.2 Cooperation between the school and the research team

The schools did their best to support us. In the Gesamtschule in Moabit There were four classes in grade 9 which could have been investigated. The principal suggested one of them because of a slightly higher share of Arab students, and what was more important, because of a class teacher whom he regarded

straightforward and therefore willing to cooperate. As it turned out he was right. In the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg there were two aspects that made it relatively easy to get accepted. The school had already been investigated several times and seemed to be familiar with academic interests. On top of that, our interviewer had herself graduated from this school. Thus her research activity could also be seen as a success of the school and serve as a role model for students. The principal was also helpful in finding a solution for the fact that we could not encounter pupils of grade 9 during that time of the school year. We switched to grade 10 in that school because students of grade 9 have internships during the last two weeks of the school year. The principal helped chose two of the three classes in question because he knew that the class teachers would accept our presence.

2.1.3 Strategies of recruitment

This leads us to the various strategies of recruitment and to the reactions we got. In Moabit the first contact with the students was during the survey. After the survey Meryem Ucan told the students that she would come again to talk individually to each of them. Then she answered questions for another 30 minutes about the EDUMIGROM project but also about herself and her professional career. At that time but also later on it became obvious that many students felt proud that someone like themselves was in charge of conducting an academic research.

The first two interviews were made with students who were asked by the teacher to give it a first try. After their positive feedback the others volunteered and even competed to become the next one. Apparently all students enjoyed to be asked and to be listened to in such an intensive way. The normal reaction after a 1.5 hours interview was "Oh it's already over? My god, I never thought that I could talk that much about myself!"

Despite the students' willingness there were some recruiting difficulties as well. Sometimes it was not possible to take a student out of class because teachers decided that nobody could miss what was going on there like for instance preparatory exercises for exams. Professional studies were excluded from interviewing in general. They are designed to enable students to gain the competencies requisite for successful employment. Since most of the students are regarded to be very much in need of at least getting some basic knowledge all of them were required to participate. Sometimes single students were refused to leave class because they had to prepare or to finish something. Other students could not be interviewed because they were absent very often and if they were there teachers did of course not send them out again to have an interview.

Teachers could be recruited in the Gesamtschule in Moabit in the teachers' room which is shared by all teachers of grade 9. Most of them were quite open but their tight schedule made it rather complicate to get an appointment for an interview. To find a date when at least four teachers could participate in a focus group discussion, finally turned out to be impossible. The teachers were very busy with preparing exams, marking the assignments and finishing the annual school reports. In Kreuzberg the situation was not different in this respect.

While interviews with students, teachers and other individuals at school were relatively easy to get, we had more difficulties to reach parents. Since their children are grown; parents don't take them to school any more. All in all the relation between the Gesamtschule in Moabit and the parents of its students is almost not existent. Most parents don't show up in the school's parents' evenings and most teachers never tried to contact the students' parents. Therefore there was no relation we could have built on. The only possibility left was to ask the students. Yet, either they did not answer the request, or they told us that their parents would not speak any German (if they were not of Turkish background), that they had too much work or that they were too ill to receive visitors. Only one girl asked her mother who finally invited Meryem Ucan to meet her at home.

In most cases the reasons given why parents can't be interviewed will be true of course but in addition there might be several reasons why students hesitate to establish a connection to their parents. It might appear too difficult to explain what would be the reason for an interview. The distance between parents and school might be regarded positive by the adolescents and should thus be kept. Or it might

be that the students felt ashamed about their situation at home and did not want to invite someone "official". We just don't know. The second interview with a parent from the Gesamtschule was based on the responsible person of the Parents' project who asked a mother to give an interview.

In the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg we had more success in contacting parents. Probably this was at least partly an outcome of the fact that Meryem Ucan lives and works in Kreuzberg. While in Moabit she was someone whom nobody knew, parents in Kreuzberg could put her in place. One mother whom she got in contact with at school organised a group with five others to have a focus group discussion together. Two more mothers who have children in grade 9 or 10 in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg could be recruited for interviews in a nearby Mosque.

The school itself supported the research by sending a letter to the parents of students in grade 10 asking them for active contributions. However it is not clear whether this was the main reason why four mothers joined our focus group discussion. Probably it was also the result of the interviews which had been conducted with their daughters in advance.

Our attempts to conduct some more interviews with students for the case study on ethnic minorities in the beginning of the school year 2009/2010 remained without success, for a number of reasons. One reason is that the pupils whom Meryem Ucan had interviewed in summer entered a decisive school year after the summer holiday break and were very much occupied with their school duties. Attempts to address them once again so as to raise more contacts for interviews failed. Also, it seems as if the issue of the survey was a kind of finished business in their eyes so that they did not quite understand why we would need any more help, be it with finding more interviewees through them, or organise further discussion circles. That was even more the case on the level of school access. Altogether, getting access to the schools for research purposes was not an easy task, as we reported earlier. For the studied schools/directorates just as in the perception of the pupils, our researcher was granted access for some time during the summer of 2009, but that was over and could not be used like a multiple entry visa.

Therefore we had to seek other ways to get more interviews with students. We used personal contacts to various immigrant organisations in Kreuzberg and finally managed to reach 12 more students most of them attending the Gymnasium where part of our fieldwork took place. In addition we asked some of the mothers in Kreuzberg who had volunteered for a focus group discussion.

2.1.4 The sample

Students

The 28 students who have been interviewed are of different ethnic background. In 17 families the background of both parents is Turkish, in seven Lebanese and in one Pakistani. Two male students are of Syrian/ Turkish respectively Turkish/ Afghan background, one female student is of Moroccan/ Kurdish(Iraq) background. 14 students are female, 14 male. Their age varies between 14 (6) and 17 (2). Most students are 15 (8) or 16 (12). (see table 1)

Six of the students at the Gesamtschule accepted to form a discussion group which had three discussions: the first one about influences of educational achievement, the second about participation in class-trips and a third one about interpersonal discrimination in class. In the Gymnasium we had one focus group discussion about interpersonal discrimination in class which was attended by two students we had also interviewed and by two more who could not be interviewed.

Parents

To get an impression how the families of minority ethnic students relate to school experiences and to schooling in general we spoke to 15 mothers and one father of Turkish (11) and Lebanese (5) background. Six of them are mothers of one of the students we had interviewed in advance (Talibe , Mona, Samia,

Gül) or afterwards (Ali, Hikmet, Figen, Aygül). The others are mostly parents of girls and boys in the same age who agreed to contribute to our study even though some don't have children in one of the two schools where our fieldwork took place. (see table 6)

The children of five parents attended Gesamtschule or Hauptschule while eleven parents had at least one child who was in Gymnasium. The focus group discussions had different subjects that were chosen in relation to the composition of the group. The first group was homogenous according to ethnic background and their obvious adherence to an Islamic milieu (all wore headscarves) but mixed according to the childrens' type of school. This made it quite interesting to have a discussion about influences on educational achievement.

The other focus group discussion took place in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg. All participants were mothers or aunts of students we had already interviewed but had different ethnic backgrounds. In addition, based on the interviews with their daughters/ niece we expected them to represent different milieus. Therefore we decided to focus on conflicts between minority and majority cultures and values and to discuss about participation in class-trips.

Teachers and further actors at school

We interviewed seven teachers at the Gesamtschule in Moabit and two at the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg. Five other persons whom we interviewed additionally are working in the schools though not all of them would be there every day (see table 7). For instance a volunteer in the 'Seniors in School' project is part-time. Her task is to mediate in conflict situations. Another part-time employee is staff of the Parents' project which is financed by the City of Berlin's quarter management. He is of Arab origin and offers certain office hours for parents who seek advice. Three other school actors we could interview are employees of the Gesamtschule in Moabit. An educator is responsible for a variety of activities students may follow when they don't have lessons: music, billard, pottery, design, needlework, crafts et cetera. One employee assists teachers during various kinds of lessons although most of them are not related with his own profession. He is a chemical laboratory worker. After having been unemployed for several years the job-center offered him to work as school assistant. Many students told us that they like him very much and so we decided to have an interview with him. The third one belonging to this category is the only teacher of Turkish origin in the Gesamtschule in Moabit. However he is not teaching any more but running the school library.

Representatives of other organisations

To accomplish the insight perspective we had also five interviews with representatives of other organisations. One is a job-center-employee who is part-time working at the Gesamtschule in Moabit. She is responsible for the students' job placement after finishing school. To include the political perspective of migrants' organisations in our analysis we addressed four different organisations: Berliner Studentenverein e.V. (Berlin Students' Association), arabische Elternunion (Arab Parents' Union), Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland (Turkish Community in Germany), and Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs (Islamic Community Milli Görüs).

Berliner Studentenverein e.V. and Arabische Elternunion provide practical support for students and parents in Berlin combined with representing their interests in local public debates about education politics. Turkish Community in Germany and Islamic Community Milli Görüs are nationwide organisations. They represent the interests of the Turkish and Islamic minorities in the media and in important conferences like for instance the German Islam Conference organised by the Ministry of Interior. One of the main fields they are engaged in is education. We interviewed top representatives of these four organisations.

2.1.5 Methods of interviewing

All our interviews started with very open questions that did not refer to ethnicity but left it to the interviewee whether they referred to this topic during their narration. Questions that were directly referring to ethnicity were posed in the second part of the interview while the last part was a kind of questionnaire that covered all aspects of mere information.

Introductory open questions provoking narrations in the students' interviews were the following: 1) Please tell me how it happened that you are at this school! 2) Could you please tell me how you like this school and this class? 3) Tell me about your best friends! What did you do together last week? 4) (Somewhere at the end of the interview) Imagine after 5 years we meet again. What will you do then? How will you live when you are 21?

After such a request we gave them time to think. If we were asked what exactly we expected we explained we would like to listen to their reports and stories. They should take their time and start from where they wanted to give us some insight. It sometimes took quite long to encourage students to tell us a story and not just one word or a short sentence. When students obviously finished their narrations regarding one of these subjects we picked up interesting points and asked them to deepen this aspect a little further.

By doing so we opened a space where the individual perspective of the student was mainly guiding the interview. Apart from the introductory request („tell us something about...“) our following questions directly referred to aspects that were part of the students' reports. We think it was first of all this narrative approach which made the students enjoy the interview and evaluate it with a concluding remark like "I never thought that I could talk that much about myself!"

In the second part of the interview we asked students about their attitudes regarding success and failure at school, interethnic contacts, their ethnic belonging and the role of ethnicity in various aspects of life. The last part was foreseen to ask for all the information about family background and socio-economic situation that had not been given yet.

None of the interviews finished after one hour as planned in advance. Most took 1.5 hours, some even longer for example when students talked about problematic situations regarding school or family. In such a situation it was not easy to keep the distance and stick to the role of an interviewer and to not switch to the role of a counselor or mentor. Another difficulty was to hold the balance between neutrality and personalization. Some topics like parental violence or conflicts in the family would not have been mentioned by the students if Meryem Ucan had not addressed it first by mentioning similar experiences in her own surrounding Gesamtschule. By doing so she lowered the threshold to open oneself and talk about serious problems too.

To gain the students' confidence was of course facilitated by the ethnic and religious background of our interviewer, Meryem Ucan. She was somehow regarded as an elder sister, someone minority members could identify with and could be proud of. Her age of 30 placed her between most teachers and students and made it easier for her to approach the students.

Interviews with parents, teachers, and other individuals at school were structured likewise. Parent interviews had a more biographical orientation and started with the request to talk about their own school experience. Then they were asked about their professional career, their social network and after that about schooling of their children and expectations regarding their future.

The following parts of the interviews concerned their attitudes regarding success and failure at school, interethnic contacts, ethnic belonging and the role of ethnicity in various aspects of life. Finally we asked for all remaining information needed.

Teacher interviews and interviews with other people at the school followed a similar guideline but started by asking them about the situation that had made them enter this school. Then they were asked about various aspects of working in a school with students of mainly Turkish and Arab background and about their experiences with students' parents.

Interviews with representatives of migrants' organisations followed a more classical structure starting with questions about the organisation itself, its structure, its background, and its main goals.

Then we focused on educational aspects and asked about the goals and visions as well as about the way of acting and cooperating in this realm.

All the interviews with representatives and some with teachers and individuals working at school were tape-recorded while the interviews with students and parents and with some other interviewees were not. This was decided due to our observations and talks before the interviews. We expected students and parents to be very cautious if we recorded the interview. So Meryem Ucan took some notes during the interviews to remember everything important and she completed these notes right after.

As already stated before, the original estimation that interviews would probably last one hour turned out to be too ambitious. We always needed 1.5 hours or more. Interviews with mothers at their home took even more than 2 hours.

2.1.6 Methods of initiating focus group discussions

In the Gesamtschule in Moabit we asked students in grade 9 to participate in a discussion group which had three different discussions. In Kreuzberg two of our interviewees in grade 10 were ready to participate. In addition, two male students of grade 9 could be included in spite of the internship phase because their internship took place in the school (assisting the concierge).

Both focus groups discussed the following situation of interpersonal discrimination:

In a class where many pupils have an immigrant background, especially Turkish and Arab, the class teacher is very interested in cultural issues. In a mathematics lesson he wants to discuss an article from the daily newspaper that presents some data about arranged marriages. After distributing the article he is directly addressing Esma, a female student with Turkish background who is wearing a headscarf.

Class teacher: "Esma, could you please tell us, why Turkish girls are accepting to marry someone without knowing each other?"

Esma: "Is this question part of our mathematics lesson?"

Most students started immediately to refuse the teachers approach and entered a lively discussion that needed almost no interference by Meryem Ucan.

The discussion group at the Gesamtschule met again for two more discussions which were based on a situation and respective question that were also used in discussions with parents. The question about influences on educational achievement was raised in a group of six mothers of Turkish origin. Three of them had at least one child in Gymnasium while the children of the others attended Gesamtschule or Hauptschule. Apart from that difference they shared ethnic background and were attending the same mosque. Therefore we decided to initiate a discussion about influences on educational achievement. As it turned out there was really an interesting difference of attitudes between the mothers of children who were successful in schooling and the rest of the group.

The situation that we used for the focus group discussions with students in the Gesamtschule and with mothers in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg was about a conflict of cultural values:

A class where most students are in the age-group of 16 is planning a one-week-school-trip to Amsterdam. The class teacher has already got a negative response of 5 girls, stating that they will not participate. 3 of them are of Turkish and 2 of them of Arab immigrant background. All the other students most of them of German origin will participate. During a parents' evening which is attended by most of the parents the class teacher says that he is angry about this outcome. He does not want to accept the fact that 5 girls should stay at home.

The participants in the parents' group were mothers or aunts of students in grade 10 we had already interviewed. Three were of Arab one of Turkish background. Yet what was expected to be more relevant than differences in ethnic background were differences in attitudes regarding Islam and

assimilation. We knew about it from the interviews with their daughters/ niece. Therefore we chose a conflict situation about participation in class-trips.

To ensure a lively discussion we decided not to record these meetings. As we had seen in the weeks before parents are not easy to be reached. Reasons behind that reluctance might be missing experience with academic research on the one hand and experiences of being constantly misunderstood and discriminated on the other hand. We did not want to risk losing the confidence of the mothers who agreed to contribute to this research by insisting on tape-recording without any need. Instead Meryem Ucan took notes during the discussions which she filled up right after.

Focus group discussions were in general finished after 40 minutes. Only one of them took one hour.

2.1.7 Validity of the primary data collected

Our research took place in two typical immigrant districts in the capital of Germany. We have intentionally chosen schools where we could contact several students of Lebanese background. Therefore we had to go to schools where the share of German students is very low. This makes it clear that our findings may not be easily applied to districts or schools where the majority of students is still German. However due to widespread spatial segregation and to demographic reasons more and more students of Turkish and Lebanese origin attend schools where the majority has an immigrant background.

In the Gesamtschule in Moabit we interviewed almost all students and teachers of one class. Among the 21 students in that class four are severely handicapped one is German and four attend lessons so irregularly that we could not get hold of them. All the others were interviewed. We interviewed all teachers of this class and all teachers and other individuals doing a white collar job at that school who have an immigrant background. In addition we addressed some other persons working there who are responsible for important aspects of school life like vocational choice, mediation in conflicts and recreational activities in school. Regarding the interviews at the Gesamtschule in Moabit we may say that our research included everyone relevant except parents.

The choice of the other site and of most individuals we contacted for further interviews and focus group discussions has been motivated by comparative intentions. We wanted to get insight into the situation at a school at the other end of the educational ranking. This allows us to find differences and similarities between and within the ethnic groups investigated. Another aspect to be considered is the fact that our fieldwork in the Gymnasium was done at the very end of the school-year. This was a time when no serious lessons were held any more but classes followed various kind of projects like for instance discussing movies. The atmosphere in school might therefore have been slightly different from the rest of the year.

To sum up, regarding the spectrum of the research, we may say that we have studied the situation among the lowest-standing segment of the school-system: 80 % of the Gesamtschule students are in fact the lowest segment of pupils. They do not achieve more than Hauptschule level and leave school with either that, or even without any school exam. The fact that the Gesamtschule type of school leads to the highest school exam theoretically does not make it a high end school at all. In Berlin, and in particular in our catchment areas, Gesamtschule schools equal in fact the lowest type, i.e. Hauptschule.

The nationwide migrants' organisations we interviewed represent probably the biggest organisations though they can certainly not be regarded as representing all migrants of Turkish origin or of Islamic background.

One factor definitely influenced all interview situations: the fact that Meryem Ucan wears a headscarf. There was almost no one who did not show some kind of reaction. Most students and parents seemed to appreciate it and referred to it by touching issues that were somehow related to Islam. We doubt that they would have mentioned these issues so often or in the same way if the interviews had been with a non-Muslim or else with a Turkish woman who does not cover her hair. The same may be assumed for teachers and other people working at school. However the effect was obviously different in this case. While most students and parents seemed to be happy about a Muslim researcher, the

teachers and other staff working at school often seemed confused. However we are sure that although the headscarf influenced the interviews it did not distort them. To the contrary, we gained an insight into various reactions towards Muslims and Muslim academics respectively we would have hardly got otherwise.

Last but not least, what makes us quite sure that our primary data are valid to a great extent is the mere fact that they are not really surprising. What has been presented in the German National Report on Education and even what has been described by Sabine Mannitz and the research team around Werner Schiffauer analyzing the situation in the mid-90s is not much different from what we have seen in Moabit and Kreuzberg in 2009.

2.2 The schools

Our fieldwork was done in two typical immigrant districts of Berlin in Moabit and Kreuzberg. The neighbourhoods of both schools are classified for a neighbourhood management program (Quartiersmanagement), i.e. a special urban development and social work program by which the city administration is trying to change the socio-economic situation. Schools, in particular those on the lower strata, play a crucial role in this process. As long as they have a bad reputation many members of the middle classes flee the neighbourhood when their children come of schooling age or latest after grade six when tracking takes place. This is not only true for the German middle classes, but also for the (emerging) middle classes of the immigrant population. To change this dynamic is regarded as an important aspect of neighbourhood development.

In Berlin in the 2007/2008 school year there were 305,280 students in general-education . 48.5 % attended Grundschule, 4 % Hauptschule; 4 % 'special needs schools', 6.5 % Realschule; 13 % a Gesamtschule and 24 % Gymnasium (Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008; own calculation). The distribution of students with Turkish or Lebanese citizenships according to the various school types shows that both groups are affected by the exclusionary school system. Most Turkish and Lebanese students on secondary level visit a Gesamtschule and are both overrepresented in Hauptschule. The table below highlights the most striking features:

Table 1 Distribution of students to school type (in %)

Students	Grund- schule	Haupt- schule	Special needs school	Real- schule	Gesamt- schule	Gymnasium
All	48.5	4.0	4.0	6.5	13.0	24.0
Non-German first language	56.5	6.0	3.0	7.5	12.5	14.5
Turkish	49.0	8.5	4.0	10.5	14.0	13.5
Lebanese	52.5	13.5	8.5	7.0	13.0	4.0

Source: Berlin School Statistics 2007/2008; own calculations

To get a differentiated picture about the situation of students with Turkish and Lebanese background we opted for schools which represent both ends of the educational ranking. We started with an integrated comprehensive school that could be regarded as typical for students with this kind of background since most of them attend schools on this level. Then we went on with a grammar school to get an insight in the situation of successful students with the same background.

Both schools are located on a position in the educational market which is lower than what

should be expected from this type of school. The Gesamtschule in Moabit is attended mostly by students who would otherwise attend a Hauptschule and their performance is close to Hauptschule as well. The school in Kreuzberg is a Gymnasium with a deteriorating image that might be ranked closer to a Gesamtschule than to most Gymnasiums. The main reason behind this is our recruiting strategy. The decision to look for schools with a considerable share of Lebanese students made it very unlikely to find schools with a better position. The ethnic ranking in Germany where Lebanese are on the lower end is reflected in the educational market where schools which are attended by many Lebanese are typically avoided by students who have access to other schools. This dynamics result in a loss of status for the respective schools.

However, although both schools can't be regarded to be typical for the types of schools they represent, they are nevertheless typical for schools which are attended by students of Lebanese origin.

2.2.1 Gesamtschule in Moabit

The school in Moabit is a comprehensive school (Gesamtschule) with 500 students. It was established in 1982 as a pilot project. Some of the structural characteristics that are still relevant are the following: It is a full-day school with classes not bigger than 25 (between 21 and 25). Each class is taught by a relatively small group of teachers who are continuously responsible for it from the beginning (grade 7) up to the final grade (grade 10).

The school does not have a specified catchments area. Although the share of students from other boroughs is on the rise, still 90 % of the students live in the borough Mitte especially in the earlier boroughs Wedding and Tiergarten. The position of the school in the educational system has to be regarded quite low. Most of the students were recommended by their teachers to go to a Hauptschule when they left elementary school. The principal told us that the educational level of the newcomers is too low to realize the original idea of a Gesamtschule. Ideally a Gesamtschule should be attended by one third of students who were advised to enter Hauptschule, by one third recommended Realschule and by one third recommended Gymnasium.

Especially in the eyes of the German middle classes, but also of the (emerging) middle classes of the immigrant population the school is regarded to be not much better than a Hauptschule. If they send their children to a school in this borough they probably choose one of the other Gesamtschulen. Those are attended by much more students with better recommendations and the share of German students is higher. There is even one Hauptschule close to the Gesamtschule investigated which has a better reputation in the middle-classes just because of the fact that more than 50 % of the students there are of German origin, a point which is highlighted in the recruitment material of that Hauptschule.

The position of the school in the educational market is directly linked to the socio-economic and "ethnic" composition of the student body. It may be seen as the cause and the outcome as well. The financial situation of the families is rather problematic. Around 80 % of the students' families receive social welfare benefits. The ethnic composition of the students is in an ongoing process of diversification. In the beginning students with migration background were less and mostly of Turkish origin, whereas now the Arab group is quite big as well. Meanwhile students of Turkish, Kurdish or Arab origin represent altogether more than 80 % percent of the students. All in all the school hosts more than 20 different groups of origin.

Absenteeism in the school is quite high. In the first half of the school year 2005/06 almost each one of the 500 students was absent at least one day. All together there were 4,316 days of absence, one third of them without excuse. 11 % of the students were absent more than 21 days.

Despite these facts, most students seemed to be comfortable with the school. In general students regarded themselves to be lucky because they are at this school. They told us that there are other schools in the neighbourhood which are much worse. However, this was more a self assuring remark since almost none of them had reliable information about other schools. It was interesting to see that although all students distanced themselves from other schools which might have been an alternative to them there was still a difference between those who were just on the level of the

Hauptschule and the few others who were doing better. The last ones sometimes complained about the behaviour of their classmates who make it rather difficult to study well. They would definitely advise their younger siblings to go to another school.

Teachers who are at the school since it was established often referred to the school's golden age. Since it was a pilot project in 1982, there had been a university team which was aiming at giving a better support to students with migration background especially to students from Turkey who had finished primary school there. Certain teaching materials were translated into Turkish and some Turkish teachers were employed. The school was like a magnet for this type of students who enrolled even if they lived in a district far away. Teachers who came to the school at that time did so because they wanted to work in a multicultural setting with a progressive concept. They told us that the students at that time were very different from students of today although many of them had been newcomers from Turkey not knowing German very well but behaving much better.

After some years the situation changed but the teachers do not really know the reasons. The project and its focus on bi-lingual teaching finished and the students' body changed. Meanwhile almost all students are born in Germany but teachers regard them as much more problematic. Teachers' body now incorporates many colleagues who were sent to the school although this school was not preferred by them. Some teachers come from GDR and had to leave their school after reunification when many schools in the eastern parts of Berlin were closed when birth-rate went down dramatically. There is only one teacher of Turkish origin. He was down-graded when the pilot-project phase ended and is not teaching any more but running the school library. Two more teachers have a migration background as well (Scottish and Chilean) but would probably not be regarded as being 'similar' by students of Turkish or Arab origin.

The small share of German students makes it difficult to compose mixed classes. The only thing which could be done is to distribute them in different classes as long as they or their parents don't say that they want to be in a certain class. Generally each class has 2 or 3 German students. The school is reacting to the ethnic composition of the students' body by giving special importance to teaching German as a second language. This is not so only reflected in the German lessons itself but in all subjects that are taught. "Each lesson has to be a German language lesson" is the respective slogan in the school program.

Since the school is a Gesamtschule the core subjects are taught in courses of two different levels and not in the class as a whole. Core subjects are German, mathematics and English. Here students of all classes in the same grade get separated along performance. In each grade three courses are taught on a level that is more or less equivalent to the level of the Hauptschule, one other course is similar to the level of Realschule. The rest of the subjects are taught in the class as a whole.

Grade 9 the year before the last is crucial for the students' future. All students get a forecast which certificate they may reach if their performance would remain on the same level. Those students who follow the core subjects (German, mathematics and English) on a level that is more or less equivalent to the level of Realschule start preparing the final exams for MSA (Mittlerer Schulabschluss) in grade 10 which was introduced as a reaction to the PISA study. This exam takes place in all kind of schools (Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Gesamtschule) in grade 10 and is equivalent in all Länder of Germany.

Teachers told us that the introduction of this exam had negative impacts on the students of this school because the percentage of those who got a certificate (Übergangszugnis) after grade 10 that provides entrance to Gymnasiale Oberstufe which leads to a University entrance qualification (Hochschulreife) dropped dramatically.

2.2.2 *Gymnasium in Kreuzberg*

The grammar school (Gymnasium) in Kreuzberg has 535 students. The school was established right after World War II in 1945 with nearly 500 students. Within the last decade the school underwent dramatic change in quantitative and qualitative terms. In 2002/2003 it was attended by 770 students a number which sharply decreased within in the following years. In 2008/2009 there were 535 students. Around 80 % of them have a migrant family background (non-German mother-tongue). Six years earlier this share was not even half as big (36.5%). The reasons of this development are not known by the teachers and we don't want to make a guess either. As the principal told us the school does not know how to react.

The school does not have a specified catchments area. Although there are some students from other boroughs, 79% of the students live in the borough Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg especially in the earlier borough Kreuzberg. 13% live in the borough Neukölln which is very close.

As the class teacher of grade 9 told us the school could be classified a Gymnasium with a deteriorating image that might be ranked closer to a Gesamtschule than to most Gymnasiums. Especially in the eyes of the German middle classes, but also of the (emerging) middle classes of the immigrant population a proper Gymnasium is regarded to be much better than a Gesamtschule. However they differentiate between 'good' Gymnasium and 'bad' Gymnasium. If they send their children to a Gymnasium most of them would prefer one of the other grammar schools in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg where the share of German students is higher. There is only one other Gymnasium which is located very close to 'our' school in which the share of students with migration background is considerably higher (96%). This is the only Gymnasium in Berlin where Turkish may be studied as second foreign language which makes the school very attractive for many students of Turkish background. In general students regarded themselves to be lucky because they are at this grammar school. This is something which would not be welcomed by the students we interviewed although they highly appreciate to be themselves in a school that is attended mostly by students of minority background.

The ongoing "ethnic shift" - until 2009/2010 the share of students with migration background climbed already up to 83.7 % - is paralleled by an ongoing change for the worse in the families' economic situation. In the higher grades (11-12) the level of income in 30 % of the students' families is so low that they are entitled to free school books. This percentage is even doubled (60 %) in the lower grades (7-10).

The performance of the students is rather atypical for students in a Gymnasium. Although there are no statistics available the school report describes the number of students leaving before grade 12 as quite high. However, almost none of them leaves without having reached at least a certificate equivalent with passing grade 10 at Realschule (Mittlerer Schulabschluss). The percentage of absence from school is slightly above average. Students were absent in 4.6 % of the total of lessons. The average of absence in all grammar schools in Berlin is 4.4 %.

The curriculum at the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg is characterized by two focus points. Strengthening of methodical competences and strengthening of linguistic competences. Methodological competences include strategies of understanding of information as well as strategies of processing information. Since teachers stated that both competences are gradually diminishing the school started putting special efforts on it. The school gives special importance to teaching German as a second language. This includes lessons in German as a second language even in the higher grades but also linguistic teaching in all kind of subjects.

The principal and teachers were complaining the dramatic change in the ethnic composition of the student body. They regard the situation becoming worse and worse and have no idea how to give a halt to that decline. They had even discussed the idea of establishing a certain class for German students but rejected it finally because on the other hand this would have resulted in constructing foreigners' classes. The few German students are distributed more or less equally to the parallel classes. Beside this aspect gender is another relevant aspect in constructing classes.

The teachers regard the actual ethnic composition as problematic in different aspects. Since

most students with migration background have either Turkish or Arab background those ethnic groups are in a majority position. This motivates German parents and parents of non-Turkish or non-Arab background to send their children to other grammar schools where the share of Germans is higher and the students with Turkish or Arab background are clear minorities. Thus, the situation at the Gymnasium investigated here does no more reflect the ethnic composition of this age group in the borough but is less mixed and therefore less attractive to those groups which would be needed for a better balance. The situation as a whole is like a 'vicious circle' which results in an unequal and unfair distribution of opportunities that is hindering minority ethnic students' advancement and longer-term educational career.

3. FACTORS AND MOTIVATIONS BEHIND VARYING SCHOOL PERFORMANCES AND DIVERTING EDUCATIONAL CAREERS

Taking a number of perspectives, this chapter seeks answers from different angles to one and the same question: what are the factors that explain the vastly experienced disadvantages in school performance and advancement of "minority ethnic" youth, and what are the mechanisms that divert their longer-term educational careers from the dominant paths experienced among their more fortunate mates in the majority society?

3.1 Students and their parents: factors of the home

In the first part of the chapter, we will look at issues of performance, attendance and expectations on educational career through the lens of those directly affected: the interviewed students and their parents. This section will show the role of socioeconomic and cultural background, parents' own experiences with schooling, their attitudes and expectations as "factors of the home". We will see how their families relate to children's performance and to schooling in general.

Social, demographic and legal aspects of the families' socio-economic situation

Although all students were born in Germany only five of them may be regarded as third generation since their mother and father were both born and/or grew up in Germany. All the others are offspring of families where at least one parent immigrated. This is the case in all the Lebanese families who came to Germany as refugees and successfully managed to be recognized as having a right of Asylum. In these families usually both parents were adults when they immigrated while in Turkish migrant families marriage migration is relatively common: young men and women who grew up in Germany are searching spouses from Turkey and bring them over to Germany after marriage. In nine of the 17 Turkish cases the mothers of the students grew up in Turkey and followed their husband after marriage. In two cases it was the other way round. (see table 1)

The household composition of the Turkish and Lebanese families is quite different, too. While in the Lebanese families the number of children only varies between four and seven, the Turkish families show a much wider variation and have all in all less children: two (7), three (6) four (2), five (1), seven (1). The Turkish/ Afghan and the Turkish/Syrian families also have only two children each. (see table 2)

All families live in the immediate surroundings of the schools which is the most important reason why the students attend this school. Only three families moved to the quarter during the last years. All the others live there at least for such a long period that the students did not remember any change of location when asked in the interviews. This does of course not mean that the families have never moved within the quarter, but moves across the border to another quarter seem to be quite rare in this population. All the more interesting are the moves that took place because they are at least in two cases induced by the experience of being discriminated in a middle-class surrounding which was almost exclusively German.

For instance, Bilge, one of the Turkish girls attending the Gesamtschule reported that her

father who grew up in Moabit after his marriage with her mother who grew up in Turkey proposed to move to a quarter in the south of Berlin. They thought that their children would get better knowledge of German language if their playmates and schoolmates would mostly be German. Therefore they chose a location where hardly any Turkish family had settled. Nevertheless they still cultivated the friendship to Turkish families in Moabit. When Bilge had finished Grundschule where she did not feel comfortable at all the family moved back to Moabit and Bilge enrolled to the Gesamtschule. Reflecting about the years in the south Bilge evaluates the time spent there as a period when the family had felt quite lonely in the immediate surroundings.

Figen and Aygül, Turkish sisters in Kreuzberg, moved from a "better part" of Neukölln to Kreuzberg when Figen left primary school where all her classmates were German. Figen and Aygül always felt discriminated there. Especially from grade 4 when they decided to wear a headscarf they faced very hostile treatment by teachers and classmates. Thus the family decided to move to an environment that they regard to be better for their daughters.

Economic and labor related situation of the families

The economic situation of half of the families is heavily influenced by either unemployment (8) or an employment situation that does not provide the necessary minimum income for a decent living (4). At least 13 families receive a financial welfare aid called Hartz IV, 10 in Gesamtschule, 3 in Gymnasium.

Half of the students reported that they do not depend on social welfare. One of them is Bilge. Her father grew up in Germany and works in a factory. The father of Tarik, one of the Turkish boys in our sample, runs a kiosk that seems to do well enough to support the family. Since his father is not always of good health Tarik helps him out from time to time. Sibel, his Turkish classmate, is also supporting her mother in one of the hairdresser's shops she is running. Her father is self-employed too and works in his own bakery. Sibel's parents both grew up in Germany and have learned their professions during three years of vocational training. Her mother is one of the three mothers in the sample who have a professional qualification. Four fathers in our sample (Ali/Hikmet, Arif, Kadir, Figen/Aygül) make their living with Taxi-driving which seems to be a way of self-employment that is accessible and attractive for migrants who don't have a vocational qualification but manage to get the license needed.

The fathers of Omar and Mahmut are self-employed as well, but need to supplement their income by Hartz IV. Omar's father has an import-export-business for goods from Pakistan while Mahmut's father is running a restaurant. The fathers of Can and Gül have finished vocational training in Germany qualifying them as policemen and turner but cannot make their living without Hartz IV.

Most mothers have always been housewives (16). Two are too ill to go to work and one is looking for a heavily handicapped child. Only some work or have worked from time to time in jobs like cleaner (4), ice-cream-seller, educator's assistant, saleswoman or in a factory (1). An exceptional case is the mother of Sibel: she runs three hairdresser's shops. But as Sibel states, it would be misleading to think that her family is well off. Only compared to the other students in the sample the socio-economic status of this family seems to be somehow better. One reason behind might be the fact that both parents represent the second generation who finished their professional qualification in Germany.

Compared to families of Turkish origin the Lebanese families seem to be in an even worse situation. All fathers were unemployed at the time of the interviews and the mothers had always been at home to look after the children. (On average the number of Children is close to 6.) Before getting unemployed all Lebanese fathers had worked in jobs like construction, butcher's shop and factory. Mona's father had a restaurant, but was forced to close it down because of severe financial problems. (see table 3)

Housing conditions of the families may be evaluated average. We did not here of any complaints neither from students nor from parents.

Parents' educational background

The educational background of the students' parents is rather modest. Most parents do not have any educational career that would exceed the compulsory education in their country of origin. There are only two mothers who are reported to have attended secondary school. One of them did in Lebanon, the other in Turkey. One mother who belongs to the second generation of Turkish origin has passed the examination for the Master Craftsman's Diploma in hairdressing and runs three hairdresser's shops in Berlin. Two other second generation mothers can't use their vocational training or have not finished it.

The educational performance of the fathers does not seem to be better. There are only two who had started an academic career before they came to Germany where they could never make use of their diploma in philosophy and teaching respectively but had to work in construction, factories or as taxi-driver. The same holds true for another father of Lebanese background who had brought professional experience as mechanic from Jordan. Six fathers of Turkish background, five of them belonging to the second generation, have successfully acquired professional training in Germany and became policemen, baker, electrician, mechanic and turner. (see table 4)

Parents' expectations for their children's career and their means of support

The expectations of the parents for the future career of their children seem to be quite modest and realistic. Many who immigrated as adults do not know much about the German education system which is quite different from the Turkish and Lebanese system but have to rely on the information they get from their children. Second generation parents who are mostly of Turkish origin have got a better personal insight in the German system by having been part of it themselves. Nevertheless all students reported that their parents are interested in their educational success and regard it to be an important base of future life. Only the ability and the means of support seem to differ widely and clearly correspond to the type of school.

Some parents of children attending Gymnasium attended Gymnasium/high school themselves, have a university degree, are married to an academic or have siblings who have a university degree. In these families it seemed just natural that their children would attend Gymnasium too. The mother of Ali and Hikmet was herself in a grammar school in Kreuzberg but left when her best friend did so. Their father was teacher in Turkey before he joined his wife in Germany. The mothers of Mona and Gül were in high school in Lebanon and Turkey, the father of Samia was a philosopher in Jordan. Children who grow up in such an environment get the idea of entering an academic career from childhood. Yet this does not mean that it is easy to achieve this goal at least if their parents grew up in another country. The migration process interrupted their career and forced them to start from the beginning. However, the expectation to be able and to be worth to become an academic seems to be passed on to the children. These families – if family is understood in a wider sense including aunts, uncles and cousins – have the cultural capital and consciousness to thoroughly support a child in doing its homework and preparing for school. They provide emotional support and open their mind for a professional career.

Other parents who have a child in Gymnasium like Esin the mother of Figen and Aygül are inspired by the idea that their children should be in a better situation than they are themselves. They take profit from their own bad school experiences in Germany and put a lot of energy in supporting their children. Although they do not have the cultural capital the first group has they are nevertheless well aware that the children need their support to be successful at school and they are convinced that they might promote their children by different means like sitting on their side when they do homework and telling them to not capitulate too fast but to take their time. In addition to this kind of emotional help we have learned about material support that is given to the offspring. Esin for example is proud to say that her daughter Figen has a room for her own and hasn't any duties in the household. She should have her full attention for school affairs. If she wants any book her parents will buy it and if she would need private lessons Esin will not hesitate to pay for. Ayhan was already sent to private lessons when his performance in French declined.

The belief to have an active impact on the children's career is lacking in the other group of parents who have no child in Gymnasium or Realschule like Meltem, the mother of Talibe, or Farida, the mother of Suhayla. Some of these parents say that although they really wanted their children to be successful in school their children did not listen to them. Another argument brought forward in this group is the statement that parents cannot help their children if they themselves do not have the knowledge required. As the interviews make obvious this group of parents are not only lacking the knowledge about the things taught at school but also the knowledge that would be necessary to evaluate the career options of their children and to support them to find their way. Most likely they also lack a network that might be activated when important career decisions have to be taken and problems have to be managed.

3.2 Students' experiences at school

The next part of this chapter will somewhat change the prism by describing the students' experiences at school: do their capabilities, desires, feels of comfort, and aspirations "match" with the requirements of the school or not? Further: do "minority ethnic" students find support at school in attaining better performance – if they do, what are the characteristics of the teachers whom they find friendly and helpful and, contrarily, whom they see alien to develop their knowledge and help their successful adjustment? Finally, has the research identified differences in the attitudes and behaviors reflecting how (groups of) students from diverse "minority ethnic" backgrounds take schoolwork and advancement, and in the ways how they see teachers and mates in relating to their performance, knowledge, abilities and difficulties?

3.2.1 Why attending this school?

Before discussing the students' experiences at school, which primarily addresses the current school situation, we want to go one step back in time to the decision made in order to attend the specific type of school. At the end of primary school every student is rated into three distinct categories: some are advised to enter Hauptschule, others Realschule and the rest Gymnasium. We will first regard the paths of the students in the Gesamtschule and present some examples. Afterwards we turn to the situation of the students in the Gymnasium. (see table 5)

In our sample twelve students were recommended by their primary school teachers to attend the Hauptschule but opted for the Gesamtschule which is open for students with all kind of recommendation. Eight did so explicitly to avoid Hauptschule. In most cases the parents took this decision because they had heard about the very bad reputation of Hauptschule in Berlin. Hauptschulen are regarded as being highly problematic in terms of aggressiveness, drug abuse and drop outs. To ensure a safe surrounding for their children has been the most important reason for sending their children to Gesamtschule. Another reason which has not been mentioned so often was the fact that the career options in Gesamtschule are – at least in theory – much wider than in Hauptschule. An explanation that was given very often was the fact that the Gesamtschule was close by and if this was the case that elder siblings or friends were at the same school.

Eight students were advised to go on in Realschule, five finally ended up in Gesamtschule, one in Realschule and two in Gymnasium.

When Alena was recommended Realschule she decided not to enter a proper Realschule but a Gesamtschule because she thought this to be the easier way to reach her aims. Hard to say whether this has been a good decision. At least by her teachers she is regarded as a quite rare example of a successful student of Lebanese background. Asim who like Alena was advised to go to the Realschule followed the steps of five elder siblings and entered the same Gesamtschule. But he does not feel to be challenged and regards this to be the reason why he often plays truant and instead of going to school hangs out with friends.

Can and Mukkades followed the advice they got from teachers in primary school and entered a

Realschule but had to leave it after half a year because they were not able to conform to the standards there. Mukkades changed to a Gesamtschule in Kreuzberg while Can spent the rest of the school-year in a Hauptschule and tried very hard to be accepted at a Gesamtschule afterwards. In Hauptschule he had felt very uncomfortable because of its high level of aggressiveness. Yet in the Gesamtschule in Moabit he does not feel comfortable either. In his eyes his mates do not behave properly. Thus he does not want to spend his spare time with them. Can is still trying to go back to Realschule and invests a lot of time in studying. Despite of that he is not encouraged by his teachers or his mother.

Two students who were advised to go on in Realschule opted for a Gymnasium instead. Figen told us that her teachers in the primary school in the "better" part of Neukölln where she was the only non-German in class and the only girl with a headscarf in the entire school were absolutely against her decision to go to Gymnasium. They told her: "You will never succeed there!" But her parents strongly supported her and so she managed to enroll in a Gymnasium in Neukölln which her mother and aunt had already attended.

Samia too refused to take the advice to go on in Realschule and followed the example of her elder brother who is the pupils' spokesperson of her Gymnasium. Her father, a philosopher himself, supported her early on by asking for her professional desires. When she told him that she wants to become a teacher, he replied that she had to be very hard-working in primary school to be able to go on to the Gymnasium and enter university afterwards. When she finally got a recommendation for Realschule only, her parents and siblings encouraged her to go for Gymnasium in spite of it. Meanwhile she is one of the most successful students in her class.

Ali, Hikmet, Arif, Ayhan, Mesut, Mona, Gül, and Raja were advised to go to Gymnasium and did so. Most of them had relatives (uncle, aunt, cousin) or friends who were at a Gymnasium and could therefore rely on their experiences while it was a huge step to take for Mona. She emphasizes that she is the only one in her immediate surrounding who is going to Gymnasium. There is only one single cousin who has finished Realschule. Nobody in her surrounding ever went to a Gymnasium and many of her relatives cannot even imagine that one of them might cope with it. "Their eyes are always on me. Will I really master it?" Her parents in contrast have always strongly encouraged her. They referred to two aunts of Mona living in Denmark who have studied there and started an academic career. The relatives living in Berlin serve as the negative counter-example. Mona cites her father who asked her: "Do you want to end like your relatives? Look at them. They are unemployed and have to prove to the labor agency that they are constantly applying for jobs. They are controlled all the time, always bothered by officials." He even avoids contact with some of their relatives because he thinks that they might have a bad influence on his children.

Students at the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg told us that it was not easy to decide which Gymnasium was best for them. Ali for instance had three options in mind: Gymnasium A in Kreuzberg with a high reputation and a share of Germans which is quite high while there are almost no Turkish students. Gymnasium B in another borough around 45 minutes away from home which has a good reputation, around 50 % German students while the others are immigrants of different origin, therefore there is no dominance of Turkish students. Gymnasium C in Kreuzberg which is very close to his home and dominated by Turkish and Arab students. Ali: "Gymnasium A was my priority in the beginning, but a friend told me that it is hard for him because he is the only Turk. Gymnasium B is now my priority because I think it is better if the students are better mixed. But my father thought it might be too ambitious and too far away. So we opted for Gymnasium C which is good although the image got worse in the last years." His twin brother Hikmet commented his decision against Gymnasium A slightly different: "It was my priority in the beginning, but a friend who had applied there told me that they rejected him arguing he lived too far away but this is not the case. I got to know, that a German student who lived really far away, was accepted just like that."

These considerations indicate that the decision which school to attend after primary school is taken more seriously on a higher educational level. While students with a lower performance usually don't think very much about alternatives but opt for schools which are within their immediate physical

and mental surrounding students with a better performance weigh the pros and cons. Their conclusion is not only based on the image of a school but also on aspects like the ethnic composition, the status of their specific ethnic group and ethnic discrimination. Which criteria are relevant and how far various schools meet them is probably information they get from relatives or friends who attended a Gymnasium themselves.

3.2.2 The schools – an evaluation from the students' perspective

Whether school is regarded as a positive part of everyday life depends very much on the teachers' behavior. This is already obvious when students are asked about their primary school. Many who look back upon it favorably do so because of a class-teacher who was very supportive and showed a personal interest in them. To the contrary those who had a bad time in primary school trace it partly (Hussain, Amina, Bilge) back to teachers who did not care about when they should have seen that a student cannot follow the lessons. A second reason may be traced from the self-presentation of some male students (Senol, Mehmet, Tarik) who described themselves as having been quite aggressive in primary school. It seems that there was no single teacher who would have been able to cope with the aggressiveness of 6 to 12 year old boys. The main criticism Senol, Mehmet and Tarik formulate with regard to their teachers of that time is the fact that they used them as a scapegoat for any kind of trouble that had occurred not caring whether they had really been involved or not.

Like Figen and Aygül, Alena referred to the conflict she had with her class-teacher about her headscarf when she was asked about her time in primary school. "She did not want to accept that it had been my own decision to wear it. She always thought my parents told me to do, but my father has even advised me to leave it because of all that trouble. When I refused to take it off, the teacher told me that I am not allowed to participate at physical education." This early experience of being excluded is like a central theme in her report about school even regarding her situation now. By her teachers she was presented as the best example of a successful student of Lebanese background at Gesamtschule. Nevertheless she is arguing that this was not the result of being supported by her teachers. To the contrary she says that she was confronted with quite bad experiences with teachers. What really has helped her to succeed was her ability to distance herself from teacher's response. "You have always to be aware that you are not here because of the teachers but because of yourself. You want to reach something. That's the reason why you are here."

The feeling of being not understood by the teachers because of their cultural background is not only put forward by Alena, but by Mona, Suhayla, and Samia as well. They feel bothered by teachers who frequently bring up discussions about issues like headscarf, arranged or forced marriage and family life in Islam in general. Yet these teachers do not show any intention to enter an open discussion but just want to make clear what their own perspective is and influence the students in this direction. Mona explains why she is so upset: "I have no idea why we are talking about these things. What should we learn from these discussions? Nothing! What they really want is to blame us. Even if we explain why certain things make sense or have to be seen another way, they stick to their opinion. Never make a difference between Islam as the religion on the one hand and Moslems who are sometimes acting badly on the other. It's like the media. If there are German families who have abused their children you will not read very much about in the newspapers. But if a Turk or an Arab makes something wrong, newspapers are full of it."

Although – based on our observations – one should expect that all students in our sample at the Gesamtschule and at least some at the Gymnasium, too, are faced with similar attitudes of teachers, most did not mention it in the interviews. It seems that they are so much used to be misunderstood by German officials and to be blamed in public that they have totally accepted to be treated as inferiors. It is striking that strong criticism of teachers for the showing of no/too little respect is only brought forward by three girls and one boy who are quite successful at school and who seem to be used to analyze situations in a political framework. Hikmet who was spokesperson in primary school is committed to a fight for justice. "I always fight discrimination. I remember many parents in class-conferences who

were treated badly because they did not know German well. I liked to support them." His political mind also gets clear when he is asked about where to live in future. "In Germany" he answered "because the political situation in Germany is better than in Turkey. I would not like to live there as long as headscarves are forbidden in university."

Alena, Mona and Samia are well aware of their Palestinian history. Compared to others they were the only ones who explained this background in detail in the interviews. This political awareness of their communities' fate seems to make them quite sensitive even towards inferior treatment somehow hidden between the lines. Certainly their academic success also makes them more self-assured and thus helps them to phrase their experiences.

There are two more issues which they think are not dealt with in a proper way. One is the Holocaust and the other the Israel-Palestinian-conflict. Alena whose cousin has been shot by an Israeli official wants such experiences which are quite common in Palestinian/Lebanese families be taken more seriously at school. She points to the fact that her Gesamtschule is named after a Jewish philosopher and tries to bear Jewish history and fate in remembrance. "Our school has a Jewish name and our teachers like very much to talk about the Holocaust. They constantly ask what we think about Jews but forget that there is a Holocaust going on in Palestine in our days."

Samia told us about her brother who is the pupil's spokesperson at her Gymnasium. He has tried to organise a minute's silence for the Palestinian victims in the Gaza war 2009. Many teachers were against it but finally gave in because of the pressure they felt from the pupil's side.

This leads us back to another point which was especially stressed by Samia and Mona when explaining why despite the experiences cited above they really enjoy to be at that Gymnasium. They highly appreciate to be in a school that is attended mostly by students of minority background. This gives them the comfortable feeling to be in a relatively strong position and makes them less vulnerable for discrimination. "I have a friend who is in a Gymnasium in former East-Berlin. Her German classmates are very often attacking her. In our school this would not happen. Even if teachers say something bad to you, almost all students would be on your side and protest." (Mona) Ali, Hikmet, and Figen share this evaluation by adding the impression that teachers finally got used to the ethnic composition of the students' body which is now dominated by Muslims.

Beside that a school which is dominated by students of similar background becomes an ideal place for making friends. Many girls who evaluate school as a positive realm of everyday life (Bilge, Cicek, Mona, Samia, Gül) trace it back to meet friends there. All their friends are students of minority origin.

3.2.3 Good teacher – bad teacher

As we have mentioned already, teachers' behavior towards students is a crucial issue. Supportive teachers turn schools into a place of integration and success while teachers who work against their students' interests and abilities turn school to be a burden and a source of failure.

Supportive teachers are described as follows:

"In primary school I had one teacher who always made positive remarks when she noticed that I really tried. She even evaluated small steps positively. This made me work more at home and helped me to become better at school." (Sibel)

"I would not have had the courage to go to Gymnasium if I had not had a really supportive teacher at primary school. She was very appreciative. Always listened to us and asked about private things as well. She talked with me whenever I had problems and supported me wherever possible." (Mona)

"The fact that I had some good experiences with teachers in primary school made

me think about becoming a teacher myself." (Samia)

"Good teachers like Mr Schiller or Mme M. listen to us. If they make a mistake they don't hide it. And if we give an answer which is not correct they comment something like 'Thank you, although this is not completely right.'" (Arif)

"There was a teacher in primary school who really took me serious. I could talk about everything with her and she even asked about my parents. I really could trust her." (Asim)

"I liked primary school because teachers have been supportive, open minded and friendly." (Omar)

"If teachers tell you that you will be able to cope with what has to be done you will make more effort. To get compliments feels good. It gives you the power to go on." (Cicek)

"My class teacher is really cool. He is not so strict but ready to joke with us and he does not shout just of any reason." (Tarik)

"Mr. Meyer is great. He is motivating us instead of criticizing." (Can)

In the Gesamtschule in Moabit only three students (Cicek, Tarik, Can) gave an example of supportive teachers in the school they are actually going to. The other positive examples date back to primary school. Students in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg, however, mentioned also several teachers in that school as for instance Mr Schiller whom we therefore interviewed. Their general statement was that most teachers are good.

Support, respect and being emotionally addressed as an individual not just as a student but as someone who has a life outside of school as well, seem to be the main points of the remarks cited here. In the interviews we also find descriptions of how good teachers ought to be. Except for the points already mentioned there are some additional aspects:

"Teachers should take more time to explain things in more detail to students who could not follow the explanations during lessons. And they should talk separately to students who obviously have some problems." (Hussain)

"If someone is doing something wrong a good teacher would talk to that person after the lesson." (Mehmet)

"If a student's school performance gets worse or s/he is absent from school without permission, teachers should address them personally. Instead of getting angry, they should try to figure out what the problem is and what might be important for the student in that moment." (Samia)

"Good teachers would have some understanding for the overall situation of students and their families! They would ask why parents don't attend parents' evenings and would be well aware that there might be things that are more important than school." (Omar)

"A good teacher is demanding but friendly. He is consistent and not too tolerant. He would regard it to be his obligation to arrange a learning atmosphere of order and silence." (Senol)

"A good teacher would be nice, fair, s/he would trust me although I did something wrong, s/he would forgive me. Instead all teachers blame me. They think that I am bad. They ignore me if I say hello or if I show up to give an answer." (Mesut)

Many of these remarks refer to respectful behavior. This would include avoiding situations where students would lose face. Other comments point to an individual treatment and to the obligation to ask about reasons behind things going wrong. Another task described here is to ensure good learning conditions in the classroom.

Following the students' experience in the Gesamtschule most of their teachers are not as they ought to be. Some students feel discriminated others frustrated by their teachers while others cannot understand why their teachers do not ensure to be respected by their students. When asked what gives them the feeling of being discriminated students answered like this:

"Germans get more attention and teachers do not react so strictly if they forget something or ask for more time to do what they have to do." (Alena)

"Teachers give better feedback to German students and less punishment." (Cicek)

"Me and my friends are warned immediately when we do something wrong. They even call our parents. Germans are treated differently. Teachers have more patience with them." (Omar)

In the Gesamtschule in Moabit Sibel and Talibe were frustrated with their teachers. Sibel told us:

"I have no clue what I should do next year. Should I try to enter the MSA exam or should I not. I feel like not being able to pass and my teachers don't encourage me either. They even told me that there was no need to enter. I could always work in my mothers' hairdresser's shops." (Sibel)

Talibe is at the moment in a very critical situation and does not know how to find a way out of this situation. According to her, the teachers don't show any intention to support her. To the contrary they have decided in a meeting that Talibe has to leave school definitely at the end of the year. Since she has repeated two classes she is already 17 and no more obliged to attend school. Her school performance is not sufficient and she has been absent very often. Now she was informed that she could not go on next year. As far as Talibe is informed, a staff of the job-center working at her school is trying to organise a placement for her in another school.

"She found a school in Lichtenberg. That's in the East. No Turks around. I will never go there!"

Talibe repeatedly asked to get her passport back which she had given to the job-center official for the placement procedure. Yet her request was not successful.

In the interview situation Talibe tries to figure out what her rights are and how all this could happen against her will. She asks Meryem Ucan, the interviewer, what she could do, whether teachers were treating her case properly and if there would really be no possibility to remain at this school for one more year and to get a diploma then. It is very striking that she has no reliable information about what is going on in the moment. Nor does she know about her rights and what she could do to react to a potentially unjust treatment. She also has no idea how to make useful plans for her future. She feels

that her teachers completely leave her alone.

"They never tried to talk with me and explain me the risk of being expelled in advance. Nor did they ever try to find out what is going wrong with me."

A special critique of the teachers' behaviour was brought forward by some male and one female student. They expressed to feel somehow angry and disappointed about teachers who were not ensuring to be respected by their students. Senol, Mehmet, Tarik and Mukkades expect their teachers being more rigorous.

"If teachers are too soft they won't be respected. Things get out of control then."
(Senol)

"In my school now most teachers are not interested in the students. They don't even react if students offend them. For example a female teacher was asked where she bought her T-Shirt because it looked so sexy. She did not even realize that she was offended." (Mukkades)

"Teachers have to be cool. It is not good if they feel personally provoked by the slightest things and start shouting instantly." (Mehmet) "Shouting teachers really make me angry. I feel strongly provoked by them and I will always react to it."
(Tarik)

We might interpret these remarks as an expression of a culture of honor which is a relevant reference point for these students. They expect teachers to make it clear, through words and deeds, that they are not weak. This interpretation would of course only be right if shouting would be regarded as a sign of weakness and loss of control. We guess this is what Mehmet and Tarik had in mind, but we can't be sure about it. In the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg single teachers were criticized because they did not accept ethnic symbols:

"Last year a teacher forced students to remove their T-Shirts with a Turkish flag during the world-championship. He did not want the Turkish team to win because he is a fan of the German team. He often talks about Hertha BSC (one Berlin soccer-team) during lessons. He is really fanatic and he does not like Muslims."
(Raja)

A similar example was given by Ali:

"A teacher told my friend to leave the classroom because he had a T-Shirt with a Turkish flag. She said he was racist, but it was world championship and he just wanted to show his favourite team."

Some other criticism which we already mentioned above pointed in the same direction: too many discussions about culture bound issues which are obviously induced by teachers to influence students in a way which many of them don't like.

3.3 Students' performance and advancement from the teachers' perspective

We will now look at performance and advancement of "minority ethnic" students through the lens of teachers. Reflecting on the "lessons" of the first two parts of this chapter we will ask: do the perceptions of teachers correlate with the views and assessments of students and their parents? Do teachers have the same or different understanding of factors that help or hinder "minority ethnic" students' advancement and longer-term educational careers? If the latter is the case, what are the causes and what are the actual manifestations of the diverging views? Further, this part will give a hint also about the ways of

instruction as experienced by the fieldworkers during the day(s) of observation.

Teachers in the Gesamtschule

To compare the views of teachers with that of students and their parents it is worth to sum up what we have learned so far. We start with the situation at the Gesamtschule. Families of students in the Gesamtschule in Moabit are relatively poor, many fathers are unemployed, mothers mostly never worked. The educational level of the parents is rather low, only some are familiar with the German educational system. Thus, they are hardly able to help their children with homework as they will probably lack knowledge and networks to influence their children's academic career in a positive direction.

In most families at least one of the parents grew up outside of Germany. Almost all Lebanese families came as refugees while in Turkish families often one part is second generation immigrant while the other part is a marriage migrant. Therefore it seems quite natural that the language spoken at home will not be German. Many parents of students in Gesamtschule can't imagine having an active impact on the children's career. This opinion is shared by the students. Yet, most of them stated as well that their parents are interested in their academic success and tell them to study hardly.

The students' performance in primary school was more often on the level of Hauptschule than on that of Realschule. The decision to enroll in the Gesamtschule in Moabit was induced by factors like familiarity and closeness. Many students had already siblings or friends in the same school. They obviously don't expect much from school. When asked about many students seemed to be frustrated but take this as being "normal". If teachers were not as they are but as they ought to be this would include qualities like being supportive, respectful, interested in the individual, and demanding but friendly. Some students would add that teachers have to make sure that they are respected by their students.

Teachers in the Gesamtschule in Moabit are well aware of the poverty situation and describe the families as being underprivileged pointing to the fact that around 80 % of the students' families receive social welfare benefits. They complain that the composition of the classes is quite homogeneous in this aspect. While the idea of a Gesamtschule was to bring together students of different socio-economic and educational background this has become totally different now and makes teaching very difficult.

Diversity is not only missed regarding material aspects but also regarding the academic performance of the students. As we already stated above, a Gesamtschule should ideally be attended by one third of students who were advised to enter Hauptschule, by one third recommended Realschule and by one third recommended Gymnasium. However, in this school the educational level of the newcomers is very different since long which makes the school similar to a Hauptschule. Most teachers feel frustrated by this situation and regard it as a burden which makes their work rather hard. They respond to it by reducing teaching standards. Mr Peter who is teaching in Gesamtschule in Berlin since more than 30 years states:

"The program which I used to use in the lower level courses is meanwhile suitable for the higher level courses. The more students with migration background we got the lower the standard of performance became."

Most teachers regard the decline as an outcome of various factors. One is the socio-economic decline in the borough another is the ethnic composition. Students of Turkish, Kurdish or Arab origin represent altogether more than 80 % percent of the students' body. Germans are clearly minority. Most classes include only one or two students without migration background. This influences the quality of teaching.

"Before I start to work on a subject I need 15 minutes just to explain the vocabulary. Otherwise most students would not get an idea what I am talking about." (Ms Regius)

Language problems of migrant students are by most teachers not only seen as a result of the ethnic composition in the neighborhood and many of its educational institutions but first of all as a problem that is caused by the families themselves. They are described as living in a parallel world which does not provide children with the resources needed to succeed in the wider society. Out of seven there is only one teacher (Ms Regius) who clearly states that the problems are mainly caused by socio-economic instead of ethnic or cultural factors:

"There is no difference between German families and migrant families. The problem is the underprivileged situation of both of them. Our children grow up in a non-academic environment. Beside that language is a big problem, too. If parents don't know German well children miss a role model."

Her colleagues however tend to blame the victim and argue in culture-bound terms like:

In Turkish and Arab families values are different, education is not so important for them, parents don't educate in a consequent manner, therefore children often come late, don't bring the material needed with them or even stay away from school. Especially girls have to help in the household a lot and don't have time enough to work for school. Families always stick to their communities, rarely leave the borough to enable their children to see something new. They pamper the children and give them a lot of material goods like expensive mobile phones or computer games

Some teachers criticize familial decisions like to have many children or to marry the wrong spouse:

"Parents sometimes tell me that they have many children and can't take care so much for each of them. This is an excuse I can't accept. Of course it is difficult to educate so many children, but why didn't they think about that before?" (Ms Kaiser) "The language problems get worse and worse. This is caused by spouses who come from Turkey and don't know German. Until recently nobody forced them to learn the language before migration. This brings the problem to the family and from there to our school." (Mr Peter)

All in all, teachers don't regard parents as partners in solving education problems but as an important cause of them. They feel blamed for failures of the family. "We can't make up for their mistakes" is a message which was given in many variations.

"The bad performance of the students is not our fault. Nowadays we are more and more expected to do things which were in the parents' responsibility before. This can't go on like this. We have to give it back to the parents' responsibility." (Mr Cesarin)

"We are already doing more than what might be expected. We are often forced to take the parents' role for these children." (Ms Schott) "Parents often want their children to be good in school and they expect us to make that come. But this can't be achieved by the school on its own. I don't believe if parents tell me that they regard education to be very important but don't do anything for it." (Ms Kaiser)

All teachers told us that only some parents attend the parents' evenings at school.

"The few who come are those who are not so much in need." (Mr Cesarin)

They assume the reason behind this reluctance might be "language problems" and

"a tendency to avoid the unpleasant situation of being confronted with problems of the children by the teachers" (Ms Cittavecchia).

In the eyes of the teachers Turkish and Arab parents avoid the contact with them. Most teachers regret that they don't know the families of their children but say that they don't have time to engage in searching the contact themselves.

Teachers in the Gymnasium

We turn now to the Gymnasium by going back to what we already learned about the views of the students and their parents. The socio-economic situation of the Turkish families among them is better than in the Gesamtschule in Moabit while the two Lebanese families have to cope with unemployment. The language spoken at home is Turkish or Arabic even if in some families both parents grew up in Germany. In most Turkish cases one spouse came to Germany via marriage migration while the Lebanese came as refugees and were brought up outside Germany.

The average educational level of the parents is relatively high. Some attended Gymnasium/high school themselves. The wider family usually includes uncles, aunts or cousins with an academic background who might serve as a reference or a role model. These families have the cultural capital to thoroughly support and encourage their children for a professional career. Even if the migration process sometimes interrupted a parents' career and forced them to start from the beginning they may pass the consciousness to be able and to be worth to become an academic on to the children. Other parents failed to have an academic career themselves but are convinced that their children might succeed. Thus they put a lot of effort to support them emotionally and materially.

Compared to their peers in the Gesamtschule students in the Gymnasium got the idea of entering an academic career from childhood. Most of them were quite successful in primary school and therefore advised to go to Gymnasium. In two cases parents opposed to the teachers advice to go to Realschule and sent their children to Gymnasium where they show good performance. The decision to choose this specific Gymnasium was influenced by the ethnic composition of the school and the expectation of being respected there instead of being discriminated. It seems that these expectations are fulfilled for the most part since the general statement is that teachers are fair and "got used" to the ethnic composition of the students' body which is dominated by Muslims.

The teachers complained the dramatic change in the ethnic composition of the students' body.

"The ethnic imbalance is unfair. Our students are structurally discriminated by it." (Mr Schiller)

The actual ethnic composition is problematic in different aspects. Since Turkish or Arab students are in a majority position the school is less attractive to those groups which would be needed for a better balance that is Germans and non-Muslim students. "It's a vicious circle" says Mr Schiller who would even opt for an ethnic quota system to overcome this problematic situation.

To become more attractive for German students the staff even discussed the idea of establishing a certain class for them but rejected it finally because this would have resulted in constructing foreigners' classes as well. At present the few German students are distributed more or less equally to the parallel classes. Following the teachers' perspective their situation is rather critical. Many feel excluded when students of Turkish and Arab background use their mother tongue. Some already left the school because they had difficulties to make friends there. This again motivated others who feel themselves in minority position to leave this school as well.

"Last year I had a Spanish student in class. Her best friend was a German classmate. When she left the Spanish girl did so as well." (Mr Schiller)

The almost absence of German classmates is contributing to severe problems regarding linguistic competences. All teachers complained that they constantly have to explain expressions which would be easily understood of students in other grammar schools. They told us that many students leave the school before they reach the final grade. Therefore – as Mr Schiller told us – they would meanwhile classify their school closer to a Gesamtschule than to a Gymnasium.

However, teachers think that students of Turkish or Arab background mostly enjoy the situation. The number of friendships among them seems to be higher than in other schools and the atmosphere is quite relaxed. The students like the school and are very keen to get a good result. Teachers describe them as „very interested“, „ambitious“, „creative“, „not easy going but also not boring“ (Mr Schiller) and „competing for good results“ (Mr Yücel). A characteristic which Mr Yücel has observed is a high sensitivity for justice and equal opportunities:

“The problem is not inside our school – I don't think that teachers here would discriminate – but outside of school our students experience a lot of discrimination. An important factor is the media where especially the Muslim migrants are often presented in problematic ways without differentiating between good or bad behavior. Our students are well aware of discrimination in different aspects of life and react when they are treated in a way which is not appropriate. Sometimes they even misunderstand legitimate criticism as unfair discrimination.”

His colleague Mr Schiller thinks that the lack of recognition in the wider society is an important aspect why sometimes students show reactions which are not appropriate: “We may take it as a way to reduce the level of frustration.” In the interview both teachers acknowledged the success of many students with Turkish or Arab background because they are well aware that most of their families cannot support them in learning.

“Although their environment – parents and peers – is not leading to success many succeed. They work enormously hard to catch up with what is required. This is a great achievement.” (Mr Yücel)

When we asked about the contact to the students' parents, we got different reaction. While Mr Schiller complained that half of the parents did not attend the parents' evenings (“especially those who have 'difficult' kids never come”) and that the reasons why they did not come might often be excuses, Mr Yücel would favor an outreach strategy:

“If parents don't come we should approach them. Especially teachers with migratory background might be a bridge between parents and school.”

He pleads for a change in the teachers' mind which would reflect in a new understanding of what the school is responsible for:

“We have to understand that the parents of many students won't be able to evaluate the way how the educational system and career strategies work in Germany. Most parents can't make appropriate suggestions to our students. Therefore it is our charge to provide information on career options and paths.” (Mr Yücel)

Teaching in the Gesamtschule

To give an impression about the interaction of teachers and students and the ways of instruction as experienced by the fieldworker during the day(s) of observation we report about two lessons that might be regarded as typical for the variety of styles of the teacher-student relation in the Gesamtschule in Moabit.

The first lesson(s) chosen were mathematics and German by Mr Cesarin who is the class-teacher of class 9.4. We observed them for a period of five hours. When Mr Cesarin entered the room he started to complain about the dirt and chaos in it.

"This class room is like a stable for pigs. Other teachers constantly criticize the dirt and chaos in my class-room. And they are right. This can't remain like this. You and you will stay here during break and clean the floor."

He was quite loud and clear when he said this. Some students said that he was right. Others did not think so but were sure to know who the other teachers were and started to criticize their intolerance.

The way of instruction was a very well structured frontal teaching without longer periods of students' activity included. Therefore, the students remained quite passive waiting what the teacher would present or ask them to do. The lessons were not inviting students to contribute but just to answer the questions when asked. The style of interaction may be described as "to hold the class under control" and to ensure an atmosphere where learning is possible. Little jokes contributed to an all in all positive atmosphere. Breaking the rules was not tolerated by Mr Cesarin but we could not observe a situation in which he would have blamed students without reason. He was always fair and seemed therefore be respected by the students.

During the lesson Mr Cesarin addressed mostly the small group of students who showed more interest than others while he more or less ignored all others. He did not show any intention to convince them to actively participate. As long as they did not interrupt the lesson they were not blamed by the teacher although it was quite clear that he treated those more sympathetically who were actively participating.

The second lesson chosen was part of the professional studies. It was cut into two parts. During the first part Ms Angret a young employee of the job-center provided information about different aspects of entering the labor market. She spoke very quiet and did not show any enthusiasm but seemed not able to cope with the situation. She got almost no positive response from the students. To the contrary, they were very loud, talking with their neighbors and one of them even stood up went to the window and watched what was going on outside. Another student asked whether she might join her friend in another class. This kind of behavior was not sanctioned by Ms Angret who did not interact with the students but just went on with her presentation. There was only one student (Cicek) who sometimes asked her something.

When Mr Maier the teacher who is responsible for the professional studies entered the room after 30 minutes the situation changed dramatically. He started shouting very loud at three students why they came late but did not leave them any space to defend themselves although they had a good reason for their delay. Meryem Ucan had interviewed them before and Mr Cesarin the class teacher allowed them to take a break afterwards and attend the next lesson a little late. Unfortunately this had not been communicated between the teachers.

Mr Maier seemed to be stressed and did not like to answer remarks or questions of the students. He gave them exercises they should do themselves. After some time they should come back to the class room and bring their results. In the meantime Mr Maier disappeared. The students remained back most of them not knowing how to do the exercise. They split up in groups some went outside for smoking a cigarette others went to the canteen to meet friends while others tried to do what was expected. When Meryem Ucan approached them she understood that most of them had almost no idea what they were expected to do.

All in all this lesson was very chaotic, the teacher was very exhausting and the students were not accompanied at all although professional studies were qualified as being very important in grade 9 as we have already mentioned above.

The impression we got about the interaction of teachers and students in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg was almost the contrary from what we had experienced in the Gesamtschule. We could observe two lessons in grade 10 of the Gymnasium which gave us an impression of the ways of instruction of two teachers and the "style" of teacher-student relation in these classes. One was a lesson in history the other in music. In both cases the interaction of teachers and students was very open, respectful and friendly.

The female teacher in the history lesson has a pleasant personality and did not seem to be stressed. Even when some students made loud remarks which were not referring to the lessons' subject the teacher remained still relaxed. She was very motivating and treated all students in the same friendly manner. Thus, she managed to get a positive working atmosphere which contributed to a vivid contribution of almost all students in class. Students and teacher were not in opposition to each other but cooperating with each other.

In the second part of the lesson the class was divided in teams of two persons each to work on several issues and do some exercises. Students used this time not only to find the solution but also to talk about private things like problems in relationships or appointments after school or in the evening. The teacher was aware of this but did not intervene to stop it. Her only reaction was a very friendly recommendation not to forget the exercise beside all the private talks. She sometimes approached students who were more reluctant than others and asked them whether they understood the exercise or have any questions et cetera.

This history lesson was characterized by an enjoyable and relaxed atmosphere which in the eyes of the observer has to be traced back to the teachers way of instruction. The same may be said about the second lesson which could be observed in another class of grade 10. The music lesson was based on active contributions of many students. They were invited by the teacher to come to the piano and present whatever they want. Most of them used the opportunity to play one of their favorite songs. All of them were modern songs of different styles of music which the students identified with. Almost all students were actively participating be it with presenting a song, be it with contributing ideas and feedback. There were only some students who were more reluctant than others. However, ethnicity did not play any role for the different levels of participating or reluctance.

The music teacher was very informal, relaxed and cooperative. He was constantly motivating the students gave a lot of positive feedback and showed a positive response to their ideas and proposals. The result was a very vivid atmosphere where students were very interested and happy.

3.4 Causes of varying educational careers and recommendations from the perspective of Migrants' organisations

We addressed different organisations to include the political perspective of some migrants' organisations in our analysis, among them Türkische Gemeinde in Deutschland (Turkish Community in Germany), and Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs (Islamic Community Milli Görüs), and Berliner Studentenverein e.V. (Berlin Students' Association).

Kenan Kolat, leader of the nationwide operating Turkish Community of Germany (TGD) pointed to the result of the PISA studies which showed clearly that educational success in Germany is closely linked with social background. Mr. Kolat regards this as an outcome of the German school system which takes the average "German middle class child" as a basis ignoring that the students' body is characterized by diversity. He is especially missing efforts concerning the acquisition of German language. "There are no efforts taken to deal with bi-lingualism in a positive way like other countries successfully do." Right from the beginning – in primary school – conditions should be created that children with and without migration background could start from the same level provided with the same starting chances. One precondition would be places in a kindergarten for

everybody which are free of charge.

In his perspective the main responsible for educational failures of migrant children is the German school system. The second responsible are parents who are often not familiar with the structures of the German school system. "However, it is very important to note that about 80 % of the Turkish immigrant population belongs to the lower class. Most come from uneducated and low-income backgrounds. Therefore we are in the first place not faced with an ethnic problem but rather with a class problem. If one compares Turkish migrants of lower class to German lower class, it can be seen that the 'urge to change the shift' is much higher in Turkish families than it is on the German side. Migrants usually undertake enormous efforts to provide their children a better future than they had themselves. Unfortunately in Germany education issues regarding migrants are always addressed as ethnic or cultural problems, instead of digging into the real problems behind and solving them."

Serkan Yilmaz a youth group leader of the Islamic Community Milli Görüs which is a nationwide organisation provided insight in the strategies of his organisation to raise the educational level of the immigrant community. He states that families with migration background often have only few contacts to so called "experts" or persons in their social surroundings who are successful and familiar with the structures in Germany. This lack of experiences and information hinders families to support their children efficiently.

Milli Görüs therefore provides assistance for the teenagers' integration into the social and political system of Germany which includes acquisition of German citizenship, membership in political parties as well as support for economic autonomy, motivation, and orientation.

"Our major goal is to support young people to develop a strong personality with a cultural and religious identity and to be successful members of the German society."

This goal corresponds to the Berliner Studentenverein e.V. (Berlin Students' Association) which provides practical support for students and parents in Berlin combined with representing their interests in local public debates about education politics. The Association was founded 1996 in Berlin by university students of Turkish background who studied different subjects. The main purpose is the social participation of persons with migration background. Therefore the association supports children and teenagers in educational aspects as well as in the field of identity formation. Berliner Studentenverein e.V. provides a huge offering in various categories: spare time activities like to play an instrument, workshops about history and culture, private school lessons and support regarding career choices and further education.

The main activity of the Berliner Studentenverein e.V. (BSV) is providing private lessons for children and teenagers. Following the conception of the BSV's Abla-Abi project teenagers are accompanied by role models, i.e. university students or prospective teachers are teaching them. These volunteers act as familial coaches (Elder sister/ Turkish: Abla, Elder brother/ Turkish: Abi). Usually they work several years with the same student, who ideally would later on also volunteer in the project.

Yüksel Özkan, president of the Berliner Studentenverein e.V. and our interview person told us how he himself had profited over years from the project until he was asked to take over some responsibility. "The older and successful students were my role models. They basically coached and supported me during my entire educational career. I had a totally positive turnaround after I got in contact with the BSV. I began to realize then that it was possible for me to reach higher goals. Whenever needed, I received concrete help. My parents were not able to support me that way since they were not familiar with the German school system. Therefore I am totally convinced that our concept of the Abla/Abi-program is the best strategy to get out of the educational misery."

4. EVERYDAY LIFE IN AND OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

This section shows how relationships in and outside school are structured. It addresses the intra- as well as inter-ethnic relations of the students. We describe what type of contacts exist and in which way they differ from each other. Another question of interest is, if these contacts represent attempts of integration or separation. Furthermore, it is of relevance to our research to ask if this structure of contacts is driven by self-determined motive, can be considered to be the result of pressures arriving from outside or just from structural circumstances. This chapter is focusing on aspects of 'togetherness' while its counterpart the following chapter puts the focus on 'being othered'. However we will include aspects of 'othering/ being othered' in this chapter as well since it often is the other side of the coin which can't be separated from each other.

4.1 Intra- and interethnic relations observed in school breaks

During breaks it interesting to see that ethnicity reflects in grouping in more or less the same way in both schools. Teachers observe a separation between German students and students with migration background and told us distinctive places at the courtyard where German students meet during breaks. Most of them gathered in separate groups. Students of non-Muslim background (i.e. from Vietnam or Chile) formed a separate group or joined the Germans.

Students with Turkish or Arab background are mostly joining groups which are ethnically mixed, only sometimes they could be seen in groups which are either exclusively Turkish or exclusively Arab. Mixed groups of Turkish and Arab students include some other minority students preferably with Islamic background and some German students who are usually regarded as being „one of them“. Classmates describe these Germans as someone „who became like us since he does not eat pig and does not drink alcohol.“ In contrast teachers regard it very problematic when German students somehow assimilate to Turkish or Arab peers.

Very few students of Turkish background joined distinctive „German“ groups. These students are slightly different from others with Turkish background and seem a little closer to German peers. Their hair is a little longer than the hair of other Turkish boys, their taste of music is similar to German peers. Beside these subtle markers of ethnicity there was no striking difference to other students of Turkish background.

Within the Turkish and/or Arab groups there was obviously no distance between students who felt closer to Islam and students who did not show any special religious attitude. To the contrary those who seemed to be more secular engaged themselves in defending the others with statements like „why should they not wear a headscarf? Everybody should be free to decide how to dress.“

Teachers evaluate the situation of the few German and other non-Muslim students in these schools as rather critical. They assume that many feel excluded when students of Turkish and Arab background use their mother tongue. Some teachers reported about students who left the school because they had difficulties to make friends there. This again motivated others who also regard themselves to be in a minority position to leave this school as well like a Spanish girl who left the school after her single German classmate had done so.

When we asked German students who gathered in separate groups why they did not join their Turkish or Arab classmates they stated that they did not like their behaviour and preferred to be among themselves.

4.2 Peers in the everyday surrounding in and outside school

Although many have only limited time to spend with friends all students evaluate having good friends as a very important aspect of their live. Who are their friends? Peers who live in the immediate surrounding and classmates seem to be the majority. None of the interviewees mentioned a friend who does not live close by. Therefore it seems necessary to reflect about the demographic structure of their

neighborhood, school or even class as well as other locations or institutions that they attend regularly.

Although the classes in Gesamtschule as well as in Gymnasium are ethnically mixed and include students of many different ethnic backgrounds most of the students do not have more than one single German mate in the classes. The others are mostly of either Turkish or Arab origin. The boys of grade 8 in the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg don't have any German pupils in their class, while Mukkades has no Germans in her entire school which is a Gesamtschule in Kreuzberg. This lack of German classmates is of course not to be seen as the average situation in Berlin. Instead it is due to the fact that we were deliberately looking for schools where we could meet enough Lebanese students to build a comparison group to the Turkish students. This in turn made it quite unlikely to find a relevant number of German mates in the classes chosen. There is a clear avoidance pattern: German families avoid the schools where immigrant children of these backgrounds shape a considerable group.

In any case, the statistical probability to make German friends at these two schools is much less than to make friends of Turkish or Arab origin. The same holds true for the neighborhood of these schools. Even if Germans are still in the majority this needs not to be the case in the age group of 15. German families who live in a neighborhood with a strong Turkish and Arab community show a strong tendency to enroll their children to private or church based schools or to leave the neighborhood.

The ethnic composition of the everyday surrounding makes it very understandable, that most students found it very surprising or even strange when we asked them why they had no German friends like Can: "You don't find Germans here! In our neighborhood you find Turks and Arabs."

Yet the ethnic composition of the neighborhood is not the only reason why the students have no German friends. It is also caused by the experiences and beliefs that there are cultural differences. Except those who refused to give a guess about Germans because they don't know any, the rest of the students are convinced that German peers prefer other kinds of activities. On top of that many have made the experience that German peers are not able to understand or not willing to accept their own life-style.

Before we turn to assumptions about and experiences with German peers let's have a look at the leisure activities of students with migratory background. How much time do they spend with their friends and what do they do together? The amount of time depends on what is left beside school and family. School finishes at four o'clock in the afternoon. Most students mention that they spend a big share of their spare time with their family. A common activity for example is to visit other families mostly relatives or families of same ethnic background who are friends of their parents. Therefore many social relations of the students that are located outside the family are nevertheless derived from the families' network. The amount of spare time which is spent outside the family is rather limited. As many students stated they are expected to be back home in the evening. A rule which they accept being part of their cultural heritage.

What do they do, when they meet their friends? This question might best be answered separately for boys and girls. Male students say, they hang out with their male friends or play football. They often meet spontaneously without having pre-arranged anything. They just stroll in their living area and hang around at playgrounds or similar spaces open to anybody. Some mention that they attend youth clubs where several social activities take place. Others are members of regular football teams. But the majority of the peer activities may best be described by the words of Omar: "Nothing special. Just what is arising out of the moment like kicking a ball or hang around."

Mona, Samia and Gül who attend the Gymnasium and live in Kreuzberg make use of the rich opportunities offered in their quarter and meet friends to go to cinema, to visit a restaurant or coffee bar or for bowling together. It is most important to have fun together like Samia says: "It may sound funny but sometimes we just sit in the Metro and have a whale of a time." Figen who is one year younger and quite religious sometimes meets her best friend who is in the same class to go to cinema and for shopping. But most of the time they talk about homework or prepare presentations for school together.

Female students attending the Gesamtschule in Moabit don't seem to meet with friends very

often outside of school. Amina and Bilge spend most of their time in the family or visit relatives and meet with cousins. Sibel and Talibe have serious relationships to a boyfriend since a couple of years and think about marrying him later on. Their parents know about their partnership. Thus it does not seem to be a problem to spend most of their spare time with their boyfriends.

Cicek is in a special situation. Her father died when she was only seven years old and her mother is critically ill. She needs kidney dialysis twice a week and might even die if she cannot get a kidney transplanted within the next years. Since Cicek is the eldest sister in the household she often takes up the mother's role as well. "Of course I would like to go out, do shopping and have all kind of fun like my friends have. But although my mother tells me to do so, I prefer to support her at home." Taking over this responsibility does not leave any time for friendships outside of school. All the more she enjoys to be at school. "Here I am able to rest my mind and to meet with friends." She is very successful and will probably be the only one in her class to be placed in a gymnasiale Oberstufe next year.

Although Cicek's case is quite exceptional, there are some other classmates too who are very much involved in supporting their family. One of them is Can. His Turkish father and Syrian mother separated two years ago. Can has to take care of his six year old little brother. He spends most of his time with him and even when he leaves the house he has to take him too. This duty does not really please him. Mehmet, Tarik, Mesut and Sibel do their best to support their parents by helping out in the families' restaurant, kiosk, butcher shop or hairdresser's shop whenever needed.

4.3 Togetherness expressed by distancing from Germans: "They make other things"

Activities of German peers regarded as different are drinking alcohol, staying out until late at night and going to a discotheque. An explanation of Samia refers to various points which were also mentioned by others: "If I had a German friend it would always be necessary to explain a lot of things to her. On top of that she would probably not even be able to understand why I don't have sex yet or why I don't wear a Bikini. Germans can't imagine that we still have fun. They are convinced that we would actually feel like having parties or drinking alcohol, but are not allowed to. But it is also us who do not want it, not just our parents. I am sure – yes, I even know – that the Germans in our class, especially the girls, talk bad about us. They think we miss a lot."

The interview transcript above indicates that sexuality is a crucial point. How to deal with it? What is right and what is wrong? What is normal, what is not? The students of Turkish, Arab or Muslim background feel quite different from the German majority in these aspects. In addition, they have made the experience that their German peers regard their behavior and attitudes as being out-of-date. Let's have a look at different aspects which are associated with this subject.

We will argue from the perspective of the students. In their opinion Germans do various things which are not acceptable in their own community. Most examples presented may be interpreted as somehow relating to the danger of sexuality without any social control. Like for example to come home late in the night or to drink alcohol which is probably itself understood as a danger of losing self-control. Clubbing and attending discotheques are further examples for behavior that is considered as unacceptable from their own perspective.

Probably it is not the action as such that is disliked but the risks attributed to them. Although they do not explicitly mention it, it is part of the connotations which are provoked when the students are talking about it. We should not forget that our interviewer, Meryem Ucan, is a Muslim herself. Therefore the students did not feel a need to explain themselves in detail but were confident that she will understand. Connotations implied might be that the activities mentioned above are undertaken in mixed groups and are strongly related with the intention to get in close contact with the other sex. In the eyes of our informants it seems to be very important for German peers to dress sexy and to gain experience with sexual practices. Girls and boys who distance themselves from a behavior like this risk to become treated as outsiders.

By distancing from their German peers the students in Moabit as well as in Kreuzberg commit themselves to rules of respect and honesty. Some directly refer to Islam while most just explain that

they share their parents' expectation that people in their age should spend the evening at home and with their family. Two female students who have already a boyfriend presented them as their future husbands – an explanation that might be interpreted as a protection against any kind of suspicion.

We will return to this concept of "they and we" when we analyze processes of othering, ethnicity and identity formation. For the moment we will point to quite practical consequence of different lifestyles. We already stated that German peers don't seem to be present in the everyday surrounding of the students. This might not only be a result of the demographic situation. It may also be caused by different values, tastes and affinities. They contribute to everyday practices that are structured quite differently. Here are some examples:

- There are different timeframes of going out which make it unlikely to meet by chance and more complicated to make appointments.

- There is an affinity on one side to socialize in mixed groups while on the other side there is an inclination to separate by gender. This contributes to separate activities of students of different origin.

- There are locations (clubs, discotheques) and situations (parties) where it is somehow expected that everyone is consuming alcohol. Who does not drink has to be aware that s/he will be asked about and looked upon as someone strange. Why not just stay away from it?

In the light of such culture related aspects, it is not very astonishing that not only Mehmet found it strange to be asked about German friends: "Where should I meet Germans? Here are hardly any! In addition, Germans make other things than we do."

The differences between leisure activities of Germans and students of Turkish, Arab and Muslim origin seem to aggravate when entering adolescence. Apparently there are different ways how to cope with the change going on in this period. Furthermore, these differences are regarded as somehow related to the core values of Turkish, Arab or Muslim culture.

Four girls (Alena, Bilge, Samia, Talibe) have been in closer contact to German girls in former years than today. One of them is Talibe who had some German friends in her parallel class but had to realize that their development was in different directions:

"Most have boyfriends now and stick together with them most of the time. They are touching and kissing in public. It's a shame! I really do feel embarrassed and don't want to be seen with them."

Although she has a boyfriend too, she would not expose her partnership in such a demonstrative way. As her mother told her "Don't go too far. Don't let everybody know. You can't be sure that it will last. Just be careful!" Talibe intends to marry him but shares her mothers' view of things.

Also Samia points out the different paths she and her German peers follow. "Until last year it felt okay to be together but now we are walking different ways." The reason is a change in the interests of her mates: "The German girls in my class party all the time like to get drunk and seem to think that having fun needs some boys around. I don't want to pretend I would like that. I prefer to be honest and draw my consequences. We don't think they are doing the right thing."

How to face the opposite sex seems to be a decisive point and a point of cultural reference. The students are closing ranks with their parents by underlining that they agree with them. See Amina for example:

"German girls have boyfriends and stay out until late in the night. My parents would never accept that. And they are right. They want to ensure that we don't face any harm. German parents don't mind at all."

She and others place themselves in an ongoing traditional line and some even mentioned that they would like to educate their own children in the same manner they have been educated themselves. The liberal attitude attributed to German family culture does not attract them but is interpreted as a lack of interest from the parents' side as well as a sign of disrespect from the children's side. The attitude in their own families in contrast is characterized as care and love from the parents' perspective and

respect and love from the children's perspective.

The students are well aware that their German peers have difficulties to imagine and/or to accept that they do not oppose but defend this kind of traditional rules. The students report two different reactions they get from their German peers: pity or contempt both combined with the ascription of being a victim of tradition. Therefore most students we have interviewed are convinced that it would be quite difficult to have German friends. "They would not understand but laugh about us!" (Bilge) Such experiences and expectations of misunderstandings and arrogance make Bilge feel sure that she does better with Turkish friends.

4.4 Togetherness expressed by embracing: "We understand each other without words"

When describing the difference between the contact to Germans in contrast to the relations with peers of their own community there is one phrase that is used by many students: "We understand each other without words." They don't find it necessary to express and to explain everything because they expect their counterpart to understand anyhow.

In contrast, to have to explain themselves to someone who does not want to understand, but is convinced to know already better, seems to be an unreasonable demand that is avoided whenever possible. If you live in a community where most of your peers are of same or similar background why would you take the complicate way? You will prefer the more straightforward way of spending your time with people like you. This is the kind of explanation we got when asking about the reason for having exclusively non-German friends. Let us listen to Gül:

"Of course I prefer friends who have the same background and interests. This is just natural. I listen to Turkish music, I watch Turkish soaps. Germans listen to American music and watch American soaps which I haven't even heard about. What should I talk with them? We would not have common interests. So, it is quite natural that my friends are Turks."

Furthermore peers of same background are expected to share similar problems and sorrows. This is of great importance especially for the female students at Gesamtschule. As we have seen they are very much involved in family life and don't have much time left beside school and family. They describe to share their thoughts with others and to feel appreciated as being the most important aspect of their friendship to other girls in class. To live under similar circumstances and be affected by similar problems is a bonding element of their relations. On the other hand it is an aspect that they do not perceive as given in their relations to German peers.

Something which has not been addressed by the interviewees in this context is language. This is somehow astonishing at least at first sight. Especially to share sorrows about problems in family life - where the language spoken is probably the mother tongue - might be expected to be easier in the mother tongue. So to have a common mother tongue might be a crucial moment for intra- vs. inter-ethnic relations. The fact that there was not any single reference to language may be caused beside other reasons also by the following two factors: Firstly, it might have to be seen in relation to the term "to understand each other without words". Then it would just express that words are not really relevant. Secondly, it might be a reflection of the experience that it is not a shared "ethnic" background that is relevant for mutual understanding but a shared "cultural" background of a much wider sense. "Same culture" in this context would be seen as a collective term that might embrace any minority peer of Islamic or even Hindu background who is familiar with traditional family values as well as with the experience of being discriminated and misunderstood by the German majority.

This second interpretation is supported by interethnic friendships and contacts to non-German peers. All Arab students underlined that they have Turkish friends and pointed to the similarity of Turkish and Arab culture. Most Turkish students either mentioned to have Arab, Albanian and Pakistani friends or they did not mention to have any friends other than Turkish but did not distance themselves either from any of the groups mentioned above. There were only two exceptions: Ekrem, a Turkish boy

complained about frequent rivalries between Turkish and Arab boys in his Gesamtschule in Kreuzberg. His sister Mukkades feels discriminated against by a majority of Kurdish students at her Gesamtschule in Kreuzberg and would therefore like to change school.

Mona one of the students at the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg who is of Palestinian/Lebanese origin herself, tells about her friendship to an Indian girl.

"Although she is no Muslim she has ideas about what is right and what is wrong that are similar to Arab and Turkish girls. For example she intends to marry her boyfriend like we would do. She does the same things and she stays at home in the evening just as we do."

4.5 Choice or pressure? Neither nor?

One of the goals of our analysis of relationships was to clarify the issue of choice vs. pressure: we wanted to describe to what degree different forms of intra- and inter-ethnic contacts are driven by self-determined motives and to what extent they result from pressures originating from external sources. While summing up the previous points we made, we also would like to soften this opposition and instead point at factors that shape the probability of getting together with German peers as well as factors that are either not encouraging to establish a closer contact to Germans or even making avoid any closer contact to them.

a) Aspects that are influencing the statistical probability to meet have to be seen in the ethnic structure of the usual opportunities to run into each other. Schools, classes and neighborhoods of the students we have interviewed are spaces where the probabilities to enter inter-ethnic relations with German peers are rather limited. An important reason for this has to do with the fact, that German families who live in a neighborhood with a large Turkish and Arab community show a strong tendency to enroll their children in private or church-based schools or to leave the neighborhood.

The separation along ethnic lines is further aggravated by culture related lifestyles based on different values, tastes and affinities. We are faced with different timeframes for leisure activities (evenings spent within or outside family), different locations where peers meet (with or without alcohol, with or without social control) and with a different composition of peer-groups (mixed-gender vs. gender-separated groups). From the start of adolescence on these differences seem to get even bigger.

b) Students of Turkish, Arab or Muslim background who live in a community with many peers of similar background where it is quite easy to make friends who will understand each other without words do not seem to feel any need to get into closer contact with German peers. There is no added value attributed to these contacts while a lot of difficulties might occur. Whenever we heard that it would be better if there would be more Germans at school, the argument was justified by either better opportunities to become fluent in German language or by positive effects on the image of the school. Both aspects may hardly be regarded as an intrinsic motivation to search for a closer contact.

c) To the contrary there are many difficulties expected to occur which discourage Turkish and Arab students from approaching Germans unless necessary. There would be a need to explain themselves in many aspects because German peers are not familiar with. This would be even more demanding if the counterpart does not really want to understand but is convinced to know already better. This experience seems to be part of everyday life of Muslim minorities in Germany. One controversial subject in public discourse about Muslim minorities is freedom of choice in the realm of sexuality. Students of Muslim background who submit to certain cultural practices like sexual abstinence are perceived by the majority as representing outdated attitudes or as being the result of oppression. This is quite opposite to their self-perception. So they prefer the convenient way of spending their time with people who share similar thoughts and

accept them just the way they are.

Some students have even directly argued that it is a very good feeling to be in a school where minorities are in majority. They feel more relaxed and regard it as a kind of protection against being discriminated by their teachers.

"If teachers offend you all students are on your side. This would probably be different in another school." (Mona)

5. EXPERIENCES OF BEING "OTHERED"; VIEWS ON "ETHNIC" DIFFERENCES

To a certain extent, this chapter is the counterpart of the previous one although this already included an analysis of the students' lack of contact with German peers. We described what Turkish and Arab students think about typical habits and values of their German peers and analyzed the experiences of "being othered" some of our interviewees had in personal contacts with German peers or in surroundings which were dominated by them. However German peers are obviously not the main actors of "othering" since they are almost non-existent in the immediate surroundings of our interviewees. This results of a structurally discriminating education policy which does not effectively react to the well-known fact that German families who live in a neighborhood with a large Muslim community generally enroll their children in private or church-based schools or leave the neighborhood.

For the students whom we interviewed the most important actors of "othering" along ethnic lines are teachers or other adults working in the school. Several students told us about discrimination because of their headscarf. One of them was Figen. Teachers in primary school criticized her headscarf and told her to remove it in sports: "One female teacher was so brutal. She once even forced me to leave the sports hall without my headscarf." Now, in the Gymnasium she is allowed to wear a headscarf. "They accept it. Therefore I like to be here. Teachers here are used to us." Conflicts between Muslim girls and teachers about covering the hair may already be seen as somehow "traditional" if we take into mind that already Figen's mother Esin faced a lot of problems because of her decision to wear a headscarf when she was nine. Esin's father had to come to school and to explain that he did not expect his daughter to cover her hair but that it was her who decided to do so.

To further illustrate these typical conflicts we may look at the interview with Mr Ahern, teacher at the Gesamtschule in Moabit who has a Scottish background. Without any hesitation he told our interviewer who is wearing a headscarf herself how he tried to open his students' minds:

"I explained them that headscarves once were not only common in Islamic environment: 'Many years ago women on the countryside in Europe also wore headscarves when they were working outside in the dirt. In this context it made sense while it doesn't make sense in an urban environment like Berlin.' Yet the students just looked at me but didn't want to talk about it. I don't understand why they don't call this into question!"

Obviously Mr Ahern is not open to simply accept the religious intention of Muslim believers who cover their hair but reduces the cloth to a mere practical mean expecting his students to follow his interpretation.

The discussion about headscarves is not the only one which may be valued as discriminative by Muslim students. As Alena, Mona, Suhayla, and Samia explained they feel bothered by discussions about arranged or forced marriage and family life in Islam as well. This is due to the fact that most teachers do not show any intention to enter an open discussion but just want to make clear what their own perspective is and influence them in this direction.

The point made here by the students became quite clear in some of the interviews with teachers and school staff at the Gesamtschule. During the interviews they gave long descriptions about various problematic aspects they regarded as characteristic for Islam about topics like the following:

"in Islam women have no say..." (Ms Brinkmann),

"males consider themselves superior in Islam ..." (Ms Kaiser)

"I can't understand the idea of Ramadan. Why do children have to fast? Maybe this made sense 2000 (!) years ago but not today! ..." (Ms Cittavecchia).

Without any obvious need for lengthy elaborations, these interviewees went on for such a long time that one could take it indeed as an offence of the Muslim interviewer. They somehow abused the opportunity to address a Muslim interviewer by expressing all their bad experiences and feelings towards that religion without showing any intention to learn something from their counterpart. As a style of communication, this bold behavior confirms the quoted pupils' statements about discriminating treatment in school as in the wider public. It is not likely that teachers who do not show any respect for an academically trained adult researcher if s/he is Muslim behave more empathetically before their adolescent Muslim pupils.

In the Gesamtschule most students did not complain about discrimination apart from general statements like "Germans get more attention and better feedbacks, teachers have more patience with them". In contrast some students of the Gymnasium expressed strong criticism of teachers for the showing of no/too little respect. They are quite sensitive even towards inferior treatment somehow hidden between the lines. Teachers of the Gymnasium who were interviewed valued this awareness as positive in general but sometimes problematic too:

"Outside of school our students experience a lot of discrimination. An important factor is the media where especially Muslim migrants are often presented in problematic ways without differentiating between good or bad behavior. Our students are well aware of discrimination in different aspects of life and react when they are treated in a way which is not appropriate. However sometimes they even regard legitimate criticism to be an unfair discrimination." (Mr Yücel)

His colleague Mr Schiller remembers a story where he was addressed as being racist: "Once they even called me a racist, just because one of them got a bad mark from me. I guess this is also because of the lack of recognition in the wider society. Especially boys often feel treated as social outcasts."

As we learned in a previous chapter most students enjoy attending a school where minorities are in majority because they regard it as a kind of protection against being discriminated by teachers. The experience to be discriminated in many surroundings may also reflect in the decision which school to enroll. Hikmet told us that he intentionally applied for the Gymnasium in Kreuzberg after he had learned that the school which was his priority in the beginning rejected a Turkish friend arguing he lived too far away while it accepted a German student who had an even longer way to school. When students weigh the pros and cons of various schools they often take into consideration what will be the status of their specific ethnic group and how much ethnic discrimination they might face there.

There is another subject which is a typical object for conflicts between teachers and Muslim parents: participation in class trips.

"Often girls are not allowed to attend class trips although they are obligatory. I won't ever accept this. There is no excuse! I won't stop efforts to get the parents' okay until children may attend. I don't care if I have to call the parents or if I have to visit them at home!"

Ms Cittavecchia's powerful engagement for class trips is typical for some other teachers too. It is mirrored by powerful resistance of migrant parents on the other side. Class trips are excursions for the members of a particular grade or class which are very common in Germany. They last several days, sometimes even two weeks, and are regarded as an important pedagogical method to influence

group dynamics in a positive way, to strengthen the coherence of the class mates, and to foster the adolescents' autonomy. Since they are an integral part of the school program, participation in class trips is compulsory. If a family's income is low the fee is financed by public authorities.

We decided to present a conflict about a class trip in a focus group discussion with mothers of children at the Gymnasium. As expected it caused great excitement. Most women felt very embarrassed by teachers who did not accept that they were reluctant and mostly refused to let their children go (Dua, Amina, Sarah told us in the focus group, Farida in an interview. All of them are Lebanese.). Only Sevim, a woman of Turkish origin did not share this opinion. Her daughter always participated in class trips and she had no problems with. Thus, how did the others argue why they are so much against?

The main point is the lack of control that makes it impossible to protect the children. Parents can't know what is going on when their children are away from home. They are sure that teachers can't replace parental control and protection out of two reasons: the class is too big to have an eye on everything that is going on and German teachers would just not care about things that are important for Arab families. They might even invite them to do things which would not correspond with Islamic rules like going to a discotheque. When the Turkish mother argued that parents have to be confident in their children the others disagreed.

"This is not a question of confidence. We have trust in our children but they will be in a group there: So perhaps they are not always able to do what they think is right because the others won't agree." (Dua).

Amina underlines this argument by reporting about one class trip that was different:

"There was one single trip in which my daughter participated. I let her go, because it was organised together with the parallel class where her cousins are. So she was not going alone and I could be sure that they would not do something wrong."

Otherwise she would be afraid that her children might be influenced in a negative way by their class mates. As she knows from her son his mates are smoking Marihuana or use even other kinds of drugs.

"Even if my children will stay away from that here, during a class trip they may want to taste it if not on the first or second day then perhaps on the fourth."

All these arguments against class trips are based on the idea that there are two realms of values that contradict each other in certain points: Arab/ Muslim values vs. German values. The children themselves seem to be still too weak to resist if the influence of German values become too strong. In everyday life there is a balance of power and parents may protect their children from doing something wrong. This protection can't be given when children are out of reach for several days. To test this argument Meryem Ucan, our interviewer, proposed a slightly different setting of the class trip:

"What if I myself or one of you would participate as well? Would that change anything?" Although they cannot imagine that this might be possible, Sarah and Dua said that this might change their mind: "If one can be sure that the escort will look after our children the same way we would do ourselves, I think, I would send my children." (Dua)

Amina, however is not sure that she would do so.

"In my family it is just not common that children stay somewhere else on their own. My children never spent the night with relatives or friends of us."

Having in mind that Amina had once already allowed her daughter to participate in a class trip the decisive factor for her is possibly not the fact of the escort being a fellow Muslim but being a

member of the family. Family members would have self-interest in protecting the honor of the family. This would make them highly sensitive in various aspects as for example regarding close contacts between a female member of the family and boys who do not belong to the family.

The reason why Dua, Amina and Sarah do not trust teachers and cannot send their children with them is the experience that teachers don't regard Islamic rules as being acceptable or important. Sarah said for example:

"Teachers think different from us. They put our children under pressure. We see it each Ramadan. How hard they try to prevent our children from fasting. I am sure they would also encourage our children to try things we don't want them to do. They would be really glad if our children would act and think like Germans do."

Sevim, the Turkish mother in this discussion group, answers directly to this argument:

"For me it is totally normal what the Germans expect. We live in Germany and we should assimilate. This is no Islamic country. I always sent my daughter to class trips and never had any problems. I have a good relation with her teachers because I understand them. One cannot forbid children everything just because we were educated like that. Our children's future is in Germany so they have to conform to this country."

Sevim's remark is instantly answered by Dua:

"Who says that we don't adjust? We do follow all the rules and laws. Our children participate in everything, like daily excursions and all the other things."

Amina is going on:

"One does not have to adjust in every aspect. The Germans also have to understand that we have a different religion and some different opinions how we want to live our private life. But teachers put such a big pressure on us that I don't know how to react. They should accept the differences. Do we criticize their way of living? No, we don't but we expect them to do not either."

The argument makes clear that for some parents class trips transcend a line where school life interferes with private life in a way they can't accept. Although they are ready to conform in many aspects participation in class trips seems to go too far. At least if they remain out of the family's control. While some parents are willing to leave the responsibility to the teachers or put enough confidence in their children, others have obviously problems to do so. The different attitudes might be the outcome of different concepts of control (external parental control vs. internal self-control of children) as well as the result of a different amount of damage that might be the result if things went wrong. In some surroundings the loss of virginity or even the rumor that a girl might have lost her virginity would heavily impact her social position and the status of her family. This might explain why some mothers feel so much bothered when teachers insist in the obligation to participate in class trips.

This group discussion about class trips ended quite interesting: when Sevim had left the group as the discussion still went on the other participants expressed their disappointment about Sevim's remarks. They felt somehow betrayed and had expected her to be appreciative of their concerns although she had a different opinion. It became obvious that in the eyes of Dua, Amina and Sarah closing ranks would be the adequate answer to what is perceived as a hegemonic demand from the German side.

6. IDENTITIES, IDENTITY STRATEGIES, AND IDEAS ABOUT ADULT LIFE

Bringing together some earlier introduced singular issues we will discuss in this section crucial elements of identity building and some typical individual and collective strategies to raise recognition and to strengthen self-protection. Most of the aspects described before may be unified to two main components of identity:

- Solidarity with the family often seen as typical for being Muslim and not being German
- Constructing "We and They" – Strategies of resistance towards discrimination and exclusion.

Although distinctive from each other both components are also strongly related like two sides of one coin.

Solidarity with the family became obvious or was demonstrated in many different aspects. For example when students told us they would share their parents' expectation that they should spend the evening at home, when they agreed that class trips are quite problematic, or when they explained parental incompetence to support them in school affairs by pointing to their parents' often problematic situation. These habits include a commitment to rules of respect and honesty which is described as a distinctive element to what is constructed as German culture.

Rules of respect and honesty provide the moral background of leisure activities that are different from those of German peers. These differences are perceived as aggravating when entering adolescence and being faced with the question how to face the opposite sex. Gender-segregation and abstinence from pre-marital sexual activities seem to be important points of cultural reference. Wearing a headscarf is the most obvious symbol for this lifestyle. To express feelings of being bothered and ashamed by public intimacy of German peers is a clear statement too.

The need to close ranks with their parents by underlining that they agree with them and to point to the fact that their commitment to certain rules is completely deliberate has probably to be interpreted as a reaction to the mainstream discourse about Islam. Our interviewees are well aware that most Germans are convinced that practices like sexual abstinence, covering the hair, or considering early marriage result from parental oppression and can't be based on deliberate decisions of young boys and girls. For Germans the main reason that leads to such an 'unsuitable' behavior is Islam.

In school students are often faced with discussions about issues like headscarf, arranged or forced marriage and family life in Muslim communities. Many feel bothered by teachers who bring up this kind of discussion. They experienced that due to the uneven balance of power they are not able to change the teachers' negative perception of their families and religion. Yet, they don't give in but express their solidarity with their parents. Even if students think that their parents made a mistake (e.g. took wrong decisions regarding schooling, forced a son to spend the night outside or beat them) they nevertheless told us that their parents had good intention when doing so. Following a typical notion of family oriented culture our interviewees described their parents' behavior basically and essentially as expressing love and care towards their children. The appropriate reaction of children would be showing love and respect.

Some students and parents relate this kind of mutual relationship and the rules of respect and honesty to Islam while others don't. Yet there was nobody who distanced from Islam as being part of their identity although there might be big differences in practicing (praying five times a day, attending mosques, reading the Holy Kuran, fasting during Ramadan etc.).

Constructing "Us and They" in a way that is answering discrimination and exclusion is another important component of identity building. One discursive strategy is extending the we-group to all Muslims in Germany and sometimes even to minorities of different religious background who are described as similar in important cultural aspects like respect and honesty. In our sample we observed this strategy more often in the Arab than in the Turkish group. One reason might be that this strategy is more convenient for smaller communities who have much more surplus when including other and even larger communities. Another influence we should take into consideration is the fact that our interviewer had a Turkish background. Therefore referring to common aspects in the Turkish and Arab community

is a way how students and parents of Arab background could express their sympathy. Probably they wouldn't have used this way without feeling that belonging to a community that is strongly influenced by Islam provides a common ground.

The strategy of constructing the groups of "Us and They" in a manner that is favorable for oneself includes the expectation that members of the minority close ranks against critique from the majority. We have seen this for instance at the end of the parents' discussion about class-trips. Individuals who ask for some understanding for what is perceived as the hegemonic German position risk exclusion from the ethnic community which feels betrayed quite easily. Most of the students and parents we were in contact with seem to think that strengthening a minority's position demands neglecting differences within the community and pointing to differences of the others.

Only some showed a different approach like for instance Cicek. However she seems to get far more positive than negative reactions from her teachers and a lot of support. This might have caused gratefulness and some obligation as well. Most other students realized that they won't get the support they needed from their teachers side. Instead they were looking for other sources of well-being and the most important one is being appreciated in the own community. Deliberate segregation is one of the results of this constellation. Some students described the comfortable feeling of being alike when they argued that they feel quite relaxed in a school that is attended mostly by peers of similar background. This provides a relatively strong position which makes them less vulnerable for discrimination on behalf of the teachers.

Another strategy to protect themselves is to exclude discriminating individuals from the group of the 'relevant others'. Alena made use of it to overcome the early experience of being excluded because of her headscarf. Unlike Cicek who has confidence in her teachers' support and explains her success by it, Alena experienced that her decision to dress in an Islamic way erected a barrier between her and her teachers and reduced their sympathy. Her reaction was to distance herself from the teachers' responses. She points to independence as the relevant base for her success.

What is quite obvious when we have a look on the various ways to describe identity is the absence of a statement like "I am German!". To the contrary when asked about the students told us that this would just be impossible. "Look at my hair, look at my skin! How could I be German? On top of that, we are Muslim!" is the answer we got more than once. Some students argued that Germans would not accept them being alike. Alena told us:

"Although I am a German citizen I don't regard myself really German. My passport is German but our culture doesn't fit. I can't really explain, but Germans will always ask me where I come from."

To fully assimilate and finally become a 'real German' is not within the range of options students of Turkish, Arab or Muslim background have. Legislative changes in 2000 have increased the possibilities to become German citizen and almost all students in our sample have a German passport. However, the idea of what it means to be a 'real German' did not change so far. Following the students and parents whom we interviewed German and Muslim identities are still mostly regarded as incompatible in public discourse. Always being easily identified as Muslim, like girls wearing a headscarf, does not leave the opportunity of being identified as German. Being aware of this quasi-natural relation students who regard themselves as Muslims usually won't regard themselves as being German. Belonging requires a mutual understanding of belonging. The mutual understanding of belonging we were faced with in our interviews with students and parents on the one hand and teachers on the other is the conviction that Islam is not really accepted (students and parents) or does not really fit in (teachers) German society.

Students' ideas about the future

Regarding their plans on future professional career the students who are already aware of this subject quite clearly fall into two categories with some of them in between. The first group are those who have strong desires; this includes all those who attend Gymnasium in grade 10. They are heading for journalism (Mona), teaching (Samia) and business (Gül). Alena who attends grade 9 at the Gesamtschule in Moabit is a fourth one who belongs to this category since she has a real plan in mind. She wants to become an architect.

The second group would include Amina, Bilge, Talibe, and Suhayla as well as Asim, Hussain, Omar, Mehmet and Tarik – all in grade 9 at the Gesamtschule – who can't express a certain occupational goal. They even seemed to be surprised when asked about it. In their answers they mostly referred to the often only person in their immediate surrounding who has a professional qualification. Yet they could not describe in detail what their work really was and did not know the right term of the profession. On top of that, they had almost no idea what would be necessary to qualify for this kind of job. Talibe's friend works as a shop assistant, something she might do as well. Asim's brother is somehow engaged in real-estate where he might work later as well. Friends of Omar seem to be trained retail salesmen something he could do too but has not really thought about. Mehmet has a brother in law who makes good money. He might have qualified as design draftsmen a profession Mehmet could imagine too.

The lack of information regarding occupational possibilities in this group was even more apparent in the interviews with Amina and Bilge. Bilge stated that she wants to be either hairdresser or physician and got very confused when she was asked about the requirements needed for each of these professions. Amina likes to go shopping and to talk to people. So she thought about being a shop assistant. When asked whether she might also think about other profession that would bring her in contact with a lot of people she remembers that she had already thought sometimes about being an educator. "But then I've heard that this would take four more years of working without being paid. Why should I do that?" Something she clearly states is that she would like to work "instead of just hanging around at home like my father does." But when asked she could not even explain what would be the various school leaving certificates she could get from her Gesamtschule.

Somehow in between these categories are Cicek, who is closer to the first group, while Senol, Can and Sibel do not seem to be far away from the second one. Senol and Can would like to go on with school and reach a diploma that would allow them to enter university. Can wants to become a lawyer but can't explain how he might reach that goal. Instead he starts to talk about better possibilities in Dubai. Senol did not think about any special profession yet, but wants to go on with school. His remarks are too vague to really make clear they represent a real attitude or just a vague idea. Sibel feels trapped in a tricky situation: she has two professions in mind, florist and hairdresser, and she has at least some experience in both, but does not know whether she will be able to get through the MSA-exam next year. She feels quite discouraged by her teachers.

Her friend Cicek is in a completely different position. She is the best pupil in class. This makes her confident to obtain a university entrance diploma. In the interview she describes her career aspiration rather precisely and even gives the Greek denomination of a physician specialized in kidney ailment therapy. Obviously she has a profession in mind that would be a help to her mother's severe health problems which are the central theme in Cicek's life. Despite this clear vision of a professional goal Cicek can't really tell how she might reach it and finally states "I should not exaggerate. It might be more appropriate to get vocational training in the medical realm and then let's see. I am not sure what is possible and what not."

If we take a closer look on the girls who fall in the first category (or are close by) we notice a

strong relation between the strong desires and a thorough familial support. However it is much more a supportive attitude than practical help. Even if there is some practical support it is not so much the parents but siblings, cousins and aunts who give some advice or share their experiences. A supportive attitude may be established in different ways as for example

- by an inconvenient amount of parental tolerance (Alena: "My father sends me to extra tuition although I can't be back at six in the evening then. He does not care as long as I am good at school.")

- by taking a clear position for the children's future (Mona: "My father even avoids contact with some of our relatives because they might have bad impact on us")

- by showing thorough interest in the children's individual desires (Samia: "My father has asked me what I would like to be quite early. When he found out that I want to be a teacher he explained me that I could reach that goal if I would be hard-working at primary school already, qualifying for Gymnasium and for university later on.")

While this kind of emotional support contributes to a firm conviction not to be left alone examples of successful siblings, cousins and further relatives may serve as role models that open up the mind. Successful people in the family give reasonable hope that what they have reached might also be possible for oneself. Samia steps into her brother's shoes while Gül feels inspired and encouraged by cousins who are businessmen. A cousin of Cicek has managed to get a university-entrance diploma and his mother is very much motivating Cicek to go further and reach her goals.

'Successful people in our family' might be seen in a relatively broad term and have a transnational dimension like for Alena who points to her cousins in Palestine or Mona who talks about her aunts in Denmark.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In addition to summing up our main findings, we will draw on the analyses and recommendations that are outlined in the first report of the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration which was published in June 2010. The Expert Council's report gives a bigger picture of the forms of segregation and integration of ethnic minorities in Germany, and it confirms many of our small-scale results.

7.1 Dynamics behind school segregation and peer-group relations outside school

Our fieldwork was done in two inner-city urban neighbourhoods where schools, in particular those on the lower strata, contribute to an ongoing process of social and ethnic segregation. Many middle class families (with or without migration background) either move out of the area when their children come of schooling age or they enroll them in private or church-run schools. In some cases, this flight phenomenon leads to dramatic changes in certain schools, like in the Gymnasium which we investigated. Within six years the share of students with migration background raised from below 40 % to 80 % there.

The degree of segregation which we found in this school was, ironically enough, anticipated in the definition of our sample: We looked for schools with a considerable share of Lebanese students to study the educational environment which these minority students face most typically. Therefore we ended up in schools which are avoided by all those who have access to other schools as well because they rather opt for schools with a lower rate of pupils with immigrant, and in particular with Arab backgrounds. However, the dynamics we observed in these schools are only different from others in terms of the quantity proportions but not in terms of the dynamics as such.

In Germany 26 % of students with migration background in grade nine attend schools where more than half of the pupils have a migration background while this is the case for only 4.3% of their German peers in grade nine. What are the causes of such an enormous segregation which is even higher in schools than in the neighborhoods at large? The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (in the following: Expert Council) identified two main causes: (1) avoidance patterns of the middle class and (2) structural discrimination effects of a diversified school system which is (still) based on the idea of selection and homogenous learning groups.

Based on a representative survey of 5.600 people with and without migration background, the Expert Council describes the following paradox: While most households report positive experiences with diversity in education and while they generally think that pupils with and without migration background are treated equal in school, many of them would not enroll their own children in a 'mixed' school. The reason behind: they have relatively little confidence in the school system's capacity to deal with diversity.

This reluctance is bigger in middle and upper classes than in lower classes while it does not depend on migration background. Especially upper middle class families (with and without migration background) regard it very important to provide best education possibilities for their children and flee the 'risk' of a mixed school. When deciding where to enroll their children these families put most emphasis on a school's capacity to ensure educational success. It is the decisive fact for them, while for other families features like proximity are as well important.

In reaction to this "educational dilemma" the Expert Council strongly recommends policies that give a halt to the known vicious circle. They favor support of heterogeneous schools with more financial means, extra- manpower and more refined conceptual development strategies.

The second variable, i.e. structural discrimination, leads to differences in the ethnic composition of different types of school and to differences along socio-economic family backgrounds in the different types of schools. This variable is, so to speak, the school system's counterpart of the dominant middle class perception which attributes lower estimations to certain ethnic groups in terms of their projected school success; and thereby produces exactly what the own prophecy entails. This can be grasped, for instance, in the secondary school type

recommendations which elementary school teachers tend to give, and which reflect differentiated ethnic esteem patterns. These forms of a prevalent structural discrimination render parents' initiative and awareness most important for the children's actual opportunities.

7.2 The importance of family background for educational success

Our research was based on a comparison of two schools which represent both ends of the educational ranking. What we found reflects very well the fact that school success depends very much on the ethnic and social background of the students' families in Germany.

In general, the educational level of the students' parents in the *Gymnasium* was higher than that of students' parents in the *Gesamtschule*. The cultural capital of the (wider) family could thus be used in the *Gymnasium* to thoroughly support and encourage children. Many students in the *Gymnasium* had grown up with the idea of entering an academic career. Most of them had been quite successful in primary school and had therefore been advised to attend a *Gymnasium* on secondary level. In other cases the parents had had the courage to oppose the teachers' advice for a *Realschule* and sent their children to the *Gymnasium* instead.

In contrast, the educational level of the students' parents in the *Gesamtschule* was rather low. Many were not even familiar with the German school system. And many could not imagine how to make an active impact on the children's school career since they lacked the necessary knowledge and networks.

Our sample was too small to draw general conclusions but the report of the Expert Council allows us to place our findings in a wider frame: Structural discrimination is relevant in various dimensions like for instance in decision making processes after primary school. A secondary analysis of the PISA-Study showed enormous differences along ethnic lines after tracking. Students with migration background went on in the lowest type, *Hauptschule*, more often than their German peers (28% / 15%) while they went on in a *Gymnasium* less frequently (31% / 39%).

In general, the decision where to continue schooling is based on the primary teachers' recommendations. Yet, teachers tend to evaluate the same performance of students in different ways: if families are rated to belong to the upper or middle class, the likelihood that they will be advised to attend a *Gymnasium* is 2.5 times higher than in other cases. On top of that social selection, when performance and the influence of the socio-economic status were controlled, PISA-data showed that migration background matters very much in the primary teachers' recommendation tendencies: Students with parents who were both born in Germany were recommended for a *Gymnasium* visit 1.7 times more often than their peers with parents who were both born outside of Germany. Obviously, the practical availability of education opportunities in Germany does not only depend very much on socio-economic resources but also on a family's migration status.

The strongly diversified education system in Germany is highly selective and aims to form homogeneous groups of students with a similar level of learning performance. The related selection processes follow established normative standards which are relatively often not appropriate for students with an immigration background who might for instance lack certain lingual competences. Ingrid Gogolin speaks of a prevalent "monolingual habitus" which prevents the positive assessment of diversity.

To counter this normative bias, the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration recommends that linguistic diversity has to be seen as a challenge which the education system has to accept. The "monolingual habitus" should be overcome by programs to better develop language competences of students who grew up in a multi-lingual surrounding and have learnt German as a second language. It is regarded important to have supportive structures and concepts which last for all the years of schooling. Such an endeavor should be accompanied by personnel development.

All Teachers and

teacher students should be trained in the teaching of lingually and ethnically heterogeneous groups of students. Besides that, the percentage of teachers with migration background should in the long run reflect the percentage of people with migration background in the total population.

7.3 School segregation – 'life at school' – interactions of teachers, students and parents

Our research illustrated that schools with a high number of students with migration background tend to take a position in the educational market which is lower than what should be expected from the type of school. Not surprisingly, many teachers feel frustrated by this situation and regard it as a burden to teach such a "difficult pupilship" which makes their work rather hard.

The almost complete absence of German classmates does in fact contribute to severe problems regarding the language competences of ethnic minority youths. Students often leave school before they reach the final grade. And yet, many Teachers evaluate these difficulties not only as a result of segregation along ethnic and socio-economic lines but first of all as a result of ethnic or cultural factors. In our interviews, they pointed to migrant communities which were often depicted as living in parallel societies. Therefore many teachers don't see their student's parents as partners in solving education problems but in fact as one major cause of these problems.

There is a vivid debate in Germany about the responsibilities of school vs. parents and about the desirable pattern of cooperation. While most teachers simply complained that parents of Turkish and Arab background did not show enough interest in their children's school career and did not seek contact with the school, others favored an explicit outreach strategy and suggested a change in the definition of the schools' responsibilities. This would, according to them, have to include tasks which are often seen as being on the parents' side.

The attitudes of most teachers we interviewed for our research might be interpreted as typical reflections of the German education system. As the Expert Council states, the German system demands a lot from the students' parents. They are expected to actively engage in school life and to support their children in preparation for lessons and exams or in follow-up course work. The higher the educational background of the parents the better they might respond to the schools' expectations. The better their understanding of the educational system and its internal mechanisms is, the better might they support the educational career of their children. Parents with immigration background however, relatively often lack the crucial educational background or the knowledge of the German system.

To loosen the close connection of parents' abilities and students' success the Expert Council suggests measurements that compensate for lacking resources of parents and/or provide possibilities to better integrate parents in the life at school. Schools should offer learning opportunities for parents and inform them about important characteristics of the German education system, like the importance of tracking after primary school, or else the expectation of parental contributions to the learning process.

In addition, school staff should recall their mandate to support the development of resources and abilities of each individual student regardless of his/her socio-economic or cultural background. Schools have to ensure free access to education and further professional careers for everyone by adjusting imbalances in the resources of their students.

7.4 Experiences and consequences of 'othering' – identity formation

Our research showed that one result of the structural discrimination in the German education system is the lack of German peers in the immediate surroundings of our interviewees. This was not limited to school but included leisure time as well. Although their typical activities might show a lot of similarities with the activities of German peers, they are also influenced by lifestyles based on values, tastes and affinities which were rated to be different along ethno-cultural lines. What we observed in this respect included different timeframes for leisure activities (evenings spent within or outside the family), different locations where peers meet (places with or without alcohol access, with or without social control) and different compositions of peer-groups (mixed-gender vs. gender-separated groups). From

the start of adolescence on these differences seem to get increased importance. Although schools might theoretically be institutions which could reverse this trend, they fail in doing so if they are even more segregated than their surrounding neighborhoods.

For the students whom we interviewed the most important actors of 'othering' along ethnic lines were teachers or other staff working in school. Several students told us about discrimination in particular because of their Muslim background: Teachers would often criticize headscarves, arranged marriages or family life in Islam without showing any intention to enter an open discussion. Muslim students felt that such teachers just wanted to demonstrate the power of defining the proper way of life in Germany.

However, the effect of such othering experiences is a petrification of group identities: In reaction to the negative mainstream discourse about Islam many students showed strong solidarity with their families by underlining that they agreed with their parents and by stressing that their commitment to certain rules was completely deliberate. They often interpreted this as typical for being Muslim and not being German.

Constructing "Us and Them" in a way that reverses discrimination and exclusion is an important component of identity building which we could observe. This was on the one hand done by extending the We-group to other Muslim communities, and on the other hand by neglecting differences within the community as being of minor importance. Alternative readings or possible identifications were ruled out by these strong constructions of collectivities: German and Muslim identities were mostly regarded as incompatible. Also in wider society and public discourse, being identified as a Muslim tends to signify meanings of otherness and as being no German. Those students who defined themselves as Muslims were convinced that Islam is not really accepted in German society, and many teachers had given them the feeling that Islam does not really fit in.

In contrast, schools might also contribute to overcome this mainstream discourse and start dialogues with the 'Muslim side'. Taking parents seriously by addressing them as partners in the education process would demonstrate respect which is strongly missed by many of our interviewees. The professional training of future teachers should raise their awareness of discrimination and injustice and develop their competence for 'saming' instead of 'othering'. Heterogeneous schools are well advised to constantly send signals like "Each of our students regardless of his/her background is one of us. We all together are forming our school." Such an embracing attitude might be a starting point of building an identity which might include characteristics like being Muslim and being German at the same time.

7.5 Final remarks and recommendations

To conclude, our findings clearly illustrate structural problems of the German school system and its often inadequate reactions to migration and integration. What we presented in this report is not surprising but is emphasizing once more the dilemmas which are well-known for long. Our observations "in daily life" provide an insight in the reproduction of problems that have been described again and again but still need to be solved. In terms of policy recommendations we fully agree with the recommendations of the Expert Council (and many other colleagues in this field) about the most important needs and tasks which we shortly want to summarize once more:

- Acceptance of diversity as an asset instead of defining it as a functional problem
- The aim to produce homogenous learning groups – and the related selection practices – should be given up in favor of inclusive and differentiated strategies which help to optimize the opportunities of every child
- Implementation of the needed qualifications to teach heterogeneous groups in the curriculum of teachers' trainings and further education; e.g. anti-discrimination training
- Recruiting teaching staff with migration background to bridge the gap between schools, families and communities

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Table 1

Alias	sex	school	age	grade	age
Asim	m	GS	17	9	17
Hussain	m	GS	15	9	15
Omar	m	GS	16	9	16
Senol	m	GS	16	9	16
Mehmet	m	GS	16	9	16
Tarik	m	GS	16	9	16
Can	m	GS	16	9	16
Ali	m	Gym	14	8	14
Hikmet	m	Gym	14	8	14
Arif	m	Gym	14	8	14
Ayhan	m	Gym	14	8	14
Mesut	m	Gym	15	9	15
Kadir	m	RS	15	8	15
Ekrem	m	GS	15	8	15
Alena	f	GS	15	9	15
Amina	f	GS	16	9	16
Suhayla	F	GS	15	9	15
Bilge	f	GS	16	9	16
Cicek	f	GS	16	9	16
Sibel	f	GS	16	9	16
Talibe	f	GS	17	9	17
Mona	f	Gym	16	10	16
Samia	f	Gym	16	10	16
Gül	f	Gym	16	10	16
Raja	F	Gym	15	9	15
Figen	F	Gym	15	9	15
Aygül	F	GS	14	8	14
Mukkades	F	GS	14	8	14

Table 2.

Alias	origin	born in Germany	Citizen	father	mother
Asim	Lebanese		German	Refugee	refugee
Hussain	Lebanese	x	stateless	Refugee	refugee
Omar	pakist	x	German	Other	other
Senol	turk/afgh	x	German	Other	other
Mehmet	Turkish	x	German	Other	other
Tarik	Turkish	x	German	Other	other
Can	Syr/ Turk	x	German	born Germany	born Germany
Ali	Turkish	x	German	marriage	brought up Germany
Hikmet	Turkish	x	German	marriage	brought up Germany
Arif	Turkish	x	German	brought up Germany	family migration with 16
Ayhan	Turkish	x	German	Refugee	marriage
Mesut	Turkish	x	Turkish	brought up Germany	brought up Germany
Kadir	Turkish	X	German	brought up Germany	marriage
Ekrem	Turkish	X	German	born Germany	marriage
Alena	Lebanese	X	German	Refugee	marriage
Amina	Lebanese	x	German	Refugee	refugee
Suhayla	Lebanese	x	German	Refugee	refugee
Bilge	Turkish	X	German	brought up Germany	marriage
Cicek	Turkish	x	German	Died	marriage
Sibel	Turkish	x	German	brought up Germany	brought up Germany
Talibe	Turkish	x	Turkish	born Germany	marriage
Mona	Lebanese	x	German	Refugee	refugee
Samia	Lebanese	x	German	Refugee	refugee
Gül	Turkish	x	German	Other	marriage
Raja	Moroccan/ Kurdish (Iraq)	x	German	Marriage with German	marriage
Figen	Turkish	x	German	brought up Germany	brought up Germany
Aygül	Turkish	x	German	brought up Germany	brought up Germany
Mukkades	Turkish	X	German	Born Germany	marriage

Table 3.

Alias	origin	Single parent	Siblings total	Position
Asim	Lebanese	father	6	6
Hussain	Lebanese	-	6	3
Omar	pakist	-	4	2
Senol	turk/afgh	-	2	1
Mehmet	Turkish	-	7	4
Tarik	Turkish	-	2	2
Can	Syr/ Turk	mother	2	1
Ali	Turkish	-	3	1 twin
Hikmet	Turkish	-	3	1 twin
Arif	Turkish	-	2	2
Ayhan	Turkish	-	3	2
Mesut	Turkish	-	3	3
Kadir	Turkish	-	2	2
Ekrem	Turkish	-	2	1
Alena	Lebanese		4	1
Amina	Lebanese	-	5	1
Suhayla	Lebanese	-	7	3
Bilge	Turkish	-	5	1
Cicek	Turkish	mother	4	1
Sibel	Turkish	-	2	1
Talibe	Turkish	mother	4	1
Mona	Lebanese	-	4	1
Samia	Lebanese	-	7	4
Gül	Turkish	-	2	1
Raja	Moroccan/ Kurdish (Iraq)	-	4	2
Figen	Turkish	-	3	1
Aygül	Turkish	-	3	2
Mukkades	Turkish	-	2	2

Table 4.

Alias	origin	Hartz IV	father	mother
Asim	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Hussain	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Omar	pakist	X	selfemployed	housewife
Senol	turk/afgh	?	?	?
Mehmet	Turkish	X	selfemployed	housewife
Tarik	Turkish	-	selfemployed	other
Can	Syr/ Turk	X	employed	housewife
Ali	Turkish	-	selfemployed	employed
Hikmet	Turkish	-	selfemployed	employed
Arif	Turkish		selfemployed	employed
Ayhan	Turkish		employed	housewife
Mesut	Turkish		selfemployed	selfemployed
Kadir	Turkish		selfemployed	housewife
Ekrem	Turkish		employed	employed
Alena	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Amina	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Suhayla	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Bilge	Turkish	-	employed	housewife
Cicek	Turkish	X	-	other
Sibel	Turkish	-	selfemployed	selfemployed
Talibe	Turkish	X	-	other
Mona	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Samia	Lebanese	X	unemployed	housewife
Gül	Turkish	X	unemployed	employed
Raja	Moroccan/ Kurdish (Iraq)	-	other	housewife
Figen	Turkish	-	selfemployed	housewife
Aygül	Turkish	-	selfemployed	housewife
Mukkades	Turkish	-	employed	employed

Table 5.

Alias	Father education	Father (former) employment	Mother education	Mother (former) employment
Asim	Minimum	(factory)	minimum	0
Hussain	Minimum	(construction)	minimum	0
Omar	Minimum	own import-export	Minimum	0
Senol	Minimum	?	Minimum	?
Mehmet	Minimum	own restaurant	Minimum	0
Tarik	Minimum	own kiosk	Minimum	(factory)
Can	policeman	truck-driver	minimum	(cleaning, sales)
Ali	Teacher Turkey	Taxi-driver	taylor	Educator's assistant
Hikmet	Teacher Turkey	Taxi-driver	taylor	Educator's assistant
Arif	Electrician	Taxi-driver	minimum	cleaning
Ayhan	minimum	construction	minimum	0
Mesut	Electrician	Owner of a helal slaughterhouse	(started vocational training nurse)	Assisting her husband
Kadir	minimum	Taxi-driver	minimum	0
Ekrem	mechanic	Employee in mosque	minimum	cleaning
Alena	mechanic Jordan	(construction)	minimum	0
Amina	Minimum	(construction, butcher)	minimum	0
Suhayla	minimum	(construction)	minimum	0
Bilge	Minimum	factory	minimum	0
Cicek	-	-	minimum	0
Sibel	Baker	own bakery	hairdresser	own hairdresser's shop
Talibe	minimum	0	minimum	0
Mona	minimum	(own restaurant)	Secondary Lebanon	0
Samia	philosopher Lebanon	(construction, factory)	minimum	0
Gül	turner	(turner)	Secondary Turkey	cleaning
Raja	Truck-driver	invalid	Hairdresser Morocco	(Hairdresser)
Figen	RS	Taxi-driver	minimum	0
Aygül	RS	Taxi-driver	minimum	0
Mukkades	mechanic	Employee in mosque	minimum	cleaning

Table 6.

Alias	origin	School advise	School now
Asim	Lebanese	RS	GS
Hussain	Lebanese	HS	GS
Omar	pakist	RS	GS
Senol	turk/afgh	HS	GS
Mehmet	Turkish	HS?	GS
Tarik	Turkish	HS	GS
Can	Syr/ Turk	RS	GS
Ali	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Hikmet	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Arif	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Ayhan	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Mesut	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Kadir	Turkish	RS	RS
Ekrem	Turkish	HS	GS
Alena	Lebanese	RS	GS
Amina	Lebanese	HS	GS
Suhayla	Lebanese	HS	GS
Bilge	Turkish	HS	GS
Cicek	Turkish	HS	GS
Sibel	Turkish	HS	GS
Talibe	Turkish	HS	GS
Mona	Lebanese	Gym	Gym
Samia	Lebanese	RS	Gym
Gül	Turkish	Gym	Gym
Raja	Moroccan/ Kurdish (Iraq)	Gym	Gym
Figen	Turkish	RS	Gym
Aygül	Turkish	HS	GS
Mukkades	Turkish	RS	GS

Table 7.

Alias	origin	Children's type of school	sex, age	migrant generation	Own education
Farida, mother of Suhayla	Leb.	GS	F, 37	2.	no diploma
Meltem, mother of Talibe	Turk.	GS	F, 41	1.	minimum
Hakeem	Leb.	Gymn.	M, 52	1.	University Jordan
Aygül, mother of Ali and Hikmet	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 36	2.	Gymn.,no diploma
Esin, mother of Figen and Aygül	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 38	2.	no diploma, saleswoman
Fatma	Turk.	HS	F, 36	2.	no diploma
Mavis	Turk.	HS	F, 40	2.	no diploma
Gülnur	Turk.	HS	F, 39	2.	HS diploma
Hatice	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 39	2.	educator
Rabiye	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 38	2.	taylor
Yurdagül	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 39	2.	saleswoman
Nurhayat	Turk.	Gymn.	F, 59	1.	illiterate
Dua, mother of Mona	Leb.	Gymn	F,48	1.	Gymn. Lebanon
Amina, aunt of Mona	Leb.	Gymn	F, 40	1.	minimum
Sarah, mother of Samia	Leb.	Gymn	F, 37	1.	minimum
Sevim, mother of Gül	Turk.	Gymn	F, 42	1.	Gmn. Turkey

Table 8.

School	Alias	task	origin.	sex	age
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr. Cesarin	teacher	German	m	49
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Kaiser	teacher	German	f	48
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr. Peter	teacher	German	m	62
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Schott	teacher	German	f	51
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Regius	teacher	German	f	45
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr. Ahern	teacher	Scottish	m	53
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Cittavecchia	Special education teacher	Chilean	f	47
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr. Munk	Assistant for teachers (chemical laboratory worker)	German	m	43
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr.Hür	Responsible person for the school library (ex-teacher)	Turkish	m	58
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Mr. Hakim	Parents' Project stuff	Jordan	m	48
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Janette	Educator	German	f	28
Gesamtschule in Moabit	Ms. Brinkmann	Volunteer in the 'seniors in schools' project	German	f	68
Gymnasium in Kreuzberg	Mr. Schiller	teacher	German	m	39
Gymnasium in Kreuzberg	Mr. Yücel	Teacher on probation	Turkish	m	27

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